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RE-TRACING INVISIBLE MAPS:

Landscape in and as performance in contemporary South Africa

by

Awelani Lena Moyo

M.A.

A thesis submitted to the University of Warwick for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The research for this thesis was conducted at the School of Theatre Studies, Performance
and Cultural Policy Studies, The University of Warwick.

Submitted May 2013

ABSTRACT

This thesis suggests an approach to landscapes both *in and as* performance, in order to explore how identity and belonging are sited and performed in contemporary South Africa. I deploy an inter-disciplinary concept of landscape, drawing from the work of Tim Ingold (2000), who defines landscape as ‘a plenum’ and argues that we engage with landscapes through a performative process of ‘way-finding.’ With this in mind, I position myself as a participant-observer in this thesis, and through a process of way-finding aim to ‘re-trace invisible maps’ of identity in a selection of examples ranging from the theatrical to the everyday. Throughout my discussion I analyse how specific performances reflect/resist certain histories and social constructions of belonging.

The thesis is divided into three thematic sections which explore how various cultural practices, or forms of ‘mapping’, attempt to make the world ‘knowable’, at the same time indicating what escapes or exceeds the limits of their own codes of representation.

The first section entitled Fortress City investigates identity formation as a spatially situated process in Cape Town, using the example of the public arts festival Infecting the City and focusing on the period 2009-2011 when it was curated by Brett Bailey. In the second section Frontier Nations, I discuss the temporality of landscape by juxtaposing how collective/national memory and subjective/personal memory both emerge in and through performance. I compare two speeches made by Presidents Mandela and Zuma in Grahamstown in 1996 and 2011 respectively, and contrast the political rhetoric on nationhood with Brett Bailey’s use of mythic time in an experiential site-specific performance *Terminal* (2009). In the last section Corporeal Networks, I argue that the body acts as primary generator of meaning, identification and belonging. I discuss Juanita Finestone-Praeg’s *Inner Piece* (2009) a physical theatre work which tackles issues of violence and representation.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
AWB	Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging (Afrikaner Resistance Movement)
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
CBD	Central Business District
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DA	Democratic Alliance
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
FOG	Freedom of Grahamstown
FWC	Football World Cup
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution (South African Economic Policy)
GMO	Grocott's Mail Online
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ITC	Infecting the City
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe ('Spear of the Nation'), the military wing of the ANC
M&G	Mail and Guardian
NAF	National Arts Festival (Grahamstown)
NP	National Party
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
PAC	Pan African Congress
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACP	South African Communist Party
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAPS	South African Police Services
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UCT	University of Cape Town
UPM	Unemployed People's Movement
VOC	Dutch East India Company

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And finally, sincere thanks go to the artists whose work I discuss in this thesis – for making the work that's making me think!

DECLARATION AND INCLUSION OF MATERIAL FROM A PRIOR THESIS

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work, and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it contains no material previously published or written by another person, nor any material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institute of higher learning, except where due acknowledgment has been made in the text.

I declare that I have included references to my Master of Arts dissertation, which I have clearly indicated in this text.

Awelani Lena Moyo

INTRODUCTIONS:

...approaching...the landscape in and as performance...in contemporary South Africa...

...wayfinding is understood as a skilled performance in which the traveller, whose powers of perception and action have been fine-tuned through previous experience, 'feels his way' towards his goal, continually adjusting his movements in response to an ongoing perceptual monitoring of his surroundings.

Tim Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment* (2000: 220)

We are all aware that most of life escapes our senses: a most powerful explanation of the various arts is that they talk of patterns which we can only begin to recognize when they manifest themselves as rhythms or shapes. We observe that the behaviour of people, of crowds, of history, obeys such recurrent patterns.

Peter Brook, *The Empty Space* (1996: 49)

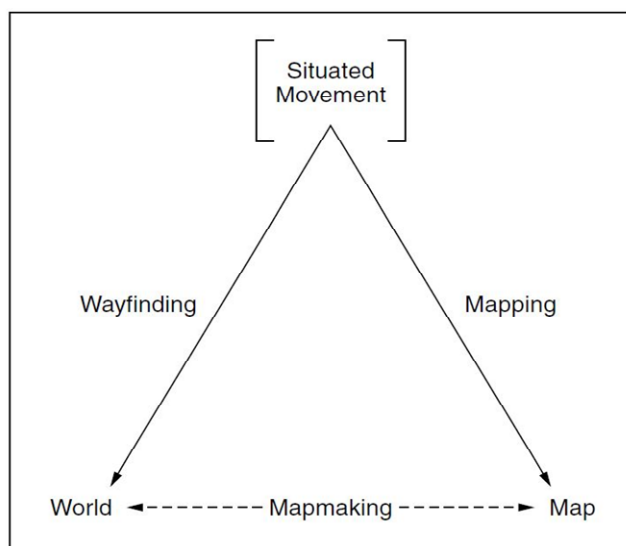


Figure 13.4 The cartographic illusion. The environmentally situated movement entailed in both wayfinding and its narrative re-enactment (mapping) is bracketed out to create the illusion that the form of the map arises, in mapmaking, as a direct transcription of the layout of the world.

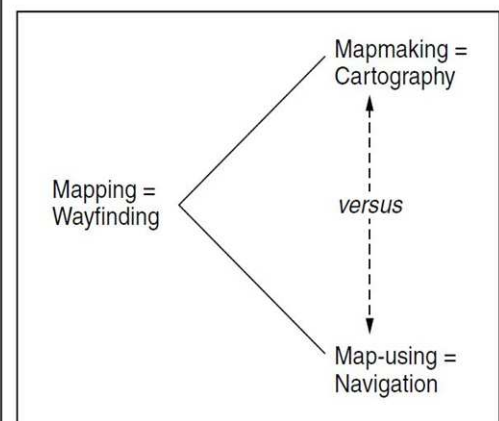


Figure 13.3 The relations between mapping, mapmaking and map-using: a summary.

1. Illustrations of 'the cartographic illusion' and the process of 'wayfinding' (Ingold 2000: 234; 231)

‘YOU ARE HERE’



AS I SEE IT, the titling ‘here’ sites and recites what takes place throughout this thesis. That is, I am engaging with the idea of maps and mapping in at least three senses: firstly, insofar as this thesis describes part of an area of study, and writing it has been a cartographic project (‘here’ is a map); secondly, inasmuch as this thesis plots certain trajectories in my research, and it has formed part of a process of orientation and navigation (‘here’ is a point of location); and lastly, since the substance of this thesis has been generated through, or rather *during* the intersection of cartography and navigation, wherein it provisionally achieves a form and a measure of integrity (‘here’ is a landscape in and as performance).

My primary focus has been the particular landscape of contemporary South Africa, where ‘contemporary’ denotes a period of about the last decade. Specifically, I am concerned with how the terms of identity and belonging are ‘mapped’ through a selection of performances ranging from the theatrical to the everyday. As a means of entry then, I have surveyed the terrain and begun by noting some of the topographical features, distinguishing landmarks and routes of travel which have been taken through it. Having thus defined my subject, I have taken up a position in relation to it. As I set to work, there are matters of scale which must be worked out according to existing paradigms. I have also assumed a set of signifiers, presuming that their values are generally accepted within the field and will be familiar to the map-reader:

[T]he map thus *emerges* through a set of iterative and citational practices – of employing certain techniques that build on and cite previous plottings or previous work (other spatial representations) or cartographic ur-forms (standardized forms of representation) (Kitchin & Dodge 2007: 7).¹

¹ Except where specifically indicated, the emphasis within quotations appears as it is in the original publication throughout the thesis.

By now it has become clear that maps are not merely faithful representations of the physical world. Even when they give the impression of ‘truthfulness,’ objectivity and accuracy, maps often in fact detail how a society both constructs and perceives spatial relations (Crampton & Krygier 2006; Kitchin & Dodge 2007; Gregory et al. 2009). The cartographer’s eye gives prominence to certain features of the landscape while excluding, indeed potentially erasing, many of the shapes and figures perceived from a distance. Understood as cultural texts rather than as purely scientific documents then, maps are ‘value-laden images’ which reflect a particular, situated viewpoint on the world (Harley 1994: 278). For this reason perhaps, maps have often functioned as symbols of political power, enabling states and institutions to control space by rendering it legible in and as discourse.

Furthermore, maps can be thought of as languages, in the sense that they are a system of signs governed by rules and codes which determine not only how and by whom they are constructed, but also how and by whom they may be accessed, read and used (see Harley 1988; 1989; 1994). As part of a map’s purpose is to represent what is ‘known’ about a particular area, it has been argued that we may learn more from maps by noting what they exclude in their ‘cartographic silences’ (Harley 1988), rather than relying on what they actually assert to us in visual or textual form.

So now if I spoke of ‘mapping the invisible,’² I would be mining the depths of memories, perceptions and subjective experiences of the social landscape and approaching that which escapes or exceeds the limits of representation. I would also be attempting to recover that which is absent or has been lost from the surface of the land itself: the ‘unseen’ as in forgotten/faded/obscured/excluded. This leads me to consider the performativity of maps as a form of technology which attempts, even *promises* to make the

² This phrase is also the title of Kent Ryden’s 1993 book, in which he argues that while they may not be able to convey the entire ‘depth’ of our perception or capture the subjective memories associated with a place, modern maps ‘are simultaneously distillations of experience and invitations to experience...maps stand as segments of the professional autobiographies of their makers, and thus, inevitably, of their professional autobiographies as well’ (23).

world 'knowable'. At the same time, by focusing on a particular area a map already confirms the limits of its own knowledge. There is a usefulness to its circumscription in the sense that it suggests to me what is *not* known.

By taking up the cartographic metaphor then, my work will attempt to re-cover the landscapes that have been mapped in performance, just as performances themselves are re-tracing the features of the South African landscape. But my intention has not only been to provide yet another outline of an existing area: I am after all composing my own map – a task not without certain risks. This is what makes it necessary for me to approach South Africa *as an idea*,³ an approach which will hopefully allow me to be present, if floating in the background, at the very moment when I seem to disappear from view.

AT THIS POINT

Contemporary South Africa seems to inhabit a number of significant, if un-settled positions. Seen alongside its geographical neighbours, its territorial contours attest to the impact of imperial conquest. But while bearing the scars of the colonial past, it also stands apart in the region as one of the strongest political powers and as an economic hub on the African continent. South Africa's own story has become an infamous example of institutionalized racism, and its transition to constitutional democracy taken as emblematic of the values of universal human rights and justice. Since becoming a multi-ethnic state with a constitution widely considered one of the most progressive in the world, South Africa has been emerging steadily since the 1990s to take its place within a global neo-liberal capitalist system. While the wealth and diversity of its natural and cultural resources provide the conditions for engagements with post-modernity in some areas of the country, parts of it lack the most basic of modern infrastructure. The South African statistics on

³ This is a turn of phrase which I have borrowed from one of Achille Mbembe's lectures on South Africa entitled '*Collision, Collusion and Refractions: Reflections on South Africa after Liberation*' (2011), which is available at: < <http://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/worldliness-citiness-postcolonial-life-and-thinking-south-audio> > [Accessed 26/01/2013].

crime, violence, HIV/AIDS, inequality and unemployment are often cited as some of the highest in the world, creating the perception of it as a chaotic, schizoid entity.

The physical territory now known as South Africa did not fall under a unified authority until the 1900s.⁴ Following the exploitative and discriminative practices which began under Dutch and then British colonial rule, the oppressive policy of apartheid – literally meaning ‘separateness’ – augmented the fragmentation of an already diverse society, polarizing the identities and social positions of various cultural groups. From 1948 the National Party (NP) government sought to protect the interests of the white Afrikaner minority by emphasizing difference as absolute, deliberately destroying whatever communality had existed between ethnic and racial groups. The system of racial classification was used to uphold and implement state policies of segregation and censorship, affecting all aspects of social life from the unequal allocation of land and resources, to the restriction of movement and the stifling of creative and cultural mixing. At the same time, the apartheid state relied on the economic productivity and labour of the very people it sought to exclude from its modern vision of nationhood. This proved to have a profound effect on the stability of the Republic, and by the 1980s the combination of international sanctions, regional instability and internal unrest had driven the country into a State of Emergency.⁵

Historians have suggested that by the time F.W. De Klerk took over the presidency in 1989, the unsustainable nature of the apartheid system had become so apparent that a negotiated settlement was almost inevitable. The subsequent release of political prisoners and the unbanning of several anti-apartheid organisations in 1990 was followed by a number of major shifts in political and social life.⁶ In 1994 the presidential elections

⁴ For dates and historical background throughout this thesis I use Davenport and Saunders’ *South Africa: A Modern History* (2000), except where otherwise indicated.

⁵ Sources cite a rapid economic decline in the 1980s due to international pressure and sanctions as another significant factor of the time. The decline of colonial governments and a general state of political and economic instability in the region also had an impact on the stability of the South African state (see Davenport & Saunders 2000: 547-556).

⁶ These ‘shifts’ included the setting up of a transitional government and the drafting of a new constitution.

brought victory for the ANC and this new government – born out of compromise and negotiation and lead by Mandela – had to pursue an agenda of national unity and reconciliation in order to maintain peace during the tense transition from white minority rule.

Over the past seventeen years of ANC rule, the state has been faced with the challenge of forging a new national identity and celebrating social diversity whilst promoting equality. The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was an important attempt to forge the way towards a new, shared sense of identity. By addressing the violence and oppression of apartheid directly, it was hoped that the traumas of the past could be collectively inscribed in national memory and that this would enable South Africa to adequately distance itself from the past. This was achieved through a number of processes which can be understood in terms of Diana Taylor's (2003; 2010) discussion of 'archives' and 'repertoires' as two types of 'epistemic systems' which, whilst occurring along a continuum, result in a range of memory-making practices. What she calls the 'repertoire' describes a number of ephemeral, embodied practices through which cultural knowledge is transmitted and retained. Repertoires involve practical, often repetitive engagement in performance practices such as song, dance, ritual and gesture. The 'archive' on the other hand consists of 'stable objects' through which memory and knowledge are preserved, and is often the way in which official records of the past are kept and legitimated in the form of books, objects and buildings etc. (2010: 2). The TRC employed both of these 'epistemic systems' to create the sense of a 'shared' past which would provide the context for a shared future in the new South Africa.⁷

The South African TRC was not only a milestone for the country itself; this model has been used as an exemplar for the rest of the continent as well as for other post-conflict

⁷ See Hutchison (2013) for a more in-depth discussion of how Taylor's ideas can be applied to the South African context in a number of examples. I will also be discussing various aspects of the TRC process throughout this thesis, and referring back to Taylor's (2003) ideas in *Frontier Nations*.

nations around the world.⁸ More recently, South Africa hosted the 2010 FIFA Football World Cup (FWC), which became a major vehicle for mobilising national unity and celebration. Winning the bid to host the World Cup in the first place gave the ANC government an opportunity to stage the Pan-African vision which has defined South Africa's foreign policy since 1994. It may still be too soon to speak in definitive terms, for example, about what the long-term impact of the 2010 World Cup in South Africa will be, but it is certainly already clear that this event was read as a test of the country's 'national maturity' (Hart 2010: 2). In hosting it, the administration hoped to show that South Africa had become a stable society able to meet international standards of hospitality.

The TRC and the FWC employed different strategies of structuring the present, framing the past and mapping the future. The TRC was a much more sombre performance since it dealt with the subjects of violence, trauma and injustices perpetrated over a protracted period of time. The FWC on the other hand was a celebratory event which, although referencing the decades of political struggle before it, focused on interpreting the more recent past in South Africa. Both events were spectacular, future-oriented moments of re-contextualising South Africa's identity and position in relation to both local and global contexts.⁹

All this should suggest how South Africa – as a territorial nation-state and an 'imagined community' (Anderson 2006) – exemplifies many of the struggles and contradictions shared globally in the 20th century. Those writing about South Africa often

⁸ The TRC was set up in 1995 under the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, and was composed of three committees dealing with different aspects of the reconciliation process: the Amnesty Committee which offered perpetrators of violence and abuses an opportunity to 'make full disclosure of all the relevant facts relating to acts associated with a political objective' (1995: 5); the investigative Committee on Human Rights Violations which aimed to provide as complete a record as possible about the atrocities committed; and the Committee on Reparation and Rehabilitation, concerned with matters of compensation and commemoration.

⁹ I could also discuss the 1995 Rugby World Cup here, as this was also a spectacular opportunity to stage reconciliation and national unity through sport. However the 2010 FWC serves as a more recent example of the same, and is particularly relevant in the context of certain points I wish to make about the current discourse in South Africa, and about changes (or lack thereof) which have occurred over the last 17 years of democracy. For some discussion of how the 1995 Rugby World Cup impacted on nation building and helped to momentarily transcend racial divisions see Steenveld and Strelitz (1998); Grundlingh (1998). Also, see Grundlingh et al. (2012) as a further point of discussion on the 2009 release of the film *Invictus* directed by Clint Eastwood, which dramatises the story of the 1995 Rugby World Cup.

take the view that '[T]o explore the dilemmas which haunt South Africa is to engage with a whole range of fundamental theoretical and analytical themes of present day scholarship' (McEachern 2002: xi). The range of 'themes' includes topics such as nationalism and democracy, race, gender, violence and mobility in relation to identity and the politics of belonging.

The South African body politic itself is widely understood to be heterogeneous and segmented along cultural, racial, religious, linguistic and economic lines (Bornman 2010: 239). This is because not only was the stratification of civil society under apartheid lived out in spatial terms, but one could go so far as to suggest that South Africans were simultaneously living in separate 'times' (Pechey 1994: 155). In fact, several commentators have noted that often the terminology of 'posts' (for instance post-colonial, post-apartheid, post-modern etc.) implies clear temporal and paradigmatic distinctions which are difficult to define in the first place, not least when applied to the case of South Africa and its complex amalgamation of legacies, challenges and prospects (see Pechey 1994; Nuttall & Michael 2000, cf. McClintock 1992). In order to signal the strange continuity of experience in some areas of daily life then, Loren Kruger (2002) tellingly describes the 1990s as the 'post-anti-apartheid' period.

At the same time I note that South Africa's 'distinctiveness', while important for itself and to the world, tends to replicate an 'island mentality'. The preceding years of political isolation, cultural boycotts and global sanctions have led to a tendency towards introspection, which threatens to become self-aggrandising and to flatten those same complexities such exceptionalist approaches seek to reflect upon (Nuttall & Michael: 2000). To a large extent then, the contemporary nation remains difficult to 'locate' in South Africa.

Given the number of perspectives on the idea of South Africa, at this point it is useful to turn to Sarah Nuttall's (2009) formulation of complex social and cultural relations as

entanglements, as a useful approach to the study of South Africa as an idea. Nuttall describes six rubrics which make up the conceptual bases for her use of the term ‘entanglement’. These include, briefly; historical, temporal, racial and representational entanglement (related to literary scholarship, but which I can extend to all forms of representation), the entanglement of ‘people and things’ (which can be linked to non-representational theory), and finally entanglement as suggested within the scientific discourses of DNA research (2009: 1-12). Her notion of entanglement is therefore linked to an array of disciplines including sociology, anthropology and literary studies, each of which has developed its own way of describing or expressing certain qualities in space and time as processes, relationships and states of being. Speaking of entanglements implies a *relational* approach to landscape, whether the landscape in question is a particular, focused area of study, or a part of a more general theory of knowledge and experience. Specifically in terms of identity politics in South Africa, I can talk then of ‘layers and webs of competing and often conflicting allegiance and identification’ (Brown 2006: 99).

In addition to this, Svetlana Boym’s term ‘off-modern’ suggests a helpful way of re-thinking some of the problems of describing the South African landscape. Boym proposes ‘off’ as an alternative to other ‘fast-changing prefixes – “post,” “anti,” “neo,” “trans,” and “sub” that suggest an implacable movement forward, against or beyond, and try desperately to be “in”’ (2010: 1). It would be deeply problematic of course, not to mention an over-simplification of what Boym is theorising through her own creative project, to suggest contemporary South Africa as ‘off-apartheid’ or ‘off-colonial’. But the appeal of the prefix ‘off’ lies in its invocation of lateral explorations, detours and diversions in a quest to recuperate (in modified form) the lost ‘potentials’ of a past age. In Boym’s work the ‘off’ suggests how the past (in the form of unfinished ideas revisited through creative practice) can exist in parallel with the contemporary moment of ‘clashing modernities, industrial and digital’ (ibid: 7). ‘Off-modern’ art displaces linearity and opts instead for

errors, experiments, and accidents as starting points for generating and theorizing new aesthetic practices.

Arguably, in South Africa there have been many attempts (certainly at the level of nation-building, ethnic nationalisms and popular culture) to recuperate some of the ‘lost’ aspirations of the various modernist projects. Because the ‘end’ of apartheid, although long anticipated, was felt to have occurred somewhat abruptly, it plunged the nation into an indefinite interregnum and opened up multiple zones of indeterminacy. To engage critically with these zones of ambiguity requires, I suggest, ‘off-setting’ the existing categories of definition which might oversimplify and conversely exaggerate the peculiarity of contemporary South Africa. The prefix ‘off’ actively engages with what Dipesh Chakrabarty calls the ‘temporal heterogeneity’ of the present, without reducing the ‘now’ to a ‘modern sense of anachronism’ (2000: 243). So while Boym’s term ‘off-modern’ is perhaps not *directly* applicable to all of the practices discussed in this thesis, it gestures at another possible vantage point from which to regard the South African landscape in and as performance.

There are several parallels I want to draw between what I have outlined above – the peculiarities of South Africa’s ‘location’ – and the developing argument in ‘Preparing Ourselves for Freedom,’ a paper delivered by the political activist Albie Sachs at an ANC party seminar in Lusaka in 1989, and later published in *The Drama Review* in 1991.¹⁰ Sachs began his infamous speech as follows:

We all know where South Africa is, but we do not yet know what it is. Ours is the privileged generation that will make that discovery, if the apertures in our eyes are wide enough. The problem is whether we have sufficient cultural imagination to grasp the rich texture of the free and united South Africa that we have done so much to bring about; can we say that we have begun to grasp the full dimensions of the new country that is struggling to give birth to itself, or are we still trapped in the

¹⁰ Justice Albie Sachs is a long serving member of the ANC and was a member of the party’s Constitutional Committee. He spent several years in exile in the 1970s and 1980s, and has travelled extensively speaking on behalf of various causes. Sachs was one of 11 judges serving the Constitutional Court of South Africa and involved in drafting the new 1996 constitution. This paper spoke specifically to the issue of what would become the new Constitutional Guidelines for arts and culture.

multiple ghettos of the apartheid imagination? Are we ready for freedom, or do we prefer to be angry victims? (Sachs 1991: 187).

If these remarks seem to suggest several possible courses of inquiry, for my own work the tension articulated in Sachs' very first sentence – between the 'where' and the 'what' of contemporary South Africa – has prompted me to think about the politics of identity, belonging and performance using the idea of *invisible maps*. Therefore, following from Ashraf Jamal's (2005) close, interpretive reading of 'Preparing Ourselves for Freedom', I want to briefly revisit the epistemological argument that develops in Sachs' paper as a key to bringing together a number of the ideas explored in my thesis.

RE-TRACING INVISIBLE MAPS

What Sachs articulated in his speech has provided a context for many studies and discussions on the vexed question of identity in the 'new' South Africa – a question of what South Africa *is*, and what it means to be a South African.¹¹ Following his powerful introduction (strengthened by his use of visual and geographic metaphor), the next movement in Sachs' paper sets the scene for rethinking the relationships (or gaps) between realms of knowledge, experience, and action. Proposing a temporary ban on the use of culture as 'a weapon of struggle' (he suggested about five years) Sachs thought it necessary at that particular time to consciously disengage arts and culture from the established political resistance movement. This was in order to allow for creative practices to serve their critical purpose in imagining the 'new' South Africa (1991: 187).

Similar arguments were made by Njabulo Ndebele, who saw a need to develop entirely new epistemological structures to 'free the entire social imagination of the oppressed from the laws of perception that have characterized apartheid society' (1994: 67). Both Sachs and Ndebele saw the importance of cultural forms – whether artistic production or social practices – in developing a new vision for South African society, by

¹¹ For a volume of essays dealing specifically with this paper see Sachs, De Kok, & Press (1990). Also see Marcia Blumberg (2009); Shirli Gilbert (2007); Anton Krueger (2010) who discuss Sachs' paper in relation to South African performance.

which the nation may finally be able to identify itself and to articulate what South Africa *is* and what it *means*. Both were also concerned with how art and artists could continue to speak to their audiences during periods of change and, crucially, evolve with them.¹²

With regard to culture, during the anti-apartheid struggle the idea of art as a weapon of social change had become quite commonplace and the arts were used by activists and organisations to communicate with audiences both at home and abroad. For example the Black Consciousness Movement emphasised the importance of affirming black identity through cultural practices; township and worker's theatres were particularly vibrant in local communities; many exiled artists and musicians publicised the anti-apartheid struggle through their work, and a number of South African Theatre productions toured the UK and Europe raising awareness of the situation of blacks under apartheid (for example Fugard's plays). As the non-violent struggle became increasingly militarised, performance practices were also a particularly important part of life in the ANC's MK (*Umkhonto we Sizwe*) training camps in countries such as Mozambique, Zambia and Angola. In fact, Shirli Gilbert makes a note of the importance of the word 'culture' within the ANC's vocabulary, where it refers to a range of creative and intellectual skills and practices, with outputs ranging from music and literature to dance, theatre and popular crafts. Furthermore Gilbert also points out the influence of Soviet socialist ideas on the ANC's conception of culture (2007: 421).

Significantly, Sachs' remarks came during what was the second State of Emergency in South Africa (1986-1990). This was a volatile period in South Africa's history, as the late 1980s were generally characterised by increasing levels of state and non-state violence as the anti-apartheid struggle intensified. Not only has this second State of Emergency

¹² Also see Nadine Gordimer's collection *The Essential Gesture* (1988), particularly the essay entitled 'Living in the Interregnum'. Graham Pechey, in the introduction to Ndebele's 1994 publication, seems to take the view that although Ndebele has developed his ideas in the mid-1980s, Sachs' paper has been more widely discussed because of his affiliation with the ANC. This suggests tensions about the ANC's dominance of political and intellectual space which I will not go into here. For me, Sachs' observations, addressed directly to the ANC on the eve of political transition, can now be usefully read against the party's actual arts and culture policies in the last 17 years, and in specific relation to the examples of performance I will be discussing.

subsequently been described as a turning point in the narrative of South Africa's journey towards democracy,¹³ it can be understood in terms of some of Agamben's (2005) observations about the State of Exception and what it reveals about the law and the state in general.¹⁴ That is, the idea that extreme state violence is no longer exceptional or limited to moments of crisis, but is underwritten in the entire institution of nationhood. So Sachs' paper not only framed a major paradigmatic shift in South African politics, he also foresaw the need for a similar shift to occur in South African culture and criticism. He was anticipating the need for a re-evaluation of the role which culture would play in society from that point (1989) onwards.

Reformulating the argument in my own terms, if 'grasping' what the new South Africa is means inhabiting a novel space, and if it is a project of beckoning-into-being an imagined place, then this project cannot fully be realised on the basis of existing 'maps'. It requires new and alternative forms to disrupt and potentially subvert the repetitive articulation of exclusive terms of belonging. So J. M. Coetzee for example notes how there is a need to 'dismantle' the *threefold* structures of apartheid 'mapping,' which he identifies as 'apartheid legislation, which can indeed be dismantled, apartheid practices, which cannot be dismantled but can be combated, and apartheid thinking, which is likely to resist coercion, as thinking generally does' (1991: 1). This is comparable to what Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o calls 'decolonizing the mind' (1986). Furthermore, in this thesis I mean to draw attention to the action that is suggested and then rehearsed, if never actually completed in Sachs' paper: in his very first sentence the repeated verb 'to know' suggests a desire for narrative completion and belonging, an aspiration which, though frustrated, remains compelling nevertheless.

¹³ Refer back to my earlier discussion 'At this point.' Also see Davenport and Saunders (2000) for historical background. Notably in 1989 F.W. De Klerk took office as Prime Minister and a there began a number of significant shifts in the state's response to the anti-apartheid movement.

¹⁴ See my later discussion on violence in Corporeal Networks.

In the hope of envisioning a new ‘cultural imagination’ that could express the ‘emergent personality’ of the people of South Africa, Sachs called for an emancipatory cultural project which was not purely instrumental but might be formulated in such a way that it ‘bypasses, overwhelms, ignores apartheid, establishes its own space’ (1991: 188).¹⁵ For this project to begin, culture would need to be understood as much more than a mere tool for achieving freedom, it would become the very means by which freedom could be defined, expressed and experienced, meaning that ‘the method is the message’ (1991: 190). So, while Sachs temporarily separated culture from politics in order to understand what freedom might mean, he simultaneously argued that they could not in fact be separated.¹⁶

At the crux of Sachs’ discussion, which stages the rhetorical problem of ‘approaching’ South Africa, are several ‘predicaments of culture’ (Jamal 2005), and a set of tensions between its forms, functions and effects, where ‘culture’ describes a continuum of creative social practices including but not limited to formalised aesthetic genres. It is through a discussion of ‘culture’ that Sachs began to think through what it meant, or what it would mean, to be South African and to achieve freedom not only from political oppression, but freedom also from the apartheid imagination.

As I understand it, perhaps the most important move in Sachs’ paper is the way in which he performs his argument and so reaches an ‘epistemological threshold’ (Jamal 2005). While posing the as-yet unanswered question of ‘what it is’, Sachs attempted to conceptualize the state of *emergence* at a critical point in South Africa’s history. So the

¹⁵ To illustrate what he means he uses the example of jazz music, citing Hugh Masekela, Miriam Makeba, Abdullah Ibrahim and Jonas Gwangwa as artists whose creativity speaks to the lived reality of South Africans who ‘respond to it because it tells us something lovely and vivacious about ourselves, not because the lyrics are about how to win a strike or blow up a petrol dump’ (Sachs 1991: 188). Similarly Ndebele (1994) called for a ‘rediscovery of the ordinary’ in black South African literature, which he argued had long been preoccupied with the spectacular nature of oppression and injustice.

¹⁶ In much of his discussion Sachs used anecdotal evidence to demonstrate that people do not merely consume culture, they are the producers and they become its products as well. As such, the ‘free and united South Africa’ could be thought of as a kind of assemblage of cultural forms produced by the people. Here culture is being thought of not only as a ‘weapon’ and an expression of ethnic or individual identity, but as a form of praxis by which the theoretical position of ‘freedom’ becomes a practicable mode of existence and habitation emphasising ‘humanity in all its forms’.

‘where’ and the ‘what’ in Sachs’ opening lines not only signalled the potential limits of a cartographic imagination – because, as I have already seen, maps cannot in themselves communicate the substance of place – but also articulated how the challenge of ‘discovery’ itself presents a conflict between cartographic and locative practices in cultural production.

In his speech then, Sachs was searching for what Jamal calls a ‘post-dialectic moment’ of radical openness to possibility, where ‘fatality and freedom are not mutually exclusive and Janus-faced but interpenetrative’ (2005: 16).¹⁷ Sachs could not fully describe when or how it might come about because such a moment cannot be sustained. His proposed ban was largely a rhetorical move that suggested the possibility of something that could only be approached fleetingly and in the imagination. This meant that the actual project of crafting a new cultural imagination could not be formalised, because to formalise it would be already to bring it into the existing order of knowledge and back into the ‘ghettos’ which it hoped to escape. But if Sachs failed in his ‘off-modern’ postulation of a redemptive cultural project, what is important for Jamal, and for my argument here, is that such a moment might be thought possible in the first place, and that it might be announced in and through culture. Shane Graham writes that in the wake of apartheid and of the TRC, South African culture

...exhibits a collective sense of loss, mourning, and elegy, as well as a sense of disorientation amid rapid changes in the physical and social landscape. These changes necessitate new forms of literal and figurative ‘mapping’ of space, place, and memory (2009: 1-2).

¹⁷ A further point of discussion might be to compare this ‘post-dialectical moment’ of Jamal’s to Walter Benjamin’s notion of the dialectical image, which ‘in the now of its recognizability – bears to the highest degree the imprint of the perilous critical moment on which all reading is founded’ (1999: 463). Both writers are concerned with imagining the present moment as something fleeting and contingent. I will revisit Benjamin’s ideas in my two chapters on temporality.

What Graham speaks of here is a need to re-establish and repair the connections between bodies and places, connections which were damaged by the violence of apartheid (ibid. 2).¹⁸

Both the colonial and apartheid projects were concerned with, amongst other things, the ‘territorialization of power’ (Barnard 2007: 5) through the often violent acquisition of land, and the systematic restriction of mobility of those who were deemed to be lesser subjects. This has meant that in South Africa ‘the past, more than anything, is about land’ (Dangor 1996: 14), especially as the spectre of violence still haunts the country’s physical and imaginary spaces, and also affects how spaces are organized and inhabited. J.M. Coetzee (1988), Barnard (2007), Beningfield (2006) and Brown (2006) have variously examined the ways in which literary, visual, and oral representations in South Africa reveal the workings of a particular worldview and its approach to the land. Their studies show how South Africa’s many spaces – from townships and shantytowns to middle-class suburbs, rural settlements and bustling cities – not only bear traces of the past but also reveal the shifting attitudes and attachments to the land. Such work has also shown how the processes of representation have in turn changed the ways in which people experience and remember places. While the formal ‘policies of spatial regimentation’ have ceased to be practiced, their effect on the distribution of land, wealth and power continues (Graham 2009: 2).

This brings me to the key term used in my study – ‘landscape’. The word ‘landscape,’ which has its origins in the Germanic languages, suggests a link between ‘place and people, land and living’ (Chaudhuri 2002: 13), and has to do with the way in which both individuals and social groups relate to their immediate physical environments. To talk about landscapes is to engage with the notion of topophilia – ‘the affective bond between people and place or setting’ (Tuan 1974: 4). But why speak of *landscapes*, and not

¹⁸ Graham argues that ‘by staging a public drama about private traumas, and by inventing new rituals and modes of representation, the Truth Commission began a long and sometimes painful process of renegotiating South Africans’ relationship to their social and physical spaces’ (2009: 2).

of land or of space/place? In order to clarify what I mean by ‘landscape’ (and how it differs from ‘space’, ‘place’ and ‘land’), I begin by looking at its usage in a variety of contexts.

OF LANDSCAPES ‘IN AND AS’

Somewhat popularized in the human and social sciences, the term ‘landscape’ remains peculiarly vague even as it ‘suggests a systematicity and a coherence that often prove elusive in applications’ (Chaudhuri 2002: 12; cf. Thomas 1993: 20). The earliest uses of the word are to be found in Dutch and German manuscripts, which also reveal an underlying tension between notions of landscape as material object and landscape as mental perception, and such a tension continues to underlie contemporary discussions of landscape (B. Tress & G. Tress 2001: 145).¹⁹ So, in addition to examining landscape in linguistic terms, scholars have also been concerned with the history of landscape in visual art, where the genre of landscape painting was a means by which ‘the human spirit attempted once more to create a harmony with its environment’ (Clark 1976: 1; cf. Gombrich 1966). To begin with, the ‘environment’ which formed the artist’s subject was exclusively that of the natural world – it was a world composed purely of plant and animal life, without any human interference. Artists initially attempted to suggest harmony with this world through verisimilitude, which was made more possible by the development of perspective.

As a visual technique of landscape painting, perspective relied on a startling contradiction – in order for the viewer to engage with the natural, physical environment, the artist had to render it still, already altering its very form, before ‘harmony’ could be achieved. This meant that whilst the ideal of verisimilitude was to some extent attained, the actual ‘world’ depicted was also perceived as a passive object lacking in agency. Furthermore the viewer, to whom the opportunity to be in harmony with this world was

¹⁹ The very same tension arises in discussions about identity, where a persistent and problematic division between the material and the discursive also occurs and is symptomatic of the prevalence of a fundamentally dichotomous mode of conceptualising the world.

being extended, remained firmly alienated from the image, and ultimately powerless to alter the world in any way (Chaudhuri 2002: 19; cf. Thomas 1993: 22).

The development of perspective as a technique of painting was also linked to the gradual change from agrarian to industrial societies in 15th century Europe and with the advent of a new ‘politics of vision’ (Cosgrove 1984).²⁰ Broadly speaking, the same industrial age also catalysed a number of historical shifts which altered the form and function of landscape painting. Evidence of these ‘shifts’ can be observed in the changing subject of landscape painting – artists went from depicting the untouched natural environment, to gradually adding human figures to their compositions, and even later including some man-made structures, whilst excluding other industrial features from view:

[I]n the critical eye, landscape painting went from an inspired and inspiring documentation of the wonders of the natural world, to “a way of seeing,” an ideologically and psychologically revealing statement about our relation to the world around us, to a way of not seeing, of masking and occluding the unsavoury truths about our relations to each other and to the land we supposedly share (Chaudhuri 2002: 11).

Bowers explains that after the innovation of perspective in painting, the advent of the panorama further altered the ways in which people could view landscape paintings. Panorama allowed freedom of movement for the perceiver who was no longer forced to adhere to ‘the single-eyed, fixed gaze,’ but could view the artwork from any of a multitude of perspectives. The viewer’s entire body could thus be projected into the landscape, enabling ‘a new way of looking at landscape and a new relationship of self to environment’. This freedom also meant that the viewer could be more aware of the processes of illusion involved in the experience, and this awareness then became part of the attraction (Bowers 2002: 128).

²⁰ Cosgrove (1984) describes how the land, once associated with heredity and tenure, became an object to be bought and sold, and the depiction of plant and animal life according to perspective techniques reinforced the view that human beings were somehow superior to other forms of terrestrial life.

The evolution of landscape painting shares something with the development of cartography.²¹ In both cases perspective – or point-of-view – alters the meaning of the landscape. Landscape became ‘a way of seeing — a way in which some Europeans have represented to themselves and to others the world about them and their relationships with it and through which they have commented on social relations’ (Cosgrove, 1984: 1).²² Also in both cases composition – the process by which we select and assemble various elements to form a coherent whole – is contingent upon the subjective interpretation of shared values, meaning that ‘landscape is the work of the mind...built up as much from strata of memory as from layers of rock’ (Schama 1995: 6-7).

So taking into account all of these similarities, what is it precisely about landscape that makes it useful here? The problematic complexity of using the term ‘landscape’, just as with the word ‘map’, is that its meanings range from a fixed notion of viewpoints and mimesis, to a much wider way of understanding how the world ‘works.’ For instance, W.J.T Mitchell thinks of landscape not as surface to be read but as ‘a process by which social and subjective identities are formed’ (1994: 1). For him, landscape is a ‘medium for expressing value...for communication between the Human and the non-Human’ (ibid. 15).

In each of these explorations, and regardless of whether they appear as visual or linguistic forms under discussion, ‘[L]andscapes are created by people – through their experience and engagement with the world around them. They may be close-grained, worked upon, lived-in places, or they may be distant and half fantasised’ (Bender 1993: 1). In the context of performance specifically, the term ‘landscape’ can serve as ‘a mediating

²¹ While I stress that there is a very crucial difference between the genre landscape painting and the kind of landscape that I am speaking of, I also note that perspective and composition are ideas which I will continue to refer to throughout my discussion, especially since both ideas can be used to discuss how performance practices function.

²² Mitchell (1994) questions the assumption that the landscape idea comes from a peculiarly Western approach to painting arising out of modernity. He argues that it is this assumption that often leads to a very simplistic reading of landscape as the unmediated representation of Beauty, the Sublime and the Romantic. For him, landscape is not a ‘pure’ form but the “‘dreamwork” of imperialism’ (1994: 10) which was able to naturalize the alienated relationship between humans and the environment, and to obfuscate the workings of power within social relations. There is also some resonance between Harley’s idea about maps as languages, and Mitchell’s attempt to rethink landscape not as a noun but as a verb.

term between space and place' (Chaudhuri & Fuchs 2002: 3), where space is abstract and imaginary, and place is endowed with meaning and identity (Augé, 1995: 82; cf. Tuan, 1977: 6).²³

Perhaps the most useful concept of landscape for my work is developed in the work of Tim Ingold, who writes that 'landscape' is not land, or space, or even nature, but 'a plenum,' and its forms 'are generated and sustained in and through the processual unfolding of a *total field of relations* [emphasis mine]' (2000: 191, 193). This implies that '[A]s the familiar domain of our dwelling, it [landscape] is *with* us, not *against* us, but it is no less real for that. And through living in it, the landscape becomes a part of us, just as we are a part of it' (ibid. 191). Ingold's notion of landscape therefore goes beyond the distinction between human beings and nature, between mind and body, between space and time (or space and place) which other definitions may suggest. Furthermore, he argues that

[T]o perceive the landscape is...to carry out an act of remembrance... and remembering is not so much a matter of calling up an internal image, stored in the mind, as of engaging perceptually with an environment that is itself pregnant with the past (ibid. 189-90).

To substantiate his case, Ingold argues that it is through the process of 'dwelling' rather than 'building' that we make and remember meaning (ibid. 186), and in this way he shows that meaning is always-already a result of the combined effects of our past experiences and our present reality coexisting within a spatio-temporal matrix.²⁴ Therefore '[M]eaning is there to be *discovered* in the landscape, if only we know how to attend to it. Every feature, then, is a potential clue, a key to meaning rather than a vehicle for carrying it' (ibid. 208).

²³ Space 'becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value...the ideas of "space" and "place" require each other for definition. From the security and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom, and threat of space, and vice versa' (Tuan 1977: 6). Places, then, are linked to an individual's sense of identity because they are seen to house memory and history. In the most literal sense, places are where we store the mementos of our past, be they photographs, personal possessions, artefacts or other objects we may acquire in the course of our lives.

²⁴ Ingold draws upon the philosophy of Martin Heidegger (1971) here, for whom the notion of 'building' describes a separation between the perceiver and the perceived, where 'worlds are made before they are lived in' (Ingold 2000: 154). On the other hand, the notion of 'dwelling' accounts for the fact that 'the forms people build, whether in the imagination or on the ground, only arise within the current of their life activities' (ibid. 178-9). One can compare this distinction to that between the practices of cartography and orientation, which are differentiated as a matter of distance/proximity.

This notion of landscape also offers a particularly useful way of talking about the past, because the landscape is ‘constituted as an enduring record of – and testimony to – the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it, and in so doing have left there something of themselves’ (ibid. 189). Ingold therefore develops an idea of what he calls the *taskscape*: an ‘array of related activities’ which is ‘qualitative and heterogeneous’ (ibid. 195). If the *landscape* is intrinsically social in its construction, insofar as it is created in the process of human beings engaging with one another and with their environment, the *taskscape* is also social, since it is the collection of interrelated activities by which people are said to be engaging with the world.

To elaborate on this idea of taskscapes, Ingold examines the differences and similarities between the art forms of music and painting in order to illustrate how taskscapes and landscapes can be distinguished from one another. In his explanation, the conventional distinction between painting and music is false – he argues against the idea that a painting is a complete object while a piece of music must be performed in order to become complete. Both are considered performances since they must both come into being through a number of processes which leave traces on the art ‘form’ itself. Differentiation between music and painting then ‘becomes a matter of degree, in the extent to which forms endure beyond the immediate contexts of their production’ (ibid. 198).

Similarly, both landscapes and taskscapes are created in/through the processes and activities of human dwelling, but where more ‘traces’ of such activity appear to become materialised in the landscape, the nature of the taskscape is such that it can only be perceived as we engage with the world around us. For this reason he concludes that ‘*landscape as a whole must likewise be understood as the taskscape in its embodied form... that landscape is the congealed form of taskscape*’ (ibid. 198-9). In the taskscape, then, the present ‘is not *marked off* from a past that it has replaced or a future that will, in

turn, replace it' (2000: 196). The notion of a taskscape implies that temporal experience is heterogeneous.²⁵

Thinking of the landscape as not only a plenum, but as the 'congealed form of taskscape,' I can move beyond the tendency to treat performance as a 'localised, static object, whose defining features are identified, isolated and immobilised for the duration of the enquiry' (Rae & Welton 2007: 3), and thus appreciate the constant movement which is 'an essential characteristic of the way an individual mind perceives and so constructs an environment, whether "natural" or "cultural"' (Rapport & Dawson 1998: 20). This means that I am concerned with both the *content* and the *context* of performance in South Africa, and with both the aesthetic *form* of performance and its social *function*.

When I talk of the *landscape in* performance then, I am often referring to the dramaturgy of performance: how space-time is structured by the artist both literally and symbolically to create meaning, how space-time is perceived by the spectator, and how a performance commentates on its socio-geographic context in South Africa. On the other hand when I talk of the *landscape as* performance, I am signalling the constructed-ness of South Africa *as an idea*: how identity and belonging are defined by power (i.e. the state/political establishment), how identity and belonging are perceived by citizens, and how identities are lived, performed, and potentially challenged.

Having said this, there is obviously a great deal of over-lap, since '[T]he geography of performance is both produced by and produces the cultural landscape and the social organization of the space in which it "takes place", and to shift physical and/or social space is to shift meaning' (Knowles 2004: 63).²⁶ Just as one cannot stand apart from reality to

²⁵ Ingold explains that just as there are many rhythmic cycles in music, so too 'the temporality of the taskscape, while it is intrinsic rather than externally imposed (metronomic), lies not in any particular rhythm, but in the network of interrelationships between the multiple rhythms of which the taskscape is itself constituted' (2000: 197).

²⁶ For Knowles (2004), factors such as the dynamics of the rehearsal space (which can affect many of the aesthetic choices made), and the architecture of the performance venue (particularly in traditional theatre venues where behavioural conventions influence the way audiences and performers interact) merit consideration. He also emphasizes that specifics such as seating arrangement, reception spaces, the

observe it (as one would a painting), for Ingold one is never outside of the landscape. It can only be perceived within the current of being-in-the-world, and through one's interactions with the people and places that form a part of this landscape (Ingold 2000: 196). Similarly, in speaking of landscapes *in and as performance*, I cannot entirely separate performances from their contexts, artists from their audiences, and states from their citizens.

So given an awareness of the various scholarly perspectives on the subject, I invoke my positionality – as researcher, spectator, and individual subject – in signalling landscape as site and process. The term 'landscape' enables me to account for the conceptual paradigms and modalities of phenomenal experience which manifest in performance practices and which, as I have already suggested, can be thought of as invisible maps. Hence I also cite Tim Ingold's term 'way-finding' to articulate in even clearer terms not only what I mean by 'landscape in and as' performance, but why and how my positionality matters 'here.'

PERFORMANCE

If a map is a tool which I could use to locate myself in the world, it orients me by marking my presence at a point in space-time, from which I could infer my current relation to the features, landmarks, and routes of travel which exist beyond my immediate grasp. Already my being 'here' is also a form of belonging – that is, having affinities, being 'in' and 'in relation to' (cf. *OED* definition of 'belonging'). But while I am 'here' and embodied herein, I am simultaneously imagining a 'there' and placing myself therein. Almost immediately in the act of looking at a map, there is a process of elaboration and of drawing connections within the terrain that *is* (here) but *is not yet* (there). So 'here' is a point of arrival and departure, a point at the intersection of writing and reading which perpetually announces my presence. 'Here' is the action of discourse taking place in a

geographical and historical background of the venue and its surroundings, may affect both the process and the outcome of a creative project. Because I am dealing with a range of performances in non-theatre venues, I am more concerned with how performances alter the 'real' space-time of site and generate alternative or parallel dimensions of experience for spectators.

discursive practice which sites and then re-sites my presence while summoning me (cf. Butler 1993; 1999). This 'here' is at once a text, an image, and a performance, where performance serves as an inclusive term for an event which, taking up the subjunctive mood effectively orders, extrapolates, translates and potentially transforms the world (cf. Schechner 2003). It is that which both articulates and resolves a crisis in the moment of being (summoned), and in so doing it potentially generates a new form of being and engenders a new zone of enunciation.

What I have in mind now is expressed, perhaps, in the gesture of my hand as my body reaches from one 'here' to another, from the actual place towards the imaginary space. So as I stand regarding what appeared at first to be a combination of dots, arrows and lines, I could say that the map was yet to be, and even then it only *could* be – its 'usefulness' was all potential. The map comes to have meaning only for the duration of my engagement with it. It emerges processually, between being and belonging, so that I come at last to the third sense of maps and mapping in this thesis, where

...maps are never fully formed and their work is never complete. Maps are of-the-moment, beckoned into being through practices; they are always mapping. From this perspective maps are fleeting, contingent, relational and context-dependent, emerging through *transductive* processes to solve relational problems [emphasis mine] (Kitchin & Dodge 2007: 13).

If I can think of a map, and of this thesis, as a 'a partial and relative resolution that occurs in a system that contains potentials and encloses a certain incompatibility in relation to itself' (Simondon 2009: 5), I begin to imagine a map not as an individual object, but as another way of approaching the problem of identity not in terms of being but in terms of becoming. Identity is therefore not a static image of being, but 'a process of identifying with and through another object, an object of otherness, at which point the agency of identification – the subject – is itself always ambivalent, because of the intervention of that otherness' (Bhabha 1990: 211).

At this point I now also have the simplest definition of a map as ‘any scheme that spells out one-to-one correspondences between two different things’ (Blakeslee & Blakeslee 2008: 7). This suggests that maps are not always to be apprehended consciously, and that they can be felt and experienced in ways other than the visual. Maps can be *invisible*, since the scheme does not exist without the interaction of both its terms, and the map arises only as that which occurs *between*, or rather *during*, this movement of correspondence. ‘Here’, finally, is the method, the medium and the movement of exchange through which a particular geography of identification emerges, and through which one thing *becomes* another. ‘Here,’ operating in a zone between the real and the imaginary, is a product of the imagination. ‘Here’ both *is and is not* real: ‘here’ is a landscape *in and as* performance.

‘Invisible maps’ are not purely mimetic representations of the world, neither are they merely a record of existing social values. They can instead be thought of as transductions, where transduction refers to ‘a functioning of the mind that discovers. This functioning consists of *following being in its genesis*, in carrying out the genesis of thought at the same time as the genesis of the object’ (Simondon 2009: 11).²⁷ In the map emerging here, you are invited to attend not only to what will be said, implied and suggested, but also to what will inevitably remain beyond the scope of my study. I have of necessity confronted certain limits within the terrain itself, placing constraints on my own cartographic project and on the kind of ‘knowledge’ it hopes to produce. So this map gestures towards that which has not been fixed in, or cannot be approached by its own epistemological frames. Contained in it are the partial traces and fragments of places, outlines and sketches of performances, half-imagined and re-membered details of experience which have catalysed an analytical process. In this case, we are dealing with the in-complete rather than with whole objects of

²⁷ For Gilbert Simondon, the image which best describes the operation of transduction is that of ‘[A] crystal that, from a very small seed, grows and expands in all directions in its supersaturated mother liquid ...each already constituted molecular layer serves as an organizing basis for the layer currently being formed. The result is an amplifying reticular structure’ (2009: 11).

inquiry. The breaks in uniformity which occur in my own writing will, I hope, serve to highlight the complexity of the *idea* of South Africa.

‘I WAS THERE’

As someone who has experienced first-hand the implications of flexible mobility, the idea of movement has become integral to my understanding of identity politics and the question of belonging. While it is nothing new to say that migration often catalyses the renegotiation of relationships between people and places, this idea is worth mentioning again since it has some implications for the aspirations of my research project. Whether we are speaking in terms of collective cultural or social identities, and whether the context is everyday life or in aesthetic practice, any movement from one point to another is a shifting of perception.

The effects of migration can be felt at a personal level, where the experience involves lateral interpretations of the word ‘home’. At a critical level, it signals a host of ‘oscillatory and inconclusive processes’ (Frank 2008: 8) whereby some possible meanings of belonging can be repeatedly challenged, and some of the ambiguity and porosity of identity demonstrated. My own subjective position has meant approaching contemporary South Africa from a number of shifting vantage points as I have both literally and figuratively needed to cross borders. The particular position I inhabit in this thesis emphasizes the view that South Africa is a phenomenon ‘born out of processes of mobility, the boundaries of which have constantly been reinvented over time, through war, dislocation and dispossession’ (Nuttall 2009: 24). Furthermore, I am approaching my subject from a ‘rift,’ both in terms of theoretical discourses and in terms of the complexities of my own ‘*relationship of filiation*’ to/with South Africa (Mbembe 1992: 135).²⁸

²⁸ The idea of a ‘rift’ is used by Mbembe to describe an ambivalent relationship to the African continent which he writes about but no longer physically ‘inhabits’. It is also related to the politics of essentialism and the complexities of applying certain ‘Western’ theories and discourses to the postcolonial African context. Mbembe is responding specifically to criticism of his own work, and some of the points he makes resonate

With this in mind, let me now situate myself in the research. I am a young black Zimbabwean woman of Venda and Shona parentage. Before coming to the United Kingdom in 2010, I had lived in South Africa as a temporary resident for nearly ten years, and was based mainly in Grahamstown. During this time I travelled back and forth between South Africa and Zimbabwe repeatedly, and had cause and opportunity to reflect on what it means to be a South African, and furthermore whether I might describe myself as one. To a certain extent then, this research is an attempt to grapple with this insider-outsider dialectic, and in my previous work I have written auto-ethnographically about ‘negotiating migrant identities’ (A.L. Moyo 2008). My MA thesis not only critically analysed the issues of identity politics, it also reflexively foregrounded my position as both an emerging scholar and a theatre-maker (A.L. Moyo 2009).²⁹ During a subsequent year-long fellowship in Cape Town in 2009, I focused my research specifically on the person-place relationship, and it was at this point I began to deploy the interdisciplinary concept of ‘landscape’ which now informs my work.³⁰

Since arriving in the United Kingdom in 2010, I have followed events in South Africa primarily through online newspapers and magazines (*Mail & Guardian*, *Grocott’s Mail*, *Mahala*) and occasional news reports on BBC Radio 4, in an attempt to stay abreast with the state of things. Such perspectives have also influenced my research, since I have become even more aware of the effect of mediation on my own and others’ perceptions of

strongly with my own preoccupations about questions of positionality, about essentialisms, and issues about the ‘authority’ with which I can write about South Africa.

²⁹ During my M.A. coursework I created a series of performances entitled *Compositions* (2007-2008) based on my personal experience of migration. I used forms of autobiography, initiation rite, and storytelling to explore the notion of identity as a continual process of self-composition. My M.A. dissertation was entitled *Between self and author: an autoethnographic approach towards the crafting of reflexive compositions in post graduate drama studies*. In it I argued for the value of reflexivity and situated knowledge in the processes of creating a performance and of performing research. Through an autoethnographic case study of the *Compositions* series, and using the interrelated tropes of body, space and journey, I demonstrated the usefulness of the concept of liminality for identity politics. I also foregrounded the process of negotiating a range of subject positions as individual, performer/creator and researcher, whilst finding connections between these various identities.

³⁰ My fellowship at the Gordon Institute for Performing and Creative Arts (GIPCA) at the University of Cape Town culminated in an unpublished seminar paper and a 45 minute performance work entitled *Searching for Kindling*. This specifically explored the concept of landscape in relation to ideas of topophilia, nostalgia, and the ‘permanent temporariness’ of migration (A.J. Bailey 2002).

what South Africa is and how it is performed. Both during and after the 2010 FWC, for example, I often thought about how much the attempt to define and project a stable national identity has been and will continue to be complicated by the very diversity South Africa hopes to celebrate. I was struck by stark differences in the host nation's attitude towards its visitors: in the run up to the tournament, the 'welcoming' of some foreigners – specifically whites, Westerners and other 'first world' citizens – sharply contrasted with the treatment of those poorer and darker-skinned visitors from neighbouring countries. Furthermore, the state's attitude towards its own poor also showed the degree to which a sense of 'belonging' in South Africa means different things to different people.³¹

Observing the 2010 FWC from a distance, what remained absent from my observations and from some of these debates was the charged atmosphere of celebration which gripped the nation. This was expressed in the much publicised marketing slogan 'Feel it – it's here!' which was popularly translated into 'Philip is here!' or 'Philip eats here!', which led to the running joke/question 'who is Philip?' It was, incidentally, only during the 2012 London Olympics when a similar, palpable atmosphere of national celebration took over the UK that I could begin to sense the intangible, energetic presence of an otherwise elusive 'Philip.'

I mention this anecdote because it exemplifies many aspects of my approach to landscape *in and as* performance in this thesis. The idea of South Africa is mediated in a number of ways through narratives, images and symbols, all of which reveal how the landscape is experienced and imagined both individually by people and collectively by the

³¹ For example, in Nelspruit in 2008, clashes between police and school pupils caused problems for the construction of the Mbombela stadium there. Protesting pupils burned down a prefabricated school building to express their anger at having been evicted from their existing school: the modest brick buildings had been handed over to house construction crews, forcing the pupils to attend lessons in some cramped, hot and uncomfortable prefabricated classrooms. Meanwhile in Cape Town, the physical location of the city's World Cup venue became a contentious and racially charged issue as it changed from Newlands Rugby Stadium to Athlone Stadium, and then finally to the new multi-billion rand Green Point Stadium (see Alegi, 2008; 2010). The spatial politics surrounding the World Cup did not resolve with the completion of Stadiums. Only a few months before the event actually began, South African newspapers reported on the involuntary relocation of homeless people from city streets to make-shift camps. When asked about the reasons for this, one Johannesburg city councillor remarked '[Y]ou have to clean your house before you have guests. There is nothing wrong with that' (Masigo quoted in Anderson 2010: 1). The implications of these specific cases will be addressed in later chapters when I discuss the 2010 FWC in greater detail.

nation. While I have had a background in performance practice, in this study I wish to speak predominantly from the perspective of a spectator and I use my own subjectivity to inform my analyses. I position myself not only as a participant-observer in the context of my examples, but also in relation to the idea of South Africa as a whole.

This is important because I believe it informs how my discussion of the performances is framed. Since I am using a relational concept of landscape which is informed by the idea of *situated* knowledge and/as the phenomenology of lived experience, I have also deliberately chosen to discuss performances which have been staged in Grahamstown and Cape Town. Because I have previously lived in both places, where I have not been able to watch a particular performance I have at least some personal understanding of its spatio-temporal context, and this informs my reading of the performance event. It is my hope that I can move beyond treating the performances only as texts, but rather manage to draw in the live-ness of performance by calling upon the live-ness of my own experience and perception. Having acknowledged the limitations of my own perspective, I also hope that my reflexivity in this discursive process will resonate with some of the questions about landscape and composition which I wish to tackle in my study of identity.

MIGRATING TOWARD THE SUBJECT

At the core of my thesis is a concern with belonging, and specifically with how the cultural landscapes of South Africa influence identity construction. Not only am I arguing that geography matters to identity, but I am particularly interested in the ways in which notions of belonging are constantly challenged, contested and re-iterated. Much has been written about the fluidity of identities in the age of ‘space-time compression’ (Harvey 1990), and so the aim of this research is not to describe one particular ‘South African identity’, but instead to unpack the various concerns and politics at work in the shaping of

identities in the country in and through performance. It is better, then, to speak of identities in the plural rather than the singular form, as I will.

Whether we are speaking of the social, personal, political or cultural, identity is now widely understood and theorised as a malleable, elusive phenomenon (du Gay, Evans & Redman 2000). The formation of identity relies upon difference – that is to say that identities, like cultures ‘are only constituted in relation to that otherness internal to their own symbol-forming activity which makes them decentred structures’ (Bhabha cited in Rutherford 1990: 210; cf. Connolly 2002: 64)³² – so it can be thought of as a scheme of correspondances, in that sense a map.

To elaborate upon this, and to help me account for the persistence of fixed and ‘authentic’ notions of identity, I turn to Stets and Burke (2000) who give an overview of some sociological perspectives. ‘Identity theory’ asserts that the process of identification requires an individual to acquire knowledge of certain cultural texts (names/terms/symbols), which are used to classify and create meaning and to denote the societal ‘roles’ that individuals may occupy. Taking up a ‘role’ occurs through a process of ‘self-verification’ which compels one to act or behave in certain ways in order to fulfil ‘role expectations,’ interact with ‘role partners’, and manipulate any available resources.

‘Social identity theory’ is concerned with social groupings and emphasizes the process of ‘self categorisation’ – that is, recognition of certain traits and characteristics within oneself that are similar to or shared with others. The presence or absence of certain traits gives one a sense of belonging to a ‘category/group’ through a ‘social comparison’ process whereby the individual is able to include or exclude others in what becomes the ‘in

³² Connolly writes that there is a tendency to naturalise identities so that they are often perceived to be part of the ‘true order of things,’ meaning that ‘the maintenance of one identity (or field of identities) involves the conversion of some differences into otherness, into evil, or one of its numerous surrogates. Identity requires differences in order to be, and it converts difference into otherness in order to secure its own self-certainty’ (2002: 64).

group’ and the ‘out group’. Both roles and traits therefore determine our actions and give us a sense of belonging to a particular community (Stets and Burke 2000: 25).³³

But the main point which concerns me is that reflexivity is important to both theories of identification: the individual must be able to perceive themselves as the ‘embodied standard’ or ‘prototypical object’ of a certain role or group, in order for verification or categorisation to take place. This is a process of ‘mapping’ in the sense of establishing ‘one-to-one correspondences between two different things’ (Blakeslee & Blakeslee 2008: 7). It therefore stands to reason that the emphasis of one kind of identity over another will have different effects upon social cohesion and nation-building, as I will discuss later.³⁴

So it is understood in this thesis that individuals have the ability to hold multiple social identities in tension and also to have an experience of self-hood that is for the most part consistent, so that we can talk of certain markers – race, gender, class, ethnicity, sexuality etc. – as being amongst the ‘layers’ of identity. There is a ‘dialectic of unity and diversity’ at play in the notion of identity (Craib 1998: 5), wherein the individual ‘subject’ is able to be at once an autonomous being and at the same time under the authority of the social and cultural structures within which they exist. That is, to be a subject in at least two senses (see Althusser 1971).³⁵

Furthermore, identity is understood in this thesis as a matter of practices and processes rather than purely theoretical concepts superimposed on the self and the world. It is real and embodied in lived experience as much as it is thought-through and imagined.

³³ In their article Stets and Burke are concerned with bridging the gap between both sociological theories of identity. Although I am less concerned with this, I note how there is a paradigmatic difference perhaps between interpretive humanist and constructionist approaches to identity (see du Gay, Evans & Redman 2000; cf.). These were also confronted in my MA thesis *Between Self and Author* (2009).

³⁴ See later discussions on nationalism and race in Frontier Nations section.

³⁵ Incidentally, the slogan ‘Unity in Diversity’ has been one of the ANC’s defining ideals and has profoundly shaped the nation-building process (see Hutchison 2013). So one might also apply Craib’s observations about this dialectic of identity to the idea of the South African nation in toto: rather than it being a schizoid entity, the nation can then be understood as an unfolding dialectical process in and of itself, as a vital performance, a transduction. For the ANC, talking of unity in diversity ‘recognises diversity of race and differences among the native peoples. It calls everyone to unity beyond the “demon of racialism, the aberrations... the animosity that exists”, to the recognition that “we are one people”. It is fundamentally this unity that enables us to overcome the “personal difference and selfishness”, the “divisions” and “jealousies”’ (ANC, Unity in Diversity, 2011). I will discuss the complexity of this idea in later chapters.

And, as Homi K. Bhabha comments, it is perhaps more interesting to speak not about what identity is, but rather about what identity is for and what it can *do* (1997: 434). Ultimately, it is with human agency that my study of identity politics in contemporary South Africa is intimately entangled.

FEELING AND FRAMING

A defining feature of South African performance had been the use of art as cultural weapon – whether it was the pageants of the 1900s which helped to forge a cultural identity for settlers in their new surroundings, the protest theatre of the 1970s which served as another platform for resistance against apartheid, or theatre after 1994 which explored the notion of witnessing as a means to promote social healing and cohesion. Even those previously undocumented performances, such as oral literature, ritual and dance, are understood to be rooted in particular social functions.³⁶

The TRC, with its emphasis on the notion of witnessing and testimony, and its agenda of reconciliation, had a profound effect on the performance of identity in South Africa both at the level of nation-building and in terms of cultural practices. And just as the social roles of individuals and of the state have been altered in South Africa's recent history, so too has the role of theatre and performance in contemporary South Africa. It may still be the case that performance is perceived and mobilised as a cultural weapon, but such an outlook is now more often coupled with rigorous questioning about the legitimacy and appropriateness of this role for art and artists, which is no longer taken for granted, so that '[T]here is an emphasis on reconciliation politically, but artists feel a need to go beyond this, unpack it...they are questioning the paradigm' (Sandile Ngidi quoted in Slachmuislder 1999: 18).³⁷

³⁶ For an overview of these theatres see Kruger (1999).

³⁷ Debate about the role of theatre in the new South Africa continues. Carol Steinberg and Malcom Purkey discuss what has been called the 'crisis' of South African theatre as artists struggled to find 'new forms and ideas to give expression to our times' (1995: 24). Mike Van Graan (2006) also comments on the state of

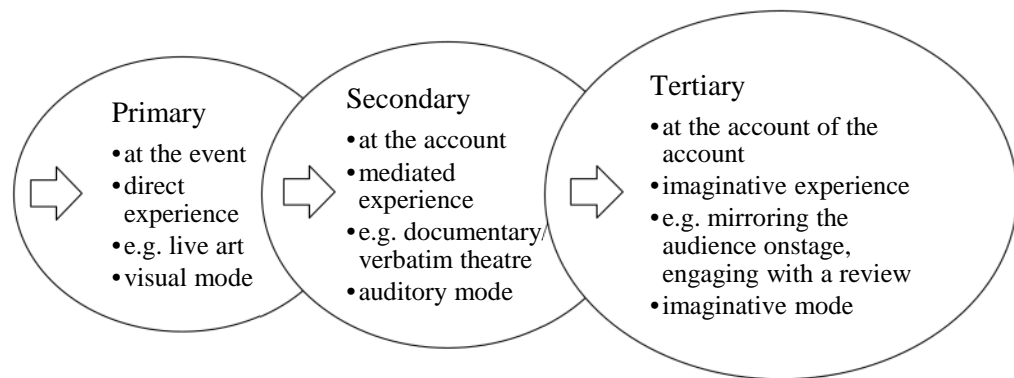
This questioning affects the way in which practitioners, performers and audiences approach the performance event. Marcia Blumberg speaks about a shift towards ‘theatricalising the unspeakable’ in contemporary South African theatres - meaning that there has not only been an emergence of previously marginalized voices, but artists have also begun to explore those more subjective experiences which would have been ‘unspeakable’ in the past as they were sublimated by political agendas (Blumberg 2009). Here, the ‘unspeakable’ is not only that which has previously been denied a place in the broader national narrative, but also that which challenges existing models of representation.³⁸

If the subject matter of performances had to evolve after the TRC, then so too did the demand being made on audiences. Miki Flockemann describes the staging of ‘complicity’ as yet another trend in contemporary South African theatres, and she also identifies three particular ways in which this is being done: “‘thick” (as in densely layered, complex, deep), “reflective” (as in reflecting upon as well as revealing), and “hard” (in the sense of direct, uncompromising, difficult to penetrate)’ (2011: 129). So for the majority of artists in post-apartheid context there was no need for a formal ban on the use of culture as a weapon of struggle, because the political transition had already catalysed the gradual re-orienting of ideology, identity, and the space-time of South African cultural practices. And these are some of the ways in which I can talk of ‘invisible maps’ within the context of South African performance – ie. the attempt to speak *of* and speak *to*, and also speak *through* the absences, gaps and cartographic silences left by what has not/cannot be articulated in representation. In order to help me think through this further, I refer to Caroline Wake’s (2009) discussion of some of the key intersections between the notions of ‘witnessing’ in trauma studies and ‘spectatorship’ in theatre/performance.

South African theatre after apartheid and the need for practitioners to embrace the themes of the new era whilst retaining the notion of theatre as a medium which speaks truth to those in power.

³⁸ According to Blumberg, these are subjects like gender, class as opposed to race, and personal narratives, and also issues like rape, torture and violence which are arguably difficult subjects to tackle through representational paradigms.

To begin, Wake highlights the lack of clarity in uses of the term ‘witness’ in theatre and performance studies, since it can be used to describe nearly everyone involved in the making and viewing of performance, ‘[H]ence currency has not necessarily created clarity... it has caused confusion more than anything else...compounded by the fact that as these witnesses multiply, the claims about them amplify’ (Wake 2009: 1-2). Using Bertolt Brecht’s ‘Street Scene’ (an accident on a street corner witnessed by several people) as an allegory and an anchor, she describes various categories of ‘witnessing’ in trauma studies and attempts a preliminary taxonomy of ‘spectatorial witness’ for theatre/performance.



2. Summary of Caroline Wake's (2009) taxonomy of 'Spectatorial Witness.'

The categories in Wake’s taxonomy are related to a perceived ‘distance’ between a witness/spectator and the actual accident/event, yet there is also room for overlap between the categories. Furthermore at each level of distance, there are also various activities or sensory modalities of experience which may take prominence in the act of witnessing. So while different kinds of witnesses may experience the same event, for each one it will be differentiated partially according to the particular set of sensory perceptions which take primacy in the reception of that experience. Crucially, her taxonomy attempts to destabilise the assumptions which underpin the terms ‘active spectatorship’ and ‘ethical spectatorship’ so often cited in writing about witnessing in theatre/performance. Every form of witnessing/spectatorship carries with it a number of questions and assumptions about the efficacy of testimony because each is ‘implicated in a slightly different set of ethics’: that

is, the ethics of ‘vision and visibility,’ of ‘listening and repetition’ and of ‘identification and imagination’ (Wake 2009: 14).

In her detailed discussion, Wake not only highlights the importance of understanding what is meant by witnessing/testimony, but she makes the case that in theatre/performance there can be no easy distinction between agency and passivity because theatre/performance incorporates multiple modes of activity and experience (seeing/visual, hearing/auditory, imagining/aesthetic). It is not only necessary to account for what exactly is at stake in these ‘different set[s] of ethics’, but the broader context of a performance and the expectations attached to it are important here as well, because this is in part what *allows* theatre/performance to perform certain social functions, and not others.

I want to consider Wake’s observations about the different levels/categories of ‘spectatorial witness[ing]’ in order to unpack how performances attempt to ‘map’ the cultural landscapes in which they are embedded, specifically through a play with distance and proximity (perspectives) and with the perception of ‘reality’ in performance. Richard Schechner formulates the particular role performance plays in framing everyday reality:

Because performances are usually subjunctive, liminal, dangerous, and duplicitous they are often hedged in with conventions and frame ways of making the places, the participants, and the events somewhat safe. In these relatively safe make-believe precincts, actions can be carried to extremes, even for fun’ (Schechner 2003: xiv).

This notion of sacred – i.e. ‘set apart’ – space-time continues to be one of the key frames for analysing and understanding the body of practices which fall under the broad heading of contemporary South African performances, for example in Anton Krueger’s *Experiments in Freedom* (2010). Furthermore Temple Hauptfleisch (2006) writes that festivals have increasingly become ways of ‘eventifying’ identity in South Africa:

Eventification refers to the process by which the theatrical *performance* – viewed as a normal human activity and socio-cultural process – is turned into a socio-cultural *event*. By framing a particular happening or event as something of social, cultural,

political, or other significance, the event becomes a powerful means for framing and confronting the past, the present, and the future' (2006: 198).³⁹

Whilst I am attending to the existing structures of identity, being and belonging, I am also searching for moments of slippage, overflow and risk, and attempting to map how these 'accidents' act both within and against established maps of identity, performance and belonging. In other words, I am concerned with what happens within 'third-spaces' (cf. Bhabha 1994; Soja 1996) – what happens in those undefined moments in-between the structures of, for example, identity and difference. But having adopted this approach which McKenzie (2004) has also called the 'liminal-norm', I risk falling prey to what Simondon calls the 'law of the excluded middle' (6: 2009) and becoming pre-occupied with a descriptive mode which yet again elides the complexity of the *processes* of identification. And here I turn to Judith Butler's theorising of performativity (1993; 1999), which points back to the fact that identities may take on various expressive forms in everyday life, so that I can speak of seemingly disparate activities and articulations as *performances* (cf. Goffman 1959; Hetherington 1998).⁴⁰ Not only are the 'roles' which we play in day-to-day life performative, but the very discursive formations and cultural texts or 'traits' which we take for granted are similarly constructed. What interests me here is that Butler shows it is possible to subvert discourse through performances of 'marginal' identities, suggesting that the body can be seen to offer some of the most successful strategies for challenging

³⁹ Citing the work of Erving Goffman, Elizabeth Burns, and Victor Turner as well as Schechner, Hauptfleisch goes on to explain: 'In this context, a life event is any social event which can be seen to have performative qualities (at a minimum, performers in a performance space before onlookers/an audience). A church service, a wedding, a baptism ceremony, a public hanging, a football match, a war, are all framed events in some way; but they are not (yet) theatrical events, though they may be framed and "read" that way' (2006: 198). Note how Hauptfleisch's explanation gives equal weight to both the *spatial context* and the actor-audience *relationship* as defining the 'performative qualities' of an event. For Jerzy Grotowski theatre is 'what takes place between spectator and actor,' wherein 'all the other things are supplementary' (Grotowski quoted in McAuley 1999: 2); while for Peter Brook space is 'the condition that alone makes possible the simultaneous presence of performer and watcher' (McAuley 1999: 3), so that the theatrical event is defined as action 'taking place' in space. The tension between spatial and relational imperatives in performance is a recurring theme throughout my discussions. It can perhaps only be resolved by regarding the body itself as a third term, which produces and is produced by the simultaneity of space-time.

⁴⁰ Janelle Reinelt (2002) explains the difference between usages of the terms performance, performativity, and theatricality. For now, I will take the linkage between performance and performativity for granted, so although I am aware that Butler is not speaking of the performing arts in particular when she uses the term performativity, I believe that it does have particular significance for my research, which is concerned with how the worlds of theatrical performance and everyday performance interact through the spectator. I will of course elaborate upon the nuances at a later stage.

hegemonic ideology. This is where, thinking of the body in terms of ontogenesis, along with an expanded notion of landscape, helps me to negotiate some of the problems with the existing epistemological structures which might foreclose the potential of the post-dialectic moment.

TRI-ANGULATING

So far in my writing I have been oriented toward three 'lenses' through which I explore the particularities of landscape in and as performance. The first of these is spatial, whereby identity/being is expressed in terms of subject 'positions' (i.e. centre-margin) perceived in relation to each other and within a cultural landscape. The second lens is temporal, where belonging is perceived in terms of the narrative continuity of experience. And the third lens is perhaps not a lens at all but a zone of potentials, the realm of becoming, where space-time, discourse-materiality, centre-margin etc. overlap and converge intractably.



3. Edward Soja's 'trialectics,' representing ontology and epistemology (Gregory *et al.* 2009: 776)

My three lenses derive from several sources, most notably Edward Soja's (1996) trialectics of being (historicity, spatiality and sociality), and his notion of third space as the zone of radical potentials which combines and exceeds the sum of perceived and conceived space (cf. Schechner 2003). Soja's trialectics in turn derive from Lefebvre (1991), who describes

three ‘moments’ in the production of social space which form part of a conceptual triad: *spatial practices*; *representations of space*; and *representational spaces*.⁴¹

In his writing, P.W. Preston (1997) utilises the ideas of *locale*, *network* and *memory* to describe some of the social dimensions of identity construction.⁴² His three-part schematic proves very useful in demonstrating the dynamism and ‘depth’ of identity on both macro and micro scales. That is, it helps to explain the fact that some identities may be more important to an individual than others. Drawing from this, in my own work I have previously used the three categories of *body*, *space* and *journey* to help describe the functioning of identity in performance, while also attempting to describe the processes by which *ontology*, *epistemology* and *praxis* might be negotiated in the context of postgraduate theatre and performance studies in South Africa (A.L. Moyo 2009; cf. Sutherland 2007).

Therefore, insofar as they help to structure my discussions, I have to stress that these lenses should not be taken as strict categories but as a codified way of signposting and highlighting certain dimensions of lived experience in my discussion. Like Soja, I argue for a holistic view that appreciates how space and time are experienced in and through one

⁴¹ The first of these, *spatial practice*, refers to perception and bodily engagement with social space. It is where daily routines and actions interact with institutionalised practices to produce and reproduce social life. Physical and material flows are conducted through, for example, particular types of buildings and urban spaces set aside for specific purposes (Zieleniec 2007: 73). *Spatial practice* functions through cohesiveness, although it does not always appear to be a coherent system (Lefebvre, 1991: 38). *Representations of space* are the dominant conceptual modes of social space, where discourse underlies and structures social life. Those who possess ‘expert knowledge’ – such as town planners, geographers, engineers and scientists – control how space is organised and utilised (Zieleniec 2007: 74). Representations of space appear to be objective, abstract notions which directly shape socio-political practice, but they too must be mediated through the body (Lefebvre 1991: 41). Lastly, *Representational spaces* [‘Espaces de la representations,’ sometimes translated as *spaces of representation*] are those lived-in spaces where physical space is overlaid with dynamic energy, creating often non-verbal symbols and signs through the imaginative deployment of objects (Lefebvre, 1991: 39). These are the spaces where aesthetic practices and memory can put to work alternative modes of spatialization to challenge the dominant forms. *Representational spaces* can thus be spaces of resistance.

⁴² *Locale* points towards the routine activities and locations that the individual encounters on a daily basis. This is where identity is most often established and naturalised through repeated contact and immediate practical engagement. It is also where we might find the most compelling examples of the importance of roles. *Network* points to the ‘wider spread of contacts’ beyond the local environment, and encompasses the larger social groupings with which an individual interacts. Lastly, *memory* is made up of personal experience and reflection, as well as collective knowledge, all of which can be acquired and contested over time (Preston 1997: 43-44).

another, while ontology and epistemology are equally inseparable. I also extend this ‘trialectics’ of thinking to my treatment of other distinctions – such as those between space and place, between the local and the global, between self and other, between ‘here’ and ‘there’ – so that there is always a third term which remains elusive and spectral, though felt acutely.

Furthermore, while I use this trialectics to structure my discussion, I am concerned throughout with the process of becoming – with ontogenesis. Beyond exploring the structures of being and belonging, of seeing and constructing identity, I want to focus greater attention in this study on the process which Gilbert Simondon (2009) describes as ontogenesis, the individuation of being. That is, I want to look specifically at how *becoming* takes place within a given cultural landscape, initially by talking about landscapes in the particular context of contemporary performance practices, because

[A]esthetic and cultural practices are peculiarly susceptible to the changing experience of space and time precisely because they entail the construction of spatial representations and artefacts out of the flow of human experience. They always broker between Being and Becoming (Harvey 1990: 327).

Therefore my study does not purport to be an exhaustive discussion of either the notions of landscape, performance, or identity in South Africa, but is rather a focused study of these concerns in relation to a number of specific examples. It is important to note how these performances are situated within different contexts, and are therefore working within certain limitations. There are different degrees of reflexivity, and different aims and aspirations to each project which influence how the performance is received.

Some questions which recur in my discussion include:

- What are the shared values of the new South Africa? How and by whom are they defined, upheld and protected? (Who may speak for whom?)
- What does it mean to be a South African at this point, and in relation to the continent and the world?

These are questions which have engaged the entire nation, and which consequently have generated new discursive spaces and/as cultural landscapes in South Africa. The re-

framing of these issues in performance brings a sense of play and potentiality into the thick of the debate about identities, and an opportunity to explore further questions:

- How do artists understand and perform their role in the new South Africa?
- How do I as an individual subject/spectator both relate to and locate my self in the (landscape in and as) performance? And how does my embodied experience correspond to the experiences of others in the same (subjunctive) space-time?

Within performance, audiences and performers are able to travel imaginatively from one perspective to another, temporarily leaving behind their everyday reality to inhabit a different space-time. And while the effect of such journeys is not necessarily permanent, at times not even immediately apparent, it can be profoundly moving for spectators.

On this point, Helena Grehan (2009) points out the tendency of both critics and theorists to offer ‘readings’ of performance, while often being reluctant to talk directly about ‘the sense of an experience, of excitement, of identification or disruption – that thing that the live event offers, as it opens new ways of thinking and feeling, and as a result, bringing us back again and again and again’ (2009: 3).⁴³ Writers on South African performance – particularly practitioners themselves – have used a variety of different discursive paradigms to discuss contemporary performance forms, amongst the most prominent being perhaps: ritual transformation and liminality; orality and non-linear forms; physical and non-verbal performances, and issues of embodiment; cultural hybridity and syncretism; and finally witnessing, testimony and reconciliation, as I discussed earlier.⁴⁴ As a matter of course, these topics will all emerge during my discussion of various examples in this thesis. Whilst Sachs’ comments in 1989 precipitated some debate over the

⁴³ Grehan points out that this is partly because ‘there are risks involved in talking about spectatorship. These include the possibility of becoming too personal, of interpreting responses from the position of an “ideal” spectator, or of making generalisations or assumptions that cannot be supported or proved’ (2009: 4).

⁴⁴ Hauptfleisch (1992; 2010) also provides some interesting overviews of the development of scholarly paradigms in South African theatre and performance studies, and identifies five key ‘tipping points’ in the history of South African theatre studies. The period of ‘1970 to 1985 is identified as the most significant period in relation to the political struggle for liberation in South Africa, while the last two phases (1988–94 and 1997–9) under consideration are characterized by an increase in research output and by the need for practitioners and commentators to seek reconciliation and healing through theatre and performance’ (2010: 275). Crucially, he details how the emergence of political theatres in the 1970s and 1980s coincided with the opening up of a number of new university Theatre and Drama departments across the country.

role of art and culture, and artists, in society, the notion of culture as a ‘weapon of struggle’ still persists to a large extent in South Africa, albeit that rather than one singular notion of a political ‘struggle’ against the state, it is now understood that there may be many different types of ‘struggles’ to which culture speaks (cf. Blumberg 2009).

The tendency in scholarship has been to explore how such modalities of performance might resist the teleological bias of colonial and apartheid modernity, and engender spaces for collective social change.⁴⁵ With regard to questions of spectatorship, however, scholars have often, I would argue, paid less attention to examining how the particular subjectivity of spectators functions in the production of landscapes in and as performance. Often, while making statements and observations about performances, the tendency has often been to focus on how certain works might attempt to effect social change/impact at the macro level, without necessarily attending to how such change might be understood at a micro level. If such claims are to be believed it becomes necessary, I would argue, to consider how individual spectators might experience a given performance, and to attend to all of the specific concerns which Grehan (2009) mentions, while taking on some of the risks which she also acknowledges. Entering this critical landscape, part of what I attempt in this thesis then is a kind of ‘archaeology of spectatorship’, where ‘archaeology’ is yet another form of ‘dwelling’ in the landscape (Ingold 2000), and of engaging processually with the world of performance (cf. Pearson & Shanks 2001).⁴⁶ That is, I attempt a study of how spectatorship *might* be discussed in the contemporary South African context, by using my own experience as a starting point.

⁴⁵ Refer back to Flockemann’s (2011) discussion of ‘complicities’ which I mentioned earlier.

⁴⁶ While specifically discussing the efficacy, politics and ethics of spectatorship Grehan makes a point about the need to attend not only to what happened in the bounds of the performance event, but also what happens afterwards and around the event in order to understand if and how performance can effect ‘change’ (2009: 6; cf. Wake 2009) The ‘dwelling’ perspective seems appropriate to this kind of enquiry into the evolution of meaning over prolonged periods.

POETICS

My methodological approach is partially based on what Reynolds (2003) calls the ‘investigative-expansive mode’ (or ‘i.e.’ mode) of analysis in an effort to appropriately contextualise the subject of my inquiry as well as the analysis itself. Reynolds uses this approach to enact a ‘transversal poetics,’ which aims to promote critical awareness of the interconnectedness of subjectivities, promoting dialogical interdisciplinary relations. The ‘i.e.’ methodology means essentially breaking down the subject into ‘variables that are then partitioned and examined in relation to other influences, both abstract and empirical, beyond the immediate vicinity’ (Reynolds 2003:6). What makes this approach different to other models is that it does not attempt to re-assemble so-called variables into a cohesive whole, but rather

...resists anything resembling predetermination or circumscription and requires continuous manoeuvrings and reparameterizations in response to unexpected, even sudden, emergences of glitches, quagmires, and new information as it deduces, trail blazes, follows off-beat leads, takes tangential excursions, while rigorously sprawling analytically (ibid.).

Throughout this thesis, I will be juxtaposing detailed critical analyses of specific performances with secondary material to create ‘mind-maps’ in order to engage performatively with the creative works in question. I have been tracing how similar ‘oscillatory’ processes which have been integral to my thinking are at work in many of the performances I will be discussing, so that even where there is an attempt to define and to fix, there are gaps and inconsistencies.

In keeping with the three ‘lenses’ which I identified earlier, the thesis is divided into three thematic sections, each one situating my discussion of South African identities within a particular geographical and historical context, and using a different conceptual frame to discuss how identities are ‘mapped’ through performance. With my three lenses I am triangulating space, time, and experience, moving transversally across a number of

contexts and performances while attempting to ‘dwell’ at particular moments in the depth of my subjective perceptions and experiences.

The first section is entitled Fortress City, and investigates identity formation as a spatially situated process in Cape Town. While discussing how individual processes of identification might be performed (e.g. ‘I am’), I look at the public arts festival Infecting the City, focusing on the period 2009-2011 when it was curated by Brett Bailey. Bailey’s curatorial approach foregrounds the notion of art/culture as a tool for social change, which he clearly states and advocates, but it also results in a number of contradictions which ultimately reveal how the festival functions within, rather than apart from, the official performance of the city of Cape Town as a ‘liberal’ city.

In the second section Frontier Nations, I focus on the temporality of landscape and plural identities (e.g. ‘We are’). This section consists of two ‘parts’, in order to reflect on how the notion of culture as a weapon of struggle functions in both political and artistic contexts. At the same time, I am also concerned with juxtaposing the two discussions in order to explore how collective/national memory and subjective/personal memory both emerge in and through performance. I compare how the past is narrated through a discussion of two speeches made by Presidents Mandela and Zuma in Grahamstown in 1996 and 2011 respectively. I contrast the state political rhetoric on nationhood in these speeches with Brett Bailey’s use of mythic time in an experiential site-specific performance *Terminal* (2009).

In the last section Corporeal Networks, I focus on how the body acts as the kernel or generator of meaning in performance. Conceptualising identity in terms of ethical subjectivity and inter-relation/interpellation (e.g. ‘You’!) in this section, my discussion re-locates the idea of South Africa in terms of the symbolism of Robben Island as a site which locates the values of the new South Africa in very powerful emotive terms. I discuss

Juanita Finestone-Praeg's *Inner Piece* (2009) a physical theatre work which tackles issues of violence and representation.

The three sections of this thesis should, as I mentioned, re-iterate the idea of the three lenses which I have used to orient my research. Furthermore, there will be a kind of movement of correspondence taking place, a 'mapping' which I hope will demonstrate in more performative terms what I mean when I speak of landscapes *in and as* performance. Therefore, the titling in this thesis sites and re-cites what I hope will take place. It illustrates the key point that identities function as ways of structuring experience, and as ways of 'seeing' the world. In a number of contexts and performances, it becomes clear that when all else fails, when experience itself seems overwhelming or threatening, these structures are used to uphold individual and collective integrity. Similarly in this thesis, the titling serves as a way of anchoring what might otherwise be a very disorienting journey for the reader, so that in order to retain clarity I defer to structure which in itself faces certain limitations. Each section may, ideally, be read in parallel with or even against the others. As such, it would be possible to re-present my table of contents as a map illustrating the transversal movement of the thesis as follows:

INTRODUCTIONS

↓ 'You are here'

1:Fortress City (spatial)	2:Frontier Nations (temporal)	3:Corporeal Networks (culture)
• At this point On arrival	In departure	Suspending actions
• Retracing invisible maps Visions of space	Narratives in time	Bodies in crisis
• Of landscapes in and as Cape Town (containing strangers)	Grahamstown (making history)	Robben Island (spectral witnessing)
• Performance Knowing one's place (ITC)	Journeys of Freedom (FOG)/ Race against time (Terminal)	Viewpoints in Preparation (Inner Piece)

↓ 'I was there'

1:Fortress City (spatial)	2:Frontier Nations (temporal)	3:Corporeal Networks (culture)
• Migrating towards the subject Invitation (Home Affairs, 2009)	Navigating from memory/ Fault lines	(Un)making the world (Sacred Space)
• Feeling and framing Provocation (Human Rite, 2010)	Back to the front/ Gazing in complicity	The Technicality of the exercise (Structuring/Feeling)
• Tri-angulating Preservation (Treasure, 2011)	Performing Solidarity/ Deferred Moments	The Power of the Small (Indifferent Times)
..... <i>In momentum (anxieties of becoming)</i>		
• Poetics	CONCLUSIONS	
△ objects in situ - Performing belonging (the right to the city)	△	either or
△ subjects in motion - (In)citing the past/Shifting subjectivities	△	both and
△ indivisible gaps - Revolting bodies – landscapes of becoming	△	in conjunction with

This structure serves to underscore some of the conceptual links which tie the sections together as my discussion progresses. Notably, the correspondence breaks down and becomes less correlative as the thesis progresses, as the strict separation of ideas becomes more difficult to achieve. There is a certain amount of repetition and substitution which should, as in the prose itself, function to add layers of complexity as much as point to gaps for potential elaboration.

Finally, in order to both outline the course of my arguments and illustrate the points, I present three different 'maps' of South Africa which are all images in general circulation.

OBJECTS IN SITU (FORTRESS CITY)

4. Visualising identity in and of cape town (chain email, author unknown)⁴⁷

CARTOGRAPHY: Here is a map of South Africa, framing the subject of identity in spatial terms. As I see the image, Cape Town appears as a place ‘apart’, at the edge of the continental landmass and adjoined as though reluctantly to its geographical ‘home’ in South Africa. By an act of the cartographer’s imagination, the ‘Pretty Mountains’ of the Cape Fold Belt⁴⁸ create a boundary, beyond which lies a much larger and imposing space subsumed under the name of Johannesburg. I notice how the Western Cape is defined by a small green area, as though receding from the red expanse of its other, and how the cool blue shading denoting the sea seems to encompass the province from the opposite side. Within the green area, which I associate with the natural world, Cape Town is flanked by Langebaan and Hermanus – both popular tourist and holiday destinations. A solid red dot

⁴⁷ The creator of the image is unknown, but the image can be found online from the following websites:

<<http://p.twimg.com/AxgXywdCQAAslws.jpg:large>>;

<<http://www.versatilelyle.co.za/2012/07/south-africa-according-to-capetonians.html>> [Accessed 26/02/2013]

⁴⁸ The geological name given to describe the collection of mountain ranges found along the Cape Peninsula (Compton 2004).

makes the city visible on the map and asserts its singularity as place. But the solid dot also conceals the city which is at once defined but lacking definition, a non-place with its individual features flattened out by the eye.

NAVIGATION: In *Fortress City* I attend to the spatiality of landscape and of urban space in particular. I argue that in many ways Cape Town reflects the strategies which have been used in the past to define what South Africa means and what it 'is'. I begin with an exploration of how the city functions as an assertion of economic power and aspiration, and therefore as a site of contestations of identity which require the setting in motion of certain processes of social inclusion and exclusion. The terms of identification are literalised at various historical moments in Cape Town through the demarcation and permutation of the developing urban space, and through the figure of the 'stranger'. This allows me to draw links between the notion of performance as a bounded event, and the broader cultural landscapes within which performance events exist. I then discuss the Infecting the City (ITC) public arts festival, focusing on how the festival attempts to 'map' identity in and of the city at a macro and a micro level. That is, I examine how the festival as a whole functions within the urban space of Cape Town's 'symbolic economy,' ie. the visualisation of culture in a way specifically linked to economic interests (Zukin 1995). Then, looking at specific examples of performance works staged during the festival, I look at issues of belonging/not belonging in urban space, and how specific performances attempt to re-create the city as a more inclusive urban space.



5. The temporal (dis)continuity of the nation (Facebook, creator unknown)⁴⁹

CARTOGRAPHY: Here is an alternative way of mapping South Africa in terms of temporality. As I see it, there is no past or future, only a succession of moments which announce themselves as the perpetual present. The point at which I can begin reading is preceded only by blank space, and so the notion of a 'beginning' is both defined and undefined. At the same time, the 'Present Time' is always already embodied, so that it is as though I have always been 'here', or else as though I have always been hurtling toward this point. If 'here' is identified as the 'Present Time,' there is a unity of time and space. But as my eye moves from this point to the next the succession of 'Present Time' with 'Right Now', 'Now', and 'Just Now' places me both at the beginning of a movement, and in the process of motion. I am *both* here and there, *and* I am neither here nor there. The repetition of the words themselves, as I read each point of location, sites and re-sites my position in time. So this now, and the next now and the next now, are indistinguishable except for their ephemerality. And if this chaining of thought threatens to turn in on itself, an arrow directs my gaze from left to right even if the arrow itself hangs in the air and points into another blank space. Like the temporal landscape itself, the terms of reference, location and identification on the map can be qualified but not quantified,⁵⁰ and so if I am here now,

⁴⁹ Image available at: < <https://www.facebook.com/ILoveSouthAfrica> > [Accessed 06/03/2013].

⁵⁰ Ingold argues that 'the landscape is qualitative and heterogeneous...[T]hus at any particular moment, you can ask of a landscape what it is like, but not how much of it there is' (2000: 190-191).

it is because the graphic sign ('here', 'now') both substitutes and places me. In the moment of looking and locating myself, my action ushers us both, map and me, into being.

NAVIGATION: In *Frontier Nations*, I attend to the temporality of the landscape in and as performance, by foregrounding the myths and narratives which have been used to define a sense of national identity in South Africa. I use the frontier as a framing concept in order to put forward that there is a deep anxiety underlying the idea of South Africa. Imagining the frontier as concurrently expressible in different ways – as a historical place, as a moment in time, and as a form of perspective – I attempt to describe something of the interplay between collective and subjective experiences of the landscape. I do this in two separate chapters.

In 'Journeys of Freedom' I begin by mapping how temporality is constructed in civic performances and state political rhetoric. I look at how the ANC government's nation-building agenda has involved the state in acts of narration which reveal the ambivalence of the project itself (Bhabha 1994). By way of a discussion of two speeches made by Nelson Mandela and Jacob Zuma on receiving the Freedom of Grahamstown (FOG), I argue that the use of myth as a way of managing expectations and anxieties about the future has partly resulted in a failure to address the dominant racial discourse which haunts South Africa. I then move on in 'Race against Time' to explore how race is dealt with in Brett Bailey's site-specific installation *Terminal* (2009), arguing that Bailey self-consciously uses images of racial stereotypes to refer to the persistent social and economic divisions in Grahamstown. I suggest that by foregrounding the gaze and the act of looking, he not only attempts to dis-place the spectator's own subjectivity in relation to the performance, but effectively maps 'anxiety' onto the spectator's body. Bailey achieves this through his use of spatial topography, and through the juxtaposition of linear and non-linear perceptual temporalities.



6. Ayanda Mabulu's painting 'Randela' (made available on artist's website, 2012)⁵¹

CARTOGRAPHY: Here, finally, is a map of South Africa which suggests, in aesthetic terms, how the gaps in representation become the media of exchange. As I see it, the image is a counterfeit which not only imitates but co-opts the symbols found on the real note, transforming its meaning completely. In the background of the image the clean, clear lines of the real banknote note have become blurred. On the right, the citations which identify and legitimate the note's worth are barely discernible. The Governor's signature is almost illegible, the coat of arms is faded and the 'South' which identifies the origin of this currency is all but lost from view in a garish ochre pattern. The phrase running across the top of the note which now reads 'AFRICAN RESERVE BANK' – is framed by the edges of a large circle, a combination of which conjures the enclosed native reserves of the colonial and apartheid era. In the centre, the security thread which would further guarantee value is absent. The circular lines and shadows here imitate the general shape of images on the real banknote, where the 200 denomination appears in micro-printed Leopard motifs. But unlike the real note in which the animals appear to emerge gradually from the background and float above the spiral, Mabulu's leopards are much darker, solid figures,

⁵¹ Image available to download from the artist's website at:
http://www.greatmoreart.org/greatmore_studio/Studio_6_Ayanda.html#0 [Accessed 15/03/2013].

and are only half formed before seeming to be pulled into a swirling vortex. Mabulu omits most of the human figures who, in the original note resembling cave paintings, appear to share the landscape with nature. Human presence in his landscape is primarily conveyed to the foreground by a decaying national icon. The portrait itself shows the smiling face of Mandela now half drooping and deformed. Looking closely, I can see that the cartoonish vampire features – an enlarged blue eye and sharpened teeth and melting flesh – have been overlaid onto the original image of the face. Mabulu's iconoclastic strokes at once suggest the plasticity of a decaying, ageing human body; the ephemerality of human life; and the phantasmic nature of the body politic. While Mabulu describes this as commentary on the economic inequality in South Africa, it is also an image of haunting which haunts and is haunted by, the traces of 'other' beings.

NAVIGATION: Finally, in *Corporeal Networks*, I turn my attention to the idea of embodied 'witnessing,' specifically looking at how in performance, both sacred and profane spaces are created and demarcated as 'safe' spaces for experimenting with identities, and for articulating the traumatic experience of subjectivity. I develop the idea of 'spectral witnessing' by examining how the body of Mandela and the rhetorical space of Robben Island serve as a way of 'sight[ing] and site[ing]' the trauma of the nation (Bester 1999). I discuss Juanita-Finestone Praeg's *Inner Piece* (2009), a physical theatre work performed in Grahamstown. I look specifically at how Finestone-Praeg stages the problems of 'mapping' and 'navigating' in contemporary South Africa by foregrounding the creative processes and pitfalls of cultural production. This critique happens in relation to issues around violence and representation primarily, and about ethical responsibility more generally, which Finestone-Praeg frames by using the more distant examples of Abu Ghraib and the Rwandan Genocide. The performance itself is meta-textual, and uses improvisation and an open-ended structure to allow the audience to 'witness' the creative process of representation and narration in progress, rather than presenting a complete

experience. This discussion extends the recurring concern with identity politics (what it means to be South African in the ‘now’ and in relation to the world), and ends with a broader discussion about existential and ethical questions (what it means to be a subject *in relation to* other subjects).

1: FORTRESS CITY: SPATIAL PERCEPTION AND LOCAL POLITICS

'I see'...objects in situ... being

fortress /'fɔːtrɪs/

► *noun* a military stronghold, especially a strongly fortified town.

■ a person or thing not susceptible to outside influence or disturbance: he had proved himself to be a fortress of moral rectitude.

(OED)

...all really inhabited space bears the essence of the notion of home...the imagination functions in this direction whenever the human being has found the slightest shelter...we shall see the imagination build "walls" of impalpable shadows, comfort itself with the illusion of protection-or, just the contrary, tremble behind thick walls, mistrust the staunchest ramparts.

Gaston Bachelard, The Poetics of Space (1969: 5)

Imagining Cape Town:



7. Van Riebeeck's arrival at the Cape of Good Hope depicted by Charles David Bell, 1850 (Wikimedia Commons)

8. Spier Performing Arts Festival 2008 programme cover (Africa Centre, 2008)

ON ARRIVAL

I begin with the idea of identity as the way in which we locate ourselves in the world (Preston 1997: 4), suggesting that '[I]dentity *formation* as a process of identification is a spatially situated process [emphasis mine]' (Hetherington 1998: 17). This means that geography is 'as much of an epistemic category as gender or race...All three categories share an engagement with belonging, which plays out around dichotomies of self and other and around strategies of "emplacement" and "displacement"' (Rogoff 2000: 8).

Jacques Lacan (2006), for instance, points to the fortress as an image through which the fragmented self attempts to reconcile the split which occurs between reality and perception during the mirror stage. As an image of identity then, the fortress suggests a strong desire to both locate and defend something, perhaps a specific construction of individual and collective identities.

In his coining of the term 'Fortress City', Mike Davis (1992) describes Los Angeles as a 'militarized' city characterized by the absence or scarcity of open public spaces, the prevalence of gated communities, surveillance and an atmosphere of fear (or paranoia). So the 'Fortress City' is a particular kind of urban space which is governed above all else by the imperative of security, self-defence and enclosure, so that the architectural form of the military fort performatively sites the ideological communality of those persons perceived to belong within the space.⁵²

Lefebvre (1991), who sees the scale and density of the City as one of its defining features, argues that because urban space is characterized by a concentration of people, products and images, this density, whether actual or imagined, creates a 'dialectical centrality' about urban space which casts other spatial formations as marginal (1991: 101). Furthermore, what makes the centrality of the modern City different from that of cities in

⁵² Various writers have applied this notion in their analyses of contemporary South African cities, including Cape Town. For example see Spocter 2005; Nahnsen 2006; Spinks 2001. Teresa Dirsuwiet discusses how urban planners have attempted to transform Johannesburg from a fortress city to a 'creative city' (1999), and her discussion flags up some points which could be explored in the context of Cape Town's creative image.

other eras is that ‘centrality now aspires to be *total*. It thus lays claim, implicitly or explicitly, to a superior political rationality (a state or “urban” rationality)’ (ibid. 332). So not only does the notion of a Fortress City describe a space with its own internal divisions and zones of exclusion, but it also describes how urban space is constructed and perceived in relation to a topography of the nation as a whole. The idea of the fortress has also been applied, for example, to discussions about South Africa’s regional immigration policy and the ongoing problem of xenophobia (see Crush 1999; Sharp 2008).

In general, cities by way of their administrators are examples of what Goffman (1974) calls ‘impression management’ on a collective social scale – governing authorities attempt to extrapolate (or fabricate) something of the identity and values of a given society, and convey these in material terms. For Lefebvre, *Representations of space* become the dominant conceptual modes of social space, meaning that discourse not only underlies and structures social life, but those who possess ‘expert knowledge’ – such as town planners, geographers, engineers and scientists – control how space is both organized and utilized (Zieleniec 2007: 74). So both the imaginary spaces of the city and the real, lived in places within it may reflect the exclusionary ideals and policies of institutional power. I wish to reflect on how ideas about being in the city point to the ways in which the idea of South Africa has been and continues to be conceptualized in terms of various levels of ‘exclusivity’.

In Rehane Abrahams’ play *What the Water Gave Me*, for example, the idea of zones of social inclusion and exclusion which contour Cape Town is suggested through the character of the Taxi Time Traveller whose meandering journeys are also a way of mapping identity and history in and through the city. The character travels through various neighbourhoods in Cape Town, and as she approaches the city center she observes the effects of industrial growth which conjure up a stark, nightmarish image of the city:

There are walls invisible to the naked eye that rise up in all directions in concentric circles around the city. In the twilight when you’re not looking right you catch

glimmers, glimpses and the more you spy on them in this way, the more solid they become. I'm looking for a hole. Where was it? I want to get to the centre through the walls. In the centre there is a giant centipede. He eats greed. The man said. (2006: 20)

In the play not only are walls particularly associated with the aspirations of capitalistic 'greed,' but the violence of the modernising project is also written on the body of the coloured female protagonist, who experiences the city first as a threatening space, and later as a space of porosity. I will explore these ideas as I pursue the idea of the Fortress City: its limit, as well as its possibilities – through an analysis of the public arts festival *Infecting the City* (ITC).

ITC takes as its starting point the idea of the city as a body politic, and the metaphor of infection has much historical resonance and conjures up a host of associations in the context of the Cape: going back as far as the outbreaks of smallpox which decimated the indigenous population in the 1880s, as well as the bubonic plague and influenza epidemics of the early 20th century. The title of ITC provocatively exploits the idea of infection: art as contamination/contagion/perversion, suggesting invasion/intervention/disruption of the normative and the everyday in urban space; and art as potential/vaccination/treatment, made possible by the staging and rehearsal of creative and affective transformations with/in the socio-spatial body. So the verb 'infecting' also highlights the festival's focus and intentions, which curator Brett Bailey (2009-2011) articulates as being threefold:

...to position the arts literally and figuratively at the center of society, to redefine the urban terrain as a space of creativity, and to effect social enrichment and transformation through the arts (ITC Human Rite, 2010: 4).

In my analysis I will explore how the ITC attempts to actualise these three ideas by engaging with the 'infection' in various spatial contexts: i.e. real/physical space, psychic/social space, and virtual/digital space.

VISIONS (OF SPACE)

In *The Production of Space* (1991) Henri Lefebvre theorises space as a product of the human body, made up of both conceptual and perceptual activity. His approach is an attempt to bridge the gap between material and discursive approaches to space which tend to treat space as either a purely mental or purely physical phenomenon (1991: 27). For Lefebvre, '*(social) space is a (social) product*' (1991: 26) and, as a corollary, the human body is a 'spatial body' (cf. Tuan 1977) which both produces and is produced by the space-time which it inhabits.⁵³

As an embodiment of 'otherness', the figure of the 'stranger' is a recurring trope in writing about urban life, onto which the ambiguity of urban space is projected.⁵⁴ On one hand the 'stranger' may be seen as a positive figure of tolerance and creativity insofar as he 'makes cities places of encounter' (Nahnsen 2006: 27). Often he is a *flâneur*, the 'archetypal occupant and observer of the public sphere in the rapidly changing and growing great cities of nineteenth-century Europe,' a wanderer casually strolling in order to experience the city (Wilson 1992: 93; cf. Simmel 2002). The 'stranger' referred to here is more than an incidental tourist; he inhabits the city with a certain degree of ease and brings new perspectives, values and experiences which challenge and revitalize old and

⁵³ While focusing on the Western history of space, Lefebvre also argues that space needs to be understood in the particular context of a given society, and that different modes of social production produce different kinds of spaces (Zieleniec 2007: 61). In Zulu tradition, for example, a baby's umbilical cord was buried adjacent to the family house, and when the person died their body would be buried in the same place, 'unifying birth and death through the earth' (Beningfield 2006: 4). In such a way the land was understood to own the person, so that one could have a sense of belonging to the land in body and spirit. Because of this link it was also understood that people had a responsibility to care for the land as much as they in turn needed it to survive. Furthermore the language used to describe the physical attributes of the land was often the same as that used to describe characteristics of the human body, and so language connected the human body to the land in a metaphorical sense. For example, land could be called 'barren', 'fertile', or 'youthful' in the same way that a human body could be (Beningfield 2006: 4). But a person's relationship to the land could also be dynamic and volatile (Dangor 1996: 8-9). Nguni praise poetry, for example, reveals how the sense of belonging to places was also tied to the processes of movement, conquest and conflict which shaped community life (Gunner 1996). Such oral poetry functions through 'a schema of naming' comparable to the schema of vision which J.M. Coetzee (1988) calls a feature in 'white writing' about the land in South Africa, and which serves to transform land into *landscape*, linking the real with the imaginary (Gunner 1996: 119-120).

⁵⁴ Nahnsen mentions in her discussion specifically the writings of Georg Simmel, Lewis Mumford and Richard Sennett, amongst others, noting particularly how these writers attempted to conceptualise urban experience with reference to various notions of 'otherness' (see Nahnsen 2006: 28-34).

familiar ways of being for the city's established communities. Furthermore it is assumed that within the dense spaces of the city, the 'stranger' – notably often a writer or artist – *enjoys* his anonymity within the crowds, and that he is free to make voluntary associations with other 'strangers' based on mutual contractual agreement, rather than familial or kinship ties (Miles 2007).

On the other hand, the 'stranger' simultaneously makes the city a place of conflict – he is an unknown, menacing figure whose presence inspires fear and suspicion. And at times his nonchalant outlook on the world is necessarily the mental condition of city dwelling (Simmel 1950). So Benjamin's *flâneur* becomes potentially a figure of alienation, as he is subject to the effects of urban excess and spectacle. He attempts to escape the banality of an over-commodified world which makes of him an object, and yet adopts a blasé attitude towards his surroundings and his fellow urbanites. His anonymity does not result in a feeling of 'freedom' but of *ennui* and isolation. This approach to the stranger points to the perception of an increasingly impersonal, individualistic society formed by mandatory functional associations, and driven by competition and inequality (cf. Nahnsen 2006; Miles 2007).

The 'stranger' also reveals the gendering of the city, insofar as he is almost always a 'man of pleasure' who 'takes visual possession of the city.' Freedom and anonymity can only be enjoyed by him because his presence there is socially sanctioned, unlike that of the 'public woman' (or the person of colour) who is regarded with distrust, if she is acknowledged at all (Wilson 1992). Narratives of encountering 'strangers' in urban space highlight the need to account for differentiated experiences of sociality in the city because its meaning as place is never singular. Mbembe and Nuttall (2004) write that in postapartheid South Africa, the migrant is the quintessential manifestation of the 'stranger' because he/she exists 'both beneath the city and outside of its orders of visibility' (364).

The phrase ‘knowing one’s place’ comes to my mind here, as it describes the myriad of ways in which belonging, as habitation, might be lived, experienced and expressed – what John Western (1981) in his study of Cape Town calls the ‘dialectic of person and place’. In the first place, ‘knowing one’s place’ might literally mean having physical and cognitive awareness of one’s geographical surroundings, knowing the past and present of a place, perhaps even imagining its future. At the same time, ‘knowing one’s place’ refers to an understanding of the codes and hierarchies constitutive of social life, and the task of maintaining a position within this system. Alternatively, the phrase can also be an evocation of the liberating power of marginality, where to ‘know’ one’s place is, potentially, to inhabit difference and in so doing, subvert the very mechanism by which one is made ‘other’ (ibid. 7; cf. Barnard 2007: 43).

Furthermore with regard to ‘knowing one’s place’, it is often the case that the association of places with ideas of belonging, familial and community relations or nationality, arises from ‘the steady accretion of sentiment over the years’ (Tuan 1977: 33). In some cases the physical site itself is an heirloom handed down through generations, and whose value increases with the passage of time. On the other hand, ‘if a place can be defined as relational, historical, and concerned with identity, then a space which cannot [explicitly] be defined [by the subject] as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place’ (Augé 1995: 78).

Augé explains that the experience of migration is particularly tied up with non-places, which are essentially transit zones between moments of stable identity. This leads back to the idea that ‘[T]he search for identity...involves movement, in body and mind, within and between spaces of varying scales that are identified as home,’ where home ‘refers to a conceptual space of considerable importance in the modern-day world of fluidity and movement’ (Olwig 1998: 225). That is, a space of belonging.

Even if the spatial landscape is often seen as immanent and already existing, it is not at all neutral, empty or static. Social space both produces bodies and is produced by them (Lefebvre 1991), so that space is often the most visible arena of contestation between the state and the artist (wa Thiong'o 1997). So worlds may indeed be 'lived in' before they are 'built' (Ingold 2000), but the current of dwelling is itself inflected by many culturally constructed meanings and messages which may seem at odds with the imperatives of everyday experience. The early history of Cape Town reveals how a tension exists between the imagined meanings and lived experience of place.

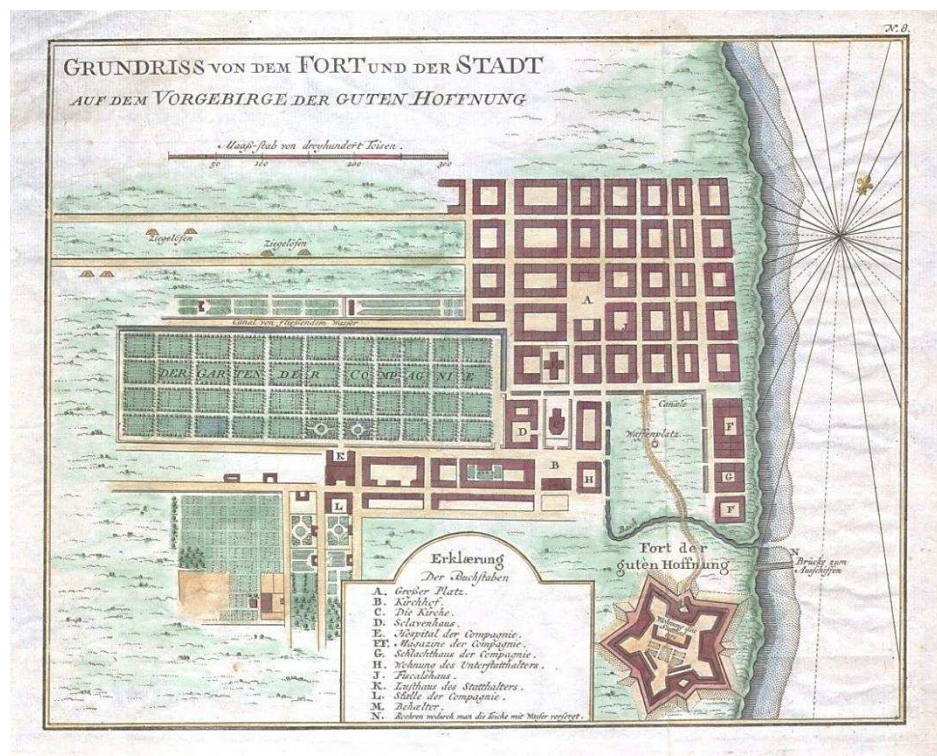
CAPE TOWN (CONTAINING STRANGERS)

When Jan van Riebeeck arrived in the area known as the 'Cape of Storms' in 1652, he had been instructed by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) to build a Fort and cultivate a Garden at Table Bay to provide supplies of fresh food and water to passing Portuguese and Dutch ships. Although these twinned structures would later become the central points around which a Dutch settlement gradually expanded and consolidated itself under the myth of *terra nullius*, the Cape was never intended to function as more than a temporary refreshment station to serve the economic and trade interests of the VOC.

In the earliest maps of Table Bay, the mud Fort appears as a paradoxical symbol of power and vulnerability: its circular structure, like the walls of the classical Greco-Roman city, claims and protects the identity of its inhabitants as it stands in and against an unknown land which literally looms large over them (Worden, Van Heyningen & Bickford-Smith, 1998: 17). After the original mud Fort collapsed, the Castle of Good Hope was erected in its place (1666-1674). The new stone Castle bordered Table Bay and was designed to impress those who saw it from ships at sea. It presented the face of the VOC, with its outward-looking gaze, to the world (ibid. 42).⁵⁵

⁵⁵ The Castle is now South Africa's oldest surviving colonial building, now dwarfed by taller and newer buildings in the Central Business District (CBD) of present-day Cape Town. Land reclamation work in the

Similarly the neatly planned kitchen Garden betrays an attempt to domesticate and civilize the natural world by cultivating the land (Beningfield 2006: 78-81). Over time, the wilderness and its indigenous KhoiKhoi and San⁵⁶ inhabitants were pushed back from the coast towards Table Mountain and eventually onto the dry Cape Flats.⁵⁷ In time, the Garden was transformed into a place of pleasure rather than necessity and came to symbolize ‘the possibility of clothing the nakedness of the African landscape in the familiar geometry of scenes of home, and therefore rendering it accessible and familiar’ (Beningfield 2006: 81).



9. 1750 map of the Cape of Good Hope by Jacques-Nicolas Bellin (Wikimedia Commons)

early part of the 20th century extended Table Bay so that the Castle of Good Hope, with its mostly horizontal planes, no longer appears as impressive as it had been before.

⁵⁶ The word Khoisan is now often used to refer to them both as a mixed group that can be differentiated from the Bantu-speaking and Nguni peoples who include the amaXhosa. Individuals also refer to themselves as either ‘Khoisan’ or ‘Bushmen’ today, although the other terms have largely fallen out of use. Usage of these anthropological terms is potentially contentious, but I use Khoisan in this thesis to signal the mixed heritage of people considered ‘indigenous’. See Davenport and Saunders (2000).

⁵⁷ There were many skirmishes between the Dutch settlers and indigenous groups, and disputes over livestock theft and grazing lands become more frequent and more violent as more land was granted by van Riebeeck to the first free *burghers* (farmers). With French and German arrivals, new and larger farms continued to spread outward along the Liesbeck and Salt rivers, sometimes bordered by thorns and shrubs to demarcate the territorial lines which would become the Southern Suburbs. The KhoiKhoi and the San were both hunter-gatherers, the latter derogatively referred to as Bushmen or Hottentots by early European settlers.

In the area around the Fort and Gardens, a grid began to take shape as the first landmarks of a town were built: private houses; markets (Greenmarket Square for the sale of produce, and Church Square for the trading of slaves); main streets (Heerengracht later Adderley; Strand; Buitenkant); a church (Dutch Reform *Groote Kirk* 1704); and numerous taverns (hence Cape Town's nick-name 'Tavern of the Seas'). Hence Cape Town's Central Business District (CBD), also known as part of the 'city bowl', is a fairly compact and walkable area.

By most accounts the early town was a racially and culturally mixed, if unequal place. Slaves brought from East Africa, Indonesia, Malaysia and India, were a muted presence, both seen and unseen in almost every sphere of public and private life whether at market or in homes. And since mobility was an integral part of the workings of the city, there was an inherent 'hybridity' underlying its structure which can be traced through the architecture and/as cultural practices of the early city.⁵⁸

When the Cape came under formal British occupation in the 19th Century, urban planning in Cape Town's CBD took on new sets of values. After the emancipation of the slaves under British rule in 1834, people from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds came to live in close proximity in cosmopolitan areas like the Bo-Kaap. Cape Town was then 'rhetorically cast as a particularly disordered and degraded city. Poverty, disease, and crime in the colonies became imbricated with strategies to strengthen and secure a vulnerable British national identity and protect it from racial degradation' (Jackson 2005: 34; cf. Swanson 1977). The colonial discourse on racial purity, and fears around miscegenation and hybridity merged with judgments about the corruption of moral values

⁵⁸ For example vernacular architectural forms developed as European-style gables are embellished with symmetrical curves and ornate detailing by Malay craftsmen. This created the distinctive 'Cape Dutch' look that is now to be found mostly in areas outside of the 'city bowl'. For a brief overview of the architecture of Cape Town see *Walking Cape Town* (Robinson, Willemsse & Wolff 2010). The two illustrated volumes on Cape Town by Worden, Van Heyningen and Bickford-Smith also provide useful visual material and discussion of how the city centre developed (1998; 1999). For a useful bibliography of sources about Cape Town, including a detailed timeline of the city itself see Cornell and Malan's *Places at the Cape* (2008).

in urban space.⁵⁹ As a result Cape Town was officially divided into twelve districts in the 1860s.⁶⁰

Early twentieth century city planners favoured the ‘logical arrangement of urban space through “zoning”’ (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen, & Worden 1999: 144), with the assumption being that the arrangement of space was based on an objective ‘reality’ rather than subjective fears and ideological value judgements. This ‘logical’ approach meant ‘an expanding separation of public and private as separate sources of truth and spatial order’ (Jackson 2005: 37). New ornate and somewhat austere buildings were erected to convey the dominance of the English Empire and its values of cleanliness, law and moral rectitude, which simultaneously idealised and mimicked the perceived sophistication of European cities and architecture.⁶¹

All this meant that the city of Cape Town became more exclusive, and ‘[P]articular bodies, specifically those of Africans, did not belong in cities. Women could remain in cities, so long as they were tightly linked to the private, domestic sphere,’ hence the city’s spatial geography (Jackson, 2005: 51). Black men especially were perceived as the ultimate threat in urban space, at the same time as the administration required their labour to produce its wealth. The segregation of space was further legitimated by discourses on public health and disease in the city, and by the creation of new residential ‘locations’ to house African workers.⁶²

⁵⁹ The discourses on hybridity and miscegenation are discussed in detail by Young (1995) in *Colonial Desire*. Louis Wirth (1938) discusses how urbanism is perceived as being linked to moral degradation.

⁶⁰ District Six, one of the most densely populated areas, would later become an emblematic example of the apartheid policy of forced removals in Cape Town. Beningfield (2006) provides a useful discussion on the impact of apartheid policy on the landscape of District Six, with a comparison to Sophiatown in Johannesburg.

⁶¹ The Houses of Parliament (Adderley Street, 1885) are distinctly Victorian; St. George’s Cathedral (1901) exemplifies the ‘Edwardian Gothic Revival’; the City Hall (Darling Street, 1905) is completed in the style of the Italian Renaissance (Robinson, Willemse and Wolff 2010).

⁶² Areas like Ndabeni (formerly Uitvlugt) were created under the auspices of the Public Health Act of 1897 and in response to the bubonic plague epidemic of 1901. Later, Langa and Nyanga (1927) were built under the Union of South Africa to contain the influx of rural blacks into the city while maintaining a source of cheap labour for the state and for business and industry. With the growth of industry in Cape Town, the Union administration faced a further influx of rural Africans in the city and sought to control their movement by whatever means possible. The Native Land Act in 1913 banned Africans from owning or leasing land

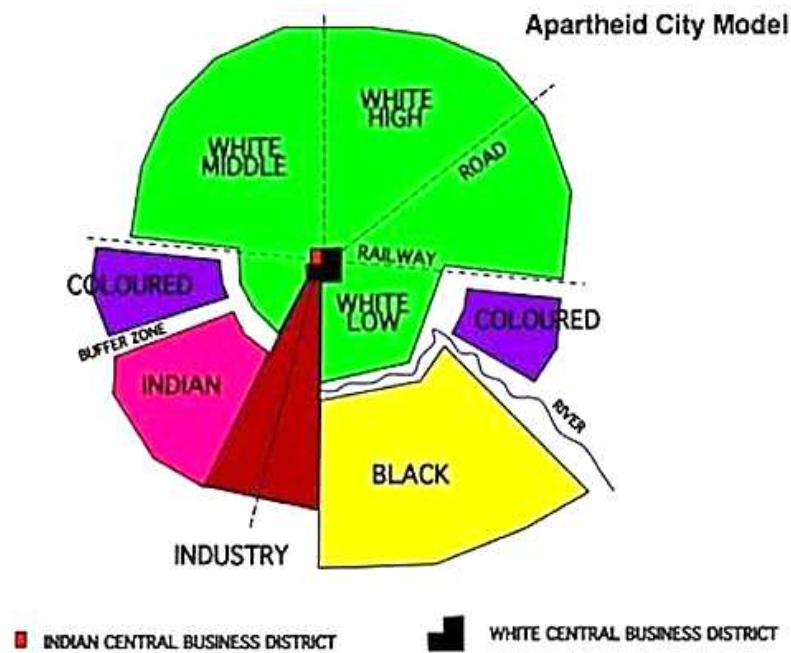
As noted already, epidemic outbreaks played a part in the earliest implementation of segregationist policies in the city, which linked ideas about public health to existing racial stereotypes and prevailing attitudes towards non-whites in the urban context. The language of public health created what Swanson (1977) calls a ‘sanitation syndrome’ which served to reinforce a general perception of certain kinds of bodies and subjectivities as deviant, and to justify their exclusion from the city space.⁶³ Slum clearance was prioritized in the 1940s and by the time the National Party came to power in 1948, Cape Town was already a patchwork of segregated areas.

Under apartheid, the existing modernist spatial model was explicitly linked to the belief that separate living would allow racial groups to prosper. To ensure that the white minority should have priority of access over the bulk of resources (land, wealth and jobs), the NP government systematically legislated towards making Cape Town a ‘white city,’ while forcibly removing those who were deemed not to belong in urban space.⁶⁴

outside of ‘native reserves’, and the Native (Urban Areas) Act was passed in 1923 to legally force urban Africans to live in designated ‘locations.’

⁶³ The ‘sanitation syndrome’ was linked to the colonial state’s attempts to control labour through the creation of townships to house workers. Ironically these ‘locations’ were not adequately equipped to deal with the mass influx of people and so became more squalid and unhygienic than the places from which people were moved. The ‘sanitation syndrome’ as a discourse of exclusion persists today, though more often it is framed in terms of debates about citizenship. It is now black African foreigners who are blamed for spreading HIV/AIDS (amongst other diseases), and who are often described as invaders whose physical and cultural presence degrades the social and moral fabric of local communities (Nyamjoh 2006; Crush 2008).

⁶⁴ This was accomplished legally by means of the Group Areas Act (1950) and the Separate Amenities Act (1953).



10. The idealised apartheid city, rendered after R.J. Davies (1981) in this version by Fox (2012: 8).

The ideal apartheid plan of Cape Town would have been one in which all non-whites were removed from residential areas in the city and pushed out onto the Cape Flats where the Khoi had been centuries ago (Western 1981). It would also have blacks the furthest away from Table Bay, separated from the whites by a ‘buffer’ zone of coloured and Indian areas. In reality, although this plan was never fully realised, it still shaped the contemporary city.⁶⁵ With the end of apartheid in 1991, the official segregation of Cape Town gave way to a massive influx of previously excluded races and classes of people, particularly migrants from the rural Eastern Cape and from across the African continent.

Finally, after the TRC in 1996 came the buzzwords of ‘symbolic reparations,’ a phrase which highlighted the importance of *lieux de mémoire* (Nora 1989) within the city’s cultural landscape. In South Africa, the particular term ‘symbolic reparations’ describes a number of practices geared towards ‘mapping the invisible’ – giving voice to previously disadvantaged communities and individuals, commemorating disavowed histories, and

⁶⁵ The Western Cape was declared a ‘Coloured Labour Preference Area’ in 1954, and neighbourhoods on the Cape Flats are probably the poorest in the city while black townships like Langa and Nyanga are among the furthest from Table Bay. District Six was declared a ‘White Group Area’ in 1966, after which residents of various races were removed to specifically designated areas, and the buildings and streets razed to make way for new development. District Six has since become one of the most emblematic places in South Africa along with Robben Island and Sophiatown in Johannesburg.

creating new and inclusive spaces for all South Africans regardless of race or ethnicity. This reflects an official recognition of the need to establish new shared spaces, and to escape the ‘ghettos’ of apartheid in both physical and imaginative terms. The District Six Museum on Buitenkant Street, for example, is often cited as a positive example of community involvement in heritage preservation, and is appreciated by locals and tourists alike.⁶⁶ These post-apartheid imperatives of reconciliation and transformation have also meant the simultaneous gentrification and preservation of different parts of the city, so that representations of old ideals and new values coexist in the contemporary city.

Today, Cape Town can be described as a ‘culturally diverse *and* divided city’ (Field & Swanson 2007: 5). As the stronghold of the opposition Democratic Alliance (DA) in an ANC-governed South Africa, it remains fraught with political tension. The city is also still very visibly blighted by inequality, yet it is also seen as a place ripe with opportunity and brimming with hope for the thousands of migrants who journey there (ibid.). As the legislative capital of South Africa (designated 1910), the ‘Mother City’ has been at the forefront of some of the major socio-political changes in South Africa, and has at other times remained at a distance from trends in the rest of the country.⁶⁷

The city promotes an image of social liberalism, and creativity. As well as the annual Cape Town Jazz Festival, there is also the Kaapse Klopse (aka Cape Coon Carnival) and the recently introduced One City Festival which attempt to demonstrate these ideas. Cape Town was also recently declared the World Design Capital for 2014. Entering this complex system of images and aspirations, the festival ITC exposes and challenges some of these

⁶⁶ More information about the TRC Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee can be found at: <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/reparations/index.htm>

⁶⁷ It has been argued in the past that in comparison to other major cities such as Johannesburg and Durban, segregation in Cape Town was a relatively slower and less radical process that only really began to take hold in the 1950s, which accounts in part for the persistent perception of Cape Town as a liberal, multicultural city. Vivian Bickford-Smith observed in 1995 that ‘many Capetonians today believe that their city was a haven of ethnic harmony and integration before the coming of Apartheid in 1948. They believe that segregation was something imposed on the city from outside’ (1995: 2). This myth may also have to do with the fact that the largest part of Cape Town’s population demographic is Coloured, so the city did not always *appear* to be as much defined by the black/white split as other urban centres.

constructions of Cape Town, while also playing its role as part of the City's own performance.

KNOWING ONE'S PLACE (INFECTING THE CITY)



11. ITC as a polysystem of performances: images from 2009-2011 (Africa Centre)⁶⁸

In 2008, curators Jay Pather and Brett Bailey sought to expand the audience base of the annual Spier Performing Arts Festival, which had been held on the Spier wine estate near Stellenbosch for about 12 years.⁶⁹ That year, the festival adopted the slogan 'infecting the city' and became one of many projects produced by the Africa Centre, an organisation which aims to make Africa's artistic and cultural heritage more accessible to those living

⁶⁸ All photographs of ITC in this section are obtained from and used with the permission of the Africa Centre. Individual photographers' names were not always provided for each image.

⁶⁹ Stellenbosch is a town located in the winelands about 50km East of central Cape Town. It was one of the earliest settlements in the Cape Colony, and the majority of its residents today are Afrikaans speaking.

on the continent.⁷⁰ When the Spier festival first relocated to Cape Town (26 February-2 March 2008), the curators expressed ‘a singular aggressive aim – to infect the city with performance that captures the complexities of our daily lives’ (ITC 2008: 5).

With this desire to ‘move from the formulaic’ towards ‘the new and the innovative,’ and to ‘de-mistify (sic)’ the whole business of art by staging works in outdoor public spaces (Pather & Bailey, ITC Promotional video, 2008), the programming for the 2008 festival featured a variety of offerings. As well as the ticketed evening performances of existing works by South African artists which were restaged in Cape Town’s theatres and galleries, there were also a significant number of free daytime performances by local and international artists, staged in open public spaces and accessible to the general public.

The festival has evolved in various ways over the subsequent years, becoming in my opinion more experimental and more publicly accessible.⁷¹ In 2009, it became known principally as ITC, with Brett Bailey acting as sole curator until 2011, and it is upon this period that I am focussing my analysis. Bailey’s particular approach to curating has placed emphasis on the festival’s function as a platform for social provocation. Contextualising the art in contemporaneous terms, Bailey introduced specific themes to frame the festival programming each year: Home Affairs (2009), Human Rite (2010) and Treasure (2011) discursively link Cape Town’s urban space with debates and issues of national and global concern.

So the model of ‘performing arts festival’ has evolved, and ITC has become specifically a ‘public arts festival,’ where public art is defined in the broadest sense as art presented in open urban public spaces and encompasses anything from sculpture to site-

⁷⁰ ‘The Africa Centre is both a physical entity and an ongoing philosophical journey, which provides a platform for exploring contemporary Pan-African cultural practice as a catalyst for social change’ (Africa Centre, 2013). As part of this the organisation aims to support artists and seeks to address some of the challenges (whether pragmatic or conceptual) that the arts and artists face in Africa. More information about the Centre can be found from the organisation’s website at: <<http://africacentre.net/>> As a further discussion point, I would question how the term ‘African’ is being defined, what assumptions or expectations lie behind its use, and how these ideas fit in with the image of Cape Town.

⁷¹In 2010 and 2011, for example, all performances were free with the exception of ‘Talking Heads’ which was run by the Africa Centre as an independent project during the year.

specific performance (Harding 1997: 9).⁷² Furthermore, Lacy defines ‘*new genre public art*’ as work that shifts the emphasis from form towards efficacy. It cannot be identified via taxonomy of spatial or modal practices, but exploits inter-disciplinarity and eclecticism, and exhibits communicative functions and aspirations which are based on audience/viewer engagement (Lacy 1995: 28; cf. Bailey in van Wyk 2010).

In South Africa, an understanding of public art was closely aligned with activism and community action theatre projects were a common feature of the cultural landscape and the anti-apartheid struggle (Minty 2006). Such work was no stranger to public space or socio-political activism, with performances and concerts taking place during rallies or in community halls and university campuses where it could be appreciated by particular publics (ibid. 425). After the TRC, artists also began to explore new subjects in public space, and to revisit those aspects of the past previously subordinated by the imperative of political activism.⁷³ As they began to interrogate such topics through site-specific, experimental and interdisciplinary work, new platforms were also needed to accommodate this work while allowing artists sufficient room to unpack the discourse of nation-building, which is what Sachs had called for in 1991.⁷⁴

In addition to these social imperatives, Bailey sees the creation of ‘new performance models’ as crucial to the festivals aims (quoted in van Wyk 2010). He emphasises that the festival must not only be ‘free and accessible to all’ but must showcase ‘the *creative action* of the artist as the artwork, rather than the residue of that performance, i.e. the completed sculpture’ (ibid. 2010).

⁷² The term public art is also linked to movements in the 1960s which attempted to move art ‘out of the gallery and onto the streets’ in order to reconcile the ‘democratic ideas’ of artists with the cultural elitism of the closed viewing space (Harding 1997: 9). As such, it resists the commercialisation of art which accompanies established art venues.

⁷³ I briefly mentioned these ‘shift’ in South African performance forms in my introductory chapter, see van Graan (2006), Blumberg (2009) and Feishman (2001) for some more detailed discussions and perspectives on this idea. Minty gives a more exhaustive account of the specific history of public art in the South African context (2006), including various examples of contemporary projects which could be compared to ITC. Such a comparison is beyond the scope of my particular discussion although I do discuss how ITC responds to the themes identified by Minty.

⁷⁴ For example Johannesburg Biennale (launched 1995), and more recently Spier Contemporary (launched 2007), both of which act as showcases for new interdisciplinary works, even though they arguably also participate in the commodification of art.

In a number of public art projects developed specifically with/in and for Cape Town, key thematic issues for artists (and for ITC) have included ‘rethinking monuments, the memorialising of “hidden histories”, engagements with racism and the abuse of power, and the reimagining of the city’ (Minty 2006: 426).

RETHINKING MONUMENTS AND HIDDEN HISTORIES:

Most of the performances in ITC are staged at or near historical places and heritage sites (i.e. monuments or commemorative buildings). In these works, the past is not simply recalled, but the very process of remembering is commented upon in and through the performances. Often in these performances, it is what has *not* been written into the official record of history or represented at heritage sites that is of interest, and that might reveal more about the present moment. Secondly, artists invite the public to experience the city differently, encouraging them to find details never noticed before, and thus potentially enrich the public’s sense of a particular place – mapping the invisible.

RE-IMAGINING SPACE: In ITC the re-imagining of space has also been undertaken in sites which are less obviously historical, so that seemingly mundane or functional public spaces can be appreciated in new ways. The festival’s repeated use of public squares draws on the dynamism of such spaces, which ‘can act as positive social-spatial entities...simply by making room for large-scale democratic events rather than for [by] their special character as places per se’ (N. Coetzee 2008: 145). This detail suggests the view that contemporary urban space, the experience of which is often characterised as disembodied and disorienting (see Augé 1995), can also be experienced as a space of quiet reflection through sensory engagement.

ENGAGEMENTS WITH RACE AND POWER: For Minty the ‘reimagining of the city...should ideally rest on community-rooted cultural action reflexive of the contextual changes for it to have its greatest strength in terms of symbolic restitution’ (2006: 426). Collaboration in ITC has allowed for the layering of familiar ‘insider’ and strange ‘outsider’ perspectives which are

enriching the creative landscape and thereby broadening the festival's socio-political appeal to its audience. Each year ITC organisers have made a concerted effort to involve, in one way or another, the larger public in the process of the festival by working with/from the experiences of non-professional performers. In 2009, for example, this meant that artistic/ theatre groups worked with displaced refugees in Cape Town over a number of weeks, culminating in some performances featuring the refugees as performers. In 2011, Anthea Moys created *The No 1 Unexpected Undercover Cleaning Agency* with a group of office cleaners who work in the CBD, and Owen Manamela spent time with waste management workers who performed with him in *Invisible Gold*. So the festival quite literally gives voice to those people whose presence in the city is invisible/overlooked/forgotten/ ignored/ unwanted.

Finally, Minty writes in 2006 that a number of challenges still face the genre in South Africa, particularly:

...the poverty of debate around public art, the lack of diverse and skilled voices, a poor level of discourse and writing, uneven coverage by the media, poor marketing, a lack of methodologies specific to the local context and conservative views on sculpture. The importance of documentation of processes and products, the recording of audience reactions to work, a sustained approach to training and publishing are all necessary to grow a vibrant public art sector rooted in the context of South Africa (2006: 438).

Emerging just two years after these observations were made, ITC seems to have responded to some of these problems. The range of work on show during the festival is quite impressive in this regard. It has included over the years: temporary/spontaneous interventions, visual art exhibitions, live music, creative workshops, an artists' residency programme and an educational programme for school pupils.⁷⁵

ITC has been steadily developing a younger audience base, and potentially cultivating a new generation of socially motivated, interdisciplinary artists through Arts Aweh! The programme challenges the perception that young people (especially those from

⁷⁵ This began as 'Take a Child to Art' in 2009 and later became 'Arts Aweh!'.

under-privileged backgrounds) do not or cannot understand and appreciate complex artworks. There is no special programme of ‘children’s art’ or ‘dumbed-down’ version of the works for these school learners. Instead, they are taken through a series of workshops and attend performances in groups with the guidance of a mentor-facilitator. They are encouraged to look at the works in context, to interrogate and question what they see, hear and feel, and they are invited to challenge the ideas and concepts they encounter. In this way learners are equipped with the critical tools to enable them to engage with art work and to articulate their responses to it.

ITC’s website adds a vibrant virtual dimension to the festival, and features articles, reviews, photographs, and video. It serves as an archive of the project as well as a platform for public responses that complement the festival’s Facebook and Twitter accounts. And lastly, the marketing and advertising of the festival shows great attention to detail, a calculated sensitivity to the power of images, and at times a sense humour and irony. For example, the ITC logo for the past three years has incorporated the image of a cockroach, an organism which is often associated with dirt and contamination. This logo serves as a visualization of the intention to explore the hidden depths of the city and its issues, and perhaps an inference of the enduring quality of creative expressions as well as social divisions within Cape Town’s multicultural society in a self-referentially ironic way.

Minty’s comments above are echoed by Brent Meersman (2011) who outlines the challenges facing arts festivals in general in South Africa. These can be summarised as follows:

1. distribution of economic benefits (especially since festivals tend to highlight inequality within communities)
2. transformation and demographics (in relation to content, artists and audiences)
3. balancing commercial aims vs artistic integrity (creating a sustainable environment for nurturing new voices)

In his discussion, Meersman cites ITC as one example of some promising new festivals occurring in South Africa. He illustrates how the festival has responded to some of the challenges listed above, noting Bailey's emphasis on fostering artistic collaboration and public access to the festival. Over the past four years, the festival has evolved, moving further way from the use of formal venues and emphasizing site-specific, durational and participatory works. ITC is not only a not for profit venture, but it is also specifically geared toward facilitating contact between artists and the public, and between local and international practitioners. This is partly because ITC is one of many initiatives produced by the Africa Centre whose guiding imperative has no doubt been responsible for particular approach adopted by ITC. In sum, ITC is of particular interest for my study because of how it exemplifies the following ideas:

Eventification: It is public art in the festival format, meaning that it is a sustained intervention across the city featuring a broad range of activities and aimed at a large and varied audience. As discussed in my introduction, this form is also related to the oft-discussed performance models of ritual and rite, and can be linked to the TRC's proposed notion of 'symbolic reparations.'

Iteration: It is an annual event, based in the same general area of the city and revisiting the historical sites, while raising different issues in these spaces each time. This means that the festival as whole is constantly evolving in response to the needs and workings of the city, pointing to a certain degree of experimentation.

Experimentation: this exists at various levels, not only in the composition and programming of the festival as a whole but also in the making and staging of individual works in the city. A subject for future discussions might be how the cumulative results of experimentation in ITC hold exciting possibilities for future ventures in public art performance and also in urban development policy. The experiments in the city also hint at

possible directions for expanding research in these areas in relation to other South African cities.

Provocation: I am interested in how curator Brett Bailey's approach to curating the festival differs/draws from his work as an artist/director/theatre-maker, and particularly how the idea of art as a 'cultural weapon' emerges in both cases.

I will explore each of these points by examining examples from the festivals of 2009, 2010, and 2011. I should note here that I do not intend at this stage to conduct a detailed performance analysis of specific performances, but rather I will be looking broadly at a range of interventions in order to show how ITC attempts to make visible what is 'invisible' within Cape Town. By means of various types of performance the festival re-traces an outline of the divisions within the city, and then attempts to challenge the apparent stability of these boundaries. I will look at a selection of moments from these three years, considering specifically how the festival maps Cape Town, and then how a number of 'accidental accounts' reveal the festival's own assumptions and challenge its aspirations.

INVITATION (HOME AFFAIRS, 2009)



12. ITC 2009 (Africa Centre)

As a choice of theme, Home Affairs was a direct reference to the acts of xenophobic violence which swept across South African cities in May 2008.⁷⁶ The theme also encouraged artists to interrogate issues surrounding citizenship and belonging more generally. Announcing its arrival in the city, the logo for ITC 2009 provocatively transformed the signature cockroach image into a silhouette of a burning man – refering to Ernesto Nhamuave, the Mozambican man whose death brought international attention to the violence of 2008.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ South Africa's infamous government Department of Home Affairs is mandated to deal with matters of immigration and with the official documentation of South African citizens. The department has long suffered a bad reputation due to repeated allegations of corruption, poor service delivery, perpetuating xenophobic attitudes and mistreating African immigrants.

⁷⁷ On May 18 2008, Nhamuave was set alight by a mob in Johannesburg and died from his wounds. The images of his last moments drew international attention and were a rude awakening to South Africans about the severity of the violence against immigrants. See Sibanda (2009) for a discussion about the issues

As a key part of the festival programme, Bailey assembled three interdisciplinary teams of artists to create collaborative performance works. Each team was made up of one international practitioner with a background in site-specific performance, one artist from the SADC⁷⁸ region, and two South Africans. The groups were assigned a site each within the city, and taken through a workshop and research process in order to ‘submerge’ them in the social landscape.⁷⁹ They produced three 30 minute works: *Limbo*, *Exile*, and *Amakwerekwere*.⁸⁰

Having lived in Cape Town for little over a month, I arrived at Church Square a few minutes early and sat on a bench waiting for the performance of *Limbo*. I noticed several other people milling around and doing the same, among them a Coloured⁸¹ Woman whom I assumed to be Homeless, given her appearance and the number of people in this circumstance in Cape Town. Seated nearby, she was eating bread and soup, and having what seemed to be a lively conversation with herself. After a while I heard the sound of music playing and noticed performers gradually emerging from different positions in and around the square. By now more people had gathered around, I stood up to get a better view, and as though choreographed we all seemed to draw back and clear a space in the centre. The show was now underway, the crowd was still growing and several people began taking pictures on their phones. Then the Homeless Coloured Woman, who was still in her place, started to dance and sing, almost as though not to disappoint us.

Over the music I now heard the recorded voices of migrants speaking in different languages. The whole space was transformed into a colourful, mesmerizing and emotive

surrounding the circulation of the photographs. Also see the looking/not looking discussion in *Corporeal Networks*.

⁷⁸ ‘The Southern Africa Development Community is a Regional Economic Community made up of 15 member states...Established in 1992, SADC is committed to Regional Integration and poverty eradication within Southern Africa through economic development and ensuring peace and security.’ From <http://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/> [Accessed 15/05/2013].

⁷⁹ There were some ethical issues surrounding this process and the appropriation of the refugees’ narratives and the burning man image which was part of the festival’s logo. I will return to these in *Corporeal Networks*.

⁸⁰ ‘Amakwerekwere’ is the derogatory term for foreign blacks in South Africa. The word derives from the stereotype that people from other parts of Africa speak unintelligible gibberish, hence the onomatopoeic ‘kwerekwere.’ See Nyamjoh (2006).

⁸¹ I use the capital form here specifically to reference my own act of naming.

collage of movement and song, cast in relief against the dull tones and formal lines of the surrounding buildings. In a flurry of action the bodies of the performers were physically doing battle with the architecture, some hanging from a building, scaling the bars of a fence while others tugged at the statue in the centre.⁸²

Meanwhile, the Homeless Coloured Woman was rolling on the ground with laughter, mimicking the action and chasing after performers as they ran from one scene to the next. Grinning all the while in between slurps of soup she joined in the action so convincingly that at times it was unclear whether or not she was meant to be a part of the performance. With time it gradually became obvious that her own performance was a spontaneous one, that her dishevelled appearance was not in fact the work of a brilliant costume and makeup artist. The soup was real, as were the crumbs of bread stuck on her leathery face, as was the odour of stale sweat and alcohol which followed her. Undeterred by the disapproving stares, jeers and laughter she was now receiving from some spectators, she continued to chat in a jovial manner to individuals in the crowd, toasting us all with her cup of soup and a near toothless smile.

I remarked on all this after the performance as I sat at a nearby café with friends, some of whom had been performing in *Limbo* just minutes before. I had enjoyed the performance and been moved by the work because the subjects of migration and xenophobia are close to my heart, but I think I was especially intrigued by the Homeless Woman's presence, which seemed to strike at the very core of what the themed performance was all about. To some people she was disruptive and distracting – she did not seem to know her place. To others she was amusing – she was reading from a different 'script.' And to still others she was unimportant, dismissed as a drunk or a lunatic, and therefore invisible. Whatever the case, it seemed that in the middle of a designated public space, this Homeless Coloured Woman had somehow crossed an invisible line that had

⁸² Parliamentarian Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr or 'Our Jan' (1845-1909), fought for the recognition of Afrikaans as a legitimate language. The statue was erected in 1920.

been established when the performance started: a line which demarcated the role and place of the 'public' as outside the imaginary bounds of the performance space.

Soon after watching *Limbo*, I attended a performance of *Exile* at the Adderley Street Fountains. The Fountains were built in the 1960s and are today located in the centre of a busy traffic roundabout circle close to Cape Town Station.⁸³ Created in collaboration with Cape Town's Jazzart Dance Company, *Exile* loosely incorporated the personal stories of the immigrant collaborators with whom the team had met over a period of weeks. One of them, Prosper Tafa, recounted the story of his real-life journey across the Limpopo River from Zimbabwe to enter South Africa illegally. Using parts of his narrative, *Exile* conveyed with striking clarity the desperation, fear and hope which characterise the migratory experience for many African immigrants in South Africa. Some of the images conjured up subjective associations for me: a procession of dancers approaching the water seemed like a funeral march on a river bank; a plastic basin floating away from a woman reminded me of the biblical story of Moses; a man struggling with a load of suitcases resembled a modern-day Atlas.

Amidst the chaotic flows of the everyday transit zone, the performance was an Island of narrative continuity and deeply symbolic meaning. The amplified sound of Tafa's solitary, pleasant sounding voice created an air of calm amidst the noises of bus engines and car horns, and music blaring from stationary taxis. Meanwhile the bodies of the dancers became seemingly inseparable from the Fountain itself, which was transformed before my eyes from an ugly concrete circle into an oasis, then a crocodile-infested river, and finally a cleansing spring.

Throughout the performance, objects were used to manipulate the water in the Fountains and to evoke empathy and emotional and embodied engagement between the performers and spectators: the repetitive rhythms created as the women waded through the

⁸³ The main train station in the city also adjoins a bus terminus and a taxi rank serving long-distance travellers.

knee-deep water, wringing their soaked Chitenges⁸⁴ and contorting their bodies evoked for me the sense of a mourning dance; a plastic hose hitting the surface sounded like a whip striking flesh and the force of the blow, which sent streams of water shooting upward, was reminiscent of people scattering in fear from the lashings of riot police.

The power of such imagery was not only a matter of what historical and cultural connotations the objects and actions evoked, it had to do with the physical presence and abundance of the water itself in this place – a traffic island in the middle of a main street, in a city defined by water, but where there is very little actual presence of water in the CBD. The proximity of bodies in a large crowd, in an outside space, gave me a sense of anticipation and excitement that marked out the performance and its space as apart from ‘everyday’ events. At the same time the ‘everyday’ could not be obliterated, the sights and sounds of the place gave an immediate and real energy to the performance which I think would not have felt the same in another space. The most arresting image from *Exile* was the reproduction of the burning man – a wire and rubber sculpture was set alight, referencing the death of Ernesto Nhamuave. At this moment there was a palpable sense of horror in the crowd as we watched the figure quickly become engulfed in tapering flames and clouds of black smoke billowing into the sky, the suffocating smell of burning tyres bringing to my mind the practice of necklacing in the 1980s and 1990s.⁸⁵ Then as the flames died out, a spray of water cascaded over the same kneeling figure. The sheer contrast of the elements of fire and water, and their symbolic connotations transformed the image into one of redemption, and the figure with its arms upraised now appeared to be rejoicing in the spray of a fountain or spring. At the same time, the dancers created a spectacular show of water spirals in time to the closing music. This final image of ‘hope’ reduced most of the audience to tears (myself included), while others were so filled with joy and excitement that they enthusiastically waded into the fountain upon an invitation

⁸⁴ A cotton print cloth worn by women and associated with foreigners in South Africa.

⁸⁵ This was a practice of mob justice used to demonstratively punish suspected informers during the apartheid era. It involved hanging a tyre around the person’s neck and setting them alight.

from performers. This performance affected me intensely on a personal level, and had an equally strong effect on the rest of the crowd.

By the time the event came to an end and performers began to make their way on foot through town, *Exile* had attracted so much attention that traffic was momentarily disrupted by the large crowd trying to follow the performers as they left the scene. Although I was not researching ITC at the time, in my capacity as researcher/scholar I was wary of what seemed to be a rather simplistic ‘happy ending’ tacked onto the very complex and unresolved social problem of xenophobia. I could see that other spectators responded positively to this hopeful ending, but I myself resisted the involuntary effect the performance had had on me and fought against the urge to join in and wade into the Fountain with the crowd.

My experience of ITC in 2009 left a lasting impression which I have previously tried and failed to capture in writing (A.L. Moyo 2009). In the first place, the thematic focus resonated with aspects of my own work at the time.⁸⁶ Whilst I had a very clear personal attachment to the 2009 theme of Home Affairs, I also appreciated the fact that although the collaborative works were dealing with very particular stories, they avoided prescriptive judgments about the issues being explored, so that the appeal of the works I saw was largely in their multivalent nature. The performances mapped my own sense of not belonging in Cape Town, at the same time as they attempted to draw attention to the broader social landscape within which they were taking place.

Xenophobia has long been a concern in South Africa and existed even before the first democratic elections in 1994, but the events of May 2008 drew wider international and media attention than previous outbursts particularly after the death of Ernesto Nhamuave.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ I was in the process of finishing my Masters dissertation and at that point struggling to articulate my subjective experiences of migration and displacement, whilst at the same time in a state of uncertainty pending the outcome of my application for a work permit to stay in South Africa legally. Much of my first month in Cape Town was spent queuing for hours at the Barrack Street Home Affairs offices alongside many other foreigners.

⁸⁷ Often, researchers and commentators have attempted to explain the violence by blaming either the anti-black and anti-Africa stance of the apartheid state, a systemically unfair and inefficient immigration policy,

The events of May 2008 were shocking because of the scale of the aggression; as attacks against foreigners spread from city to city over a relatively short period of time. In Cape Town, xenophobic violence was an unwelcome reminder of the divisions of race, class and ethnicity. Sporadic clashes between ‘locals’ and ‘aliens’ had been reported in the Cape Town area from 1996 but, perhaps because of the city’s liberal reputation, the 2008 violence was more alarming than anything that had happened before. The fact that this could happen in what has popularly been considered the most tolerant and relaxed city in South Africa was a major embarrassment to city officials, as it problematised the view, expressed by many, that Cape Town is somehow more ‘European’ than perhaps Johannesburg and Durban were. Violence had shown the Mother City to be ‘all too African’ in that it was not exempt from the social ills which plague South Africa’s other major cities.⁸⁸ Certainly, there were questions here to be asked about South Africa’s relationship with the rest of the continent.

Venturing into such a volatile and pertinent subject required, first and foremost, that participating artists bring a degree of openness and empathy to the process, which involved meeting some of the African immigrants who had experienced the violence of 2008 at first-hand. However, what transpired in the performances of *Limbo* and *Exile* was more than storytelling, the events in each case mirrored conceptions and experiences of encountering ‘difference’ in the context of the city space. In particular, the incident in *Limbo* demonstrated that the terms of identification (ie. being a performer or a spectator) have a bearing on the reception of ‘otherness,’ whether as ‘strangers’ (ie. the Homeless Coloured

or poor service delivery and the on-going struggles of poverty and unemployment which affect many citizens in post-apartheid South Africa (see Dodson 2010); while others have suggested that the research has not yet tackled the phenomenon directly or in any real depth (Crush 2008: 1). Notably, most of the violence has been directed at African immigrants, although there have been cases of Asians, mostly Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, being attacked as well. Negative attitudes towards foreigners have also caused problems for some South African nationals who, because of their physical appearance – i.e. having a darker complexion or a certain shape of nose – have either been targeted by civilians or harassed by the police and immigration officials. The severity of the abuse has varied, ranging from unlawful detention by police and Home Affairs, to the eviction and destruction of property, brutal beatings and in the most extreme cases the loss of lives (see the timeline of xenophobic violence in Crush 2008: 44-54). There have also been conflicts between communities of internal South African migrants and host communities.

⁸⁸ See Mbembe (2001) for an indepth discussion of how Africa functions discursively as a sign of violence and chaos.

Woman). We might even take ‘strangeness’ to be a kind of performance enacted by and for various individuals (audiences) towards particular ends, effectively suggesting how the notion of a ‘stranger’ is a relative and malleable construct.

While I was attempting to read the woman’s body in order to identify her presence in the performance, I also made assumptions about her background, and value judgements about her motivations. In fact, she may not have been Homeless at all, she may or may not have been drunk as most of us assumed, and she may not even have been Coloured. What my experience of *Limbo* therefore inadvertently highlighted are contradictions and tensions between: the everyday and the spectacular, the liminal rite and the carnival, the real and the imaginary, formal and informal, active and passive, centre and periphery, self and other. The performance did not necessarily reveal this, but the space it opened facilitated this everyday encounter alongside the performance event, with the effect that it highlighted the constructions and potential reactions to performative bodies in the city.

As I saw it, the Homeless Coloured Woman deliberately made her presence felt in *Limbo* to make her own comment on the work. Whereas the art *represented* one form of marginality, she extended the boundaries in asserting her own presence which was usually ignored. As such she forced the audience to extend their awareness of other marginal identities – with the homeless body being a particularly unsettling presence in urban space (Kawash 1998). Because her act of transgression was sustained throughout the performance, it seemed to be a deliberate rather than a momentary lapse on her part. Yet she remained entirely absent from the documents of the performance, and there are no official photographs of her presence. She does not exist, then, other than via my own strategic recollection here (and the recollections of other spectators who saw her), and so she haunts the performance in two senses: re-tracing the map in performances and the map in my memory.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ This idea will be picked up again in Frontier Nations and Corporeal Networks sections.

If she had not already been marked as an ‘outsider’ or a ‘social misfit’ on account of her physical appearance, then her performance certainly seemed to exclude her further from the crowd because, in a social transaction of this kind, she did not seem to ‘know her place’. It seems that her defiance of the conventional response to the staged event magnified in very clear terms the boundaries which are at work in Cape Town’s urban centre – boundaries which have their roots in both the local and global histories of space, and which have directly to do with the sublimation of particular attitudes to certain kinds of bodies and subjectivities on the basis of class, ethnicity, race, and gender etc. Assumptions about her behaviour are linked to racial stereotypes and the legacy of social deprEvation associated with Coloured identity in South Africa.⁹⁰

At the same time, there was also a degree of tolerance towards her, leading me to wonder, had she been a man, would the crowd’s reaction to her have been different? Would her actions have been read as aggressive, and would someone have intervened and removed her from the space? Would she still have been dismissed as a ‘lunatic element,’ or would she possibly have been taken more seriously or even considered as a threat of some kind? The Homeless Coloured Woman is a ‘stranger’ in the sense of Wilson’s ‘public woman’ whose presence in the City is unsettling for patriarchal sensibilities and reads as a loss/lack of ‘virtue and respectability’(1992: 91/93). This was especially true since by speaking of Home Affairs, ITC 2009 was also speaking to issues which are inferred in the word ‘home’.

That is, as shelter, comfort, safety and belonging, ‘home’ can have positive meanings. However, as a gendered space linked to domesticity, confinement and violence, it has potentially negative dimensions too, which function through and uphold the public/private binary (Olwig 1998: cf. CB Davies 1994). The split between the public and

⁹⁰ I am referring here to the ‘dop’ (or ‘tot’) system, the practice of paying farmworkers with cheap alcohol which was widely used in South Africa during the colonial and Apartheid eras, particularly in the Western Cape. It led to high rates of alcoholism and became especially associated with damaged Cape Coloured communities (see London 1999).

private spaces implied in the way that urban space acts on bodies, potentially becomes another source of dis-ease, making the city an un-homely place. For Bhabha ‘unhomeliness’ is the paradigmatic post-colonial condition. The ‘unhomely’ moment is marked by the transgression of these boundaries and ‘relates the traumatic ambivalences of a personal, psychic history to the wider disjunctions of political existence’ (1994: 13/15). This transgression may be entirely accidental, occurring in even the most mundane and unremarkable of circumstances, for example, yet ‘it is precisely in these banalities that the unhomely stirs, as the violence of a racialized society falls most enduringly on the details of life: where you can sit, or not; how you can live, or not; what you can learn, or not; who you can love, or not’ (1994: 21).

By drawing attention to her marginality, this woman performs her knowledge of (her) place. But like the ‘public woman,’ it is her presence in the City that reveals the ambivalence of the *flâneur*. This subversive act not only demonstrates the unpredictable and potentially egalitarian nature of performance in the City, it also reveals a key paradox underlying the concept of public space and public art – it remains ‘closed’ as much as it attempts to be ‘open’.⁹¹ This is perhaps because there are multiple levels on which ‘performance in the city’ can be said to function.

This brings me to the observation that ‘the city’s practices install constitutive effects and behaviours that implicitly render some ways of being in the city “off-limits” or “inconceivable” as much as conceivable’ (Whybrow 2011: 8). In the Lefebvrian sense, urban space acts directly upon the body, re-producing what is deemed acceptable by a society’s institutions of power – be they religious, political or economic. It is not difficult to imagine some of the more direct ways in which this is done – we might be reminded of Marc Augé’s (1995) assertions about the seductive force of convention which governs the conduct of people in non-places, evident in the form of written and spoken signs or commands, and unspoken social codes.

⁹¹ I will return to this idea in the course of my discussion to elaborate.

Often, these commands are subtle, their influence apparently benign. Some are functional: 'keep left,' 'cross' or 'don't cross'. Other codes implicitly communicate value judgments: 'keep off the grass,' 'no loitering', 'no hawkers'. Others still are unwritten social rules: 'walk quickly in the city', 'don't cry in public' and 'don't look lost.' And of course there are those rules and signs which exert institutional power in altogether more explicit, even violent terms: in apartheid South Africa the signs 'whites only,' 'Non-Europeans and Tradesmen's Boys with Bicycles' and 'ANY KAFFIR TRESPASSING WILL BE SHOT' (Garb 2010: 8).

The 'directions' and signs which are to be found in cities, especially in the case of racial segregation, reveal that urban space is governed by processes of inclusion and exclusion. The control of bodies in urban space is not only linked to the demands of labour or capital production and to social prejudices, it is also an attempt to control emotion according to a notion of what is public and what is private. The division of these two worlds is, arguably, a particularly Western and Modern cultural phenomenon linked to changes in early Industrial Europe (see Jackson 2005), and the city is imagined as a space in which emotion does not exist because it is a mechanised space.

However, Nahnsen argues that there is a 'politics of emotion' at work in the production and consumption of social space within cities, which is a combination of desires (for belonging/control/purity/security) and fears (of their loss/of invasion by the other). These feelings re-create each other and are the basis for the workings of inclusion/exclusion principles that govern urban space (2006: 19). The 'politics of emotion' often renders urban space charged with meaning, transforming it into a realm 'set apart' for the re-production of stable social identities (2006: 17).⁹² Unpacking this

⁹² Nahnsen explains this idea using psychoanalytical theories which explore how individual fears and desires 'map' onto the social landscape: 'dis-courses of power gain their force by making use of individuals' desires and fears: there is a politics of emotion' (2006: 43). Consider J.M. Coetzee's (1991) in-depth study of Jeffrey Cronje, the key thinker behind apartheid's philosophy. Coetzee suggests that Cronje's own personal paranoid about racial mixing and miscegenation were translated into the basis for the entire apartheid philosophy.

‘politics’ and the distinction between public and private spaces is therefore ‘crucial in the understanding of the making of space and place – both in its political as well as in its everyday production’ since ‘the rational approach to the city often conceals the specific desires of those in power and can be understood as a tool for cultural hegemony; the desire of those in power to create images of the city that enable a positive identification with space’ (2006: 16/46-7). Having foregrounded how the ‘politics of emotion’ affects the material production of urban space, I continue to look at how emotion functions in ideological and discursive space.

PROVOCATION (HUMAN RITE, 2010)

On the 4 February 2010, *The Cape Argus* newspaper reported that an application had been tendered to the Cape Town city council for permission to stage a traditional Xhosa cleansing ritual in the centre of the CBD (van der Fort 2010). According to the newspaper, the plan was to open the ITC festival with the sacrifice of a bull in Thibault Square. This act was to be performed by *sangomas* (Xhosa traditional healers/shamans) in order to lay to rest the souls of prisoners who had died on Robben Island over the last few centuries. It would have been a symbolic cleansing of the space to wash away the residues of the traumatic past. Thibault Square which lies in a busy part of town was chosen by the festival team because the site had once been under the ocean, so the location would have served as a quay between the past and the present landscape and between the worlds of the living and the dead.

The story had been leaked to the press by Bailey and the ITC team, and a public controversy erupted soon afterward. At the offices of the Africa Centre, the festival’s headquarters, the ITC team faced a barrage of correspondence expressing the public’s views on the matter. There were reported threats of legal action, an AWB⁹³ sit-in and a boycott of Spier – the festival’s principal sponsor (Meersman 2010). Some commentators

⁹³ The Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging (Afrikaner Resistance Movement) is a right-wing separatist party.

accused festival organisers of attempting to exploit a cultural ritual to heighten the ‘shock value’ of the festival, although Bailey insisted that the motivation for staging the ritual had nothing to do with ‘shock’ or ‘art’ (quoted in Meersman 2010). On the other side of the debate, there were some people who defended the proposal as part of a fundamental democratic right to freedom of expression, or as a part of their own cultural practices and beliefs. Others supported the symbolic ritual as a necessary instrument for reconciliation.

In his curator’s note, Bailey explained the intention of the festival that year was

...to refigure the public spaces of the inner-city as arenas in which we confront our demons and attempt to put them to bed. To seek out silent memories and invisible stories and validate them. To look for what needs to be righted, and ‘rited’. To broaden and deepen the way we experience the world we live in, and to celebrate our fundamental human right to express who we are (ITC Human Rite, 2010: 6).

The ITC controversy was part of a longer running debate about the meanings and extents (or limits) of constitutionally guaranteed civil freedoms in the ‘new’ South Africa. Bailey had himself faced criticism in 2003, when *sangomas* killed a chicken onstage in his play *iMumbo Jumbo*.⁹⁴ At the time of the ITC story, the issue of animal sacrifice was still highly contentious, with two notable cases of it emerging in the news less than six months before.⁹⁵ While a general discussion was initiated on the festival’s Facebook page,⁹⁶ the *Argus* story had also attracted attention from an international online audience as the news spread to discussions on other forums, where objections were voiced mainly on the grounds of animal rights, religious beliefs and general moral indignation.

⁹⁴ This was during the Baxter Theatre production in Cape Town in 2003. There were specific tensions in that case to do with the nature of the theatre auditorium as a particular kind of cultural viewing-space, which relates back to the ritual/theatre questions raised in my discussion of ‘Limbo.’ The Baxter Theatre is part of UCT, and can also be characterized as a ‘middle-class’ space. See Rudakoff (2004) for a discussion about this incident in relation to interculturalism and Bailey’s intention as an artist. I will also discuss Bailey’s work in *Frontier Nations*.

⁹⁵ In 2009 proposals were made to bless stadia for the 2010 FWC by slaughtering an animal in each venue. In the same year animal rights’ activists had sought a Court order to stop Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini from slaughtering a bull during the *Ukweshwama* ‘first fruits’ festival which marks the beginning of the harvest season. During the celebrations a bull is slaughtered after groups of Zulu men (‘warriors’) have wrestled with the creature. Although this event is very different from the rituals of Xhosa *sangomas*, both practices are often equated in public discussions about slaughter. In these two cases, legal action failed and the plans went ahead: President Jacob Zuma attended the *Ukweshwama* in December, and the blessing of Soweto’s Soccer City Stadium also went ahead.

⁹⁶ The thread begins with a comment from Bailey about the FWC proposals. This thread later refers to the *Argus* story but mainly deals with the general dilemma of ritual sacrifice in the new South Africa.

A number of perspectives emerged in relation to ITC's proposal which mirrored views expressed in the broader 'animal rights versus cultural rites' debate in South Africa, but I am not interested so much in the ideological debate about the ritual itself as with how comments in the online discussions articulate the meaning(s) of public space, perceptions of city-ness, and the role of art/artists within the body politic.

Reading these more closely, it becomes clear that the arguments function to declare ownership of urban *public* space (Thibault Square), and to nullify alternative claims to it by prescribing how urban public space should be used. These claims also relate to the workings of inclusion and exclusion of certain bodies within the discursive landscape of the City, and set out who or what is deemed to be acceptable and/or unacceptable within it according to a cultural and racial hierarchy (recall the spatial planning of the 'ideal' apartheid Cape Town mentioned earlier).

By way of provocation, ITC incited public performances of identity within the *virtual* landscape of cyberspace. As such, it attempted to engage the global public in thinking about Cape Town's spatial politics. Some of those involved in the conversations were not residents or even visitors in the city/country, and many were not regular followers of the festival at all. In this sense Bailey was experimenting with the relationship between the local and the global, between the material and the ethereal, and even between the public and the private. I will closely analyse comments from a selection of websites, and then make some more general observations about what is being performed by individuals and by the festival itself. I also want to draw attention to how my own reading of those texts ('there') creates another particular image of Cape Town ('here') based on my own knowledge and experience of the city.

To begin with, Bailey had made the following comment in the *Argus*: '[W]e don't see Xhosa centres. We have churches for Christians, synagogues and mosques. In planning

this festival we looked at who is not represented, who is absent from the city' (quoted in van der Fort 2010). The problem put forward by Bailey was a problem of the 'invisibility' of Xhosa culture in Cape Town CBD, which is linked to the histories of colonialism and apartheid when 'strangers' were systematically pushed out of the central city. By identifying an historical and persistent imbalance which needs to be rectified in the present-day, Bailey was asserting that the City, and specifically public space, should reflect the cultural diversity of South African society since 'unity in diversity' is one of the nation's core values. Through ITC he staged the idea that public space should (be used to) give the marginalised a platform for self-expression, 'mapping the invisible'.

On the South African site mybroadband.co.za, 'brixton tower' from Cape Town responded to this argument by saying

I'll definitely be there for the shedding of blood. Guess all the bunny huggers and colonialists would have to stay far from Thibault Square. South Africa is all about tolerance, the sangomas are not asking to slaughter a cow there every day, they're only doing it this ONE day. If you don't like it stay far away- freedom of choice baby (2010).⁹⁷

This statement implies that although everyone is 'included' in the body politic by democratic right, there are necessarily some who will be 'excluded' from the community of the 'new South Africa.' Taking the view that public space should reflect values associated with 'freedom,' he/she then performs his/her sense of belonging in Cape Town by expressing a willingness to *participate* in the public and social production of the city. At the same time he/she identifies themselves by 'othering' the objectors, asserting that 'bunny huggers and colonialists' (perhaps read 'white liberals') have no place in the new dispensation (perhaps as they have had their say in the past). By implication, black South Africans are seen to have an inherent right to the space and to 'belong' in South Africa.

On another forum thread from the site africagateway.com, the role of the festival is contextualised within the city, and is associated with both social transformation and the

⁹⁷ From <<http://mybroadband.co.za/vb/showthread.php/215242-Sangomas-plan-to-slaughter-bull-in-CBD/page3>> [Accessed 19/05/2011].

urban leisure economy: ‘...i say let ppl do whatever they want, be it art or useless or whatever. I think it is interesting [sic]’ (‘motho’ 2010), and

this is dope! Infecting the City continues to be one of the most exciting and relevant things to ever happen in town. Xhosa centres are very dope idea. Cape Town city centres been whitewashed for too long (‘the panic!’2010).⁹⁸

Both speakers see the ritual as a form of *artistic expression* which has value because it will provoke and challenge the conservative views of Cape Town’s civil society. The urban space is seen here as a dead space which needs to be revived by artists, and as such it ‘belongs’ to artists. In this case the writers also ‘locate’ themselves in a particular relation to the city by adopting the *flâneur*’s gaze, emphasizing the city as a ‘place of encounters’ and demonstrating their own cultural openness and tolerance.

On the other hand, the arguments against the ITC ritual include the following:

Barbaric, just fushing barbaric if you ask me [...] they should stop living in the Dark Ages, and join the rest of civilisation. Animal sacrifice is sinful, and by the law of Karma you WILL have to pay for it [sic]. (‘Shuan108’ 2010)⁹⁹

This description of animal sacrifice as ‘sinful’ is similar to the argument made in an online petition which describes the situation in rather alarmist terms:

**How dare you demand that I be
your *sin-eater*?**

Black is beautiful:

African witchcraft is *NOT*!

I die this weekend at Thibault Square during an

‘Arts Festival’- email the mayor of

Cape Town please!



EMAILS URGENTLY NEEDED - PLEASE ASK THE MAYOR OF CAPE TOWN TO WITHOLD PERMISSION FOR THE BARBARIC RITUAL SLAUGHTER OF A BULL IN THIBAUT SQUARE, CAPE TOWN - THIS WEEKEND 13th to 14th FEBRUARY 2010!

13. ‘ACTION! African Crisis’: partial screenshot of online petition (‘Eureka’s sharebook,’ care2.com)¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ From <<http://www.africagateway.com/forums/index.php?topic=27733.0>> [Accessed 19/05/2011].

⁹⁹ From <<http://mybroadband.co.za/vb/showthread.php/215242-Sangomas-plan-to-slaughter-bull-in-CBD?s=cf0473e32b4963a3c245e2d299799485>> [Accessed 19/05/2011].

In the two examples above, while attempting to make their arguments about animal rights, speakers impose a particular set of Judeo-Christian views on urban space, and assume their own an inherent right over other claims to both physical and ideological space. Ideas about religion, morality, progress and civilisation are conflated here, just as I saw in my earlier discussion about the early history of Cape Town. The petition image also reveals perceptions relating Cape Town as a place to the rest of the world, and so 'Clara Sharp' at care2.com writes: 'Surely your country is much more sophisticated' and 'Pam F' adds 'it's just grotesque to think of this happening in the centre of a capital city!' (2010)¹⁰¹ Similarly from mybroadband.co.za 'Morgoth' says, 'this is why Africa is still stuck in a primitive age.'¹⁰² So public space, according to these writers at least, must reflect the *modern* values of progress and civilization and not those of 'African witchcraft' which should therefore not be part of the contemporary world/social landscape. In the last comment in particular, all of the problems on the continent are blamed on a 'primitive' cultural cosmology, as though colonialism, slavery, and apartheid had not played a role in creating the perceived 'crisis' of South African urbanism. This exemplifies what Jennifer Robinson has dubbed the 'dystopic narrative structure' (2010) which permeates writing about African cities in particular.¹⁰³

Another commentator on mybroadband.co.za insists that the ritual is not only outdated but downright silly: 'So if we offer to pee all over St. Georges mall for the festival because it's our tradition, that would be acceptable?'¹⁰⁴ In this case the speaker 'to0kenZA' makes a value judgment made on the basis of an appeal to rational logic,

¹⁰⁰ Image and discussion thread available at:
<http://www.care2.com/c2c/share/sharebook?share_type=&tag=sangoma&pid=881129493> [Accessed 05/10/2012]

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² From <<http://mybroadband.co.za/vb/showthread.php/215242-Sangomas-plan-to-slaughter-bull-in-CBD/page2>> [Accessed 19/05/2011].

¹⁰³ Robinson points out how in fact this 'dystopic' vision has its roots in much of the early modern writing about urbanisms, in which the continent of Africa was always cast as a disorganised and chaotic space. This seems to persist in the present (cf. Mbembe 2001; Pieterse 2011).

¹⁰⁴ From <<http://mybroadband.co.za/vb/showthread.php/215242-Sangomas-plan-to-slaughter-bull-in-CBD/page4>> [Accessed 19/05/2011].

which assumes that all rational persons would agree that to pee in St. Georges mall is a senseless and unhygienic act which no rational person would sanction. The speaker, whose statement is designed to identify him/her as just such a rational individual, reasons that actions in public space should be governed by (Western) codes of ‘decency’ and ‘common sense’ which are logically superior to all other forms of rationality.

While it is not always clear whether people’s concerns are about the practice itself or the place in which it is happening, in the examples above, pragmatic concerns about the uses of public space and fears about identity are often confused with one another. But perhaps the following comments make clear that the question of staging the ritual provokes responses on multiple affective and emotional registers:

Over my dead body will this happen in my town...This is not, never was and never will be Cape Town culture - apart from the fact that as I understand it it would be illegal’ (‘daveza,’ 2010).¹⁰⁵

‘[D]aveza’ who is writing here takes issue with the idea that some other individual/group can (be seen to) define a place that is linked to his/her own identity, and counters this in turn by speaking with authority to limit the possibilities of place in order to perform his/her own identity. By stating what ‘is not, never was and never will be’ he/she creates or imagines the space and defines the terms by which one becomes a citizen – *I am a law-abiding citizen, I know what Cape Town culture is because I live here*. But instead of offering an alternative interpretation of what the real ‘Cape Town culture’ is, there is an appeal to laws about public health and hygiene in the city. This supports the speaker’s declamatory and defensive tone of voice but does little to redefine the place/space in positive terms.

The fear of being misrepresented is in some ways a fear of being dis-placed. In this next comment posted on a right-wing South African website titled ‘I Luv South Africa But

¹⁰⁵ From <<http://mybroadband.co.za/vb/showthread.php/215242-Sangomas-plan-to-slaughter-bull-in-CBD/page2>> [Accessed 19/05/2011].

I Hate My Government', race and ethnicity are conflated so that amaXhosa in Cape Town become all black people in South Africa:

I do not see this as the action of "marginalised" groups, as the text says, but as an act of imperialism from the dominant, majority group. The fact that they are not dominant in Cape Town itself is irrelevant ('Tim Johnston,' 2010).¹⁰⁶

Note how, while refering to Bailey's original comments about cultural centres (quoted earlier), the speaker above equates visibility with dominance, which suggests an underlying perception that to be represented in space is to have power over it and over others. The notable leap in logic maps Johnston's anxiety about his own position in the body politic: they are dominant, therefore I am marginalised.

A slightly different defensive argument has to do with economic wealth and power:

sigh probably another money making scheme driven by a white man hidding behind a "black culture" thing to atract other whites who wanna see blacks but in the comfort of the City [...] blacksploitation at its worst![sic] ('briCk,' 2010)¹⁰⁷

Here the City is defined by its wealth and security as opposed to those other poor, insecure spaces in which the 'blacks' reside. In the 'comfort of the City,' culture is consumed by the rich 'other whites' (spectacle-hungry flâneurs), but is not clear whether the 'blacksploitation' is a consequence of place (would it be different if the 'other whites' came to the township?) or of the perceived audience (i.e. assuming that the City is white/secular, that there are no blacks/believers in the audience made up of cultural consumers rather than producers). There is also an underlying view of the *sangomas* as powerless and naïve in the face of 'white' power and aestheticism. As for making the ritual part of an arts festival, Alexandra Dodd comments

For me it would be an indictment on the inventive spirit of the festival, and an unimaginative reversion to outdated practices...Surely artists are capable of coming up with less divisive, less cruel rituals...rather than shedding yet more blood in the name of transformation and healing (quoted in Meersman 2010).

¹⁰⁶ From <<http://iluvsa.blogspot.com/2010/02/sangomas-plan-to-slaughter-bull-in-cbd.html>> [Accessed 19/05/2011].

¹⁰⁷ From <<http://www.africagateway.com/forums/index.php?topic=27733.0>> [Accessed 19/05/2011].

Dodd is less dismissive than the other writers, but there is still a value judgment implied in the description of this particular practice as ‘outdated’ and ‘unimaginative.’

Compare the above comments with these from the ITC Facebook discussion:

I think orchestrating a ‘ritual’ bull slaughter for public consumption by an ‘audience’ with little connection to the sacred rituals that are being emulated, well it undermines the sanctity of ritual practice as a whole. its completely offensive to self respecting sangoma’s who reserve their practice to helping people and guiding them through their spiritual lives. if the city of cape town has so much baggage that needs resolving, who has the authority to call on our collective ancestors for a ritual to this effect? I agree...total disney-fication here! (Tinso Mungwe, 2010)¹⁰⁸

Although here the issue is framed in terms of religious beliefs, it is not a matter of one set of beliefs being better/superior to another, it is more about the *space* in which the ritual is performed. Strangely, it follows from these arguments, including the ‘blacksploitation’ view, that the *sangomas* themselves cannot be trusted to make authoritative decisions about how cultural practices should be performed. Yet they are supposed to be among the custodians of the culture, ‘helping people and guiding them.’ The last speaker asks ‘who has the authority’ to perform this ritual, overlooking the fact that it is the *sangomas* themselves who suggested this *particular* ritual for the purpose, and were *willing* to do it in public regardless of who would attend. It seems that the culture is in fact in the hands of the ‘lay’ people and not the official cultural custodians of culture (certainly not the secular artists). It also seems that public space is profane as well as secular and commercial (‘disney-fication’). This is perhaps linked to a fear of exposure – that is a fear of the risk incurred in taking up a central/visible position in a public place.

In other comments, the matter is more about the modalities of performance, or the tension between the ‘feeling’ and ‘framing’ of the ritual: ‘I think religious ritual is a private event. When private ritual performs to a contemporary public, reception frames its meaning – not the original intention of the tradition. Here, we seem to be a multicultural

¹⁰⁸ From < <http://www.facebook.com/topic.php?uid=61566011202&topic=11384>> [Accessed 26/07/2011].

audience’ (Johannes Scott, 2010).¹⁰⁹ Finally, the following comment brings me back to the notion of ‘culture’ as weapon’ and the festival’s own aspirations:

[T]here is no question that ITC is a wonderfully substantial and vigorous means of engaging with Cape Town’s landspace, of reactivating its difficult histories, private and public pains and imagining future-scapes and selves, and so the question must be asked: would a ritual that would be hurtful and offensive to many (not to mention apocalyptic for the animal in question) really heal old wounds, or create new ones? (Nadia Davids quoted in Meersman 2010).

This comment suggests that public space and public art should represent the present/future of the city rather than the past, and should be used to unite rather than divide people. As a result, the art needs to be meaningful for the collective and not only for the minority of private individuals who actively practice or consume it.

A number of themes emerge from the comments discussed above. Firstly, the City is often perceived as a secular, functional place. This secularism is seen in a positive light, and should make it more ‘public’ (i.e. tolerant, open, democratic). In fact it is also a sacred (i.e. ‘set apart’) space to which conflicting cosmologies simultaneously attempt to lay claim: this is the paradoxical nature of urban space (Nahnsen 2006: 59). Secondly, running through all of these arguments is the preoccupation with temporality linked to the notion of ‘progress.’ Either the ritual is a sign of progress for the nation, or it is a sign of a lack of progress. This means that the city is associated with linear time, which is used to determine how public space is allocated and utilised. These ideas are not new but they do confirm the resonance of spatial theory in the Cape Town context, as well as providing an interesting background from which to consider a third theme: the matter of the medium through which most of these comments were expressed.

In the public realm of cyberspace, geographical location or physical proximity no longer seem to hold any weight; ‘new technologies of information and communication make the geographical dimension of a city less important than the links of common interest of citizens...and the symbolic dimension of a city’s image’ (Miles 2007: 28). In the

¹⁰⁹ From < <http://www.facebook.com/topic.php?uid=61566011202&topic=11384>> [Accessed 26/07/2011].

various discussion threads, the virtual space of discussion is gradually conflated with the physical space of the city until the real city seems to disappear entirely from the conversation. This virtual space then becomes (an alternative to) the real city, fulfilling the same functions as an urban public space – it is open, shared and accessible, and also *claimable*.

However, just like the City, virtual space can also become divided, unequal, and ruled by the dynamics of power. The conflation of cultural identity with race and ethnicity shown in some of the quoted passages (and reflected in terms like ‘bunny-huggers and colonialists’) results in the setting up of problematic binaries that skew the ethical questions being debated. The most strongly worded comments posted online reveal how ‘multiple entanglements of space, identity, and power, informed by a politics of emotions – apart from economic and geographical factors – can be understood as crucial forces in the production of urban space in Cape Town’ (Nahnsen 2006: 26).

The emotive tone of some of the comments suggests how valuable this real/virtual space is. In the most heated of these exchanges, individuals appear to lose sight of the topical issue and the conversation degenerates into dismissive personal attacks and defensive retaliation. This is clearly the Fortress mentality (cf. Lacan 2006) mentioned earlier. At the point where either party resorts to such tactics, they are effectively defending (performing) a personal identity and sense of place. To win the argument now means to successfully (though temporarily) claim the space as their own. This may be achieved merely by having the last word on a subject, which attests to the ephemerality of identities and of places. And yet, because virtual space does not formally distinguish between past and present, these statements of identity continue to perform themselves in perpetuity and to new audiences long after human agency has ceased.



14. Partial screenshot of message celebrating. (Eureka's sharebook, care2.com)

The *Argus* newspaper eventually reported that the plan to open the festival with the ritual slaughter had failed, stating that this was apparently as a result of logistical and bureaucratic complications. It was not mentioned that the entire episode was staged by Bailey precisely in order to provoke debate around a recurring theme in civil society. The decision to stage the bull debate in 2010 is another example of the experiments with/in the City which Bailey has conducted through ITC. This raises a number of questions about the role of public art in urban space, and more generally the role of artists in society.

In this particular intervention, Bailey deliberately exploits the role of the artist as provocateur, staging through ITC the idea of art as a tool for creating dialogue and social change – that is, art as a ‘weapon of struggle’. This in turn facilitates the public performance of urban-ness, and of belonging and identity within the City. But just as Bailey performs for the sake of argument, it is also possible that the respondents might adopt a particular stance and also perform for the sake of provocation rather than expressing a genuinely felt opinion. So the limits of place and performance, that is the distinctions between performance and the everyday, are much harder to trace.

Then there is the ethical question of intention: If the story about the bull was simply part of a strategy to market the festival, then it does seem to be ‘blacksploitation’ after all. If on the other hand the point of the experiment was social provocation, how else might this goal have been achieved without exploiting the controversy around a cultural practice which has great significance for those who perform it? There is also a question of effect: Since the issue was already being foregrounded in other news events, what special perspective did the ITC version add to the debate? How might the staging of this debate have affected people’s reception of public art and of ITC in particular, and how might it change the form of other public art interventions in Cape Town? Did this experiment function to challenge or to re-place contemporary artistic practices in society, and did it open up or limit possibilities for the future? The last two speakers I quoted articulate some of these ethical dilemmas well. I will not go into answering all of these questions here, save to say that they are particularly poignant in light of the festival’s stated aims and aspirations.

I have tried to demonstrate the view that cities are *made* on multiple levels, by focusing on *how* this is done. The key point here is that some of the same processes at work in the formation of individual/personal identity are at work in the creation of the city’s identity, which is also always in a state of becoming.

In the virtual realm, belonging is performed less in terms of the physical markers of identity to which individuals might otherwise ascribe, such as race, ethnicity or geographical borders. Instead, what emerges are the abstract/ideological notions of the meaning of belonging, expressed in cyberspace as a subjective performance of one’s ability or inability to identify with or tolerate certain values systems. At the same time, such a performance must persistently hark back to the material realm of lived experience in order to express belonging in real terms. Note how the conversations are also shaped by the

ideological communities of the sites, so that they become polysystems of identity, more satellite Fortresses rather than a free and value-free space.

Similarly, once the physical specificity of Cape Town has been dislocated from the idea of urban public space, we are able to trace its discursive function in virtual space and to see how processes of inclusion and exclusion are at work in the construction of the city. And dislocation also suggests that if urban space is defined by its centrality as the locus of political and cultural meaning, it is also being re-produced by those other forms of spatiality which are cast at its margins. This adds to rather than diminishes the repertoire of identity performances within the concrete city.

PRESERVATION (TREASURE, 2011)



15. Performances at the 2011 ITC festival, including Strand(ed) [top] (Africa Centre 2011)

A festival 'hub' was created in the newly refurbished Cape Town Station Forecourt for ITC 2011. Although creative work still took place all over the CBD, the Forecourt served as the most consistently visible reference point for the festival. For the duration of

this festival, commuters, workers and vendors and others could encounter events and exhibits of a varied nature in the area each day. The festival programme encouraged people to try and ‘catch a performance’ on the way to catching a train. Similarly previous programmes have encouraged people to ‘dwell’ in the city.

The collaborative model used in previous years was abandoned due to logistic difficulties encountered the previous year, and Bailey also articulated a need to reach an even wider, new audience than the dedicated following of art-lovers which the festival has amassed over the previous three years. The train station was ideal for this because it forms a major part of the public transport network which serves as the city’s circulatory system, as it is used by some 130 000 commuters each day.¹¹⁰

Completed just in time for the 2010 World Cup, and to celebrate Cape Town Train Station’s 150th anniversary in 2011, the Forecourt is a relatively new public space and thus is relatively ‘unmarked’ by the passage of time. In a sense it is an ‘empty’ space and its newness is both alienating and exciting. The visual design of the square is simple – an open, paved space flanked on two sides by rows of trees and rounded by the u-shaped Station buildings. Although there are no grand ornate statues to serve as focal points, the place is still somehow ‘self-consciously spectacular’ (Williams 2004: 1) and the simple architecture exhibits a distinctive theatricality shared with other gentrified sites in the CBD.

This Forecourt plaza is a prominent example of the kind of public spaces being developed in Cape Town, which often seem to emphasize the open sky and draw the gaze upward. The view from the square is a panorama¹¹¹ panning across the city bowl skyline, punctuated by the tall buildings on Adderley Street in one direction, and the ever-imposing bulk of Table Mountain in the other. Physically, it is far larger than the squares in which

¹¹⁰ Train stations, flows and non-places are discussed in the next section on Brett Bailey’s *Terminal*.

¹¹¹ Recall earlier comments on the difference between the perspectival approach to landscape painting and the different effects produced by the panorama painting: the viewer is placed at the centre of the world but not detached from it (see the section on landscape idea in Introductions, pp. 26-32).

the festival has been held before, and the constant movement of people and traffic in and around the station provided a chaotic soundscape. All of this is punctuated by the elements – howling gusts of wind sweep across the expanse, heat rises from the ground as the glare of the hot summer sun bakes the cement, and water flows in contrary lines to the geometric paving design.

The openness of the square gives one a sense of ‘civility’ – it appears inviting, even friendly, yet functions to ‘politely discipline the citizen, encouraging him to linger where it is appropriate and to hurry where it is not’ (Williams 2004: 136-7). The upward gaze conveys the city’s aspiration towards sophistication and progress, yet it also seems as though the space has been designed to be ‘looked at’ and passed through rather than used. This is part of the contradiction of the ideal and of public space; ‘[C]ivility may give the appearance of freedom in the urban realm, but it can only be brought about by authority, which is to say, unfreedom’ (cf. Williams 2004: 129/138).

The new Forecourt was always intended to serve as a venue for performance events, and this is perhaps why the square resembles an amphitheatre in its shape. But its being ‘open’ (public, secular) also renders it ‘set apart’ (exclusive, sacred). The central space functions as a kind of stage and as such connotes risk – there are potential dangers in taking up a position in the centre, visibility seems to make one vulnerable and open to public attention, scrutiny and questioning (by oneself and by others).

By the time ITC arrived there in late February, the Forecourt had already seen a great deal of activity during the 2010 Soccer World Cup. But at first the public appeared reluctant to engage with the ITC performance/artworks in the square, and there was a sense that people had not begun to fully own and inhabit the space. Of course it was the middle of summer, and most traders were inclined to sit/stand on the periphery of the space under the shade of the trees and the station building’s canopy and this seemed to draw other visitors in the same direction, and was no doubt compounded by the Station’s function as a

transit zone, a cultural ‘non-place’ inhabited by a community of strangers and characterized by movement.

Despite these challenges, the festival attempted to enhance the ways in which people viewed, used and experienced this space, by offering memorable events with which to begin creating the new history of the square. The ITC theme in 2011 was ‘Treasure,’ variously interpreted as: buried treasure, wasted treasure, undervalued riches and heritage treasures. This was also in the context of the 2010 Football World Cup (FWC) and the atmosphere of celebration, as well as the issues surrounding the use and ownership of stadium spaces and the entire FWC legacy.

Compared to previous festivals, there seemed to be less emphasis placed on theatrical performance works and more on interventions, installations and staging cultural practices as performance. The effects of this changed format were manifold. I personally found that the sheer scale of the programme made navigating the festival more difficult. At the same time it achieved the goal of greater exposure around the city. The creation of the hub and the choice of theme emphasized gave local people a chance to discover and enjoy some of the regional cultural forms which may be little known outside of the communities in which they are practiced.

Programming in 2011 as a whole was significantly more outward-looking than in the past. The programme was split into four main categories:

- ‘City Treasures’ – 10 different interdisciplinary performance explorations around the idea of ‘value’ and ‘wealth,’ taking place all over the city.
- ‘Slices of Life’ – installation art in the Forecourt taking shape gradually throughout the festival. Visual artworks inspired by an environmental theme and created by a team of eight artists using recyclable waste collected from around the city.
- ‘Music Gems’ – a programme of free musical performances in the Forecourt, twice every day.

- ‘Jewels’ – portable touring stages showcasing performances which celebrated the ‘cultural riches that are unique to Cape Town, South Africa or have been transplanted from migrants to our great City’ (ITC’ Treasure’ 2011: 1).

On the first day of ‘Slices of Life’, piles of garbage collected from 40 homes in the areas of Camps Bay, Clifton and Pinelands (affluent and middle-income, previously ‘whites only’ residential areas), Mitchells Plain (middle and working class Coloured residential area), Khayelitsha (largely working-class black township) and the CBD were displayed and arranged in a simple grid. Labeled according to origin, the waste created a (very general) kind of tactile map of consumption in the city, which allowed people to examine and compare levels of wastage around Cape Town. Looking at the piles allowed me to imagine the economic relationship between the CBD and the Suburbs. The different kinds of rubbish from each area could be read as indicators of the standards of living, habits and aspirations of a diverse range of households. At the same time the banality of the objects indicated how ordinary people are, and that difference, though perceived as great, is perhaps nowhere near as stark as one might think. The grid mapped both the literal ‘ghettos of apartheid imagination,’ but also the aspirations and potentials of ‘humanity in all its forms’ (Sachs 1991).

Gradually throughout the festival these ‘windows’ into the worlds of different communities were transformed into ephemeral public sculptures, an homage perhaps to the resourcefulness of the urban poor who often build from what others have discarded (think of shantytowns). The eight artists created objects of beauty (like artificial flowers and colourful chains made from plastic bags and bottles) which were reminiscent of the artifacts sold to tourists as African ‘kitsch’ in places like Greenmarket Square, juxtaposing the formal and informal economies which are at work in Cape Town. This was one way in which throughout the festival, the Forecourt ‘hub’ functioned as a transit point for exchange between the CBD and its periphery in very real terms, bringing the margins into

the centre in the form of the discarded remnants of private lives lived outside of the CBD, and making these more concrete and visible.

The original intention of this piece had been to stage a process of transformation, whereby people would be able to see the ‘map’ recycled over the whole festival period. However, after the first night, the material in the grid was blown around the square by heavy winds and could not be re-assembled in the same way. Still, I observed that on the first day many people stopped to look at the exhibit and some spent a relatively long time looking at what was in each individual pile of rubbish, so there was clearly a sense of interest in ‘looking in’ in order to understand other people’s lives and lifestyles. Staging the process rather than product also meant that participating artists could respond to challenges they saw and encountered in the square every day.¹¹²

Shari Daya (2011) identifies key features central to the project of ITC, firstly, the performance events privilege non-verbal or non-linguistic modes of communication, meaning that they are not only constituted primarily through the interplay of bodies and objects, but that they are also particularly difficult to translate or even describe in words. Secondly, perhaps because they do not aim to be ‘readable’ in this sense, the events can only ‘take place’ through the imaginative collaboration of artists and audiences. Lastly, the overlapping of stimuli (i.e. sensory, emotional and cognitive triggers) calls upon layers of affective registers in the collaborative exchange between artists and audiences.

With specific reference to *Jump* and *Grey Matter* (ITC 2010), Daya argues that in these performances, materiality and affect transcend the limits of subjectivity, language and to a certain extent ideology and representation. She is clear that although objects may function symbolically in the performance, it is the *combination* of their materiality along with their symbolic dimensions which so effectively communicates with the audience. Daya conceptualises performances such as those found in ITC as ‘embodied stories’ (2011:

¹¹² These encounters were not always ‘ideal’ for artists. One installation in the old terminal building had to be closed down after projection equipment was stolen from the derelict site.

489). That is, she is arguing for the co-dependence of text/narrative and experience rather than privileging one over/at the expense of the other as is often the case when we discuss performance through either discursive or non-representational approaches. I will exemplify what I mean with reference to particular productions.

In *Jump*, for example, a king-sized bed is placed on a street corner, and people are invited to ‘jump for joy’ – a simple action which may conjure up a memory, sensation or emotion without being related directly to an abstract idea or concept. The incongruity of the scene is experienced before it can be decoded. The objects (bed, duvet, pillows) are not only ‘containers’ of meaning but acquire their meaning during the interactions between the bodies of ‘actors’ and onlookers. The action itself (jumping) is the medium by which the performance is made accessible to the public, so that whatever messages might be ‘contained’ in it can be felt as much as read (Daya 2011: 492).

Similarly in *Wishing Wall* (2010) the public are invited to share their personal desires. The action of writing a wish on a piece of paper and adding it to the wall is not particularly theatrical, and it is not performed for the sake of an audience. But the acts of writing, of handling pen and paper, reflecting, and maybe reading or touching other people’s wishes, is what makes the performance. And the same processes are at work in *Mandala for Healing* (2010), where people were invited to bring sand/earth from places of trauma, which was then used to create a Mandala in St. George’s Cathedral and later gathered up and released into the sea at the end of the festival.¹¹³

These types of interventions are particularly effective in public spaces where the artist often does not have as much control over the audience’s temporal experience as they would in a theatre or gallery. Even if individuals do not witness the entire process from start to finish, the tactile nature of even a brief experience can have a lasting impression that may only be felt or realised later. And the performance ‘succeeds’ then by not over-

¹¹³ This links to my discussion of Corporeal Networks in the third section, and to thinking about alternative ways of ‘mapping’ trauma and healing using different concepts of time.

stating the social message and instead giving people ‘hope’ in the ‘microscopic transition’ which Pieterse (2011) refers to as nurturing aspirations, creating a sense of possibility and a feeling of transformation.

I felt this palpable sense of excitement and spontaneity again during performances of *Strand(ed)*, one of the durational performance works at the Forecourt ‘hub’ in 2011. Created by Athina Valha, *Strand(ed)* took the form of three short episodes of performance occurring at various times during the day. There was one particular ‘scene’ in which a mermaid was brought into the square, and a convoy of slaves, fishermen and Victorian ladies haggled over the ‘big fish.’ I played a small role as a curious journalist in this particular section, which did not follow much of a narrative but seemed to have an immense emotional effect on people. The sight of a (white) woman with her legs and body bound in tattered blue-green rags and silver tape, being doused with water, carried here and there in a wheelbarrow and dumped at various spots by a group of black/coloured men and women struck a chord with people in the square. I heard one shocked woman asking her friend (in isiXhosa) ‘what are they doing these blacks?’ as they hurried to keep up with the action.

Crowds followed the scene, which moved from the outside square into the station concourse where the haggling continued as the mermaid writhed and shrieked on top of a mosaic of the South African Coat of Arms. Spectators increased as the scene went on, and when we all disappeared behind closed doors, some people tried to enter the performer’s ‘changing room’ to find out what had happened to the mermaid. The commotion on the first day of performance resulted in station officials banning the performers from entering the station building for the rest of the festival, for fear of a stampede perhaps.

It is difficult to define what exactly had caused people to react so intensely. No doubt there was a natural curiosity piqued by the sight of the performers in costume, and as the crowd grew bigger they too became part of the performance, drawing more people in.

Perhaps the mythical image of the mermaid had some particular cultural resonances which held sway over people. Then of course there is the racial dimension in the context of contemporary South Africa: originally the director Valha, who is Greek and has worked mostly in European contexts, had not intended this racial casting, although it later became clear that the scene would inevitably be read in these terms, especially in the context of Cape Town. It just so happened that there was only one white performer in the group, but this coincidence had immensurable impact on the reception of the performance.

In this example, and in the performances discussed by Daya (2011), it is not simply that what is being represented within the performances generates moments of self-awareness and potential action. There is, perhaps, something more intangible at work which may be felt rather than consciously thought of. The moving crowd, for example, is not only a visually striking sight which may trigger subjective associations for onlookers, its energetic intensity must be experienced and lived through by those in and around it, and this 'atmospheric' quality complements, indeed expands, what is being communicated by the staged performance/artwork.

If the involuntary, spontaneous emotions and actions of people result from performance tapping into deeply emotive registers, experimenting with non-representational materiality and affect can enable artists to convey meaning to audiences under the constraints of challenging physical and social conditions, and may even facilitate 'communitas', or 'the mutual confrontation of human beings stripped of status role characteristics – people, "just as they are," getting through to each other' in secular spaces (V. Turner 1979: 470). When they are successful such performances seem to tap into the possibilities of public space to accommodate alternative patterns of movement and to open up opportunities for collective inter-action. In this sense audiences can be made aware of the dynamism which exists in space, as well as what is missing from it. This is what Bailey describes as the ability of artists to 'pull things out of the tapestry, highlight them and

make connections’ (quoted in Bosworth 2010: 26). Crucially, awareness – knowing one’s place – is not always cognitive but can precede conscious thought and action.

PERFORMING BELONGING (THE RIGHT TO THE CITY)

In *To Speak of this Land*, a study of identity and belonging in South Africa and beyond, Duncan Brown frames his discussion in terms of the question: ‘If this is your land, where are your stories?’ (2006: 1). Throughout his book, Brown reiterates the key point that to ‘speak of the land’ is in a sense to speak oneself into being in relation to place. That is, not only is the ‘land’ represented in ways that enable people’s identification with it, but the very process of identification, of becoming, is contingent upon a relationship with place.

Festivals or feasts would have been a part of community life in early cities from the time of antiquity through the middle ages. Like ritual ceremonies in smaller areas, these public events served to unite people, at the same time they maintained order in society by providing a platform for the expression of shared religious beliefs and values. They not only acted as a kind of pressure valve by giving ordinary people a chance to purge whatever feelings of restlessness and anxiety they had, but often this temporary release maintained the status quo, thereby communicating the power of state and religious institutions to the masses.

As a modern arts festival, ITC aims to fulfil to some extent the need for social cohesion, yet it arguably lacks some of the unifying effects of earlier festivals. In the modern secular city, the lack of a shared (or imposed) belief system also means that such events – opportunities for people to experience commonality or express their emotions collectively – are fewer. Bailey himself cites this ‘rootlessness and lack of cultural cohesion’ as among the reason for the social problems facing South Africa.

Crucially, Hauptfleisch argues that although South Africa’s festivals have become invested with conceptions of identity, the ‘polysystemic nature of the festival

experience'¹¹⁴ poses difficulties and complicates attempts to align festivals with a singular socio-cultural purpose. For ITC, the city itself already exists as a polysystem of performances, into which the festival attempts to infuse its particular brand of social intervention. This of course opens up a certain degree of risk, and in the case of *Limbo*, for example, means that the Homeless Coloured Woman *infects the art* by invading the demarcated realm of 'performance space' which tries to set itself out as apart from the everyday. The spectacle in Church Square is intended to transform a disciplined space into a creative one, but this transformation of the space is interrupted by an 'un-disciplined' actor, to the chagrin of the 'legitimate' performers and the bewilderment of the audience who are not quite sure what to make of her intrusion. The key point here can be thought of in terms of rites (e.g. Victor Turner's initiation rites) and carnivals (e.g. Bakhtin's Feast of Fools), both of which function as liminal events – once a transformation has begun, once the liminal space is opened/entered, the world is made strange and its substance is changed. From that point onwards, anything can happen because the old rules which governed the familiar world no longer apply. Such events are intimately linked to the idea of 'knowing one's place' where 'place' is a social identity and a position within a community. They create new places of encounter with the unknown, the hidden, and the dangerous.

But there is a slight difference between the two which is important. In a ritual, an initiand enters a liminal space which functions as a bridge from one state of being (say childhood or adolescence) to another (adulthood). She is able to experience a world of new possibilities which had never existed or at least had never been within reach before. She is instructed in a new way of seeing, knowing and being in the world by others who understand more than she does. Once the process is over, she returns to society and to a world governed by the same institutional power, but in which she now inhabits a different

¹¹⁴ Modern South African festivals are often composed of 'separate – often clashing – subordinate events (such as displays, speeches, plays, musical performances, market stalls, parades, and debates) at a variety of levels (of complexity, artistry, profundity, and commercialization), all tied together by a media-driven set of overarching values and aims that seek to sell it as a larger, more integrated unit which, in some cases at least, provides each festival with its own unique character' (Hauptfleisch 2006: 195).

social position which may afford her more or different choices, and more or different powers. The transformation that takes place is a change in her social status, which although contingent on the established community has real and meaningful implications for the individual at least.

In the carvinal, a community collectively enters the liminal space in order to escape from the constraints of everyday routine and to freely vent their (need for) laughter and play. The world is turned ‘upside down’ for a period in which the existing order is discarded, powerful institutions are mocked and people are allowed to associate in ways normally impossible in the socially stratified system. The community experiences a release and a change in social status for those individuals crowned during the festivities. After this normal life resumes, the community is re-instated as it was but with a new energetic vigour. This too is a return to the familiar.

Supposing for a moment then that the performance of *Limbo* functioned at the level of rite with artists and performers as elders guiding the audience through the liminal realm, it seems that the ‘homeless’ woman responds to this shift at the level of carnival, as a reveller poking fun at the familiar. The space for such a performance has already been opened, but because by its very nature liminal space cannot be controlled the performance is now pushed further into unknown territory, beyond the expectations of spectators and artists.

This liminality, along with the polysystemic nature of the festival form means that such events may present a certain degree of ambiguity about the very aims which they seek to promote (Hauptfleisch 2006: 195). In the case of ITC, it is this very same ‘polysystemic’ nature of festival experience that has in fact helped make the festival what it is. In other words, since public art (in theory at least) grows out of/responds directly to its spatio-social context, framing the festival as an exploration of/response to a particular place – Cape Town – serves to define the festival’s mandate at the same time as it lends flexibility to the

task. So the risk incurred in the festival format in fact helps to define ITC, in that the experience of festival as polysystem complements the existence and experience of city as polysystem.

The ITC festival attempts to stage the question of belonging and invites audiences to accept ‘this is your land, here are your stories – place yourself’. While specific performances might still fail to guarantee their own hospitality towards the public, they also cannot anticipate the public’s response to this call, meaning that there is room for the unexpected articulation of marginality and as/other alternative forms of belonging which have not been accommodated in the existing frames of the city.

This brings to mind what Lefebvre (1996) calls ‘the right to the city,’ the imperative for ordinary people to become more actively engaged in the processes of shaping and expanding urban space and urban life. For Parnell and Pieterse (2010), as for Lefebvre, this ‘right’ belongs to all those who inhabit the city and/or are involved in the production of urban space. It is a right not delineated by citizenship defined by ‘indigeneity’ or nationality, but one that allows all urban dwellers to take up a central role in decision-making, and affords them the ability to access and occupy social space in a much more democratic way (Purcell 2002: 102). The ‘right to the city’ therefore stands in direct opposition to the abstraction and commodification, transcending capitalist and modernist models of social space, and it functions alongside the right to information and, crucially, the right to difference (Soja 2010: 99).

Lefebvre’s vision of a new urban social order may seem somewhat radical, perhaps even utopian, since it is a largely unresolved and potentially problematic thesis (Purcell 2002: 103). Similarly, some of Bailey’s ideas about the role of public art and performance in Cape Town’s society pose problems that have as yet remained unresolved. Issues around ethics, interculturalism, sustainability and empowerment, for example, remain; and are perhaps directly linked to his particular approach to curating the festival.

I have explored how Bailey has evolved the ITC model over three specific years, experimenting with different approaches to public art and space and engaging the City as a laboratory. While in my opinion the collaborative model of Home Affairs 2009 produced more aesthetically interesting works at the level of representation, Human Rite 2010 presented some intriguing conceptual challenges and debates around definitions of theatre, ritual and performance. Treasure 2011 pushed the focus onto involving the public and moving further away from bringing high art into the streets and so approached a truly expansive notion of public art which presented several challenges for artists and audiences alike. All of these experiments may contribute to an accumulated base of knowledge which can perhaps meet some of Minty's concerns about public art and Meersman's concerns about contemporary arts festivals in South Africa. Although ITC is not a conclusive or prescriptive model, each year it has raised some of the on-going concerns about how public art can really engage with people, institutions and spaces.

Fostering further dialogue with city planners is crucial for the future, as is further experimentation with ITC. Lefebvre's vision of the 'Right to the City' has been picked up in a 2008 discussion paper by Minty, who, like Pieterse (2011), emphasizes that creativity already exists in the city, and argues that collaborations between arts and policy makers are imperative for creating shared ownership of the city.

I would like to come back to the concept of landscape here, and recall how the urban landscape presents itself as a meticulously structured map of existence, experience, knowledge and perception. In Tim Ingold's (2000) terms, city worlds appear to be built before they are lived-in: planning grids, buildings and monuments, whether old or new, appear to be mapped out before us, and the world is prepared for our consumption. But through performance – and through public art in particular with its privileging of the spontaneous, the emotional and the sensory – we encounter and come to know the city in and through processes of 'wayfinding'. This, in one sense, might be as simple as learning

to navigate the physical city space differently, approaching its intricacies with fresh eyes. It might also mean navigating imaginary and discursive spaces; for example exploring the discursive positions of ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders,’ positions which through performance may no longer appear as empty signs or rigid markers of social identity, but can become dense and fluid dimensions of experience.

There are multiple contexts in which one might engage with notions of performance in the city – as everyday experience, belonging and social agency. On a typical day in Cape Town, for example, I might come across children from the townships doing traditional amaXhosa dances to earn some change from tourists in the Company’s Gardens, or buskers strumming guitars in Greenmarket Square. I may be: asked to give directions to lost holiday-makers observing the monuments in the CBD, enticed by a convincing salesman selling cheap sunglasses or fresh flowers somewhere along Adderley Street, drawn in by the man preaching from his bible on the corner of Buitenkant and Darling, entertained by the students break-dancing and joking outside the public library, directed by a traffic policeman at a busy intersection, and accosted by metrosexual ‘beggars’ on Long Street. Numerous events might catch my attention, which may be self-conscious presentations or private conversations within groups, and these are only a few of the *embodied* acts which I might encounter at the level of my everyday experience in the city (as opposed to deliberately attending an event or seeking out spectacular encounters).

If the city can be thought of as a palimpsest, then the multiple levels of performance within it always have the *potential* to magnify those faded layers of history and meaning which seem to have been undervalued, forgotten, and hidden away but which silently haunt the contemporary urban landscape. And if indeed ‘we are bereft of a philosophical-social theoretical vocabulary to make sense of these transitions in the specificities of our African soil, spirit and phenomenologies,’ it should, Pieterse argues, be a challenge to researchers,

artists and urban planners alike to begin an interdisciplinary dialogue which draws from the knowledge of place as generated by/in everyday practices (2010: 6).

2: FRONTIER NATIONS: TEMPORAL ANXIETY AND NARRATIVE (DIS)CONTINUITY

'We are'...subjects in motion... becoming

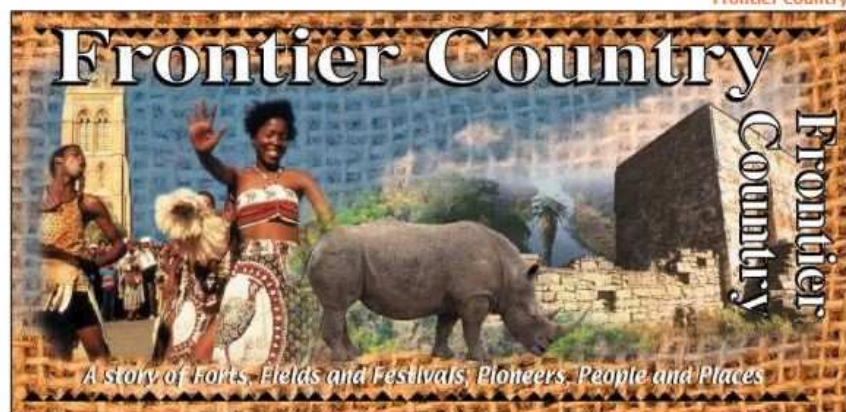
frontier /'frʌntɪə, ,frʌn'tɪə/

- ▶ a line or border separating two countries
- the extreme limit of settled land beyond which lies wilderness
- the extreme limit of understanding or achievement in a particular area

(OED)

Irrespective of the specular and monumental construction of history, irrespective of the ends to which history is put, there is an implacable indifference that time possesses. An indifference that not only mocks claims upon history but which, in its very indifference, reveals the pathos that dogs the varied though deeply implicated perceptions of what culture is and what it must do.

Ashraf Jamal, Predicaments of Culture (2005: 7)



Three powerful nations shaped today's Republic of South Africa: the British, the Xhosa and the Afrikaner. It was in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa that they first made contact over 200 years ago.

16. Above: virtual map of Grahamstown (Makana Municipality 2010)

17. Below: former banner from Grahamstown tourism site (Makana Tourism 2012)

IN DEPARTURE

Moving in space-time from the fortress to the frontier, and still keeping in mind the idea of boundaries designating identity and difference, I now attend to the landscape temporal. In terms of articulating social relations in contemporary South Africa, the idea of a frontier follows the same logic which structures the terms of belonging in urban space: a boundary demonstrates the complexities of defining inclusion/exclusion and belonging/not belonging. These complexities are magnified in the discursive and territorial space of the nation, but perhaps more than the fortress which I associate with enclosure and a certain degree of permanence, the concept of the frontier evokes a particular sense of temporality for me, because it also connotes the forward-momentum of conquest and expansion, and the associated ideas of progress, civilisation, modernity and historicity.

The simplest image of a frontier – as a border – suggests both the separation of difference and the fact of co-existence along the actual boundary line. So regardless of whatever position I take on the border, I inhabit a ‘contact zone’ which implies ‘the spatial and temporal co-presence of subjects previously separated by geographic and historical disjunctures, and whose trajectories now intersect’ (Pratt 1992: 7).¹¹⁵ On the Eastern Frontier of the Cape, the relationships of power and sociality between ‘natives’ (amaXhosa and Khoi) and the ‘settlers’ (British and Afrikaners) were constantly shifting as survival necessitated the formation of alliances and trade links, which were formed between groups and broken just as often (see Lester 1996; 1998; 2001; 2011).

¹¹⁵ For Pratt the term frontier is problematically tied to a ‘European expansionist perspective’ since the colonial frontier ‘is a frontier only with respect to Europe’ (1992: 7). On the other hand the term ‘contact zone’ which Pratt uses in its stead foregrounds ‘the interactive, improvisational dimensions of colonial encounters... [and] emphasizes how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other... not in terms of separateness or apartheid, but in terms of copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, often within radically asymmetrical relations of power (1992: 7). Taking this into account, I still refer to a frontier in this thesis because frontier discourse is deeply imbedded in the history of Grahamstown, so much so that it has become integral to the construction of the city’s place-ness and whether one searches for it online or physically travels there, one is journeying into a region known as ‘Frontier Country’.

As a physical and conceptual tool then, the frontier generates its own particular site of contestation *and/as* potential. Theorizing colonial frontiers, historians talk of ‘different phases in the experience of encounter between different kinds of subjects’ on the frontier (Gillespie 2010: n.p.). A frontier is considered ‘open’ when it exists as a flexible space in which social relations are not (yet) fixed. It is ‘closed’ when these become ‘calcified’ so as to secure the singular interests of one group (*ibid.*; cf. Legassick 1972; Penn 2005). Whether a frontier is ‘open’ or ‘closed’ depends on how the particular rhythms of its taskscapes evolve and ‘congeal’ to create boundaries (see Ingold 2000).

Furthermore, ‘entanglement’ offers another way of conceptualising frontier-ness. Within and around the border space *entanglements* of identity occur, where ‘difference and sameness are hitched together – where they are brought to self-awareness, denied, or displaced into third terms’ (Nuttall 2009: 5). So whilst a frontier may separate and divide a particular place, it is also joined up to a hemispheric ‘seam’ (De Kock 2004) or functions as part of a transnational ‘web’ of socio-cultural translation (Hofmeyr 2004), thereby revealing its own spectral and ephemeral nature. Drawing from these ideas Nuttall (2009: 1-3) emphasizes the idea that in the search for self-definition on the historical frontier then, social groups not only become ever more dependent on one another economically, they also share concepts and practices which in turn form part of a greater network of *diasporic* knowledge which is shared across continental lines through processes of human migration. These ‘entanglements’ suggest that a frontier, although a space of division, always exists as part of a larger, more complex and globalised system of movement and exchange. From the spatio-temporal specificity of the term ‘frontier’ then, I also propose the idea of a ‘front’ as: the foremost aspect or façade of something; the deceptive appearance of something; to present, represent, or lead, and also (in the archaic sense) to confront (*OED* 2010).

The Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony has been described as the birthplace of modern social relations in South Africa. Following F.J. Turner’s (1920) ‘Frontier Thesis,’

South African historians in the 1920s and 1930s framed the region as the crucible of South Africa's modern social order, drawing parallels with Turner's analysis of the experience of the settlers on the American frontier.¹¹⁶ These ideas were extended to explain the particularly vigorous kinds of segregated labour and social systems which became part of the foundation for apartheid policy and thinking. Turner's thesis has been criticised however, because it attributed agency solely to the white male settler subject, when in fact the situation on the Frontier was far more complex than Turner's thesis would suggest (see Gregory et. al. 265).

So inasmuch as its geographical location might have remained more or less the same, the *meaning* of the Eastern Frontier changed as it expanded. A combination of insecurity and 'aggressive materialism' were also at work, making social relations and identities far more interrelated than has often been supposed (Lester 1998: 524). The intention of the British may have been at first to demarcate and police the edges of the Cape Colony whilst it was becoming established, but with time their inability to maintain absolute territorial autonomy affected how 'settlers' and 'natives' saw each other. This was a consequence both of industrialisation and the increasing porousness of the Colony's borders, and of Europe's use of images of difference – especially images of 'blackness' – as part of the process of defining a European 'self' (see Magubane 2004), and justifying the subjugation of colonised peoples.

The Frontier image therefore evokes images of a particular kind of encounter between self and other, or settler and native – specifically an encounter characterised by confrontation. While the TRC in 1996 was an attempt to facilitate these kinds of face-to-face encounters between victims and perpetrators, it has also been criticized for what are seen to be a number of failings. In relation to its expository mission of truth-seeking, it has

¹¹⁶ Turner argued that the settler's experience of living at the frontier facilitated a break with the social order of the European Empire. The settlers experienced a sense of collective anxiety on the frontier, which catalysed the reformulation of class, gender and race categories in ways that might have seemed at odds with Imperial constructions of identity. They then began a process of re-formulating and re-discovering the meaning of 'civilization' and 'democracy' in their new context, and were thus able to develop a new and entirely distinctively modern American society.

been argued that the new historical record which the commission helped to create is still riddled with silences, and also took on ‘an official, linear form, the testimonies and confessions filling in the gaps rather than providing totally new ways of seeing and representing’ (McEachern 2002: 136; cf. Posel 1999).¹¹⁷ And once a ‘new’ history had been created and past offences officially ‘forgiven’, the temptation to forget the past altogether threatened to undo the impact of what had been achieved by committing the past to public record (Nuttall & Coetzee, 1998: 1). In addition to this, the government’s slow handling of reparation to victims further defeated the commission’s purpose (see Cole, 2009; Posel & Simpson 2002). And, finally, the refusal of major public figures like P.W. Botha and Mangosuthu Buthelezi to fully engage with the processes undermined its efficacy. This resulted in a deepening of some of the very divisions which the commission hoped to eliminate, reinforcing the poles of victim and oppressor which continue to cause problems for nation-building today.

In ‘Preparing Ourselves for Freedom’ (1991), Sachs gestures towards a certain degree of ‘performance anxiety’ as a consequence of the process of national becoming. This sense of urgency is later elaborated upon by Jamal, who talks about a ‘heated and anxious scurrying towards a certain readiness’ (2005: 1). At the same time as he attempts to articulate the profound sense of anxiety felt in South Africa, Jamal also remarks that the relentless passage of time frustrates all attempts at the production of meaning. This brings me back to the assertion that if a frontier is ‘an imaginary line imbued with meaning,’ then ‘[T]he meaning I imbue it with is a function of which side of the frontier I’m on’ (Freeth 2010: n.p.).

¹¹⁷ Posel writes that ‘The report contains a version of the past which has been actively crafted according to particular strategies of inclusion and exclusion, borne of the complexities of the TRC’s mandate. Part epistemological and methodological, part moral, the effect of these discursive strategies is to produce a primarily descriptive rendition of the past, uneven in its discernment of detail and indifferent to the complexities of social causation. The TRC’s “truth” about the past is neither “complex” nor particularly “extensive” (despite its length). With little explanatory and analytical power, the report reads less as a history, more as a moral narrative about the fact of moral wrongdoing across the political spectrum, spawned by the overriding evil of the apartheid system. In so doing, the TRC Report achieves some notable successes that go a long way towards fulfilling some parts of the Commission’s mandate - but to the exclusion of others’ (1999: 3).

With this statement in mind, I explore questions about how and by whom meaning is created in and through the temporal landscape. In the particular spatio-temporal context of Grahamstown, I will discuss how social relations have retained the particular logic of the historical frontier. This historical dimension of what I call ‘frontier-ness’ therefore relates theories about anxiety to the notion of hetero-temporality and simultaneity. Anxiety is both the starting point and the driving force behind multiple journeys to freedom, where freedom is conceived of in this discussion as not only a political goal, but also as an affective register. So anxiety seems to be a source of the momentum and urgency fuelling current attempts to imagine or think through the future from a number of vantage points in the past and the present.

NARRATIVES (IN TIME)

Just as spaces are meaningful because of our constant engagement and dwelling within them, perceptions of time arise through our efforts and exertions in the current of everyday life (Ingold 2000; cf. Tuan 1977). Ingold’s idea of the taskscape implies that temporality means something more than the particular models which we may use to structure time (i.e. linear/circular etc.). So temporality here is distinct from chronology, which is ‘any regular system of dated time intervals, in which events are said to have taken place’ (Ingold 2000: 194). And history, which is also distinct from chronology, may be understood as ‘any series of events which may be dated in time according to their occurrence in one or another chronological interval’ (Ingold 2000: 194).

For Homi Bhabha, the ambivalence of nation-building arises out of the ‘double’ or ‘split’ temporality of the nation which casts the people simultaneously as historical objects and as the subjects of its processes of signification (1999: 214). Bhabha argues that nations must lay claim to being rooted in history, in order that they may sustain the ‘contingent and arbitrary signs and symbols that signify the affective life of the national culture’ (1999: 211). Narrative continuity must be achieved through a kind of historicism, but the lived

reality of nationhood is also experienced as contemporaneity (1999: 213). 'The people' must therefore also be thought of as 'that sign of the present through which national life is redeemed and iterated as a reproductive process' (1999: 214). So for Bhabha the idea of the nation is both pedagogic and performative, and 'national culture comes to be articulated as a dialectic of various temporalities' (1999: 215-6). The ambivalence of the nation results in the experience of anxiety because the present is haunted by the past.

This brings me to the notion of 'afterlives' which is explored by Jennifer Wenzel (2009). Elaborating upon Walter Benjamin's (1968) concept of the dialectical image, Wenzel uses the term 'afterlives' to 'denote relationships of people and time that produce multi-layered dynamics of presence and absence, anticipation and retrospection' (2009: 5). This necessitates and implies a reconfigured concept of time, in order to trace how 'the formal capacities of narrative approximate a layered experience of time that understands past hopes and failures as alive in the present' (ibid.). This idea of narrative 'afterlives,' like Ingold's taskscapes, can be used to explain how seemingly disparate events in history can actively produce the cohesive and coeval sense of temporality in and as cultural landscape. In both cases however, coevalness does not preclude synchronicity, and it is possible to have a sense of continuity with the past, whilst experiencing something of the past within the present.

The anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggle, and to a lesser extent the first ten years of democracy in South Africa, were defined by a kind of forward momentum driving towards the ultimate goal of freedom, which has, in part at least, now been achieved. Cultural production had been characterised by this same sense of linear time, which allowed people to imagine an ideal space, a different South Africa of the mind which functioned as a kind of utopian 'promised land' of prosperity, a 'there' as opposed to 'here.' The official end of apartheid signalled the end of such journeys to a fantasised 'other' place, leaving only the reality of the 'here' and 'now' which, from a number of perspectives, appears to have been further from the ideal than once imagined.

It has been argued that in many respects South Africans are perhaps only just beginning to grasp the loss of this else-where, and to articulate that loss, whilst at the same time evaluating the social gains made over the past 17 years of democracy. Part of this has meant coming to terms with questions about what freedom means in relation to the political aims of democracy and humanism (Mbembe 2011). So the contemporary moment (i.e. the last decade) has been characterised by anxiety and uncertainty about what comes next in the narrative of the nation (cf. Nuttall 2009; Nuttall & Michael 2000; Mbembe 2006, 2008; Wenzel 2009).

In some ways Sachs' argument in 'Preparing Ourselves for Freedom' anticipated this anxiety. In 1991, Sachs already gestured towards the importance of re-defining what the concept of 'freedom' would mean in the new South Africa, both at the level of the state and its responsibilities to citizens, and at the level of individual rights and liberties, and how these might be imagined and experienced in the future. In *Liberty* (2002) Isaiah Berlin differentiates between positive and negative liberty and argues that

historically the notion of "positive" liberty – in answer to the question "Who is master?" – diverged from that of "negative" liberty, designed to answer "Over what area am I master?"; and that this gulf widened as the notion of the self suffered a metaphysical fission into, on the one hand, a 'higher', or a 'real', or an 'ideal' self, set up to rule a 'lower', 'empirical', 'psychological' self or nature, on the other (2002: 36).

In 'Journeys of Freedom,' the first of two chapters in this section, I relate what I will refer to as the temporal anxiety or pan-phobia of the 'now' in South Africa to the question of freedom. I interrogate how two competing understandings of freedom, which are strongly linked to the narratives of anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggles, have been formalised as dominant discourses in the national imaginary by the South African state. Both a positive understanding of freedom (as agency, choice and self-determination), and a negative conception of freedom (as the absence of external constraint on an individual), can be traced within the ANC government's rhetoric. The matter of how freedom is

defined is crucial to mapping national identity and belonging, because it raises important questions about the role of the state and its institutions:

...negative and positive liberty...may clash irreconcilably. When this happens, questions of choice and preference inevitably arise. Should democracy in a given situation be promoted at the expense of individual freedom? Or equality at the expense of artistic achievement; or mercy at the expense of justice; or spontaneity at the expense of efficiency; or happiness, loyalty, innocence at the expense of knowledge and truth? (Berlin 2002: 42)

I argue that the ‘clash’ of ideas about freedom is linked to the co-presence of linear and non-linear concepts of time in state rhetoric. Furthermore, I explore the implications of Jamal’s assertion that with the negotiated settlement in South Africa, freedom became ‘a handout and not a reckoning; a guaranteed idea and not a fraught and avidly awaited actuality’ (2005: 5).

Two speeches feature in my analysis of ANC political rhetoric: the first given by South Africa’s former president Nelson Mandela, and the second by current president Jacob Zuma, on being awarded the Freedom of the City of Grahamstown in 1996 and 2011 respectively. Mandela and Zuma’s speeches frame what are often written about as markedly different discursive eras in the short history of the new South African democracy – a post-1994 ‘honeymoon’ period of national reconciliation, and the period from 2008 to the present, the latter being characterised by a number of local and global crises which seemed to have generated a sense of anxiety in and around the country. I will trace how a sense of anxiety underlies both speeches, framing this in relation to the idea of ‘frontierness’ as a condition of anxiety and potential. Both Mandela and Zuma use the mythic power of narrative ‘afterlife’ to transform temporal anxiety into a source of agency.

Following this, in ‘Race against Time’ I explore the notion of the frontier in relation to more overtly theatrical discourse on race, class and gender. Framing these aspects of social identities as competing categories of allegiance, I examine how such identities are implicated in and through the construction of the nation-space, and juxtaposed to the local space of Grahamstown in Brett Bailey’s *Terminal* (2009). Bailey probes the social

stereotypes and structures which underwrite contemporary South African identity constructs, effectively mapping the everyday/real landscape *as* a performance of identity. My strategy will be to draw out those aspects of the performance/experience which elucidate the arguments about frontier-ness in relation to the use of space, the structuring of time, and the positioning of the spectator's body. Using my own subjective readings and citing particular aspects of postcolonial theory, I will argue that *Terminal* engages anxiety in the spectator's body, in order to engender potential spaces of psycho-social *mobility*. By this I mean to focus my attention on the sets of dramaturgical practices through which the performance re-presents and unsettles its own place-ness. In both chapters, then, the location of the performances brings certain associations to the idea of frontier-ness.

GRAHAMSTOWN (MAKING HISTORY)

Grahamstown began its life as a military garrison strategically positioned in order to mark out and police the border of the Cape Colony after the British took control of the region in 1806. The town was named after Colonel John Graham and was established in 1812. Initially, Graham was tasked with clearing the area west of the Great Fish River of its amaXhosa inhabitants, and he did so by inspiring 'a proper degree of terror,' effectively massacring thousands of amaXhosa, and attempting to drive the rest eastwards (MacLennan 1986). When the amaXhosa resisted, the British authorities took the decision to bolster the boundary in 1820 by bringing in more British settlers who would provide a 'buffer zone' between the Colony and the hinterland.

After its establishment, Grahamstown remained the second largest urban centre in the Cape Colony for some time and became the administrative capital of the entire Eastern Frontier, playing host to the only session of the Cape Parliament ever to be held outside of Cape Town in 1864. As such the town was in very real terms located at the site of a physical and cultural border which would later be seen as one of the most significant in South African colonial history.

Today, Grahamstown is not only known for its historical significance to the British Empire, but it also occupies a central role in the cultural life of South Africa and is often portrayed as a hub of artistic activity. It hosts the annual National Arts Festival (NAF), which is the largest festival of its kind on the continent, attracting visitors and artists from across the country and the globe. The Festival was inaugurated by the 1820 Settlers Foundation in the 1970s, and served originally as a platform for the celebration of English-speaking culture and heritage in South Africa. While it has since become a much larger and more inclusive event, it nevertheless continues to face a number of the challenges described by Meersman (2011) in relation to theatre festivals in South Africa.¹¹⁸

Grahamstown is also known for its educational and cultural institutions: The *Grocott's Mail* is South Africa's oldest independent newspaper, first published in 1870 and still running in Grahamstown. Rhodes University, fondly called 'Oxford in the bush', is the smallest university in South Africa with a reputation not only for its research outputs but for its idyllic location in the quaint colonial town.

But while Grahamstown has long been associated with creativity and innovation in cultural production, the publicly projected image of the town also appears to have been transfixed in the colonial period of its history.¹¹⁹ This is captured in the label of 'Frontier Country,' which functions as a marketing slogan for the local tourism industry. The town's geography has barely changed from the racially segregated plan laid out according to colonial and apartheid design, so that even if segregation is no longer being enforced, stark differences still exist between the formerly white, western side of the city and the east.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ These are challenges to do with transformation and demographics, outlined in my earlier discussion on festivals in Fortress City, see the section introducing ITC entitled 'Knowing one's place'.

¹¹⁹ For instance there are no heritage sites or official publications in Grahamstown which commemorate the anti-apartheid period. When I visited local museums in Grahamstown as part of my research for this thesis, I found a dearth of resources dealing with the apartheid years (1948-1990) or even the post-1994 years. This may be partly because the past is still too recent to commit to memory.

¹²⁰ For more contextual background on Grahamstown see: Fox (2012) who gives a very brief overview of Grahamstown's development, featuring many useful diagrams and photographs which show how the town's spatial geography has remained very much the same over the decades; O'Meara, Greaves & Tyler (1995) for an illustrated overview with a focus on the cultural institutions of Grahamstown, and a strong sense of how the colonial history features prominently in the town's identity; and Holleman & Peterson (2002) for a

In the past decade an on-going debate about whether the name of the town should be changed from the English ‘Grahamstown’ to ‘iRhini’ in isiXhosa points to renewed efforts to give equal representation to previously unacknowledged histories and identities as an alternative to the dominant Settler history/identity, which for so long dominated the official historical record.

Grahamstown celebrated its 200 year anniversary in 2012, and the occasion was marked by many celebrations. As part of the many planned events and projects under the banner of ‘Project 200’, the Albany Museum in collaboration with Makana Municipality initiated perhaps the first concerted attempt by both institutions to engage with the largely undocumented alternative histories of Grahamstown – an oral history project called ‘BusyBees.’ The stated aims and conceptual framing of this project succinctly capture the overwhelming representational bias which characterises Grahamstown as a whole: ‘[T]he BusyBees Project aims to highlight the untold history of the locals, in particular from the Grahamstown East (eRhini). This history is lacking, missing, unwritten and not existing’ (BusyBees200, 2012: n.p.). While there remains a need to address this ‘lack’ of history, there is at the same time a strong desire expressed by Municipal and state institutions to frame the present and the future as part of a continuous narrative of progress and retain the image of Grahamstown as Frontier Town.

A) JOURNEYS OF FREEDOM (FREEDOM OF GRAHAMSTOWN)

The order of the Freedom of the City is traditionally given to public figures who have played some part in the imagination of a collective identity,¹²¹ often with an award ceremony which formalises the gesture of welcoming its recipient. The ceremonial event provides not only an authoritative context for narration, but itself forms part of the embodied system of transmitting memory, knowledge and identity. So the event is both an ‘incorporating’ practice – a temporally bounded and embodied communicative act – and a process of ‘inscription’ – the storing of information or knowledge such that it exceeds the lifespan of the human agent (Connerton 1989: 72-3).

Although there are no real privileges associated with the honour, it functions to articulate and punctuate the temporal experience of the civic community. The award is presented during a day of public events and ceremonies which can be ‘marked off’ on the city’s official social calendar, and the entire day as such is a way of ‘mapping’ the otherwise invisible temporality of the cultural landscape. In a sense, the programme of festive events is itself a *polysystem* of symbolic performances – speeches, processions, renaming streets etc., – and is made up of official ‘archival’ practices and ideas which in turn draw from ‘repertoires’ of embodied knowledge to communicate their meanings (Taylor 2003).

While social agency is being attributed to an individual actor, agency is also being claimed by the collective, whose gesture of recognition becomes a statement about shared moral values, and about the value of certain forms of knowledge. The public nature of the

¹²¹ The tradition of the order of the Freedom of the City can be traced back to several historical sources, and in each case a particular relationship is established between the concept of freedom as a kind of performance: so in antiquity where the community/city was marked by a boundary separating it from the wilderness, strangers had to announce themselves before entering or passing through the area in order to demonstrate their peaceable intent and avoid being killed; in feudal European societies, there were a class of “freenecked” men’ who were exempt from servitude (Macy 1904: 732); in medieval England the Freedom of the City granted permission to individuals to set up trade within the city in accordance with the law; and finally in more modern times the Freedom of Entry could be granted to military regiments allowing them to enter the bounds of the city peacefully as civilians, and on that occasion they could process through the city in full regalia.

proceedings maximises community participation in these processes at a ‘grassroots’ level and gives credence to the idea of a body politic. At the same time the award itself legitimates the power of the political establishment and its institutions.

In Grahamstown, the continuation of this European tradition reflects the peculiar morphology of the new South Africa – a nation built upon several legacies of historic institutions and traditions, which nevertheless take on new meanings as social hierarchies shift and political power changes hands. The individual ‘freemen’ of Grahamstown are a small but varied group, whose achievements in their respective fields have been deemed by the city’s evolving leadership as deserving of public recognition.¹²² Nelson Mandela became the first black recipient on 16th May 1996; followed on 13th July 2011 by Jacob Zuma who was recognised for his ‘outstanding leadership during the hosting of a successful 2010 World Cup’ (Vumile Lwana quoted in Mini 2011). Reports in the *Grocott’s Mail* reveal contrasting public responses to the two events: on one hand a general sense of excitement and consensus in 1996, on the other murmurs of anger and disapproval in 2011 (Mini 2010; 2011a; 2011b; Plaatjie 2011).¹²³ The texts of Mandela and Zuma’s speeches also indicate the difference in public discourse relative to each historical moment.

To develop this perspective I first turn my attention to a legendary figure from the annals of South African colonial history as a key to mapping the relationships between time, place, and identity on the Eastern Frontier. This figure is the 19th century Xhosa

¹²² There have been nine recipients of the Freedom of the Grahamstown since the award was first granted in 1962. The first recipient was Josephine Ethel Wood. A teacher by profession, Wood established the South African Library for the Blind in Grahamstown in about 1919, and was honoured for her work in this field (Verwey 1999: 172-3). Other recipients of the FOG have included, amongst others: Johannes Nicholas Malan, administrator for the National Party in the Cape Province, awarded in 1970; Jacobus Johannes Fouché, the second president of South Africa, honoured in 1974; the mining mogul Harry Frederick Oppenheimer in 1983; and the poet Frederick Guy Butler in 1993 (see Mini 2011).

¹²³ In an open letter to the President, the Grahamstown Unemployed People’s Movement (UPM) queried the estimated R250 000 cost of Zuma’s official visit. The letter also listed a number of grievances including failures in service delivery, municipal corruption, long-term unemployment, lack of basic sanitation and allegations of police brutality and intimidation directed at activists like the UPM’s leader Ayanda Kota. This letter was penned by Kota on behalf of residents of Grahamstown East, but it reflects views which we can assume must have been echoed by at least part of the Grahamstown community.

prophet Makana,¹²⁴ who is legendary because his actions became the substance of much black liberationist rhetoric during the apartheid years. Makana has enjoyed several afterlives, gaining currency as both the subject and object of cultural texts which have sought to anchor ethnic and national identity in the past, in order to explain the present and to map out possible futures.

NAVIGATING FROM MEMORY

Makana was a ‘war doctor’ and preacher who combined Christian ideas with Xhosa cosmology. His particular message offered hope and a much-sought spiritual explanation for the suffering which the amaXhosa had endured at the hands of Colonel Graham (Peires 1979; 1989). He infamously led warriors from chief Ndlambe’s clan of amaXhosa in an attack against the British in the Battle of Grahamstown (1819).¹²⁵ Boldly staged in daylight, the attack was an attempt to drive the British out of the *Zuurveld* region once and for all. Under his leadership, the amaXhosa suffered one of their most disastrous defeats in the series of nine Frontier Wars (1779-1879) which shaped Albany District. Makana himself was subsequently imprisoned on Robben Island after surrendering to the British, and it is said that he promised to return. Initially, there remained a great sense of expectation among his followers, who believed that he would indeed fulfil this pledge. However Makana died at sea during an attempt to escape from Robben Island three months later in December of 1819. Perhaps because his body was never recovered, Makana’s followers still held the belief that he would one day rise from the dead and lead the people to victory.

Although a relatively brief episode in the long history of conflict, the Battle of Grahamstown has since gained great historical significance.¹²⁶ This may be partly because

¹²⁴ Makana is also known and referred to as Makhanda or Nxele, meaning ‘left-handed’. I use Makana here because it is the name widely used in Grahamstown.

¹²⁵ This is also sometimes referred to as the Battle of Egazini, which means ‘place of blood’ in isiXhosa; or the War of Nxele in some historical accounts.

¹²⁶ The arrival of the 1820 British Settlers has been partly attributed by some historians to the colonial administration’s sense of shock at the brazen attack at Egazini.

there have been many enigmatic myths surrounding Makana's character, the most popular one alledging that he mobilised the amaXhosa by prophesying that the British bullets would turn to water.¹²⁷ Consequently long after his imprisonment in 1819, Makana's promise to return remained a part of the Xhosa popular imaginary. He was often seen in dreams and visions by later prophets and diviners for example, including the young prophetess Nongqawuse, whose visions and prophecies lead to the Cattle Killing of 1856, and the resultant starvation and death of thousands of amaXhosa (Peires 1989).¹²⁸

Over time however, the sense of hope and anticipation associated with Makana turned to derision. The saying 'Ukuza kukaNxele' (which translates as 'the return of Nxele' and means something that will never happen) reflects the degree of scepticism which also grew around the legend of Makana. The increasingly desperate situation of blacks during apartheid produced the deep cynicism expressed in this ironic saying, especially as more and more black liberation figures were incarcerated on Robben Island. And yet somehow, perhaps because of his role as both a spiritual *and* political leader in the Battle of Grahamstown, Makana was repeatedly hailed by writers and politicians as one of the earliest freedom fighters in the black liberation struggle, and became a figure of particular importance in the Eastern Cape (see Zwelonke 1973; Diale 1979; Matshoba 1979; Biko 1987; Mandela 1994).

The recuperation of Makana from the pages of somewhat unflattering settler historical accounts was contemporaneous with the Black Consciousness Movement's project of recuperating the pride and integrity of the Black nation and the Black subject

¹²⁷ Peires (1979) has suggested that in fact Makana probably said that if it rained the water would dampen the British supplies of gunpower, giving the amaXhosa an advantage.

¹²⁸ Nongqawuse claimed to have had a vision in which Makana and other ancestors promised to drive the British into the sea if the amaXhosa killed their livestock and destroyed their crops. The belief was that this would be a way of cleansing the nation which had been bewitched and contaminated. After the failure of this prophecy and the massive suffering and famine it caused, Nongqawuse was imprisoned on Robben Island and later died in the Eastern Cape after her release. The story of the Cattle Killing has inspired many contemporary engagements with the myth, which Wenzel (2009) explores in her book. Notably, Brett Bailey's play *The Prophet* (1999) deals with this narrative.

(Wenzel 2009: 117; see Biko 1987).¹²⁹ Makana in particular came to be seen as an inspirational figure by members of the armed struggle for whom he embodied the ideals of courage, determination and revolutionary vision. Writing in 1979 Edwin Diale, for example, goes so far as to call Makana a martyr, and to link his legacy to the armed wing of the ANC: 'Our fighters, members of *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, have on more than one occasion shown that great defiant spirit of Makana for they have chosen to sacrifice their only precious possession, life' (Diale 1979: 28). The authors of these 'struggle' texts draw on those aspects of the narrative that support a positive reading of the events, choosing not to dwell on the fact of Makana's military defeat and incarceration, or his subsequent death at sea. They also often omit details about the complex entanglements on the Eastern Frontier, especially the rivalries between the amaXhosa chiefs and the occasional forging of alliances with the British.¹³⁰ Instead, Makana lives on as the 'indisputable leader, whose qualities were never changed, whose spirit was never dampened and deterred by conditions imposed upon him and his people' (ibid. 27).

With the end of apartheid, the release of Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC came to be framed in terms of Makana's prophesied return. In an article entitled 'The Return of Nxele' (1992) writer Mtutuzeli Matshoba suggested that Mandela's release was the long awaited fulfilment of Makana's promise, something which was previously imagined to be utterly impossible.¹³¹ However, in a telling reflection of the unpredictable

¹²⁹ Although a number of other amaXhosa leaders had also been imprisoned on Robben Island for rebelling against colonial rule, including Maqoma, Siyolo and Xhexho, Makana has remained the main anti-colonial figure associated with the island, such that it has also been called 'Makana Island' or 'The Isle of Makana.' For an example of how the story of Makana has been used to frame the narrative of the anti-apartheid struggle see Mtutuzeli Matshoba's 1979 collection *Call Me Not a Man*.

¹³⁰ A note on the history: the long rivalry between chief Ndlambe and chief Ngqika (his nephew) initially arose over the regency to the amaRharhabe royal throne, and escalated after Ngqika abducted one of Ndlambe's wives Thuthula. By 1819, chief Ngqika's increasingly close ties with the British authorities were seen as yet another betrayal, and under Makana's command amaNdlambe warriors attacked amaNgqika. To avenge Ngqika the British seized cattle from the amaNdlambe, an act which arguably motivated the historic Battle of Grahamstown. Ngqika also had his own prophet Ntsikana, who was Makana's contemporary. For a more detailed history of the amaXhosa people see J.B. Peires' *The House of Phalo* (1982). An excellent example of how this history has been selectively interpreted is the article by Edwin Diale, who calls Ngqika a 'turncoat' and draws the conclusion that '[I]f our people did not fight as small units, but as one united nation they could have vanquished the enemy' (1979: 28).

¹³¹ The story was published in the ANC's Mayibuye Journal under the full title 'The Return of Nxele: A Tale of How Makhanda Has as Last Come Back from Robben Island'.

and complex nature of mythic afterlives, the meaning of the prophecy itself was transformed upon its ‘fulfillment’: while Makana had prophesied driving the settlers into the sea, Mandela instead told the people to throw their weapons into the sea (Wenzel 2009: 158). This suggests some of the unpredictability of mobilising mythic afterlives.

The mythologising of Makana seems to have gained momentum in the past decade in Grahamstown. In 2000 the local Municipality serving Grahamstown and its surrounds was renamed Makana Municipality. A memorial was unveiled at the site of the Battle of Grahamstown, and the Egazini Art Project and exhibition were launched in 2001.¹³² So Makana’s efforts are commemorated at Egazini and at Makana’s Kop – a well known hill which is said to be a sacred place in Xhosa tradition and also known as the ‘hill of sinners’ (Holleman & Peterson 2002: 30, 45). But both sites are located beyond the city-centre, which is dominated mostly by statues and plaques commemorating British heroes.¹³³ Two books on Makana have been published (Wells 2007; 2012), the latest coinciding with the 200th anniversary of the establishment of Grahamstown. The BusyBees200 oral history project also obtained its name because ‘Xhosa oral traditions claim that Makana could command bees to attack the British at the time of the early frontier wars’ (BusyBees200 2012: n.p.).

Evidently, Makana is an ambivalent figure. Because he has been remembered both as a failure/ false prophet and as a visionary hero of the amaXhosa people, the narrative gaps in his story can be interpreted or filled in according to the needs of the narrator. Makana has also appeared in at least three theatrical performances: Robyn Orlin’s *life after the credits roll ... (a piece for five performers and the spirit of Makana)* (1999); Andrew Buckland’s *Makana: the Missing Lynx* (2001); and Magnet Theatre’s *53 Degrees* (2003).

¹³² Dr Julia Wells who worked with the project noted in 2002 that for many artists working on the Egazini project, there was still a great sense of the pain of loss and the ‘hope for a leader to take the people to a place of comfort and reassurance’ (Wells 2002: 10; cf. 2003).

¹³³ See the Makana Municipality virtual tour of Grahamstown for a brief overview of the monuments in the town centre, which include statues commemorating the South African War (Anglo-Boer War), the First World War, and the role of the settler woman Elizabeth Salt who assisted the British army in the 1819 Battle.

Each of these performance works explores the gaps and silences in the official accounts of Makana's life, and each attempts more broadly to question the processes of memory-making and archival practices.¹³⁴ Furthermore, in each case Makana emerges as a figure able to transcend time and space and to enter the present-tense 'now' of the performance world.

However I am not so much interested in the actual person of Makana as in the way that his narrative – particularly his promise, which is a performative utterance – has been deployed in the form of the oral and written texts. In these instances, the name 'Makana' is a reminder of his utterance, a citation of a citation. Yet it is as though when he is mentioned he escapes not only from Robben Island as he did in 1819, he also 'seeps' out of the history books, and 'exceeds' his historical place so that his promise – to return again and lead the people – can be fulfilled. Of course this resurrection involves a selective interpretation (or translation) of the facts, involving nostalgia on the part of those who cite him.

Nostalgia in this restorative sense becomes a powerful means of managing the 'anxiety of becoming' prospectively, because '[F]antasies of the past determined by needs of the present have a direct impact on realities of the future' (Boym 2001: xvi). So while Makana's story – particularly his unfulfilled prophecy and his promise of return – seems to be about a longing for the past, it also forms part of a body of millenarian narratives which have been deployed at various times as 'temporal mechanisms for thinking beyond an untenable present' (Wenzel 2009: 119).

As Makana did not return literally as promised, it is only when he is resurrected from the annals of history by writers and political leaders that his speech-act can *potentially* be fulfilled. J.L. Austin argues that performative utterances in and of themselves can never be 'true or false,' (1962: 5), and they are not descriptive or constative in the way that

¹³⁴ For a more detailed discussion of Buckland's performance and how it explores the gaps (missing links) in the narrative see Breiting (2007). See Fleishman (2012) for a discussion of how these themes emerge in Magnet Theatre's production, and Dodd (1999) for a performance review of Orlin's.

‘statements’ in speech are, though they may fall prey to ‘infelicities’ (ibid. 12-14); so Makana’s initial utterance is never false, although it does fail in the sense that the action promised is not actually completed. It is only because ‘things go wrong’, as Austin would put it, that his promise becomes a ‘void’ or ‘unhappy’ utterance. But after the fact, and with the help of the other speakers and writers, things ‘go right’, because in citing his promise they create for him an ‘afterlife.’

The fact that Makana emerges in so many texts even though his initial utterance is never literally completed illustrates the notion of ‘unfailure’, which Wenzel explains as a kind of radical potential or a condition of openness to possibility (cf. Jamal 2005). It is important to be clear here that an ‘unfailure’ is not the direct opposite of a failure. ‘Unfailure’ *is not* the same as success. Rather ‘unfailure’ is what arises out of failure’s interim – it is a temporal state or condition in which ‘what is unrealized in one moment might yet come to pass’ (2009: 116). The unrealised here may be a prophecy, expectation, dream or utterance like Makana’s promise to return. In recognising something as an ‘unfailure’ then, one creates the *possibility* of eventual success which is nevertheless predicated on an initial sense of loss and un-fulfilment (ibid. 116-7). Furthermore ‘unfailure’ functions through hetero-temporality, insofar as the past-lives of utterances and remembered prophecies are resurrected and transfigured, becoming actualised within the present moment, albeit in a form ‘unrecognizable to their original adherents’ (ibid. 163).

I want to consider what ‘unfailure’ might mean with regard to national identity in contemporary South Africa, by focusing on what is performed more generally in Mandela and Zuma’s speeches. Both texts refer to Makana in different ways and with different consequences. Particularly because ‘[C]itation is a wildly unpredictable mode of textual afterlife’ (Wenzel 2009: 85), the two political speeches in question generate unexpected meanings which, while intended to construct a homogenous national identity, nevertheless put the basic premise of that identity into flux. This may be because of the repetitive

temporality of citation – that fact that every performative utterance is itself a citation, and every citation is always already preceded by another. This means that the success of any performative is ‘always and only provisional,’ and ‘only because that action echoes prior actions, *and accumulates the force of authority through the repetition or citation of a prior and authoritative set of practices*’ (Butler 1997: 51).

In the texts which cite Makana, the power of his utterance moves in multidirectional ways which exceed the space and time of the original ‘event’ of speaking, pointing the reader/audience towards yet more performative utterances which carry their own promise of fulfilment. Each new citing of Makana somehow calls upon the authority of his older, as-yet unrealised utterances, without which his story would simply be a story of failure. And each new citing of Makana ‘projects’ this authority beyond the limitations of the historical moment, beyond the moment of infelicity. The act of citation – repetition of the old – draws my attention to the *synchronous* nature of temporality, since the citation does not simply describe the past but it actually sets out to do what Makana’s original utterance could not do.

If the texts citing Makana can indeed transform his failures into new performative utterances, they do so not only by re-telling his story, but partly by reconfiguring the space-time of utterance. Each place Makana is associated with acquires a level of symbolism in the national imaginary which surpasses its material referent, so that signifier *becomes* and then *exceeds* signified (cf. Lefebvre 1991). While the legend of Makana locates his initial utterance and its symbolic power at the eastern frontier of the Cape colony, each subsequent citation extends this to include Robben Island and by association the whole of South Africa.

To elucidate this argument, I want to relate Austin and Butler’s ideas about speech performativity and citation to the idea of the frontier as both a literal and a conceptual tool in Mandela and Zuma’s speeches, since both speeches articulate a number of important

tensions between the numerous literal and imagined meanings of the frontier. I am also intrigued by the notion that utterance itself *becomes the site of a kind of frontier-ness*, that in the speaking it creates the space into which it is spoken and potentially produces a new space.

The legend of Makana provides an entry point into reading for the potential performativity of the frontier idea, which serves a strategic function for national identity. Makana, whose utterance is located on the historical frontier, need not have actually physically returned, because (in the above texts at least) the mere mention of him seems enough to satisfy speakers as to the completed-ness of his utterance – so saying is as good as doing, but only in retrospect. Similarly the frontier is a potentially performative concept, in that to speak of a frontier is simultaneously to perceive one and to mark it – the word itself is a citation (repetition) of previous *actions* of claiming and establishing a physical and imaginary space.

In my analyses of the two acceptance speeches given by Mandela and Zuma, I argue that the ANC government constructs a meta-narrative of shared temporality whilst playing down the many possible alternatives to its official rendering of the past. At the same time there are moments of slippage, which may in fact reveal and present a threat to the political establishment and its status quo. I trace both linear and cyclical models of time in the speeches, and by showing when and how these different models are used in each text I argue that there remains a zone of potentiality through which new forms of identification might emerge out of the temporal anxiety about the future.¹³⁵ In the discussion that follows I ask the reader to bear in mind that the text of the speeches is just one aspect of the polysystem performances, which involved a whole host of activities and formalities lasting throughout the day. There is no accounting for the immediacy of the live event, the

¹³⁵ Having said that, I note that both genealogical and relational models present their own sets of problems or questions, especially with regard to the fact that the State has a particular remit: it has to uphold the sense of temporal continuity in order to promote social cohesion and maintain order in civil society. In some ways these imperatives necessitate adherence to the genealogical models for identity and becoming, since these provide the foundations on which many of the institutions of democracy are founded.

particular affective and emotional registers of ‘primary’ witnessing, and the particular dynamic that crowds generate in public space.¹³⁶

BACK TO THE FRONT

Addressing himself first to the local council and then to all of the people of Grahamstown, Mandela began his speech thus:

...In Grahamstown`s history are *joined the extremes* of our nation`s journey to freedom.

This town was established as a *centre of confrontation* between expanding colonialists and indigenous people who were *defending their land and property*. Grahamstown was to be the main fort where the military might of the colonialists was *concentrated*.

For a century this city was turned into a *theatre of war*, as your forebears fought relentlessly *to preserve their freedom*. Those engagements produced legendary heroes like Makana and Ndlambe [emphasis mine] (1996: para. 2-4).¹³⁷

Immediately, Mandela imagines the frontier in terms of the *concentration* of conflict, and the division between two distinct frontier nations: British/Settlers and amaXhosa/Natives. His characterisation of Grahamstown as a ‘theatre of war’ briefly references the demonstrative violence of the colonialists, but emphasizes the *agency* of the indigenes. In these first few paragraphs two narratives – one of colonial domination and power, another of indigenous resistance and eventual triumph – take up the same dialectical relation as the two high points of Makana’s Kop and the 1820 Settlers’ Monument, which face one another from high points on opposite sides of the city and dominate the Grahamstown skyline. As such Mandela creates an alternative founding narrative for the city of Grahamstown to advance a positive conception of freedom as self-determination, or self *defence* in this case.

¹³⁶ A short video clip of Zuma’s visit to Grahamstown is available for viewing online at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mbl5dNu2ghQ&feature=plcp> [Accessed 14/09/2012]. It is helpful because it not only gives a visual sense of how the event was staged, but allows one to observe Zuma’s performance of his speech. There is very clearly a difference between the two registers of his performance, which begins with the written text and ends with an oral performance.

¹³⁷ All sections of Mandela’s and Zuma’s speeches are quoted from the online versions of the speech published on the ANC and Government websites respectively. The texts are attached in Appendices A and B. Paragraph numbers used in my discussion are those which have been generated by me for ease of reference.

In his monumental reconstruction of history, Mandela effectively implies that to ‘defend’ the land (here imagined as a possession) is to ‘preserve’ freedom. Thus he imagines freedom as a utopian place that one ‘journeys’ toward, echoing the title of his autobiography *Long Walk to Freedom* (1994) and effectively placing freedom outside of history.¹³⁸ Since this concept of freedom is timeless, the anticolonial and anti-apartheid struggles are framed as acts of self-determination and positive freedom. The story of Makana attributes a certain unassailable, even mystical quality to the notion of freedom, because Mandela does not talk of defeat when it comes to Makana – only heroism. Makana’s afterlife in this speech therefore functions as a way of re-claiming the agency of the colonised subject.

In these opening remarks, space and time are treated as immanence and imminence respectively: the phrases ‘centre of confrontation’ and ‘theatre of war’ betray an underlying assumption about space as the static, empty container of history and human actions (cf. Massey 1994). Furthermore the ‘theatricality’ of those conflicts seems to be a matter of duration as much as scale – the place’s history is spectacular not only because the indigenous people fought, but because they fought *relentlessly* (the landscape is qualified, but not quantifiable, cf. Ingold 2000). This also supposes a hierarchical view of space and time, since the worth of the amaXhosa’s fight is being measured not by the amount of ground they gained or lost, but by the length of time they persisted in their fight.

So in one sense Mandela first imagines freedom as the enduring, universal right of every citizen, and at the same time he needs to motivate the idea of freedom as something that requires the participation and *engagement* of individuals. Although they are not mutually exclusive, there is a tension between the two ideas which Mandela negotiates by talking specifically about space-time in terms of *taskscape*s. These rhetorical manoeuvres are re-iterated throughout Mandela’s speech. References to the frontier idea occur again in

¹³⁸ Even if we are to abandon the utopian metaphor of freedom as a place, and think instead of freedom as a kind of inherently human trait, it still remains apart from historical time in this speech because the genealogical line of descent – the line by which ancestry is determined – carries on through the different generations of past, present and future (see Ingold 2000).

the next four paragraphs, where it is re-imagined as a strategic position in time; both the point of *departure* towards ‘cultural reconstruction’ and the point of *arrival* for a nation for whom democracy has finally been achieved. Within this national context, the community of Grahamstown is praised especially, for having transformed the ‘theatre of war’ into something positive:

...this city has outgrown those hostilities. You have turned Grahamstown into a city of cultural heritage and academic excellence...you affirm your dedication to peace and reconciliation...

The pioneers of press freedom kept its flames burning despite repressive legislation emanating from governors-general in Cape Town...that cause has finally triumphed...

...The people of Grahamstown, as an advanced detachment on the cultural front, should take a lead in restoring the cultural heritage of the previously disadvantaged communities. The festivals which you host every year and other cultural projects based here can serve as foundation stones of cultural reconstruction (1996: para. 5; 6; 8).

Transforming the frontier into the cultural ‘front’ in his own words, Mandela now creates *one shared space-time* of historic achievement. He speaks about preserving the role of cultural institutions in almost the same way that he described the fight to ‘preserve freedom’. With the emphasis now on human striving and the collective efforts, this description of Grahamstown as a taskscape is a way of strategically opening up a new temporal frontier while emphasising the positive meanings of freedom.

Mandela empowers his audience by naming them as the custodians of cultural traditions and institutions which will help define the identity of the new nation (cf. Sachs 1991). He also places Grahamstown (the cultured city) in dialectical relationship to Cape Town (where many of the apartheid laws were made), pitting state power against the creativity of citizens. At the same time, as he urges citizens to work together with the state, he is also *appropriating* the local cultural institutions for the purpose of national becoming.

Reading Mandela’s acceptance speech against the backdrop of concurrent events in 1996, it is clear that his agenda is to foster the rebuilding of a fragmented and fractured social imagination. This is an attempt to give a name and purpose to the particular

temporal experience of the post-1994 period, so his words are very much a contemporaneous response to the atmosphere of hope and forward-looking in 1996.¹³⁹

At the same time, Mandela's tone in the text seems almost matter-of-fact, in that he does not attempt to make this present moment – of anticipation and euphoria – seem overly spectacular. In fact, he paints a picture of the past as spectacular and exceptional perhaps in order to make the present seem less so, and to manage the anxiety which always accompanies the process of becoming.

So the past in this speech is regarded as clearly past, it lays the foundation for the future but does not define it. Mandela twice speaks of the new democracy in terms of its 'coming of age' (ibid. para. 13; 14), a phrase that draws past, present and future together as a continuum of memory, experience and aspiration, and importantly, labour. But 'coming of age' also implies an uncomfortable and protracted process and the prospect of 'growing pains', thereby managing expectations and creating a margin of error within which the government can operate if necessary.

Turning now to the future, Mandela sets out a programme for the city in which success is not certain, but must be worked towards in the 'spirit of Masakhane' – a spirit of 'building together'. While emphasising that prosperity is not guaranteed, Mandela finally begins to define what citizenship means in the age of maturity. Specifically, he states that '*actions that we used in the past against apartheid structures impact negatively on the community. We cannot use them against our own structures,*' [emphasis is mine] (ibid. para. 10).

In his FOG acceptance speech as well as in his re-dedication of the 1820 Settlers Monument (1996),¹⁴⁰ Mandela's words hint at the 'entanglement' of social identities insofar as he frames the cultural and academic institutions created in the past as part of a

¹³⁹ Compare Mandela's speech with Thabo Mbeki's 'I am an African Speech', which attempts to do the same things in terms of creating an inclusive genealogy of freedom which is tied to the landscape, available at: <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=4322>

¹⁴⁰ This speech is also available online on the ANC website.

legacy that can be shared by all the people of Grahamstown in the future. He establishes a new 'open' frontier, a cultural 'contact zone' along which new social relations may be worked out. The 'cultural front' is a space in which old divisions – between black and white, between settler and indigene, between state and citizen – can be overcome through dialogue and mutual participation in the common task of nation-building and the associated socio-cultural development projects that this task entails. In terms of Mandela's speech, it can perhaps be said that this new 'cultural front' is above all a place of encounter and of becoming, beyond which lies the great unknown and uncharted territory of the future.

Mandela spoke relatively briefly during his acceptance of the FOG award, and in fact made only one passing reference to Makana. The acceptance speech invokes only the memory of Makana's actions in battle, rather than the symbolic and affective power of his prophecy. Focusing rather on the history of the city, Mandela focused on giving meaning to the entire, long running history of the frontier and its many conflicts, rather than emphasising Makana's role in them. The speech broadly maintains a linear chronological structure which acknowledges the struggles of the past, but is predominantly concerned with the present and with mapping out the strategy for future progress, and parallels his use of Makana in his autobiography.¹⁴¹

At the time of Mandela's speech in 1996, the local municipality had not yet adopted the name Makana, which indicates to us in retrospect that in many ways the work of representing an alternative history to that of the 1820 Settlers as the dominant story in Grahamstown had not yet begun. Since then, as part of the work of 'restoring the cultural heritage of the previously disadvantaged communities' (1996: para. 8) in Grahamstown, the figure of Makana has been given renewed prominence during the last 10 years. Since 2001, when the municipality serving Grahamstown was renamed the Makana Municipality, the Battle of Grahamstown has increasingly been figured as the definitive moment of the city's becoming.

¹⁴¹In *Long Walk to Freedom* (1994) Mandela recalls as a young man being inspired by the story of Makana.

Makana's emergence in Zuma's FOG speeches implies that there is a need – felt by the state certainly, if not by the general populace – to revive the idea of the 'freedom front'. Although Zuma does not speak explicitly about the 'front,' he does imply it through his detailed narration of the legend of Makana, and his talk of a 'struggle'. Zuma frames the 'now' as the 'extreme limit' or fulfilment of the anti-colonial past, but to do this is to imagine that the present had already been created in the past, and also to concede that in some ways the old (colonial) frontier still exists if only in the mind. But this way of writing about time is also subverted by the very thing which gives Zuma's rhetoric its power: its performative citation. The invocation of Makana throws the linear continuity of past, present and future into flux.

Zuma's narration of the past in this speech performs a number of seductive manoeuvres which unintentionally reveal a deeply felt anxiety about the present. In the first place, the text reveals what might be called 'erroneous representations' often associated with nostalgia, which create a disjuncture between the subject and his/her present reality (Boym 2001: 5). In this case I want to consider what has been left out of the narrative, and what the effect of these omissions might be.

PERFORMING SOLIDARITY



18. President Jacob Zuma receives the Freedom of Grahamstown in 2011 (GovernmentZA photostream)¹⁴²

As part of the many ceremonial activities which accompanied his visit, President Jacob Zuma was ritually welcomed by local *sangomas*, adorned with ceremonial beads and a Cheetah skin (a symbol of power), and also formally addressed by a praise poet. In addition to these performances, the actual text of Zuma's acceptance speech begins, like Mandela's, with the formal welcoming of assembled dignitaries. However Zuma includes a specific acknowledgement of 'traditional leaders,' and this direct appeal to traditional authority figures is in keeping with the projected image of him as a Black Populist leader who, by recognising both the local forms of political and traditional authority, thereby confirms himself as a 'man of the people'. Identifying himself as someone who respects cultural traditions and authority, throughout his speech Zuma also deliberately demonstrates his knowledge of the local clan history and of the appropriate terms of

¹⁴² Photos in this section taken from GovernmentZA photostraem on Flickr. Available at: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/governmentza/8453075932/in/photostream/> [Accessed 04/05/2012].

address, at the same time avoiding any mention of the rivalries that existed and still exist between the two amaXhosa clans in the region. The emphasis in Zuma's speech is on fostering unity, which necessitates the collapsing of difference and diversity.¹⁴³

Like Mandela in 1996, Zuma also prefaces his speech with statements of humility, through which he establishes an equal relationship of mutual respect and shared values with his audience. He adds that '[N]o greater honour can be given by a people than to share what is most precious to them – their home, their freedom, their rights as citizens and their own town or city' (2011: 9). This opening is important because, as well as establishing the trope of 'Unity in Diversity' which has been a key part of the ANC government's rhetoric, Zuma also alludes to the values set out in the Freedom Charter of 1955, particularly the idea that 'The People Shall Share in the country's wealth' (ANC 2011).¹⁴⁴

As Zuma continues his speech, he builds on this idea in order to frame the past, present and future of the nation in positive terms. Having introduced himself and established his relationship with the audience, Zuma focuses a significant section of the introduction of his speech on the figure of Makana, who emerges first and foremost as 'an illustrious freedom fighter who sacrificed his life for his people' and becomes 'a symbol of heroism, bravery and dedication' (2011: para. 3).

The themes of leadership and self-sacrifice run throughout the text, and are used to frame the Makana narrative in a way that resonates with the kind of BCM rhetoric I discussed earlier. Makana is positioned alongside other black anti-colonial leaders, at the beginning of a struggle which will span centuries. Euphemistically referring to 'colonial encroachment,' Zuma creates an ambiguous, faceless adversary – he describes colonialism as though it were a system of actions without an agent, a juggernaut of history, thus

¹⁴³ Possibly most of Zuma's audience is already aware of this historical tension, making it all the more necessary to focus his speech on celebrating those aspects of past that can generate positive feelings of collective pride and belonging.

¹⁴⁴ A very clear explanation of the meaning of 'unity in diversity' can be found on the ANC website, where its origins are traced in several of the organisation's key texts including the Freedom Charter (1955) and the South African Constitution (ANC 2011).

making Makana's defiant 'escape' all the more dramatic. Furthermore while Makana and others are pitted in a fight *against* the dominating forces of colonialism, for much of the speech it remains unclear what these heroes were actually fighting *for*. In short, Zuma emphasises and defines freedom in negative terms rather than in the positive sense.

Having introduced Makana as a legendary figure on the Eastern frontier, Zuma dwells for much longer on Makana's incarceration at Robben Island, where he acquires the particular status of being 'among the earliest generation of freedom fighters in that island [sic]' (2011: para. 4). The key phrases 'freedom fighters' and 'political prisoners' resonate beyond the colonial time-period of the narrative action, so that Zuma is then able to move the story quite abruptly into the anti-apartheid era. However, throughout his speech Zuma never actually mentions the word 'apartheid' once, as though perhaps to do so would be to 'draw a line' between the past and the present, marking and closing a frontier. Clearly, Zuma needs to maintain a sense of narrative continuity to sustain the idea of a shared national identity, so instead of naming apartheid, Zuma repeatedly names a number of key popular symbols and ideas which will help bring him closer to his audience:

...Makana represented an indomitable spirit.

Even during *our time* in Robben Island, *the name Makana* reverberated with very poignant substance and reverence.

It was also adopted by a sporting body in *the Island, the Makana Football Association*, in which I personally participated as a player and also as a referee.

Therefore, *most of us identify with Makana*. We have lived and felt his pain and it is still an inspiration for us in *our struggle* to improve the lot of our people. [emphasis is mine] (2011: para. 5-6)

Note how Zuma uses collective nouns (our, us, we) while repeating the keywords 'Makana' and 'Island.' As such, using Makana, Zuma makes a suggestive link between the anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggles; distant past and recent past become part of a singular, unified spatio-temporal experience. At this point in the speech, Makana's legendary *status* begins to take more prominence than the figure himself. And furthermore it is as though Makana's anti-colonial efforts had not only preceded but *presaged* those of the later anti-apartheid 'generation of freedom fighters'. Meanwhile the idea of resistance

becomes a kind of symbolic object or heirloom that has been handed down a line of descent. This gives particular credibility and legitimacy to the current political leadership. It is also significant that Zuma chooses to describe Makana's influence and presence in terms of a *reverberation* – this is an image which evokes the very specific sensory modalities of listening and speaking, and also suggests something haunting and ephemeral because it is a sound rather than a visible object.

Zuma's phrasing here privileges the power of orality as opposed to textuality, and suggests a certain degree of closeness to the legend since those on Robben Island (Zuma himself included) become like secondary witnesses, the implication being that they have been privy to some secret knowledge which has been communicated verbally and, he suggests, might also be felt through the embodied rhythms and tasksapes of everyday life on the island. Zuma also focuses the narrative on Robben Island so that 'the name Makana' – ie. the *performative function* of the name rather than the figure himself – seems to gain more authority when it is associated with Robben Island than with Grahamstown. This shows a deliberate desire to use the symbolic power associated with Robben Island in order to link Makana's name with the fulfilment of prophecy, rather than with an 'unhappy' utterance.

Robben Island functions here as a 'commonplace for the injustices of apartheid' (Marback 2004: 7), and so it is also cast as a 'commonplace' for celebrating the triumph *against* apartheid. Similarly Grahamstown – the 'Settler City' implicated as its somewhat ambiguous counterpoint – serves as a 'commonplace' for the injustices of the colonial project. So while the mention of Robben Island gives the name of Makana cultural currency, the prison space itself also becomes imbued with the gravity and force of the Legend.

So while he is speaking *to* everyone present at the ceremony, Zuma is nevertheless speaking *of* and *for* a very select group of people, and this kind of shifting between modes

of address happens throughout his speech. As such a frontier space emerges not only implicitly through references to the colonial past, but also in Zuma's use of language which is intended to be inclusive, but often has the opposite effect. The 'we' and the 'our' of the liberation struggles, it is subtly implied, is a select group of 'freedom fighters' who share the particular experience of Robben Island, which gives them a status of authority. So the frontier here is more than a contested physical historical place, it is also more than the imaginary border between here and there, self and other, us and them. Zuma's frontier is, crucially, defined by lines of *solidarity* and the performance of being united, *together*, against a common enemy. It does not seem to matter what or who that enemy is, so long as there is the appearance and a demonstrative performance of unity. As such, Zuma's frontier is a 'front'.

So in both Zuma and Mandela's speeches there is an attempt to remember the past in a way conducive to the construction of a national identity, but the history itself highlights particular rifts and gaps between individuals and groups. In attempting to construct a coherent, united contemporary identity, Zuma and Mandela draw lines of narrative continuity between past, present, and future, mapping *both* space *and* time, albeit in different ways. The emphasis in Mandela's speech is on the present moment (1996) and its immediate antecedent, while Zuma spends much longer narrating the distant past and mapping out the future. Zuma's text therefore evokes a powerful sense of 'anti-colonial longing' – a desire to answer the present by narrating the colonial past, with the assumption that past heroes and present subjects imagine the future in the same way (Scott 2004; Motha 2011). In order to attempt the work of becoming, it seems somehow necessary in these texts to (re)construct the frontier.

If the progression of time remains somewhat linear in most of Mandela's speech (barring the occasional slippage), in Zuma's speech we have a far more complex network of spatialities and temporalities overlapping. There is still continuity in the way time unfolds through the narrative of liberation, but at each 'chronological interval' there are

many more lateral and transversal movements between distant and recent times and places. Zuma repeats the name Makana sixteen times throughout the speech, and through it engages the performative power of citation in order to re-trace multiple journeys that will take the audience from colonial-Grahamstown to apartheid-era Robben Island, and finally back to the present day. This repetition also makes the distant past (of colonialism and oppression) and the present moment (of democracy and freedom) part of a simultaneous historic struggle which then becomes a national celebration of success (unfailure), as Zuma recalls the 2010 World Cup, in his acceptance of the FOG:

...on behalf of all *freedom loving South Africans and our friends beyond the borders of the country*, who fought endlessly and heroically over many decades until *freedom and democracy was achieved in 1994*.

I receive the award on behalf of the patriotic and energetic South Africans who bought tickets and filled the soccer stadiums and fan parks during the soccer world cup event last year, *proving wrong critics* who had said the tournament in South Africa would be characterised by poor attendance and would fail.

I receive the award on behalf of the construction workers who built the 2010 World Cup soccer stadia, roads and airports, the immigration, traffic and police officials, sports administrators and indeed all who made the tournament the success it was [emphasis mine] (2011: para. 8-10).

The reference to ‘freedom loving South Africans’ suggests that those who did not support the ANC or the FWC are excluded from the current celebrations. And significantly, Zuma finally begins to define the meaning of freedom as he places this particular symbolic event – FWC – in the broader context of defining South Africa’s place in the world. What he calls the ‘spirit of Makana’ vividly returns not only as an abstract ideal, but it is demonstrated through the *actions* of those who participated in the staging of the 2010 World Cup. It is implied in the passages above that the playing of the game of football on Robben Island directly led to South Africa’s hosting the tournament in 2010, and so the resistance struggle(s) and the FWC are constructed as separate but contingent victories. So Zuma attempts to create a prophetic memory, which Jennifer Wenzel explains as

...an act of crystallised hindsight...an act of projection that actualizes the “invented memory” of the future perfect: instead of imagining the past that will have been,

the retrospection of prophetic memory recognizes the present that has become (2009: 273).

Zuma suggests therefore that the success of South Africa's hosting the tournament confirms the success of the fight for freedom, which was not only achieved in 1994 by a select group of heroes, but is now being *shared* with all 'freedom loving' citizens of the country.

In his tangential way then Zuma attempts what Njabulo Ndebele called the 'rediscovery of the ordinary' (1994). That is, although the particular occasions Zuma describes – the elections in 1994, the FWC in 2010, the award in 2011 – may be spectacular events in and of themselves, he insists that it is only by virtue of the ordinary, ie. the everyday involvement of the people, that *spectacular victory comes into being*. The FWC is spectacular only because of the hard work of citizens engaged in the tasks of everyday life, occupation and aspiration. Rather than lauding the institutions which stage such events (as Mandela did in 1996), Zuma, following his populism, emphasizes the *everyday* taskscapes which have formed the landscapes of the nation. In this sense it seems that a new frontier nation has been created not simply in the spectacular clashes and memorable battles fought across borders, but in the spheres of activity involving all people as they work at and beyond the limits of what was thought possible for the nation.

This powerful rhetoric creates unity in the face of very real pragmatic challenges, and even harks back to the anti-apartheid era of emphasising community engagement. However, I would argue that Zuma's appreciation of 'ordinariness' fails to go beyond this somewhat superficial level of celebration and does not get to grips with the true complexity of what Ndebele is advocating. Instead, having briefly introduced this dimension of ordinary activity the text moves into its final phase of addressing the real and practical needs and concerns of the people, placing current reality and everyday struggles at the fore.

Leading with the term 'compatriots' which seems to bring together all of his addressees, Zuma aims to close the rift between the rich and the poor, performatively

uniting all people through an appeal to a shared history of struggle, rather than acknowledging the reality of a divided present. The term ‘compatriots’ suggests that all who hear it have suffered through the same challenges and share the same needs and aspirations, even though this is not the case. But here Zuma returns to the spectacular mode as a way of covering the glaring gaps in his narrative performance of national unity. In what then follows in the speech, Zuma uses lists of facts and figures (which I have substantially edited out):

Compatriots;

This occasion reminds us all that *despite our seventeen years of hard work to improve the lives of our people, we still have to do more* to provide access to basic services...

...

The local government elections of May this year have provided us *with renewed energy and impetus to work harder to improve* the situation.

Some of the major improvements we must make include getting each municipality to involve the communities they serve in decisions affecting their lives. It involves ensuring continuous communication between municipalities and the citizens.

If people are promised certain services, when there is a delay they should be informed.

If there is water or electricity cuts, for whatever legitimate reason, people should be informed and told when this will be fixed.

In short, our *citizens should be treated as valuable customers*. Once we improve the customer care ethos and programmes of our municipalities, we will reduce the levels of frustration and anger [emphasis mine] (2011: para. 11; 13).

The lengthy discussion of Municipal targets and goals in this section seems to draw our attention away from the ‘ordinariness’ of everyday life which was deliberately introduced earlier, as such deferring the anxiety and dissatisfaction about service delivery, corruption, and other pragmatic issues. The meta-narrative of progress and the hyperbolic use of exponential figures eclipses other counter-narratives of individual hardship, expectation and disappointment which people have lived and continue to live through.

The contrast between this part of Zuma’s speech and the two sections previously quoted is quite stark. While the gains and achievements during the time of democracy are set out in emotive terms in the earlier parts of the speech, Zuma uses the bland, monotonous language of ‘service delivery’ to map the uncharted terrain of what still remains unresolved. The effect of this ‘overview’ of goals and targets is one of distancing

the audience from the particularities of their own suffering, and placing them at a remove from the real emotive issues which they face daily. This shift from the ordinary back to the spectacular is necessary in part because the future Zuma wishes to talk about is so uncertain – because the ‘now’ is a frontier moment, a link must be carefully maintained between the utopian image and the actual experience of ‘freedom,’ and it is this precarious balancing act which necessitates the work of nostalgia.

So like Mandela, Zuma calls for grassroots participation in the decision-making processes of development projects, but then he also shifts again to regarding citizens as ‘valuable customers’. This suggests that whilst there is an attempt to include citizens in these processes, real power will remain in the hands of the government and the relationship between state and citizen cannot be entirely equal. So the notion of ‘working together’ in this context means something entirely different to the idea of co-operation expressed with regard to the FWC. Where before Zuma spoke about the importance of people having embodied involvement in their social world, he now reduces the relationship between municipalities and citizens to certain mandatory and requisite levels of communication.

On the matter of service-delivery, he implies that receiving information and an explanation is somehow of equal value to receiving the result (action). This is an attempt to make an otherwise unfulfilled promise appear in the guise of an ‘unfailure.’ The premise here seems to be that naming the failure, acknowledging it, is a form of recognition which actually re-affirms the speaker’s original commitment to that promise. The speech is a communicative rather than performative act, but it nevertheless cites the original promise, and in so doing points to a renewed commitment to the promise. As Wenzel (2009) explains the concept of ‘unfailure’, it does not mean that something has been immediately corrected. In fact the failure – non-delivery of services here – still exists, but so too does the *potential* for that act to be fulfilled in the future. Or to put it in Austin’s (1962) terms, the promise is never false, it is merely ‘unhappy.’ Similarly Zuma suggests that saying can

be as good as doing to some extent, and that the recognition of a wrong can provide ‘renewed impetus’ for transforming lack into potential.

Furthermore in the next paragraph Zuma, like Mandela in 1996, begins to set out codes of behaviour which are acceptable forms of citizen’s active engagement with government and institutions:

...no amount of frustration should justify violence and destruction of property.
 ...*We must all support* our councillors in performing their difficult tasks of serving communities [...]
 We know that our people want to see change in local government, and want that to happen without delay.
 We have a turnaround strategy that is being implemented in municipalities to effect change [...]
 We hope that this municipality will embrace it with both hands [emphasis mine] (2011: para. 14-18)

So we begin to see the complexities of citation and of defining freedom in negative terms, and what occurs here is a significant shift in thinking which is perhaps partially the result of the unpredictability of citation. Zuma’s invocation of ‘the name Makana’ and the ‘spirit of Makana’ relies on the cumulative power of previous historical actions in order for his performative – in this case the promise to deliver service and to improve people’s lives – to be fulfilled. He attempts to make communicative speech performative, so that the failure of government to deliver on certain promises might rather be seen as ‘unfailure’. He has to use the struggle narrative to better align himself and his government with the populace, but he also needs to distance himself from the narrative’s emotive power in order to diffuse the unrest in the present, and channel those energies toward a future goal. Simultaneously he has had to acknowledge and praise individual agency, while insisting on limits being set on contemporary resistance and protest actions.

Zuma is echoing Mandela’s assertion that the old tactics and instruments of struggle – such as violence and boycotts – cannot be applied to the present context, but in Zuma’s speech this becomes even more problematic coming after he has advocated, indeed praised the forms of political engagement which have in the past, and certainly in the context of Makana, necessarily involved violence. The legitimacy or illegitimacy of certain forms of

resistance is no longer being assessed on the basis of whether or not there is a grievance, but it now depends on who is doing the speaking, and who is being addressed because the roles have shifted.

Zuma turns back to populist rhetoric and re-iterates the themes of humility, unity and cooperation. Drawing together a number of powerful symbolic ideas in the last few paragraphs, Zuma sequentially mentions the names of Makana, Mandela (fondly referred to as Madiba here) and the MK, in order to foreground the idea of the ANC as more than a political party. Instead, the ANC becomes, as stated on the organisation's website, 'South Africa's National Liberation Movement' (ANC 2011). He creates a chain of recognition so as to then present himself as the ultimate embodiment of a victorious struggle: first, by paying tribute to, 'my organisation *the ANC which in the main made me to be what I am today*, and enabled me to make this contribution' (2011: para. 20), and later by echoing these sentiments a few minutes later when he launches into song and dance. Thus, he both traces the origins of freedom, and then demonstrates its meanings/values performatively, by 'fully enjoy(ing)' himself on stage.

The degree to which the state employs the power of both pedagogic and performative registers can perhaps be seen when one compares Zuma's performance of this speech to his performance of the song *Umshini Wami (My Machine Gun)*, which he launches into at the end of his address. After reading his speech almost verbatim and with little vigour, Zuma's performance of the song is much livelier, involving more improvisation, emphatic gestures, and direct interaction with the crowd through the call-and-response song format. The accompanying dance allows him to literally demonstrate his deeply felt embodiment of the struggle, as well as the joy of celebration that came after apartheid ended.¹⁴⁵ His

¹⁴⁵ The singing of *Umshini Wami* at the end of the speech illustrates some of the points I have already made about the ambiguous rhetoric of the struggle narrative. I do not have time to get into this discussion here, but I want to note how it seems strange that Zuma, all the while acknowledging the power of language to act, at the same time denies aspects of its power by defending his performance and asserting that a song like this cannot be what Butler (1997) describes as 'injurious speech.' This song has been controversial because it is seen as a threatening and confrontational display directed at the white segment of the South African

performance demonstrates the slightly histrionic versatility which underlies South Africa's presentation of itself to the world, and which nevertheless functions alongside the attempts to forge an official, united narrative of an inclusive, coherent identity (cf. Mbembe 2002).

(IN)CITING THE PAST

The dangers of using culture as a weapon of struggle were outlined by Sachs (1991): in the first place, the art/culture suffers, and in the second place, the struggle itself suffers and stagnates. A risk of the political agenda becoming stunted can be traced through both Mandela and Zuma's speeches, where the use of culture as a weapon goes alongside a prescriptive mode of address between the state and its citizens. This is especially evident in Zuma's last closing sentiments. But rather than simply reading these texts as calculated attempts by the state to shape memory, I suggest these texts are also an example of the processes of 'way-finding'. In Mandela and Zuma's speeches, national discourse and popular memory both sustain one another's myths: that the state's struggle narrative seems to overwrite local narratives of resistance and activism, and yet the two require one another in order to articulate their respective aims. While the nation building rhetoric at times abstracts, even overwrites real difference and hardship, the mythic structure of time in the Makana narrative and its afterlives offers an opportunity for multiple temporalities to exist alongside one another in the imagination. As such it allows for the construction of an alternative, shared temporal experience in ways which were not possible during apartheid, and attempts to bridge the gaps between state and citizens, present and future.

In his use of the mythical figure of Makana, Zuma in particular demonstrates the simultaneity of time and space. His speech describes how, in engaging in the preparations and participation for the FWC, South Africans were also effectively engaged in acts of remembrance – ie. engaging perceptually with the landscape. This brings the past – both mythic and real – into the present in such a way that implies that popular knowledge is

population. Liz Gunner (2008) gives a detailed discussion of how the song came into the public arena, and how it has also been used subversively by different groups.

both practiced and perceived, felt as much as spoken, and somehow a crucial part of nation-building even as it points to the project's ambivalence (cf. Bhabha 1999)

So in both speeches there is an attempt to bring the speaker closer to the landscape and the people: Zuma does this through populism, Mandela by demonstrating his knowledge of the place's history, but both perform the value of 'knowing one's place'. Both speeches effectively oscillate between using a genealogical, linear model of narrative time, and a more relational mode in which we begin to see the traces of a number of everyday taskscapes. Neither model necessarily offers solutions to the problems of anxiety and becoming, but by paying closer attention to how both forms of narration work, I begin to see how and why certain discourses continue to be zones of contestation, and how a polarised conceptions of race, for example, continue to exist alongside the 'non-racial' rhetoric promoted by the government in its 'Unity in Diversity' slogan.

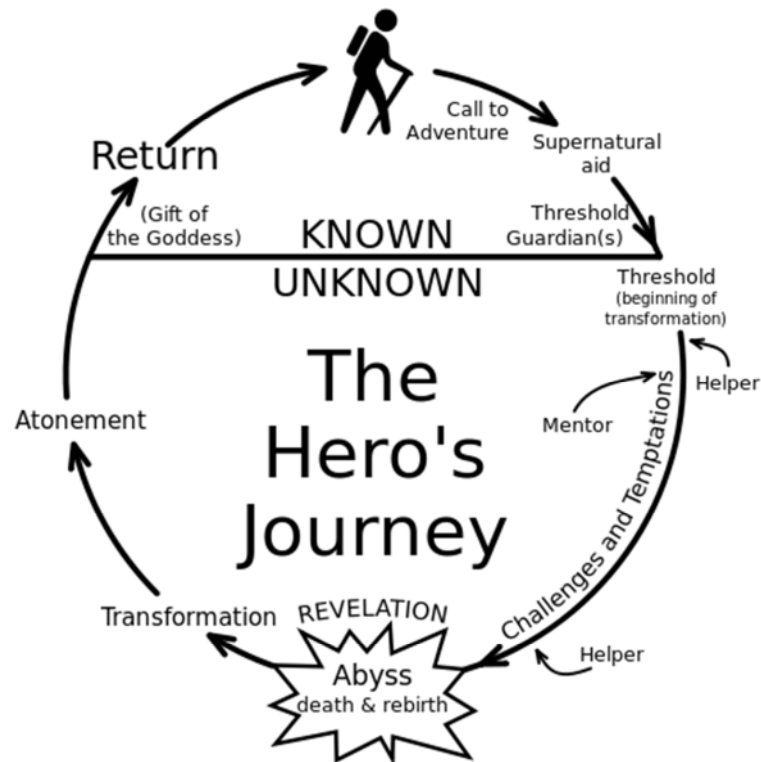
Political scientists have often expressed skepticism about the possibility of establishing a national identity in heterogeneous, diverse societies such as South Africa (Mattes 1999: 262), a country whose quest towards nation-building is profoundly complicated by the effects of globalisation, which offers alternative forms of collectivity to individuals and social groups alike (McEachern 2002: 1; cf. Maré 1999). Such alternative or 'supra-national' identities (Bornman 2010) have the potential to further fragment an already divided society.¹⁴⁶

In the absence of a unifying ethnicity, ideology or other cultural institution, the concept of democracy and its idea of 'freedom' plays a central role in the project of unification and offers a resolution to the social antagonism which haunts South Africa. But

¹⁴⁶ The accelerated movement of people, goods and capital which characterizes contemporary South Africa potentially contradicts the nation-building project since it problematises the modernist ideal of the nation state (tied up with territoriality and sovereignty) upon which it is founded (cf. McEachern 2002: 1; Graham 2009: 2). For example, Dolby (2001) through a case-study of one integrated high-school, describes how global popular culture appears to be more of an influence on students' perceptions of their identity (including notions of race) than any affiliation to the 'imagined community' (Anderson 2006) of the South African nation. This may be because, amongst other things, the socio-political context in which the ideal South African nation was 'imagined' during the liberation struggle and the early days of democracy does not resemble that which the younger generation is experiencing (cf. Msimanga 2011).

the ideal and the reality of democracy can be very different. For many, the end of apartheid has been just ‘one kind of freedom’ since their economic situation remains much the same (Carter & May 2001). Neocosmos (1999) argues that whilst during the liberation struggle the question of national unity meant distributing power at a grassroots level and involving civic society in political matters, it is today associated with a top-down approach. Ordinary people seem to have less direct involvement with and influence on decision-making. In effect, whilst South Africa has achieved representational democracy, participatory democracy has not fared so well (cf. Mattes 1999; 2002). Ceremonial performances such as those accompanying the Freedom of Grahamstown award therefore offer the possibility of framing experiential landscapes in terms of the simultaneity of space-time, while allowing for temporal heterogeneity. They suggest that it might still be possible for unrealised dreams to be realised and otherwise ‘unhappy’ utterances to be somehow fulfilled.

Finally, in the example of Makana’s afterlives, the narrative re-construction of a national past has all the hallmarks of the monomyth described by Joseph Campbell (2004). The storyline follows a heroic figure who must venture into unknown lands and complete a number of endurance tasks, often encountering a villain whom he must defeat in order to return home once again. If the hero returns triumphant he (and for Campbell it is often *he*) will be able change the fate of his people with the help of some magical object or elixir acquired on his travels. The narrative arc of the monomyth follows the structure of rite, beginning with the hero’s departure (separation from the community), initiation, transformation and finally the return home.



19. Summary of stages in Joseph Campbell's 'monomyth' (Wikimedia Commons)

This structure also appears in Brett Bailey's *Terminal*, where the spectator is taken through the experience of such a mythical journey. However, whilst political rhetoric attempts to resolve temporal anxieties through the use of the mythic structure, Bailey's performance uses it instead to map anxiety onto the spectator's body, thereby attempting to harness the 'unknown' as a potential catalyst for political agency and psycho-social mobility. In the next chapter I will continue to explore themes of the frontier, of failure, myth and temporality in relation to the subject of race in *Terminal*.

B) RACE AGAINST TIME (TERMINAL)

The title *Race against Time* denotes two lines of thought in this chapter. Firstly, and in relation to the idea of frontier-ness, where the 'race' is defined as a contest between individuals or groups of individuals and their respective interests, whether it is an isolated event or more generally a social context of tension and competition, and where it describes a goal-oriented activity taking place with a finite duration. So I can talk about spatio-temporal frontiers of encounter, while reflecting the fact that the space-time of identity is never static, and that such encounters are characterised by change, flux, and *movement*. Recalling Ingold's (2000) idea of taskscape again, I want to consider how belonging is at once measured *in* time and *against* time, since a race is both the context of an action (law/discourse) and the action itself (utterance/citation). And here, social identities (i.e. race, class, gender, ethnicity etc.) are understood as competing categories of allegiance (Brown 2006) which are implicated by and through one another (McClintock 1995).

Secondly, and in relation to the idea of ethnic group identities and/as nationalisms, *race* refers to a historically constructed ideology, the vehicle for both colonial and apartheid systems of economic and political control, as well as their literal and symbolic acts of violence.¹⁴⁷ But whilst speaking in this chapter about grand narratives of national identity and state ideology, I also treat race as a subjective category of self-identification, as such an embodied, citational performance. The phrase *Race against Time* is a way of talking about how matters of colour and ethnicity now figure in relation to the many potential social identities which an individual might perform in post-1994 South Africa. I argue that the meanings of race are indeed tied to the phenomenology of being and to spatial practices in everyday life. In the particular context of South Africa, the historically

¹⁴⁷ To be more precise, race is defined here as: 'A historical means of social classification and differentiation that attempts to essentialise political and cultural differences by linking physical traits (i.e. skin, blood, genes) and social practices (i.e. religion, violence, passion) to innate, immutable characteristics (see essentialism). Race as a concept presumes that characteristics (tendencies, behaviours, dispositions, interests) of an individual can be projected to understandings of essential traits of a population or that the presumed traits of a population can be discerned through the characteristics of an individual' (Gregory et al 2009: 615).

charged meanings of race seem to have endured over time despite political changes in the country, and these received ‘meanings’ have real bearing on the nature of lived experience in the now. Therefore my discussion of race is framed specifically in relation to the temporality of landscape, and not as a generalised foray into race theory: in fact here race functions as a way into discussing the temporality of cultural landscapes. In both senses of the word ‘race’ itself is a landscape *in and as* performance.

Before elaborating on how this theme is explored in performance, let me briefly recap on how race and time were constructed in the apartheid imagination, to begin to outline how they might subsequently need to be re-oriented for the future. I have already noted how taking up the cartographic metaphor triggers many problematic connotations insofar as maps have often functioned as symbols of political power, enabling the state and its institutions to acquire land and wealth by rendering space legible in and as discourse. The problematic effects of such ‘mapping’ extend beyond the literal and physical appropriation of space.

In his quest for a new cultural imagination, Sachs (1991) suggests that apartheid discourse not only split South African society by drawing literal boundaries between racial groups, it also, crucially, created a split within the individual mind (cf. Berlin 2002). That is, the violence of apartheid could be felt not only at the level of social interactions, but also in the profound sense of alienation in terms of belonging, of having a socio-political place, occurring in the moment of ideological interpellation (Althusser 1971; cf Fanon 1986: 84). Furthermore, not only would an individual be designated a racial identity according to apartheid’s scheme of racial classification, but this particular racial identity would take on such prominence in daily life that it subsumed all other categories of being and experience, deepening a psychic fracture within the individual subject.

The workings of this system of classification and interpellation were intimately linked to a particular politics of visibility and the abstraction of space which accompanied

the movement of modernity and late capitalism (cf. Lefebvre 1991; Cosgrove 1984). Apartheid's racial imagination was also preoccupied with the fear of miscegenation, and was arguably an attempt to explain and contain the latent desire for the other which had to be suppressed at the same time as it was being acknowledged (see J. M. Coetzee 1991). Not only was the system itself 'overdetermined' and driven by capitalistic aspirations and a need for labour and resources, it had also 'flowered out of desire and out of the hatred of desire...Its essence was therefore from the beginning confusion, a confusion which it displaced wildly all around itself' (J. M. Coetzee 1991: 2; cf Bhabha 1983).¹⁴⁸

Racial difference was not only conceived as threatening, it was also considered absolute and insurmountable (J. M. Coetzee 1991; Mbembe 2011; Weate 2003). Ironically, the apartheid state's insistence on difference was coupled with the homogenisation of racialised bodies as well as the spaces they produced. The standardisation of difference under apartheid rendered non-white bodies 'readable' and therefore familiar, in an attempt to make those bodies less threatening. So the discursive function of the Pass Laws and phenomena like the pencil test¹⁴⁹ was simultaneously to disarm difference's capacity for dialectical sublation, and to fetishise the racialised other. The body of the racialised other had to remain strange, exotic and threatening, even as it was being made docile. The result was that individuals always remained spectacular objects under the oppressive gaze which sought to suspend in its own favour the master-slave dialectic of recognition.

As Fanon (1986) points out, the colonial master sought not only recognition from the slave, but labour as well. To the extent that the apartheid state relied on black labour as a commodity, it also treated black life as waste (Mbembe 2011), and employed various

¹⁴⁸ This binary way of thinking partakes of the ambivalence of colonial discourse. For Bhabha, 'The construction of the colonial subject in discourse, and the exercise of colonial power through discourse, demands an articulation of forms of difference —racial and sexual. Such an articulation becomes crucial if it is held that the body is always simultaneously inscribed in both the economy of pleasure and desire and the economy of discourse, domination and power' (1983: 19).

¹⁴⁹ The 'pencil test' was one of many procedures used as a way of determining a person's race according to their physical characteristics. The method involved pushing a pencil into a person's hair and observing whether the object came out with the relative ease/difficulty. If the hair was thick or textured, the pencil would remain immovable/in place for longer and the person would be classified non-white. The test was mainly used in the case of those whose racial identity could not easily be determined by other means such as parentage or colour of skin, and so was particularly used in cases of coloured and mixed-race people.

strategies to enable and indeed justify the expenditure of this resource. The imbrication of race and class in apartheid thinking meant that, broadly speaking, the sign of blackness came to be associated with poverty and degradation, as well as with other ideas about moral degeneration and disease, discussed earlier. Whiteness, on the other hand, was connotationally aligned with cleanliness and order, wealth and prosperity. Different races also came to be associated with different living spaces and social geographies, so that both blackness and whiteness could literally be located on a map, with blacks living in densely populated townships far from the city centre, and whites often situated in 'leafy' suburbs.¹⁵⁰ That these perceptions persist is made evident from various representations of race in South African popular culture, ranging from television sitcoms, movies and music.¹⁵¹ In the theatre, playwright Mpumelelo Paul Grootboom has been explicit in his dealings with the issue of race, particularly in the controversial play *Interracial* (2009).¹⁵²

Maré (1999) argues that despite the ANC's attempts to pursue non-racialism, the discourse of race itself has not been extensively questioned. For instance, the four racial categories used under apartheid (black, white, indian, coloured) are still taken for granted

¹⁵⁰ Refer to my earlier discussion on the development of the city of Cape Town for more details about the relationship between racial identity and space.

¹⁵¹ For example in sitcoms such as *Suburban Bliss* (1995, SABC) which explored the scenario of a black family moving into a formerly white residential area. Dorothy Roome (1999) provides an interesting in-depth discussion of *Suburban Bliss* and the use of humour as a way of exploring issues around reconciliation in South Africa soon after the democratic transition. The humour of racial stereotypes is also used in many films by comedian Leon Schuster, where he specifically uses both gender and racial cross-dressing to play different characters. In his early candid-camera pranks, Schuster tested the limits of racial tolerance in South Africa. In the more recent feature films such as *Mr Bones* (2001) and *Mama Jack* (2005), the storylines explore race as part of a broader cultural clash between South Africa and the world. While the use of what is effectively a form of 'blackface' in Schuster's films is nothing new, more recently in South Africa, the trend has been for black actors to take up the role of white characters, as in the sitcom *The Coconuts* (2009, M-Net) in which a white family 'become trapped in black bodies thanks to offending an old man and some ancestors of the little known [fictional] Zulotho tribe of South Africa' (TVSA, 2009). The fictional 'Zulotho' tribe is probably a play combining Zulu and Sotho tribes, which also indicates how various black ethnic identities are often homogenised into one monolithic whole. The same idea of blacks playing at being white is explored in Paul Grootboom's play *Interracial* (2009). These performances reveal how the complex relationship between race and class has been affected by the political transition in South Africa. They also offer black perspectives on the meanings of whiteness.

¹⁵² The play was intended to explore the dynamics of interracial relationships, however rather than presenting a portrait of interracial romance, Grootboom's play ends with the all black cast toyi-toying onstage and singing liberation songs about 'shooting the white people'. Grootboom stated in a programme note that he had chosen to end this way because he had been frustrated at being unable to find any white people willing to participate in the project. See Keevy (2008) for a comparative exploration of how race is dealt with in both Grootboom and Bailey's theatres. Her comparison is interesting because it demonstrates how both artists use racial stereotypes to different effect. Each artist's own assumptions about race become evident in the varying degrees of reflexivity employed in the use of the gaze. Keevy's perspective as a white female spectator provides a useful comparison to some of my own observations about the performance of race in this chapter.

in common parlance.¹⁵³ Maré borrows Appiah's (1992) term 'racialism' to describe the type of 'race thinking' which still features in South Africa's socio-political life. This kind of 'racialism' seems to have influenced the ANC government's theorising of nationhood and has further thwarted the state's attempts to achieve its vision of unification. It has emerged as a hurdle to both economic and political democratisation. Today, the success of political opposition still depends largely upon racial demographics.¹⁵⁴

Racialism has also tainted public debate about the economic situation in the country. As the ANC government's neo-liberal economic policies have had very limited success so far, poverty is still rife and only a small portion of those most disadvantaged by apartheid have benefited from transformation initiatives like the GEAR (Growth, Employment and Redistribution) strategy, Affirmative Action and Black Economic Empowerment (see Magubane 2004b; Burger & Jafta 2010). While economic redress has been necessary, these projects have further heightened racial tensions and also revealed the extent to which race discourse replicates itself in and as a particular kind of identity performance:

The two defensive logics of black victimhood and white denialism collide and collude, often in unexpected ways. Together, they gradually foster a culture of mutual *ressentiment*, [sic] which, in turn, isolates freedom from responsibility and seriously undermines the prospect of a truly nonracial future (Mbembe 2008: 7).

The economic redistribution agenda reveals the complex entanglement of 'both moral questions of justice and equality and pragmatic and instrumental questions of power and social engineering, it epitomizes more than any other postapartheid project the current

¹⁵³ In this thesis I use these racial categories as they continue to be applied in public discourse. I also do so preferring to indicate the specificity of previously disadvantaged groups, rather than using the more problematic blanket term 'non-whites'. Where the terms are capitalized, they indicate an asserted sense of individual or group identity, rather than an externally imposed classification – this is complex, as sometimes they are unconsciously conflated cf. Indian.

¹⁵⁴ The union of the ANC's Black Nationalism and the Communist Party's own class nationalism which facilitated the Tripartite Alliance with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) was based on viewing apartheid as 'colonialism of a special type' (CST) and equating Black African identity with that of the colonised other. Alternative forms of political opposition to apartheid were then rendered suspect since they did not seem to reject colonialism (Maré 1999: 246-250). Maré cites as an example of racialism the struggle for political control of the Western Cape, which is today considered the Democratic Alliance's stronghold. The ANC's Black Nationalism has meant that the party has struggled to gain a significant majority vote in this region, at one point even calling for the election of a coloured candidate to represent the party at provincial level in order to win the coloured vote (Maré 1999: 253). See also Ferree (2010) on the impact of race on the electoral process.

difficulty of overcoming whiteness and blackness' (Mbembe 2008: 7). The issues around race and the redistribution of wealth also have broader implications for the ideals of democracy and freedom which the state tries to pursue, especially when it comes to the challenge of how to 'clearly articulate the ethics of care and responsibility, duties and obligations that freedom demands' (ibid. 8).

Racialism is a particularly insidious phenomenon because race identity often functions through a politics of visibility, and also because it is the *most* visible of identities. So while class, gender, and ethnicity can be altered or obfuscated to a certain extent, a person's race once established in the mind of the other cannot easily be altered (Keevy 2008: 5).¹⁵⁵

The context of my discussion in this chapter is the Grahamstown NAF – yet another public social event 'set apart' from the temporality of the everyday and framed within a set duration. I will concern myself with the particular kinds of temporalities which exist within the staging of Brett Bailey's *Terminal* (2009) to unpack questions around the experience of temporality in landscapes of identity and performance, while reflecting on how racial identity is experienced in and through space/place.

Read superficially, Bailey's vision of the present seems somewhat bleak, depicting in stark detail the outcome of centuries of conflicts on the border. But I argue that there is a much deeper level of reflection in the work which goes beyond mapping the racial tensions and economic problems faced in Grahamstown. Having explored earlier how narrative texts and their afterlives can engage multiple temporalities simultaneously (cf. Wenzel 2009), I will now look at how site-specific performance explores the 'here' and 'now' through images which also counteract a teleological approach to landscapes.

¹⁵⁵ I am aware of the numerous studies on racial hybridity and racial 'passing,' where individuals are able to subvert and bypass the systems of racial classification deployed in a particular society. However the point I wish to make here is that such performances are often in response to the fact that the particular society *insists* on using race as a way of identifying and categorising individuals, and often uses the visibility of race to accomplish this. As was the case with the 'Homeless Coloured Woman' I mentioned in my discussion of 'Limbo', the actual 'race' of a person may differ from their appearance, but often value judgements are made on the basis of appearance and can occur within a matter of seconds before there is any chance of exploding them.

I begin my discussion by looking at how the performance attempts to map ‘the invisible landscape’: that is, how Bailey uses the site to tackle the subject matter of the violence of ‘frontierness’ in Grahamstown’s colonial past, and as a result problematises the persistence of race discourse and social inequality in Grahamstown and in South Africa at large. Then, to re-trace the invisible maps in *Terminal*, my discussion proceeds on the premise that race is real, felt and embodied in ways which surpass the notion of race as a mere discursive construct (cf. Hook 2008; Manganyi 1973), and as a consequence race still matters in contemporary South Africa in ways which are not always immediately obvious in discussions about the rainbow nation.

FAULT LINES



20. Banner for *Terminal* from Third World Bunfight website

Terminal was commissioned for the main programme of the NAF (July 2009) and featured 70 local residents from Grahamstown, most of whom had no professional performance background. Each performance of *Terminal* ran for roughly an hour, during which spectators individually toured the abandoned Grahamstown Railway Station and surrounds, moving down half the length of the first platform, over a footbridge, and across the railway tracks to the nearby Settler Cemetery. The performance used ‘tour guides’ – local school children who led spectators by hand and silently directed the viewer’s attention in the journey from one exhibit to the next.

Dubbed the ‘enfant terrible of the theatre of the New South Africa’ (Matshikiza 2003: 6) Bailey – writer, designer, director, and more recently curator of festivals such as ITC, discussed in *Fortress City* – has a background in visual art and a reputation for creating performance works which challenge and unsettle the viewer. In terms of his *oeuvre*, Krueger (2010) has identified three overlapping phases in Bailey’s work to date, beginning with the early explorations of Xhosa cultural and spiritual practices in the trilogy of works known as *The Plays of Miracle and Wonder*. The publication of this trilogy in a book of the same name in 2003 generated much writing about Bailey’s use of (Xhosa) rituals and narratives, especially insofar as this relates to contemporary identity politics in South Africa.¹⁵⁶ The notes and essays contained in this text reveal a great deal not only about Bailey’s methods of working, but about the kind of ‘landscape imaginary’ from which he draws the substance for his artistic experiments. Substantive material from Bailey’s working notebooks details how his approach to site is conditioned as much by his personal experiences and politics as it is by the particular subjects and spatial contexts of the performances. Bailey’s theatre aesthetic, which is often confrontational, attempts to counteract what he perceives as the ‘dead space’ and ‘neutrality’ of the auditorium. But perhaps most importantly, his early work explored ideas around transformation through the deliberate use of ritual as a way of ‘engendering’ social space (see A.J. Moyo 2009)

According to Krueger (2010), the next phase of Bailey’s work emphasised spectacle and ‘postmodern kitsch,’ as seen in works such as *Big Dada* (2001), *Vodou Nation* and *House of the Holy Afro* (2004). And finally, Krueger identifies a pull towards ‘social awareness’ in the most recent works, including *Terminal* (2010: 169). Throughout this evolutionary process Bailey has also continued to nurture a creative style which often

¹⁵⁶ The number of publications dealing with Bailey’s work are numerous. The politics of Bailey’s aesthetic has been discussed by Krueger (2010) in the context of South African theatre, and by Jamal (2005) in relation to issues in cultural studies more broadly. His work *The Prophet* (1999) is featured as part of Wenzel’s (2009) discussion of the notion of afterlives. Also see O’Connor (2006) and A.J. Moyo (2009) for explorations of the 2003 trilogy in particular and the use of ritual. The article by Daniel Larlham (2009) provides a very useful overview of Bailey’s work with his company Third World Bunfight, which covers the early works as well as more recent works including the operas *Macbeth* (2001) and *medEia* (2005), and Bailey’s site-specific production of *Orfeus* (2006).

manifests as performances which are iconoclastic and visually opulent. The works are often open-ended in the sense that they resist narrative and cathartic closure even though it may be argued that 'Bailey's primary mode is the tragic,' suggesting the presence of an underlying classical structure (Krueger 2010: 169).

Bailey's multi-disciplinary work has often been described in terms of 'syncretism' and 'hybridity,' with a distinctly 'hypertheatrical' and 'crossover' aesthetic (see Krueger 2009; Larlham 2009). Certainly, in the years since he won the Standard Bank Young Artist Award for drama in 2001, Bailey's work has moved further away from the dramatic theatrical model which was already being challenged in his early ritualistic plays (see Larlham 2009: 7-8). And while he has been experimenting with the potentials of site-specificity since making his earliest performance works and founding the theatre company Third World Bunfight (established 1996), *Terminal* exemplifies a significant shift in the artist's approach to performance site. Furthermore the tableaux-vivantes in *Terminal* function as striking photographic compositions which makes the work more accessible for analysis as visual texts in their own right.¹⁵⁷

Because reactions to Bailey's work have ranged from the extremely critical and dismissive to the dotingly complimentary, his work has been the source of various controversies associated with the challenges of interculturalism. Critics have accused Bailey of manipulating his audience's emotions and exploiting his performers, and often complaints have been made about with the way Bailey portrays, or rather transgresses the given order of racial relations in South Africa. He has been accused of exploiting 'black culture' while assaulting 'white sensibilities' (recall the animal slaughter incidents in ITC 2010). At the same time the extremely controversial aspects of his work mean that he has just as often been lauded as a 'trailblazing visionary' and 'one of the nation's most consistently innovative' artists (see Larlham 2009).

¹⁵⁷ All photographs of *Terminal* are by Christo Doherty, used with Bailey's permission.

In response to what he described as Grahamstown's 'dusty, one-sided history' Bailey created a series of tableaux-vivant representing some unseen aspect of Grahamstown's social landscapes (2009: 69). Located in an area between the affluent town centre and suburbs, and the poorer east side comprising several black and coloured townships and the light industrial precinct of the city, the site itself was a literal frontier – a borderland and transit zone both in the past and in the present. Since it was first built in 1878, the Grahamstown Railway Station had primarily served passengers and goods travelling between Grahamstown and Alicedale. By 2009, after the last train left the station, the offices were being used as a temporary base for several community-based initiatives. The length of the train tracks were used as a pedestrian thoroughfare for workers travelling daily from the townships to the suburbs, becoming a hotspot for criminal activity at night (Makhubu 2012). The cemetery, meanwhile, had long fallen into disrepair despite attempts to secure the area from acts of vandalism.

Within these fraught liminal spaces, spectators observed scenes from everyday life cast alongside references to Grahamstown's British Settler history. Outside the dilapidated Station building, a heavy-set iron locomotive in the car park aptly encapsulates a dystopian vision of a place where the regular rhythms of arrival and departure had given way to decay. On admittance into the building, the audience was instructed to remain silent for the duration of the performance. Each person received a playing card granting them individual access to the platforms while the remaining audience awaited their turn.

In an explanatory programme note, Bailey wrote that the work confronted a glaring misrepresentation of the past and would attempt to debunk the 'butter-wouldn't-melt-in-the-mouth innocence' of the 1820 British Settlers long preserved in the mind of white South Africa ('Blood Diamonds' or 'Terminal,' 2009: n.p.). As though to emphasize the point that Grahamstown – the 'jewel' of the eastern frontier – was stained in blood, the installation had originally been called *Blood Diamonds*. Bailey later changed this,

preferring perhaps the paradoxical sense of finality-in-perpetuity imparted by the word *Terminal*, with all its connotations of illness, death and dying.

Bailey's comments which were displayed on the walls of the waiting room make it clear that in *Terminal* he is dealing with a number of spatial and temporal frontiers, not least because of the historical significance of the city of Grahamstown:

In 'Settler City' – Grahams-town – the faces of black poverty and white wealth, African illiteracy and Western Enlightenment, gaze forbiddingly at each other from opposing banks of a stinking stream as they have done for close on 200 years. And barely the twain shall meet.

Forever "Frontier Country".

Forever crouching on the great bloody fault line that divides Colony and Africa, Savage and Civilised. (And then the festival's Village Green is ripped out of the heart of the city and located in the leafy suburbs...)

The city starkly illustrates an elemental fracture in the South African soul (Bailey 2009).¹⁵⁸

Here the idea of frontier-ness emerges then not only in reference to certain historical themes and their 'authoritative' meanings, but it is also incorporated into the dramaturgy of the entire performance, thus inviting the audience to engage in an embodied, conscious way with how they negotiate this idea/ construct.

Everything in *Terminal* happens, or at least seems to happen, in twos, and this aesthetic strategy is carried throughout the performance. The ticket-collector and station-master, both officious and dressed in black, together police the space and control the movement of bodies, while the spectator-guide couple share the experience of the journey. In the majority of the images, Bailey also places two bodies or two subject positions alongside and in relation to one another. Where unequal power relations are signified, they manifest as black and white bodies frozen in stylized (or stereotypical) poses. The effect of

¹⁵⁸The annual Village Green Fair which features as a prominent part of the NAF was moved in 2009 from a site in the CBD to the Great Field on Rhodes University Campus. NAF organisers maintained that the move had been to allow for the market to expand in size on the larger site, but the move was not received well by some local tradespeople and members of the general public who saw it as a racially motivated move (see *Grocott's Mail* and *Cue Radio's* festival editions, 2009). The Village Green is one of several craft markets which accompany the festival, with a more formal setup and better facilities than the other markets. Its traders and customers tend to be the more affluent segment of festival goers, while the Fiddlers' Green and High Street informal markets feature mostly African immigrant traders.

all this ‘bordering’ is to draw attention to the mechanisms by which identities, especially racial identities, have long been polarised along the historical frontier.

For some spectators, these scenes in *Terminal* engage in a dystopian politics of blame, where the present seems to be no more than the bleak and unsatisfactory outcome of centuries of conflict. This has the effect of replicating the ‘logic of mutual *ressentiment* [which] frustrates blacks’ sense of ownership of this country while foreclosing whites’ sense of truly belonging to this place and to this nation’ (Mbembe 2008: 7). Several people who saw *Terminal* spoke of feeling ‘manipulated,’ and some specifically talked of being co-opted into having feelings of ‘white guilt’.¹⁵⁹ So in most of the images in *Terminal*, the pairing of black and white bodies seems specifically designed to effect the imaginative coupling of black skin to ‘white guilt’. Having stated his views on Grahamstown’s Settler history at the outset, Bailey only makes explicit visual reference to the colonial past in two images.

GAZING IN COMPLICITY



¹⁵⁹ I observed a number of angry reactions from friends and colleagues who attended the performances. Also see various performance reviews by Lewis (2010); Henry (2009) and Sassen (2009) and Blasé (2009). Certainly with regard to the most recent instalment in his *Exhibit* series, Bailey makes explicit his intention to explore the idea of ‘shame,’ which he sees as being an integral part of his own British colonial heritage (cf. Kehe 2012).

21. 'Frontier Country'

As I see it, the sign 'Frontier Country' hangs above a three tiered plinth covered in rich red velvet fabric. While there are no human figures atop the platform, their clothing remains: a Settler woman's dress and elaborate hat with feathers, a man's top hat, suit and gun. A creased British flag lies crumpled there too. The clothing flops over the steps of the plinth, as though the bodies have suddenly vanished or shrunk underneath the bulk of their garments. But the weight of their absent bodies still seems to crush the limbs of black bodies which protrude from underneath the stage: their upper extremities and heads are missing, as if severed or suffocated under the fabric, with only their lifeless legs and feet visible. The image's symmetric balance suggests that all the elements have a symbolic weight to them, except that the elevated structure itself is ambivalent – it could be a shrine or prize podium, a cabaret stage, wedding cake, altar or funeral bier. At the same time, the platform suggests a presentational mode of viewing and a certain 'theatricality' which places me very firmly *outside* of the image, and in a position of relative authority. So the framing of the image therefore pre-supposes the mode of its own prospective interpretation (cf. Kitchen & Dodge 2007; Debord 2002).



22. 'At the back of my Mind'

In another historical reference, a young white man in British colonial uniform reclines in a swivel chair. He appears relaxed, bored even, with his feet propped up and a

mass of cigarette butts discarded on the ground around him. The soldier stares at a black man who lies huddled in the far corner of a room with chains attached to parts of his body. The ‘prisoner’ looks to be barely living, while the distance between his limp body and the body of his captor is emphasized by his filthy tattered clothes, which appear more modern than his captor’s and so place these bodies in different chronological times. The dim lighting throws up shadows of unidentifiable objects – torture instruments, perhaps. Observing this nightmarish scene, I literally stand behind the crumbled fourth wall of the building, and from this position I get a sense of omniscience which also implies my complicity in the scene of torture.

Both images convey the on-going effects of colonial violence – the physical absence of the Settler man and woman, for example, reinforces the idea that acts perpetrated in the past are still felt in the present because though the ‘perpetrators’ are long gone, the ‘corpses’ are fresh. There is of course a deliberate placing of black and white bodies in positions which very clearly convey racial power relations as unequal – the black bodies are dominated by their white counterparts, suggesting a one-sided reading of the past in a way that problematically echoes Turner’s Frontier Thesis.¹⁶⁰

However, this limitation to *only* two clear images referencing the colonial past in the entire performance of *Terminal*, in light of the heavy emphasis on colonial history in Grahamstown, is as noteworthy as the absolute absence of a *singular* and *clear* image of apartheid in *Terminal*. Both choices are deliberate, and perhaps serve to reproduce the glaring omission in the symbolic commemoration of heritage in Grahamstown. These images link the seemingly bounded temporal ‘zones’ of colonial past and post-TRC present, in the sense that the gaps themselves serve as the links, and suggest that what is perceived as ‘missing’ is in fact perpetually present in a parallel temporality.

¹⁶⁰ Bailey mentioned that this was partly because he had struggled to find more white performers to participate in the project, as many white residents of Grahamstown were reluctant to be portrayed as colonialists (Personal interview, 2011). Interestingly this is similar to the complaint made by Paul Grootboom in *Interracial*.

The two images above are both anachronistic and, like most of the images in *Terminal*, present Bailey's version of events in a highly theatrical manner. With the aid of theatrical effects the human bodies acquire the heightened quality of spectacle. The stillness of the images renders them 'out of time' and suspended, while the use of lighting and sound adds another dimension of unreality to the scenes. This makes the temporal settings of the images in *Terminal* somewhat ambiguous, so that the colonial scenes which Bailey claims 'speak for themselves' could easily be depictions of a more recent past. Similarly those images in *Terminal* which appear to depict life in 'the present' could equally be transposable to/from the past: the images of two women fruit-sellers waiting for customers, or two black maids standing transfixed by a repetitive liberation song could be snapshots taken during the time of apartheid, or they could be images from the present.

During the journey from one tableau to the next in *Terminal*, the travelling spectator covers a physical distance in space while journeying through multiple temporal dimensions. That is, as a viewer I move through boundaries in both space and time, but the time of the images and the 'time' of movement do not necessarily map onto real chronological or historical time. By juxtaposing the old (Eastern Frontier) and the new (Frontier Country), Bailey creates a space in which spectators are able to inhabit past, present, and future simultaneously, even as they move through the site along a linear trajectory. At the most basic level these are causal links – I see how the colonists demarcated Grahamstown's spaces long ago, and I am reminded how little has actually changed. I glimpse the brutality of the colonial project, and I can see the apparent 'origins' of racial order, segregation, and black poverty.

Irit Rogoff suggests that visual culture attempts to 'repopulate space with all the obstacles and all the unknown images, which the illusion of transparency evacuated from

it' (2000: 22).¹⁶¹ There is a sense in which Bailey attempts to 'repopulate' the performance site with the unknown and unseen bodies/politics/histories that are at work in Grahamstown, revealing them through the 'obstacles' which are not only significant in shaping the immediate experience of a place, but also shape its temporality and by extension our ability to imagine worlds and futures beyond the local, the particular and the present. A crucial point is that the way in which Bailey is 'repopulating' space here draws attention to the aestheticizing gaze of the artist: the captions Bailey places at each 'exhibit' signal ideas about composition and arrangement by an 'invisible' artist, making me aware that what I am seeing is not 'real' but a simulacrum.



23. Above: Found Object # 1, and below: Found Object # 2

¹⁶¹ Compare this with the Lacanian notion of the gaze, which is not simply a perspective of seeing but acquires the status of an object in and of itself. The gaze structures how we perceive the world according to our own needs and desires.

In 'Found Object # 1' and 'Found Object # 2' above respectively, Bailey's hyper-theatrical framing elevates everyday activity to the level of 'art' so that several different kinds of viewing are implied. Not only does this blur the lines of distinction between reality and simulation, but it effectively transposes the spatiality of the white cube gallery space onto a functional, outdoor performance space. Playing with proximity and distance, Bailey uses the site to create ambivalent relationships between viewers and viewed. Here the anthropological and the ethnographic gaze, like the cartographer's eye, renders subjects visible in order to make them 'knowable.' The gaze, and the act of gazing, is integral to Bailey's treatment of site throughout *Terminal*. While deliberately constructing boundaries between the viewer and the 'world' on display, he uses the action of composition as a way of making the invisible landscape visible and signposting the themes of violence and social inequality on a number of levels.

Framing the women as 'Found Objects' Bailey makes them appear somewhat powerless and passive, which is potentially problematic. But the staging of the everyday as extra-ordinary also elevates it to the level of 'art,' so that as a viewer I am not only asked to observe Grahamstown as it is rarely seen, but I am also asked to gaze at the work of the artist, and at the politics of his acts of composition and selection. Because I am made aware that the gaze is at work, its totalizing power is in fact displaced and distanced. Alongside what Rogoff calls the visual 'obstacles' presented to me – people, objects, and staging effects – I also confront the 'obstacle' of my own self-consciousness, my own 'self' made other.

At first glance the women in 'Found Objects,' appear benign and passive, and I see them as no more than features of the landscape which I – the omniscient viewer – have discovered. Yet because the objects themselves are living, breathing human beings, I am also forced to regard the bodies as somehow set apart from the scenery. I regard the human figures *in relation to* place rather than as mere objects *in situ*. Furthermore, I regard their bodies at a distance which allows me to construct their identities in relation to my own.

From my own subjective position, I assume certain terms of address which locate us both in terms of social and cultural relations: for me, the 'Found Object' is a mother, aunt, or grandmother. I have encountered her or others like her many times before. She may well be the vendor on the street I walk past every day, ordinarily blending into the rows of other unknown faces but now singled out and highlighted.

While I feel a sense of familiarity in the act of looking at them, the 'Found Objects' are nevertheless made strange to me in this heightened context. The careful arrangement of elements in this image alerts me to the fact that this is not the 'real' world I encounter on a daily basis, but part of an illusion generated for my sake. The first woman herself appears ordinary, but the potted aloe plants are set out to 'beautify' the image. The theatrical lighting casting shadows on her face, and the gulf of train tracks between us reminds me that even if I had wanted to buy some fruit, I cannot get close enough. While they keep a sombre vigil for the gravy-train that will never arrive, I wonder if they are secretly looking back at me with the same curiosity? They seem to stare straight ahead and ignore me, but I remain convinced that they are watching me too, surreptitiously, out of the corners of their eyes.

Physically separated from the women by the railway tracks, I am aware of being separated, of not belonging to this hyper-real world. I am alienated all the more as I relinquish my autonomy of movement to the place and its flows. I assume the tourist's gaze, or the flâneur's, which allows me the freedom to be intrigued by what I see, searching for entertainment, introspection, or perhaps a chance encounter to relieve the ennui of daily life. This brings me closer to the bodies I am looking at, since we both seem to inhabit a strange non-place, we are both part of the re-production of an idealised image of what it means to travel, to 'take one's leisure', and to enjoy freedom. But I am also aware of the bitterly cold winter night, and the likelihood my enjoyment is one-sided since, the privilege of freedom on this frontier requires the subordination of another (cf. Fanon1986).



24. 'Found Object # 1' with aloe in foreground

Bailey's staging replicates the style of ethnographic museums in which the 'scientific' basis of racial ideology was made visible. However, unlike the 'Venus Hottentot' whose body is an object of exotic fascination, the 'Found Objects' in *Terminal* are desexualised, engaged rather in everyday activities which makes them somewhat less exotic.

In *Conscripts of Modernity* (2004) David Scott explores the implications of the argument that colonized peoples were coerced into the project of Western Modernity, becoming its objects as well as its agents in order to 'survive' under the new conditions that modernity imposed. Effectively, this argument implies that as the colonial project over-wrote and dominated different experiences of space-time, it collapsed multiple temporalities into one linear and teleological model, establishing itself as the dominant rhythm within the taskscapes of human encounter.

Bailey has often spoken of wanting to create for his audience an experience similar to that of entering the Underworld, especially in those works in which the audience is promenaded from place to place. I think here specifically of *Orfeus* (2006)¹⁶² which he also presented at the NAF, and his current *Exhibit* series (2010-2014) which re-creates the

¹⁶² After creating the promenade performance-installation *Orfeus* in 2006, Bailey re-worked one of the scenes from the Underworld and developed *The Sea of Longing* with Cape-town based refugees. In this work, a Kenyan refugee woman and her child were 'posed like a Madonna and Child in a cage and surrounded by razor wire, separated from the Christmas banquet that was spread before them. Visitors entered one at a time and were invited to eat from the table.' See < <http://www.thirdworldbunfight.co.za/productions/the-sea-of-longing.html#1> > [Accessed 10/01/13].

uncanny spaces of ‘human zoos’ and 19th century ethnographic displays. Moving through *Terminal* does indeed feel like a journey into a strange museum space, but there is a peculiar temporality associated with the sites – the Train Station and Cemetery – and with the entire experience of moving through the piece.

On the platform I am met by a little girl who takes my hand and leads me through the series of ‘Found Objects,’ human beings on display in neatly labelled exhibits. At a physical distance from these images, and separated by the train tracks, I can only look and not touch. Having no map of my own, I rely on my guide and trust her to navigate the journey for me, since I do not know where I am going. I have to pace myself and keep my steps in time with hers. By pulling at my hand she determines how much time I have to look and read each image before the next couple approaches behind us. It is therefore a strangely intimate experience, despite the fact that the ‘world’ we are in seems so vast, the platform long and the journey expansive as we move through images of everyday life into the colonial past, and back again to the degradation and poverty of the present.

DEFERRED MOMENTS

Marcia Blumberg describes how Bailey creates suspense from the very beginning of *Terminal*:

The opening initiates a disruption of norms as spectators enter the waiting area and are handed out playing cards; they sit and are frequently ordered to remain silent. This scenario evokes multiple disquieting resonances: there are winners and losers in card games – where do we fit in? Fate has dealt each one a card – does this decree something sinister?’ (2009: 255)

The experience of waiting diminishes my sense of personal agency, and yet the passive anonymity of the theatre auditorium is not to be had here. Being *with* other spectators and yet isolated in silence, I am forced into the actions of self-examination and self-discipline, I become especially conscious not to distract others in the room, I admonish myself for wanting to speak, I pass disapproving glances in the direction of someone whispering. While for Blumberg the scenario evoked ‘the spectre of Holocaust scenes that always

involved railway stations and trains prior to mass killings' (2009: 256), I am reminded of the daily transportation of bodies to and from urban centres during apartheid.

In contrast to the game of 'chance' which plays out in the waiting room, stepping onto the platform in *Terminal* leads the spectator into a carefully controlled linear sequence of events following, despite its lack of story, a clear linear narrative structure. The moments before departure are full of anticipation, as I am held in suspense at the prospect of finally embarking on my journey. This moment, of finally stepping onto the platform, seemed to promise the end of my anxiety. But when it does arrive, I cannot yet begin my journey until the little girl who will lead me takes my hand, and then I see other couples ahead of me, and I am able to see how my own journey will inevitably unfold. I become uncomfortable, now I am aware of being part of a *chain* of travellers, all walking along the same path like doomed prisoners, guided, or rather hauled forward in the machinations of Bailey's imagination. The little girl whose hand I hold is my 'faithful companion' on what seems an epic quest, gently nudging me and directing my attention in a far gentler manner so that there is intimacy here, even in the theatricality of it all.

Enclosed behind wire fences, the 'Found Objects' similarly appear to have been co-opted into a system which does not serve their own interests, but which they must engage with in order to survive. Their labour is marked by a certain sense of futility because although they wait, there is no train on the horizon. I read indifference in the women's faces, as they wait for the arrival of some unknown person or 'thing' but do not appear particularly enthusiastic or hopeful. This image resonates strongly with the scenario in the play *Woza Albert!* (Mtwla, Ngema & Simon: 1982), in which two men are waiting for the return of the messianic *Morena*, a kind of Godot figure in the context of apartheid South Africa. This seems to suggest that the anticipated revolution has not yet happened, and the dream of 'freedom' is yet-to-be realised. And having established this idea of anticipation and suspense from the start of the performance, Bailey continues to re-enforce this idea in and through several images.



25. 'The Next 3 Seconds'

In 'The Next 3 Seconds' a white woman lies in a bed, while a black man stands watching her, his intention unclear. Shards of crushed glass on the ground suggest that he has broken in, and that he may be about to do some harm to her. Both his features and the features of the woman have been obscured and distorted by the stocking masks they wear, and by the thick iron bars of the 'room' in which they are seen. We cannot be sure that she is not awake or aware of his presence. We equally cannot be sure what the outcome of this encounter will be. The scene references the discourse about desire between different races, and particularly between black men and white women (cf. Fanon 1986; J. M. Coetzee 1991). The black male figure appears threatening and the white female figure powerless and vulnerable, but the image also moves beyond what appears to be a stereotypical depiction of race relations because of how the bodies are framed.

The two bodies in close proximity are incarcerated not only by the physical bounds and bars that demarcate the space, but also by their difference and the stereotypical roles which difference ascribes to them. There is therefore a paradoxical sense of dependency in this image: while the standing man appears at first to have greater power, his stillness renders him equally passive in the eye of the viewer. He remains transfixed in his position, subjected to the 'rule of property' (Mbembe 2012b) and conscripted by the modernity of late capitalism. Once again Bailey re-stages the past as a ticking time-bomb of social

inequality. As we walk past this image which remains on the verge of action, the anxiety produced by the image arises not from what is shown or implied, but from what is not yet known. The false transparency of the present is obscured by the bars, and the sense of apprehension, which was established in the waiting room returns. But because we are forced to keep moving, there is no way of knowing what will happen in the next three seconds.

Equally, in 'Crossing the Line' we have a sense of some impending disaster or calamity. The maids have downed their irons and stand transfixed, as though suspended mid-action. There is something of the passivity of the two fruit-sellers in their bodies as they stand stock-still. But as we approach from behind, it is not so much their in-action which is foreboding, but the repetitive refrain of the struggle song *Umshini Wami* blaring from a radio somewhere.¹⁶³ In the actual performance of *Terminal*, the two images above were close enough in proximity as to suggest that the repetitive music may have been coming from the stolen radio in 'The Next Three Seconds'. This implied a possible relationship between the two scenes and the themes of revolution and social inequality. However, the song *Umshini Wami*, and its association with Jacob Zuma has particular gendered connotations, which prompts questions about the relation between the black male and black female bodies/subjects.¹⁶⁴ Specifically, the playing of the song is an invocation of the struggle narrative, which features prominently as its subject the black male heterosexual body (see Mtshali 2009), and it is predominantly associated with public spaces because these are most often the arenas of protest and the domain of masculine identity and power. Thus the playing of the song in the domestic, female context depicted in 'Crossing the Line' leads me to question whose politics are being portrayed in this

¹⁶³ Refer to my earlier discussion about this song in *Journeys of Freedom*.

¹⁶⁴ To be more precise, Zuma first popularised the song during his rape trial. Although he was acquitted of the charges, the song is now associated with a particular brand of black masculine identity, which is often lampooned in art and satire (see Brett Murray's painting 'The Spear', and the violent response to it in 2012, or cartoonist Zapiro's caricatures of Zuma which directly reference the rape trial). There is also debate over the ANC Women's league's response to the Zuma trial and to the problematic gender issues associated with Zuma's image in general.

image? While it appears that the maids have downed their irons and are about to strike, there is also a sense in which once again the black female subject is conscripted to serve a predominantly masculine political project.



26. 'Crossing the Line'

The images in *Terminal* seem to literalise Benjamin's (1968) notion of image as 'dialectics at a standstill' – they are moments of potentiality held within a momentum of movement. While the living, breathing bodies of the performers stand still in situ, the travelling bodies of the spectator-guide couple move in and out of cycles of suspended action and repetitive sound. Yet the bodies are never entirely 'still' even though they appear to be. The illusion of stasis, of fixity, holds sway only in the moment of looking, while 'indifferent time' passes on. Each tableaux appears as a 'flash' within a continuum, immediately lost to us because as spectators being guided through the performance we cannot stop the journey of movement. Although we can look back, we cannot recuperate what is lost in the moment of passing. This suggest an unstoppable forward momentum, and inevitability to events which, like time itself, cannot be stopped or reversed despite the attempts to use ideology and rhetoric to present a different reality (cf. Jamal 2005; also see earlier discussion of FOG speeches).

SHIFTING SUBJECTIVITIES

After 'Crossing the Line,' we ascend a flight of stairs as though departing from one world and entering another. While the physical ascent evokes the aspiration of climbing the class ladder, it also echoes the trajectory of teleology and its grand narrative of progress and transcendence, so that as soon as we descend again on the opposite platform we now enter an in-between zone between black and white areas, and between the living and the dead. Drunken voices sing through the darkness, and the images of degradation, waste and poverty become less theatrical and more 'realistic'. The look of the space itself is different, with more rubbish and dimmer lighting as we walk much closer to the displays. The ideas of time stretching out and of a *Terminal* condition – be it illness, or the 'indifference of time' – become much more salient as we move in the direction of the Settler Cemetery.



27. 'A long illness'

As we moved from the built-up Station towards the decaying Cemetery, the changing physical topography intensified my feelings of uncertainty, fear and discomfort. At this point in the performance, entanglements of race and class come to the fore as Bailey challenges the assumptions set up in the still images. The particular moment in which Bailey blurs distinctions between the real and the performance world is described as follows in my first written recollections of *Terminal*:

The ground is uneven, we have to climb up a small rise, and as we approach them I feel uneasy. Who are these men? I feel an urge to clutch my handbag, my heart beats a little faster. I look closer, trying not to stare. They seem to be casually having a conversation, but I cannot hear what they are saying, I wonder if their muted voices are whispering about us, plotting? We have moved quite a way from the lit areas of the station, from other people. I do not see any other couples in front of us now, I wonder if we should turn back and go where it is safe, I wonder if I could do anything if they approach us, if I could actually protect the little girl if we came to it. But surely she knows where we are going? And if we both scream someone around will hear us. The men seem to notice us, stop talking for a moment, and we stop, then move on, and as we pass them I wonder if they are still watching us, I can almost feel their eyes on my back. We reach a building and it seems we have found the installation again, the theatrical lighting makes me feel safe, we are back in the zone of the performance now.

The ‘loiterers’ acquired a peculiar, spectral status in my imagination, so that their presence haunted me as much in memory as it did in the actual moment of encounter. Although I was unaware of it during the performance, the route took us behind the buildings of the Eluxolweni children’s shelter.¹⁶⁵ As such, the ‘loiterers’ could have been some of the many young boys who do in fact loiter on Grahamstown’s streets, and who present a threatening presence in the city – they are ‘strangers’.

Although these observations are made nearly two years after I watched the performance, the encounter with the young men becomes pivotal in re-framing my experience of the entire work. Like the encounter with the woman in *Limbo* (ITC, 2009) this particular detail of the event prompted me to question my own sense of belonging or entitlement in space. As I stand within the performance landscape (which is also a real landscape), I am forced to re-evaluate deeply held cultural assumptions about the correlation between place, power, and social identity; about who has access to this space, and who controls its symbolic power? Who has the ability to make claims to space, to mark its boundaries, and how is this established? And finally, how is the dominance of race as a primary mode of belonging being questioned? These are all questions about the

¹⁶⁵ The Eluxolweni children’s shelter was established in the 1990s to provide support for marginalised and underprivileged children. The shelter can accommodate up to 40 boys, most of whom are street children, some have been orphaned by HIV/AIDS or have been abused. For more information about the shelter see <<http://nml.ru.ac.za/ngo/eluxolweni/index.php>> [Accessed 10/05/13].

‘real’ issues of ‘racializing embodiment’ (Hook 2008), and require an understanding of how the abstract notion of race becomes something which not only has cultural and symbolic meaning for the individual subject, but in fact comes to shape and delimit my embodied experience of the world in which I live (cf. Manganyi 1973).

Here, I now face the stranger in urban space, the *swart gevarr*, (‘black peril’). The particular unease I feel in this section of the performance is linked to my gender – I may be afraid partly because I am female, because as a woman walking with a girl child I face a particular risk. I may also be uncomfortable because of the nature of the site itself – at this time it is dark, the area is barely lit, and its proximity to the township area, which for various reasons I do not associate with any personal sense of ‘belonging,’ but do associate with risk. The experience I have is one of my own various identities being in conflict with another: my blackness demands that I stay calm and act casual, *performing my solidarity* as a way of belonging in and to this landscape; however, my sense of being female, middle-class, foreign all demand that I should double back and return to safety. Even the presence of my guide, whom I assume ‘knows’ the place better than I do, does not console me, but adds a further dimension of responsibility and risk to my actions. The performance demanded that I act in response to the immediacy of my surroundings, and in this decision I was forced to move from the relative comfort of my viewing position – as a black subject viewing other black bodies – to a new position – as a middle-class subject viewing black bodies and making certain assumptions about them. This scenario, coupled with the treatment of race and class throughout *Terminal*, splits and re-assembles the coupling of ‘Black Skin-White Guilt’ in an unexpected way, so that I now experience ‘white guilt’ and have to question what it means – whether it is less about colour and more about class and opportunity.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ While this is the experience for me personally and for some other persons of colour, for other spectators the moment creates a sense of affinity between spectator and guide as the experience of facing danger together draws the couple together affectively. Compare this idea also with Fanon’s exploration of race and the idea of the mask.

So in *Terminal* the entirety of the embodied journey in performance amounts to more than the sum of individual images. In its treatment of history, there are connections made between ‘then’ and ‘now’ which point to a different way of imagining the past and experiencing the present which are not limited by old notions of difference. By way of making the invisible visible and signposting the inequalities in Grahamstown, Bailey repeatedly stages the action of gazing, which becomes an important trope for reading and constructing meaning throughout *Terminal*.

Bailey suggests in *Terminal* that despite this visible deference to representations of colonial/anti-colonial history in the city, Grahamstown’s spaces *do* also in fact *bear witness* to those pasts (and presents) which seem to have been left out of representation. There are traces of the past’s legacy if only one pays attention to them, if one takes the time to look at how neighbourhoods, streets and homes have been laid out across the valley, and to listen to the stories of the people who live and work in those places. *Terminal* presents Grahamstown as a rhetorical space in its re-telling of the narrative of colonial domination, while there are images which can also be read conversely as part of the narrative of resistance. In my opinion the work is, *crucially*, concerned with the gaps and inconsistencies left out from the written records and symbolic commemorations of the past. Bailey draws primarily from what would be considered incorporative and subjective repertoires of performativity, from everyday practice, to generate the substance of the images used in this performance. And yet the experience in *Terminal* differs from what might be created in other social processes of collective inscription (such as museum archives and pedagogic practices), because performance time and real time are perceived and structured as parallel and simultaneous dimensions of experience, rather than as a singular, definitive line of actions.

Throughout *Terminal* I, as a spectator, am continually reminded of the constructedness of this performance reality and of how it is indeed apart from the quotidian real. At work here is also the tourist’s gaze, the gaze of the festival-goer perhaps searching for

entertainment. Once on the platform, the spectator enters a non-place (Augé 1995), where the present is experienced as though it were already past. Like Baudrillard's simulacrum which surpasses the real, the images in *Terminal* appear to be so carefully constructed that what we see is not the image in itself, but our own act of looking.

The spectator in *Terminal* is manipulated (conscripted) into a passive state which conditions the reception of the performance. This allows Bailey to draw attention to the violence of the colonial enterprise, which co-opted both settlers and indigenes in its modernising project. But if this is the intention, then the effect is, in part at least, that the work tends to dwell in the same 'problem-spaces' (Scott 2004). Scott suggests that instead of using the same tools to combat the continuing injustices faced today, we should in fact be asking entirely new questions.

Of the 'problem spaces' explored in *Terminal*, the most discussed appears to be the matter of race (see Makhubu 2012; Blasé 2009; Sassen 2009; Henry 2009; Blumberg 2009). The question of belonging is still being framed in terms of the colonial-anticolonial dialectic and a somewhat dated notion of race identity. In a sense then the images in *Terminal* continue to appeal to the same apartheid imagination and to be stuck in a 'ghetto' of the imagination, insofar as Bailey was using the same dialectic to search for answers to the same old questions about belonging; for example, the question of if, when and how 'settlers' can ever become 'natives' in postcolonial contexts (see Mamdani 2001).

However this focus on racial politics is arguably as much the result of spectators' own preoccupation with race, as it is part of Bailey's own imagination.¹⁶⁷ In my own case, the encounter with the 'loiterers' forced me to reconsider what it means to perform solidarity in the post-anti-apartheid period in terms of class and gender rather than race. This is where, in my opinion, Bailey's vision narrowly escapes becoming irrelevant.

¹⁶⁷ The preoccupation with race and 'white guilt' is partly a result of Bailey's privileged upbringing as he describes in the *Plays of Miracle and Wonder* (2003), where he talks about first encountering black people either as servile housemaids, or as dangerous criminals and deviants.

IN MOMENTUM (ANXIETIES OF BECOMING)

The teleological approach to history assumes that time unfolds as a series of conflicts between contradictory ideas and positions, while humanity is constantly progressing towards a universal totality. This is a view which plays out the image of the frontier, or of frontier-ness, in both discursive and pragmatic terms. So, with the benefit of hindsight, it is assumed that the past could not have been otherwise, while the future can only take one certain, positive form. Furthermore, it seems from this Hegelian view that space and time, thought and action, remain in binary opposition. It is abstract forces and revolutionary ideas of 'Spirit' and 'truth' which shape the world, rather than our human involvement with it (see Hegel 1977). So the world according to such thinking appears to be built before we may dwell in it.

This is the construction of time that certainly seems to emerge predominantly in Mandela and Zuma's *Freedom of Grahamstown* speeches, although both try to downplay this when it comes to discussing the social and economic challenges of the present. So if, as in Hegelian terms, every moment of synthesis gives way to yet another cycle of upheaval and negation, it is inevitable that national performance-anxiety is never quite put to rest even when continuity is declared in the national narrative.

But the different temporalities of nationhood, its pedagogic and performative registers of communication are *both* expressed in this singular event. The distinction, which is by no means an absolute binary, between historicism and contemporaneity is mapped through both the monumental and the quotidian practices of social life, which together comprise national culture. Furthermore, '[T]he symbolic history of the national culture is inscribed in the strange temporality of the future perfect' (Bhabha 1999: 125). If the narrative rendering of the anti-colonial past is a performative citation intended to give meaning to the present, it does so partly by laying claim to that which would-have-been the past's future.

Focusing the viewer's attention on the present, Bailey in *Terminal* demonstrates how apartheid race discourse constructed imaginative ghettos for individual subjects which continue in the post-apartheid context. Bailey's treatment of proximity and distance between the spectators' body and the bodies of the performers functions to map anxiety onto the spectator's body. At the same time, the performance forces individuals to create the spaces of utterance by which they will be made subjects. In both senses, the individuation of the spectator is a process of differentiation and differentiation, of affecting and being affected by one's environment. So if difference is perceived, it is no longer felt in terms of the static, binary correspondences between individual entities, but as the actualisation of heterogeneous *intensities* which are always in a state of flux and transition (see Parr 2005: 78-9).

Here again I find the notion of afterlives particularly useful for thinking about how narratives about the past are made and put to use for the future. While in the context of site-specific performance one may speak of 'hosts,' 'ghosts' and 'hauntings' (C. Turner 2004), thinking of afterlives also keeps me in mind of the relationship between orality and literacy (Wenzel 2009: 46), and also that between the performance event and its document – the landscape *as* performance.

This also brings me to the notion of archaeology. For Mike Pearson and Michael Shanks (2001) archaeology is associated with the process of documentation, the afterlives of performance. For Tim Ingold (2000), archaeology is a practice of dwelling with/in the material remains of the past, a kind of taskscape of its own. And for Benjamin, the study of history is archaeology of the present (1999). In my discussions of both the FOG and of *Terminal* in this section, I have attempted to engage with the notion of archaeology in at least two of the senses mentioned above. So for me in this section the problems of historiography relate directly to the problems of spectatorship, how one collects and assembles the elements in performance to create a whole, or the landscapes *in* performance.

Returning to the context of the performances – Grahamstown ‘Frontier Country’ and the issues around its historical representation let me turn back to the BusyBees200 Project which I mentioned earlier. The website gives following explanation for the project’s name is also interesting:

The name BusyBees is symbolic in many ways.

- Bees collect various ingredients from plants and other things and turn this into honey. This is how history is written. Historians use very diverse sources of information to weave a story of the past together...
- Grahamstown is also known to commercially produce *iqhilika* [mead] from honey. This initiative led by Dr Garth Cambray has created many local jobs as communities are encouraged to keep beehives which in turn are used to produce the *iqhilika* (BusyBees200 2012: n.p.)

In the quote, the process of compiling a narrative of the past from a number of different ‘sources’ is related more broadly to the production of knowledge, and to economic production as well. This explanation brings together a number of my concerns and questions in this section, particularly with regards to articulating a complex approach to temporality. Note how the first point describes pedagogic time, and the last point describes performative time. Wedged between the two is myth (the myth of Makana commanding bees, yet another afterlife appearance), floating somewhere between what-has-been and the now. I would now like to explore further this ‘in-between’ space and the implications of such thinking for questions about identity – questions of what South Africa is, and what it means to be South African.

3: CORPOREAL NETWORKS: CULTURE CURRENTS AND GLOBAL VIOLENCE

'You!'... belonging through...indivisible gaps...

network /'netwə:k/

- noun 1. an arrangement of intersecting horizontal and vertical lines
- 2. a group or system of interconnected people or things:
- verb 1. [with obj.] connect as or operate with a network:
- 2. [no obj.] (often as noun *networking*) interact with others to exchange information and develop professional or social contacts: the skills of networking, bargaining, and negotiation. (OED)

To be truly oneself does not mean taking flight once more above contingent events that always remain foreign to the Self's freedom; on the contrary, it means becoming aware of the ineluctable original chain that is unique to our bodies, and above all accepting this chaining.

Emmanuel Lévinas, 'Reflections on the Philosophy of Hitlerism' (1990: 68)



NEW BANKNOTES

AS UNIQUE AS NELSON MANDELA HIMSELF

NELSON MANDELA SACRIFICED MOST OF HIS LIFE SO THAT OUR COUNTRY COULD BE FREE. THE SOUTH AFRICAN RESERVE BANK IS ISSUING NEW SOUTH AFRICAN BANKNOTES THAT WILL HONOUR HIM AND EVERYTHING HE STANDS FOR.

[CLICK HERE TO LEAVE A TRIBUTE FOR MANDELA](#)



NEW BANKNOTES

AS UNIQUE AS NELSON MANDELA HIMSELF

TO FIND THE SECURITY FEATURES AND MAKE SURE YOU HAVE THE REAL BANKNOTE IN YOUR HAND, ALL YOU HAVE TO REMEMBER IS LOOK, FEEL AND TILT.

[KNOW YOUR CURRENCY](#)

28. Campaign banners for the new South African banknotes (South African Reserve Bank 2012)

SUSPENDING ACTIONS

In place of the arboreal and genealogical models which attempt to flatten and homogenize complex spatial relations (Fortress City) or plot a singular, linear trajectory for temporal experience (Frontier Nations), what Deleuze and Guattari propose in the rhizome is a concept of knowledge which is de-centralised and non-heirarchical, and furthermore

...has no beginning or end; it is always in the middle, between things, interbeing, *intermezzo*... *Between* things does not designate a localizable relation going from one thing back again, but a perpendicular direction, a transversal movement that sweeps one *and* the other way, a stream without beginning or end that undermines its banks and picks up speed in the middle (1987: 25).

This implies that as much as the process of identification is contingent on the location of terms in space-time, it is also about the *gaps* in which relations are able to develop *between* things/people/positions. This endless chaining of self to others through indivisible gaps is what I mean to explore in greater detail in this last section.

In Preston's triad, *network* refers to 'the ways in which people interact' (1997: 167), which involves moving from centre toward periphery, from 'more to less control' (ibid. 62). The open spatiality of a network may be problematic or threatening, but it can also be a zone of possibilities, of 'freedom, or release from routinely experienced patterns of action/understanding' (1997: 62; cf. Tuan 1977: 6). So Castells (2010) in his description of the 'Network Society' speaks of a disruption, or an interruption, between the increasingly globalised 'space of flows' (spaces of information, technology, and communications) on one hand, and the specific geographies of the 'space of places,' which has implications for the ways in which identity and belonging are lived and enacted (cf. Lefebvre 1991).¹⁶⁸

In the most basic sense, a *Corporeal* Network specifically signals the array of accumulated discursive meanings and signs which bodies carry and convey to and through one another. I am thinking here primarily of Judith Butler's discussions of gender

¹⁶⁸ For example refer back to discussion about the ritual slaughter debate in Fortress City, specifically the dynamics of virtual space and online communities. I also briefly talked about transnational 'seams' and 'webs' of exchange in Frontier Nations.

performativity (1993; 1999), which can also be applied as a way of theorising other social identities such as race, class and ethnicity. Ingold's (2000) notion of taskscapes describes the idea of a corporeal network in an everyday sense, since it is defined as a pattern of activities which are not only physically performed but also socially constitutive – it is through the inter-action with other bodies that we are able to experience the movement of time or the (changing) meaning of place.

In Nadia Davids' play *At Her Feet* (2006) for example, six female characters who share a common religious background all have vastly different interpretations of what it means to be a Muslim woman post 9/11. While their experiences are culturally and geographically differentiated – the characters hail from Cape Town and Jordan – there is also a commonality between them which emerges in terms of embodied, corporeal experience. The decision about when, where, and how to wear a headscarf, for example, becomes a key image that links different women's narratives together. The body in this case is *both* archive *and* repertoire, insofar as it constitutes a material 'production' of inscribed cultural meanings through the continuous elaboration of incorporated social practices.

But while the performing body can often be read in terms of its textual and signifiatory capabilities, it is also irreducible to such readings. The prominence of dance as a subject of interest in non-representational theory is indicative of how important it is to regard the body not merely as an object or a sign, but as potentiality in and of itself, since 'spaces *are* – at least in part – as moving bodies *do*' (McCormack 2008: 1823). Perhaps because it works simultaneously against, alongside, and beyond textuality,

...dance can help us to realize the bodily theories – performative theories and theoretical performatives – that cultures hold dear and which are often potent sources of power *without the need to understand these theories as total systems* [emphasis mine] (Thrift 2008: 140).

Gabriele Brandstetter's comments on the process of choreography suggest how dance engages with cultural systems of knowledge and yet remains incomplete: 'choreography is

a form of writing along the boundary between presence and no longer being there: an inscription of the memory of that moving body whose presence cannot be maintained...an attempt to retain as a graph that which cannot be held: movement' (2000: 104). The process of choreographing 'places and erases traces of memory,' while the dancing body itself re-members movement that is always already in the future (ibid. 110).

The opening of *At Her Feet* begins with Azra al Jamal, a young Jordanian woman, explaining, while in the throws of a tumultuous dance, that she has 'just been killed.' As the music builds and her body moves in increasingly frenetic spirals, there is a feeling of energy being dispersed in the auditorium, so that it is from now on a charged and transformed space. The play then follows the transmission of this event across continental lines to Cape Town, where the main character Sara grapples with the implications of this distant yet somehow intrusive act of violence. As the action unfolds and Davids' single performer transforms herself back and forth into six different women there is a sense that each of them, although by degrees 'removed' from the actual violence of Azra's brutal stoning, have been profoundly affected by it.¹⁶⁹

Since 'networks' are about connections, the idea of a corporeal 'chaining' also emerges in Emmanuel Lévinas' early writing and forms the basis for much of his later scholarship. In 'Reflections on the Philosophy of Hitlerism', Lévinas writes that

The body is not only a happy or unhappy accident that relates us to the implacable world of matter. *Its adherence to the Self is of value in itself.* It is an adherence that *one does not escape* and that no metaphor can confuse with the presence of an external object; it is a union that does not in any way alter the tragic character of finality (1990: 68).

Lévinas treats ethics as 'first philosophy', placing the call of the other before any notion of a self. His thinking implies that it is our being in common with others that makes us human, rather than 'being' for its own sake. Prior to any process of individuation then, in

¹⁶⁹ See Blumberg (2009) for more discussion of how Davids' play 'theatricalises the unspeakable' in the context of the shifts happening in South African theatre.

what Simondon (2009) calls ‘pre-individual being’, is a state of connectedness, to other beings and to the environment or lifeworld which is the ‘mother water’ of becoming.

To extend the notion of Corporeal Networks further in my discussion then, this chapter deals with, amongst other things, ethical questions around the representation of violence and trauma, in relation to the concept of witnessing. The phrase ‘culture of violence’ has often been used to describe South African society (Hamber 2000: 114).¹⁷⁰ This characterization is linked to the violence of the past, but it can also be understood in terms of the prevalence of crime and poverty in the South African present. I can say then that while South Africa is haunted by this past, ‘the seeming integrity of the South African body national is regularly disturbed by the evidence of its own violence’ (Mtshali 2009: 68).

Rosemary Jolly links this on-going violence to the continuation of certain cultural narratives which have not yet been deconstructed in the post-apartheid context, arguing that such narratives function to mark certain subjects (as non-human, female, or diseased, for example) and then designate those subjects as ‘targets of entrenched and allowable violence’ (2010: 5).¹⁷¹ The linking of narrative to cultural formations of violence points to further problems associated with its representation, namely the ability of representational forms to entrench and normalise violence. In considering the topic of violence here then, my intention is to further conceptualise the idea of landscape *in and as performance* by elaborating on the idea of a Corporeal Network as something which at once frames and exceeds the spatio-temporal specificity of both the city and the nation-state.

¹⁷⁰ I want to stress here that the focus on violence, trauma and suffering in this chapter does not arise out of some simplistic or generalised notion of the South African landscape as being *exceptionally* violent, however convincing such an argument might appear statistically. As such, I should also note that much of my argument does not seek to give an exhaustive account of the violence which does in fact occur on a daily basis in South Africa. I am wary of trying to explain the particular social, economic and historical conditions of violence in South Africa, for the precise reason that it would result in a premature evaluation of the situation. See Emmett & Butchart 2000; Foster et al. 2005; Hamber 2000; Moffet 2006 for studies on violence in South Africa which include statistical and contextual data.

¹⁷¹ Consider the earlier discussion about ‘strange’ bodies in Fortress City, and about race in Frontier Nations, both of which are narratives that have not been deconstructed and as such continue to be used as an excuse for certain forms of real and symbolic violence in the contemporary context.

Keith Hart (2010) suggests that apartheid was by no means the most exceptional case of state-orchestrated brutality in its time, however the NP government's somewhat brazen and unapologetic stance in the face of global disapproval is what made apartheid South Africa seem particularly outrageous. This provided an opportunity for the global community to critique, from a safe distance, a set of ideas and institutions which were in fact 'endemic to Western imperialism' and with which Western society at large had become increasingly uncomfortable (2010:1). This formulation suggests that to a certain extent, the apartheid nation-state engaged modalities of the 'liminal' in performing its 'strangeness' to/for the world (cf. Schechner 2003; J.M. Coetzee 1991).¹⁷²

This resonates with my concern throughout this thesis with the discourse on materiality/embodiment, memory/representation and subjectivity/agency in performance. So in many ways this section brings together a number of threads developed in earlier chapters: the idea of taskscapes as networks of practice; the politics of visibility and spectatorship, and the politics of the gaze; temporal experience in terms of embodied memory and the idea of a 'post-dialectic' moment attained in performance.

As well as these concerns, in this chapter I will also revisit my discussion on private/public space (Fortress City), especially in relation to how ordinariness/everyday life and the ritual/performance world define each other. Finally, I tackle once again the problems, limits and imperatives of representation – how meaning is (re)produced, and how it can be challenged by turning to the last of my questions in this thesis: how do I, as an individual subject, both relate to and locate myself in the landscape (in and as performance)? How does my embodied experience correspond to the experiences of others in the same subjunctive space-time?

¹⁷² The idea of 'madness' features strongly in Coetzee's discussion of Geoffrey Cronjé's theorising of the apartheid system.

BODIES (IN CRISIS)

In much of the theorising about the 20th Century the experience of subjectivity is inflected with images and metaphors of real and symbolic violence. Both physical and discursive violence are seen as being foundational to the modern nation-state and the types of spaces it produces (cf. Lefebvre 1991), and in its aftermath, we are repeatedly told that our social institutions have been ‘captured by capital’ (Mbembe 2011) which today has become one of the most insidious and pervasive forms of violent subjugation in the modern age.¹⁷³ According to postcolonial thinking not only did the racist colonial state perpetrate both kinds of violence, but most anti-colonial resistance movements have themselves reproduced violent effects after the period of revolution (Fanon 1963; cf. Mbembe 2003, 2001).

At the core of all these perspectives on the problem of violence is an attempt to understand a corporeal experience of profound insecurity made ever more apparent not only in the way that, for example, urban space is policed and surveilled (Fortress City), but also in the way that identities appear to become increasingly ‘fixed’ even as technological advancement enables the transgression of old social boundaries. This insecurity is also specifically linked to experiences and histories of mobility and ‘permanent temporariness’ in urban space (cf. Mbembe 2004, 2000),

So taking the view that ‘[T]he networks through which contemporary world politics are increasingly produced and performed are similarly intensified by the practice and spectacle of violence’ (Anderson & Menon 2009: 2), it is not difficult to think of the number of enactments of violence which it could be widely agreed have impacted on a

¹⁷³ So for Marxist thinkers like Lefebvre, the very idea of ‘nationhood implies *violence* – the violence of the military state, be it feudal, bourgeois, imperialist, or some other variety’ (1991: 112). Not only are we alienated from the world around us, but this alienation frequently takes the form of a kind of *disembodied* experience of the world; social space is abstracted and homogenised, while bodies are co-opted by power (Lefebvre 1991).

global scale.¹⁷⁴ What marks the peculiar, extreme events that occurred in the 20th and early 21st centuries is the way in which violence is no longer understood to be extraneous to the law, but a spectral part of it (Mbembe 2011, 2003; Praeg 2008; Agamben 2005; Benjamin 1968).¹⁷⁵ Under the ‘States of Emergency’, for example, the apartheid government was able to declare a ‘state of exception’ in order to carry out its repressive policies, but in fact its treatment of political activists and of the black majority in general had long removed all the rights of citizens from a substantial segment of the population, and was illustrative of how violence haunted the idea of the state, as well as the experience of everyday life (cf. Bhabha 1994).

Furthermore, in the 21st Century ‘enactments of violence are both *spectacular* in their cultural impact and *embodied* in their transaction and effect’ (Anderson & Menon 2009: 4).¹⁷⁶ However different in motive, what most acts of violence do have in common is the profound effect they have on both the individual subject and on the social body as a whole. Anderson and Menon emphasize that while the spectacle of violence has gained momentum and dominance in visual cultures across physical distances and cultural boundaries, often the enactments of violence remain localised and particular, and their effects are felt ‘at the level of the inexorably mortal human body’ (ibid. 4). So violence at once permeates the physical, psychic and social registers of experience. Its effects are ‘illegible on any single, isolated register...[they] oscillate between the individual and the collective, and are unconsciously as well as somatically significant’ (ibid. 2009: 5).

¹⁷⁴ Mbembe (2003) for example specifically makes reference to the whole history of colonialism, and the transatlantic slave trade, the Holocaust, and the Second World War. More recently, the attacks on the World Trade Centre in 2001 and the subsequent acts of retaliation and prolonged conflict between Western states and their non-state enemies. These particular events have shaped much of the thinking and writing about what violence is, how and why it occurs.

¹⁷⁵ The ‘state of emergency’ referred to by Walter Benjamin describes not only the kind of future-oriented temporal anxiety I discussed earlier, it is also now the defining condition of an age in which the political justification of real, often extreme violence is no longer an appeal to exceptional circumstances but, paradoxically, is enshrined in the law itself (Benjamin 1968, cf. Agamben 2005). An argument can also be made that sovereign autonomy now functions *antithetically* to its own values, since increasingly we see the spectral violence associated with the nation-state becoming particularly demonstrative, as does the violence committed by its non-state adversaries in return (see Agamben 2005).

¹⁷⁶ Where before what/when torture, murder and genocide might have occurred out of sight, nowadays such acts seem to be performed *for* the world, and their documentation is widely disseminated through the digital media.

Elaine Scarry argues that bodily pain is perhaps one of the most elusive physical experiences we can have. She notes how, as with analogies which seek to describe the experience of pleasure, writing about physical pain often makes use of geographical metaphors to conceptualise in visual terms the body of the other. This tendency not only reveals how embodied experience is often understood in spatial terms, but according to Scarry it demonstrates the extent to which physical pain cannot easily be represented.

The very temptation to invoke analogies to remote cosmologies (and there is a long tradition of such analogies) is itself a sign of pain's triumph, for it achieves its aversiveness in part by bringing about, even within the radius of several feet, this absolute spilt between one's sense of one's own reality and the reality of other persons... Thus pain comes unsharably into our midst as at once that which cannot be denied and that which cannot be confirmed (1985: 3-4).

Paradoxically, the physical pain experienced by a body cannot be directly 'grasped' by another, and yet we can be moved by another's pain. Although Scarry insists that this is a particular effect of physical pain, I would argue that this may be the case for most of our experiences of the world since language can only ever approximate human experience (cf. Brook 1996). That is, in a very Derridian sense the terms of language and discourse are always only traces of something that has always-already been (experienced) before. What makes the 'aversiveness' of pain more challenging perhaps, especially for theatre-makers in this case, is the fact that it not only eludes language but, as Scarry insists, 'actively destroys it'. Furthermore, in attempting to represent the pain of others we are already engaged in an activity which has wider political implications (Scarry 1985: 4).¹⁷⁷ This brings back to mind Castells (2010) and Preston's (1997) observations about transmissions from local to global networks.

For Lefebvre, 'where global space contrives to signify, thanks to those who inhabit it, and for them, it does so, even in the "private" realm, only to the extent that those inhabitants accept, or have imposed upon them, what is "public"' (Lefebvre 1991: 228). So

¹⁷⁷ For example since today the 'leaked' footage which surfaces on the internet – of women being stoned to death, hostages being beheaded or prisoners of war being tortured – is now just as likely to have been deliberately released by the perpetrators of violence to make their convictions more widely known, as it may be the result of journalism.

a perverse logic of self-legitimation is at work in the proliferation of the image of violence, which powerfully commands our attention as onlookers and also produces its own ‘cognate form of viewership – the seemingly reflexive picture of individual and collective witnessing’ (Anderson & Menon: 4). As with the awarding of public honours, what is at stake in the performance of this kind of viewership, in the ‘acceptance’ of such signification, is an affirmation of our own morality, our values, and our own humanity (cf. Jolly 2010: 9-15).

This takes me to the often made point that when one names a violent event (such as war, genocide, terrorism etc.), one is appealing to the law to give shape to that which it attempts to exclude, and which haunts its very foundations and its claim to legitimacy. In an article entitled ‘The Aporia of Collective Violence,’ Leonhard Praeg (2008) argues that there is a tension between our understanding of certain instances of collective violence as ‘foundational’ violence, and the imperative to register our utmost outrage at such acts and attempt to render them in the guise of the exceptional. The theories of foundational violence attempt to explain violence historically, while speaking of the spectacular renders such events permanently out of reach and thus impossible or, at the very least, unrepeatable. This is because in citing such events as the exception, it is implied that they are out of the realm of what can be considered normal or possible now. At the end of his article, while discussing the example of the Rwandan genocide, Praeg’s concluding remarks include the following:

The naming of an event or series of events as genocide contains two related judgements, human rights violation and crime against humanity. While the former individualises the crime – specific acts of violence are violations of a specific individual’s rights – the latter collectivises it: the whole event or series of events is considered a crime against the rest of humanity. The violation of the individual rights and the crime against humanity intersect at the exact point where we ask: what, beyond rights, is being violated? It seems to me that the implicit answer to this is always that it constitutes a *violation of what is sacred in the human*. In the case of the former, what is sacred in the individual human and in case of the latter, what is sacred in humankind (2008: 222).

What I glean from Praeg's argument here is, firstly, that the act of naming violence as either 'genocide', 'terrorism', 'torture' and so on is an attempt to make violence 'thinkable'. Naming serves as a strategy for coping with the reality of human suffering, in effect enabling us to 'make sense' of the contested terrain of our being in the world, often retrospectively. If existing philosophical approaches to violence present us with partial and incomplete explanations, it seems it is because there is a need to confront the fundamental assumption being made when we talk about the 'violation' of the human, in other words what is it that is 'sacred' in humankind? But as a starting point, this ontological question takes us only so far. More illuminating in real terms, perhaps, might be the question of what constitutes the 'sacred' and gives it meaning at all? Put in performance terms, what are the practices that enable the transformation of something from the order of the profane to the order of hierophany, or vice versa? There is, as Praeg intimates, a relationship between the 'sacred' and the spectacular which perhaps begs further inspection.

Bearing these rather loaded questions in mind, I want to consider further what is at stake in the moment of naming violence which makes it so imperative and yet so elusive. From the perspective of trauma studies, several commentators have noted that traumatic experience, like bodily pain, is 'unknowable', 'unimaginable', and as such 'unrepresentable' (cf. Dauphinee 2007; Radstone 2007; Jolly 2010). This is what in part gives rise to a distrust of representation, especially in language and visual media. This distrust is justifiable, indeed necessary, where trauma is associated with violence in general, and with spectacular violence (war, torture, terrorism) in particular, because there are issues of power and agency to consider, which complicate attempts at representation.

Cathy Caruth writes that unlike a wound of the flesh which may heal gradually, a wound of the mind (which is how one might define trauma) causes a breach in the experience of time, and selfhood. Trauma is an event

experienced too soon, too unexpectedly, to be fully known and is therefore not available to consciousness until it imposes itself again, repeatedly, in the

nightmares and repetitive actions of the survivor...trauma is not locatable in the simple violent or original event in an individual's past, but rather in the way that its very unassimilated nature - the way it was precisely not known in the first instance - returns to haunt the survivor later on (Caruth 1996: 4).

Yet the 'un-representability' of trauma is also cited alongside the virtues of giving testimony. 'Speaking out' and 'breaking the silence' are seen to be ethically imperative as well as psycho-socially restorative. So it would seem, paradoxically, that one is forced to rely on discursive and narrative formations in order to come to terms with experiences which by their very definition seem to elude narrative discourse (Jolly 2010: 21-22).

On traumatic experience, Dominic La Capra writes that the traumatised subject is 'haunted' or 'possessed' by the past, caught up in the repetition of traumatic scenes. Considering that trauma is said to manifest itself through a repetitive 'acting out', it is clear why there might be such unease (LaCapra 1999: 699).¹⁷⁸

At issue here is not only the ability of discourse/representation to formulate traumatic experience at all, but rather whether through representation a subject can ever offer viable *ethical* responses to its other. This recalls questions discussed earlier with relation to memory and the representation of history. Specifically, it is the question 'who may speak for whom?' Another complicating factor here is that trauma 'is always the story of the wound that cries out, that addresses us in the attempt to tell us of a reality or truth that is not otherwise available. This truth, in its delayed appearance and its belated address, cannot be linked only to what is known, but also to what remains unknown in our very actions and our language' (Caruth 1996:4). This means that often, rather than the primacy of presence, the 'absence of traces testifies to a representation's relation to (a traumatic) event/actuality' (Radstone 2007: 12). In particular for the theatre, the absence of the victim or witness of a violent event highlights what cannot be said, and the gap between words and bodies.

¹⁷⁸ Trauma manifests itself primarily as 'acting-out', where the significant event is relived and experienced as present reality rather than recollected memory. Although 'acting-out' may well be part of the process of 'working-through' trauma, it has been argued that if the traumatic is by nature repetitive, then repetition, even in the form of testimony, risks causing further harm to already traumatised witnesses (see Graybill 2002: 73).

For Dominick LaCapra, there is therefore a need to understand what he differentiates as ‘structural’ and ‘historical’ trauma – the former being an absence, lack or gap related to ‘anxiety and perhaps to radical ambivalence’ which occurs differently in all societies (1999: 719, 722); and the latter what is associated with a specific event or experience of loss. The crucial point is that here “‘Victim” is not a psychological category. It is, in variable ways, a social, political, and ethical category’ (1999: 723). Empathy is therefore problematic in the case of historical trauma if its only effect is to create ‘vicarious victimhood,’ because, as LaCapra argues, ‘historical trauma has a differentiated specificity that poses a barrier to its amalgamation with structural trauma and that poses particular questions for historical understanding and ethicopolitical judgment’ (1999: 699 & 724; cf. Möller 2009: 784).

Violence in South Africa has been discussed by critics/artists either in terms of the critique of gratuitous depictions in the work of Paul Grootboom (*Relativity/Township Stories*), or in terms of how it can be represented symbolically in works like Andrew Buckland’s *The Water Juggler* (1998), Lara Foot-Newton’s *Tshepang* (2003) or Magnet Theatre’s *Every Year, Every Day I Am Walking* (2006). I can also consider Jay Pather’s *Body of Evidence* (2009), in which the subject of violence is approached through an exploration of the idea that the body functions as a repository for, or a container of, memory. But in this current discussion I am less concerned with the question of how violence might be staged or represented in performance, and more concerned with looking at what the *effects* of violence have been on the discursive landscapes of South Africa. Furthermore, recalling Wake’s (2009) categories of spectatorial witness, I want to consider some of these ideas as I explore what implications the dilemma of representation (in this case risks involved in representing violence/trauma) might have upon attempts to engage with landscapes in and as performance. In doing this, it is not my aim to offer any sort of prescriptive account of how the relationship between trauma and performance might be negotiated. Rather, I wish to map out how, while reflecting upon the dilemmas of

representing violent and traumatic subjects, one might be prompted to think about/around the semiotics of identity performance and the socio or ethico-political determination of subjectivity. So I might rephrase the questions about trauma and testimony as follows: ‘[W]hat is the substance of the ethical demand that is being issued in the telling of these stories? What does it mean for us, in terms of our shared *responsibility*, as readers, audience members, *performers*?’ (Fisher 2008: 17).

The significance of this question to the idea of Corporeal Networks can be understood through the example of the mediatisation of the TRC. This part of the process employed the visual spectacle of the suffering body and was aimed at producing empathic responses from the larger public by staging the face-to-face encounter between perpetrators and victims in dramatic terms. Rory Bester notes that through the TRC hearings

...the physically marked body became not only a *site* but also a *sight* of the discursive re-enactment of violence in that the photographic record of these performances honed in on the body as a primary narrative agent. The photographic record of the TRC process became an archive of the body (as archive), a visualisation of the physical traces of the performative body as a site of trauma (both past and present) [emphasis mine] (Bester 1999: 4).

But although the TRC seemed to equate the embodied act of giving testimony with the narrative and psychic ‘closure’ of apartheid trauma, it at times not only failed to guarantee this closure, it even re-produced the logic of violence, as in the infamous case of Jeffrey Benzien who was asked to demonstrate his torture technique.¹⁷⁹ Of course the recollection of violent acts and traumatic experiences was not always so literal or so theatrical, however McEachern suggests that the very screening of the amnesty hearings made them highly ‘theatrical’ and created an air of ‘spectacle’ around the process even when there was no

¹⁷⁹ An often cited example in discussions about the TRC is the amnesty hearing of the former security police agent Jeffrey Benzien. During a hearing in Cape Town in 1997, Benzien faced those he had tortured, and was asked at one point to demonstrate the ‘wet bag’ torture method he had used on some of his former victims. The disturbing sight of this physical re-enactment, as well as the tone and direction which the rest of the hearing took as Benzien answered and also asked questions of his victims, casts some doubt over the purported efficacy of the process. Not only did Benzien fail to acknowledge some of the other events which he was asked to recollect or describe, by mentioning how he had managed to obtain crucial information through these torture techniques he also implicated some of his victims in acts of violence performed against other activists. Effectively, Benzien claimed a position of power over them once again. A number of writers discuss the Benzien case. See Sanders 2007; McEachern 2002; Graybill 2002; Ross 2003; Jolly 2010.

literal re-enactment.¹⁸⁰ Linked to this is the problem of the appropriation of traumatic narratives by the nation, where individual stories of suffering come to represent the ‘collective trauma’ of the past (see Jolly 2010).

Finally, and perhaps the most important point for my discussion, the TRC process has also been discussed in the terms of Victor Turner’s notion of ritual social drama. According to such a reading, the public hearings served the function of ‘redressive social action’ (Hutchison 2013: 89). Specifically, Turner explained that ritual could be understood as a means of coping with what he calls life-crises (birth, puberty, death etc.) as well as being performed during times of collective crisis such as war and famine. In this latter case, the performance was a public, communal event and ‘often portrayed reversals or inversions of status or confusion of ordinary everyday categories’ (1979: 466). In this case, one might also find

...the continuous presence of a *metalanguage* – that is, codes or presentation and expression which enable participants and spectators to realize just how far they have fallen short of or transgressed their own ideal standards, or even, in some kinds of ritual, to call those very ideals into question under conditions of sharp social change [emphasis mine] (ibid. 467).

The ritual of collective crisis serves as an opportunity for self-examination, and requires that a special space and time be demarcated – *framed* – for that purpose to occur:

To look at itself a society must cut out a piece of itself for inspection. To do this it must set up a frame within which images and symbols of what has been sectioned off can be scrutinized, assessed, and, if need be, remodeled and rearranged. In ritual what is inside the frame is what is often called the "sacred," what is outside, the "profane," "secular," or "mundane." To frame is to enclose in a border. A sacralised space has borders (V. Turner 1979: 468).

¹⁸⁰ This criticism may have more to do with how the process was reported in the news media, and the way in which it was framed in terms of ‘high drama’ as certain stories were chosen by the media for their ‘dramatic’ qualities, and then were used to frame the entire TRC and/as Reconciliation process (McEachern 2002: 51). Thus the *dissemination* of testimony might have served the communal aspirations of the project (in that it involved a wider public in the process of remembering and/or mourning the past), but it might also be said to be exploitative (cf. Jolly 2010).

This idea of framing and of ‘set apart’ space-time takes me back to the ideas about of South Africa’s ‘island mentality’, which I briefly mentioned in my introductions.

ROBBEN ISLAND (SPECTRAL WITNESSING)

Lurking in the background, or rather somewhere on the periphery of my explorations into questions about identity in Cape Town and in Grahamstown, there has been a third place, and a spectral figure haunting the idea of South Africa: Robben Island. Over the past 400 or so years, Robben Island has been an off-shore home for the siting of violence, trauma and suffering in South Africa. As early as the 1500s, after the first recorded landing made by Vasco da Gama, the island doubled as both hospital and prison. Under the colonial and apartheid states, the island generally served as a quarantine station, ‘a secure holding place for the socially undesirable’ – the chronically ill, lepers, lunatics, criminals, sexual deviants, the poor and homeless, exiles and political prisoners (Deacon 2000: 147). The diversity of the island’s inhabitants points to a tendency by institutions to conflate ideas about morality, citizenship, difference and health. It also reflects the efforts of state power to define social space in rigid and exclusive terms. At the same time, the Island also developed, in the early days at least, an association with healing and the idea of sanctuary – since it had been an asylum in both the literal and figurative sense (ibid. 2000; 1996).¹⁸¹ So there are clearly connotations with ideas about both physical and mental well-being, or what might otherwise be called ‘inner peace.’

After 1991, when political prisoners were finally released, Robben Island continued to function as a prison for criminals, but soon became a World Heritage site and museum. Although it attracts international visitors and celebrities from across the globe, Robben Island also remains a somewhat remote, rhetorical space. The museum remains accessible only to a small segment of South Africans as the cost of a visit far exceeds the average

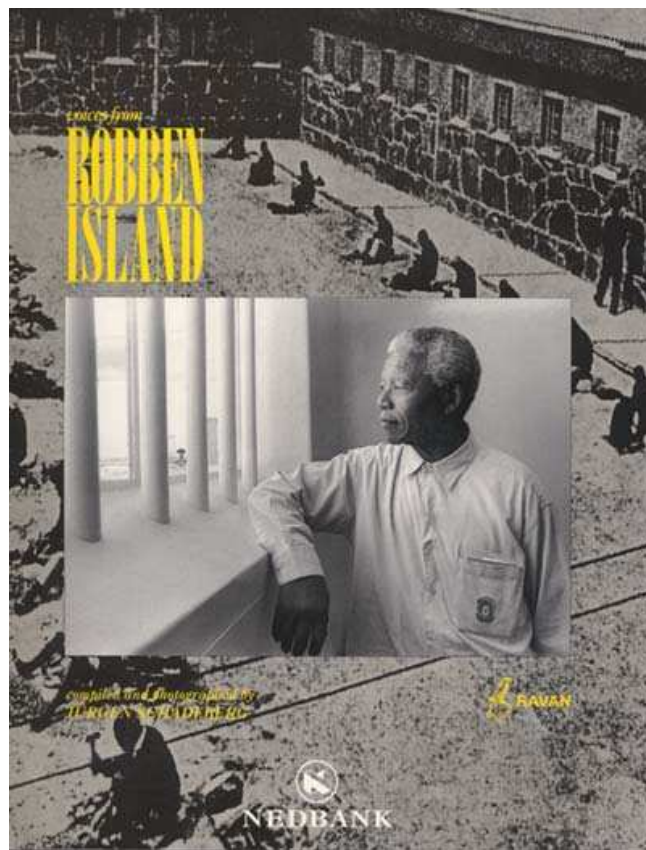
¹⁸¹ See Deacon (2000) for a more detailed discussion about how and why the natural landscape and topography of the Island came to be associated with physical and mental healing. This is also linked to ideas about the virtues of ‘gardening’ which I mentioned earlier in the context of the Cape of Good Hope. Deacon also places the island in a contextual discussion about the history of psychiatry in the British colonies (1996).

wage for most members of the public, including former prisoners and their families (Shackley 2001: 359). That the island is physically separate from the mainland of South Africa suggests how it functions as a mediating space between the nation and the world, and how it enables the nation to reflect on the past from a distance, while leaving the nightmares of the past safely off-shore.

Furthermore, it has also been suggested that the 'focus on Robben Island concentrates attention onto the larger tragedies of race and politics in the continent of Africa. As such, Robben Island is more than a physical place. Robben Island is a rhetorical space, a commonplace for the injustices of apartheid' (Marback 2004: 7). To be precise, a 'rhetorical space' is what Roxanne Mountford (2001) calls 'the geography of a communicative event,' which encompasses both the material and cultural dimensions of space. Robben Island prison is therefore often thought of as referencing all other prisons in the South African cultural landscape. The image of the prison not only figures strongly within the South African cultural imagination, 'the cell stands as a synecdoche for a vast system of confining, quarantining, containing, controlling, and segregating human beings' (Barnard 2001: 157).

Amongst its many cultural associations, including the legacy of Makana which I discussed earlier, there has also been the idea of Robben Island as a kind of sanctuary and a space of education and enlightenment. It has been described as the 'University of Makana' (Zwelonke 1973) where political prisoners were able to become educated while incarcerated. So, paradoxically, while the Island is associated with violence and state repression, it is also a symbol of modern values of education and self-determination, and of the unforeseen consequences of the state's attempts at silencing dissent. While the apartheid government intended to minimise the influence of political prisoners by removing them from public life, it in fact created the conditions for a 'University of Robben Island' where many prisoners expanded their political education as well as their international influence (Strange & Kempa 2003: 390).

Removing the physical presence of political activists from their communities had the converse effect of making them more powerful. Through absence, the bodies of political leaders occupied a central space in the national imaginary, they became partly mythical figures who acquired an air of transcendence about them. Mandela in particular became a messianic figure associated with the place, and amongst the most famous images of Robben Island in circulation is the one taken in 1994, when Mandela returned there to visit his cell.



29. 'Voices from Robben Island' cover image (Schadeburg 1994).

Dressed in white, staring out of the window and into the distance, Mandela's posture is relaxed and serene. The space he appears to inhabit is not a space of pain and hardship. Instead there is a calm, reflective, and open quality about this image, perhaps because of the way that the grey and white tones of the walls seem to support rather than suppress Mandela's figure. In the book cover shown above, the focus on Mandela's body pictured in the foreground suggests how he comes to represent a kind of sacrificial body. That is, he inhabits the prison space *on behalf of others*, and takes on the suffering of the nation. The

‘voices’ of Robben Island – suggested by the small, hunched grainy silhouette figures which appear trapped and dominated by the physical space of the compound – are channelled and effectively ‘set free’ through Mandela’s outward-looking gaze. At the same time, there is also a kind of longing in the image of Mandela looking out of the cell with his eyes towards some unknown sight.

In the same way, Robben Island itself has become emblematic of a desire to retain the memory of the past, at the same time as this past seems to be becoming ever more remote and distant. Like many other heritage sites in South Africa, the Island became somewhat exemplary of the idea of a *lieux de mémoire* – sites of memory which attempt to ‘organize the past’ in the face of an ‘acceleration of history’ (Nora 1989: 8). So Robben Island allows for the nation to observe and cope with the past at a distance, at the same time it serves as a way of visualising the unspeakable and of relativising a collective trauma of the past. And prisons, as carcereal geographies, aim to produce a particular kind of body, a body subject to the force of the law and the gaze of state authority. But within the prison walls themselves, the spectacular and the everyday nature of oppression are inscribed in space in the *empty* cells. It is in fact the absence of real bodies, and the traces they have left behind in myth and in objects (such as the sleeping mat in Mandela’s cell) that the historical narrative of apartheid is made ‘real’ for visitors to the museum.



30. The new R200 banknote ‘As unique as Mandela himself’ (South African Reserve Bank 2012)¹⁸²

182 Image available at <<http://banknotes.resbank.co.za/banknotes>> [Accessed 07/03/2013]

Recently, the South African Reserve Bank issued new banknotes, which feature Mandela's face (see figs. 28 & 30). The publicity campaign emphasised the security features for the new notes, which included several invisible features, along with the catchphrase of '*look, feel, and tilt*' as a way of informing people about the verification process. The launch website for the new notes also features a special section where people could leave written tributes to Mandela. The campaign, especially the phrasing of its slogans, demonstrates the degree to which the figure of Mandela functions as 'cultural currency' for the nation. Like the notes, not only is the figure of Mandela significant in South Africa, but he is also the key figure through which the rest of the world engages with the idea of South Africa, its legacies and its potentialities. What is more, the fact that the money itself is not tethered to any other kind of commodity, demonstrates how its value is determined by the *perception* of value (or meaning) being attached to the note. So the object itself cannot have any function of purpose without a constant movement of exchange from one individual to another, as though its worth exists only as it passes on from one person to another. Furthermore this value is fleeting, and arises only as and when the currency inhabits a 'gap' in the cycle of exchange. In recent years the paranoia about Mandela's health has demonstrated the extent to which South Africa as an idea still performs itself in terms of Mandela's life and achievement, effectively 'laying claim' to his body. In a sense then the new notes signal a kind of morbid fascination with Mandela's mortality and his corporeality, such that the new notes and the idea of '*look, feel and tilt*' seems to pre-empt his impending physical absence, and attempts to 'fill in' the gap which will no doubt be left in the global imaginary. There is a kind of necrophilia at work in the advertising and in the marketing of the idea of Mandela here, which I would argue is at work in the imagining of South Africa as a whole.

So finally, with particular reference to Juanita Finestone-Praeg's collaborative work *Inner Piece* (2009), I will attend directly to the various senses of what I have termed the

Corporeal Network. While *Inner Piece* is a site-specific work, rather than explicitly tackling historical violence in the particular local context of the performance in Grahamstown, Finestone-Praeg chooses instead to reference violent and traumatic events further afield. Specifically, *Inner Piece* tackles questions around Abu Ghraib and Rwanda, and the effect of this is an arguably more nuanced reflection on the legacies of South Africa's own violent pasts and presents. I will examine ways in which the choreographer's use of a heightened dramaturgical super-structure in *Inner Piece* draws attention to local subjects by framing them in terms of the global.

In order to elaborate on exactly how *Inner Piece* re-traces the invisible maps of violence in South Africa, I will be revisiting what has been termed as the 'crisis' of representation and belonging in South Africa – namely, the problem of re-orienting identities in the new nation while working from existing 'maps' of the cultural landscape. I have argued that this crisis has manifested itself in specific forms of corporeality both on and off the 'stage', whether in terms of the political rhetoric of the protracted struggle narrative performed by Zuma and his contemporaries, or in the particular use of the performing body as 'object' in Brett Bailey's human exhibits. What I have so far called the sensory registers of perception can also be linked to the modalities of lived experience (i.e. temporal and spatial) and the different framing devices used in performance. In this last section, as I attempt to make sense of the landscape *in and as* performance, I look at how the relational, proximal encounter between the self and its other(s) is realised in performance and structured as an encounter between the spectating body and the performing body.

In her own particular way Finestone-Praeg also attempts to displace the systems of (re)production and normalisation which generate *fractures* and *gaps* in social subjectivity. This is achieved primarily through her playful use of rhythms in the performance. But *Inner Piece* also complicates and deepens the notion of efficacy in performance by problematising the distinction between absence and presence, and the question of what

makes space sacred and/or profane. While I will certainly be arguing that aesthetic responses to violence and suffering can create new spaces for reflection, debate and dialogue – spaces in which to consider the ethical demands being made upon the individual subject by the other – I also take into account, as Finestone-Praeg herself does, the limitations of performance with regard to answering these ethical demands.¹⁸³

Inner Piece does not deal explicitly with the TRC or with the particular manifestations of violence and trauma in South Africa, whether during Apartheid or in more contemporary times. Rather, I think, the performance responds to/locates itself within the immediate realities and legacies of the South African context by way of engaging a dialogue between local and global histories, spaces/places and discourses. As such it functions at the level of corporeal networks. Neither is the work solely about trauma and violence, although these issues informed the artists' creative questioning. Dealing with questions of violence is only one sense in which *Inner Piece* attempts to 'theatricalise the unspeakable'. The performance in *Inner Piece* is certainly not political in the sense of agit-prop, protest or documentary theatre, but it has its roots in the model of Physical Theatre in South Africa within which the performing body functions as the site of potential resistance, which I will contextualise in the analysis to follow. My own involvement in this work as a performer places me *between* the two positions of participant and observer, which I hope will enrich my discussion.

VIEWPOINTS IN PREPARATION (INNER PIECE)

Premiered at the NAF in July 2009, *Inner Piece* was performed by the First Physical Theatre Company and ran for eight nights. It was in part a continuation of some ideas and questions which Finestone-Praeg had begun to explore in an earlier work entitled *16 Kinds of Emptiness* (2006). Both works were performed for small audiences of no more than 50 people in the Old Nun's Chapel on the Rhodes University campus.

¹⁸³ A DVD copy of the performance is included with the hardcopy of this thesis for reference.

In her programme note Finestone-Praeg explained how she had sought to explore the notion of ‘spectacle’ in relation to the challenge of deconstructing trapeze performance, and at the same time in response to the ethical problem generated by the images of torture from Abu Ghraib prison:

In trying to cite these images and respond with my own reflections on their meaning in a technologically matrixed global context, I found myself trapped in a curious logic that bespoke the contradictions of representation: in representing or performing to images of violence, one can so easily re-insert them into the logic of ‘spectacle’ resulting in what McKenzie (2009) calls a ‘counter-performativity that contributes to the violence it seeks to critique...Devised as a series of stage(d) directions, I have attempted my own questioning or reflection on the relationships between theatre, war, peace, torture and the body (*Inner Piece*, First Physical Theatre Company NAF Fringe programme, 2009.)¹⁸⁴

The work came about in response to a number of other ‘originating sources’, one of which was the Japanese Haiku poem which consists of 17 syllables following a 5-7-5 rhythm. Borrowing this form then, *Inner Piece* consisted of 17 vignettes that explored ‘different viewpoints on emptiness, stillness, and silence.’ The performance was therefore structured as follows:

light	I	still life
	II	trapeze I
	III	trapeze II scarecrow
	IV	trapeze III smoking marine
	V	improvised viewpoints
emptiness	VI	empty fuck
	VII	inner piece
	VIII	origami
	IX	better than origami
	X	corpse I
	XI	fullness of life
	XII	corpse II
silence	XIII	monogram I
	XIV	monogram II
	XV	monogram III
	XVI	improvised viewpoints
	XVII	haiku

Finestone-Praeg writes that ‘being the exact length of an outgoing breath. Its brevity and reduction capture an economy of form that perfectly conveys the clarity of a distilled

¹⁸⁴ For McKenzie’s comments on the photographs see Anderson & Menon (2009).

image and lends itself to the expression of silence and sound in movement: the stasis of body and light' (ibid. 2009) Finestone-Praeg further explains that 'Each of these meditations engages notions of absence variously captured as loss, trauma, and more self-consciously, the idea of an absent director' (ibid.).

According to First Physical's website, Finestone-Praeg's 'choreographic signature' derives from her background as a performer, educator and researcher in both the professional and educational contexts of physical theatres in South Africa (First Physical Theatre Company, Management, 2012). In particular, her long-standing collaborations with various artists situate her approach to performance-making as part of the legacy of experimental and research-driven dance-theatre which developed during the state of emergency in 1980s South Africa. This is significant because not only were the 1980s characterised by increased state and non-state acts of political violence (leading of course to many experiences of historical trauma), but there was also a generalised sense of anxiety (structural trauma) which gave impetus to the development of a physical theatre in South Africa. Companies such as First Physical and the Lecoq-influenced Magnet Theatre (1987) in particular shared the vision of a tumultuous present reality in South Africa and responded to this in theatrical forms which sought to downplay an over-emphasis on text (see Cooper 2006).

First Physical was founded in 1993 by Gary Gordon, who was then head of the Rhodes University Drama Department. In keeping with trends in the UK and North America, Gordon and First Physical's early work challenged and expanded ideas around the relationship between traditional categories of dance and theatre in South Africa at that time. Speaking about an early work entitled *Anatomical Journey of a Settler Man*,¹⁸⁵ Gordon describes how this early collaborative work

¹⁸⁵ *Anatomical Journey of a Settler Man* was created in 1989 by Gary Gordon on the occasion of becoming the recipient of the first Young Artist Award for Choreography and Dance at the National Arts Festival. Gordon's ideas about the dancing body had been influenced by the work of Rudolf Laban (Gordon taught at the Laban Centre for Movement and Dance), Martha Graham and Merce Cunningham, and DV8 Physical

...spoke of where we lived...this anatomical journey contemplated struggle, humour, power, emptiness, aspiration and loss. The breath of this settler man inspired shapes, sounds and movements of this world of his in the Eastern Cape. He started the work in stillness and he continued in it dancing his part in a land that was still waiting to be re-imagined. It was after all 1989 (First Physical Theatre Company NAF Fringe programme, 2009).

Gordon's choreographic approach was not only developed in response to his surroundings, it was also deliberately inter-disciplinary. One can trace through the company's repertoire a persistent interest in creating dialogue between texts and bodies, between dance, drama and music, and between the varying socio-cultural contexts from which company collaborators have hailed over the years.

Gordon has described another much cited work *Shattered Windows* (1994) as 'the first anarchic statement that First Physical made...our first revolt,' because it spoke to the violence and trauma which had been suffered in South Africa and which were a continuing reality at the time. It combined a collaborative approach – what Gordon describes as his 'choreographic imagination,' and a performance mode which was 'corporeal, immediate and frightening' (Gordon quoted in Finestone-Praeg 2010: 39). Critic Adrienne Sichel remarks that *Shattered Windows* was 'an outpouring of white angst and desperation to survive against the looming catastrophic odds', while the company's subsequent work has evolved beyond the initially 'torso tackling, emotionally draining form' staged in this piece (2010: 42), to incorporate more reflective modalities of performance.

Juanita Finestone-Praeg has spoken about the profound influence of Gordon's approach on her work, and particularly her experience of performing in *Shattered Windows*. She explains how, taking the lead from Julia Kristeva's writing on revolt, she came to distrust the ability of formalised political movements to answer the continuing demand for freedom. The following passage is worth quoting at length because it describes

Theatre (see Finestone-Praeg 2010; Sichel 2010). For more detailed contextualisation of the company's work see the three volumes of *The Art of Physical Intelligence*, a series of research manuals published by the company (2002). In particular, Gordon's 1994 lecture 'Motion Arrested: Body Politics and the Struggle for a Physical Theatre' explores the particular roots of his artistic vision for the company, and his perspective on the relationship between the performing body and the notion of textuality and narrative.

several threads running through Finestone-Praeg's work, and how her particular approach to choreography might relate to my idea of the corporeal network:

This work was my first encounter with the creative processes and particular immediacy of presence activated in performing a Physical Theatre. I was to perform this work at three different cycles in my life. First created by Gordon in my Honours year of study in 1989, my 25 year old body marvelled at the (literally) breathless exhilaration of such physical and emotional abandon. I had come to university to escape the violence of my nice, white middle class life and had a dream of becoming a trade unionist who would contribute to the struggle for socio-political freedom and human rights in Apartheid South Africa. My political experiences between the years 1982 – 1991 force me to acknowledge that I did not have the sensibility to be an activist in the world of big politics. I would need to look elsewhere to manifest responses to my existential questionings and to find my political usefulness in the world. And so with a deep suspicion at what I then perceived to be the political ignorance and frivolity of the dance and theatre world, I was nonetheless seduced by the 'intimate revolt' I was invited to consider by *Shattered Windows* (Finestone-Praeg 2011).

At the centre of Finestone-Praeg's observations, and of the space-time movement which she relates, is a body – her body – in flux and in momentum. The idea of an 'intimate revolt,' taken from Kristeva's writing, relates the personal/private, the quotidian and the minutiae of embodied experience to broader political and ethical imperatives and contexts. Finestone-Praeg's three most recent works (*16 Kinds*, *Monogram* and *Inner Piece*) are also located within the Practice as Research initiative in South Africa, so the works are intended to be experimental and evince a keen questioning of theoretical concepts and approaches to practice. In *Inner Piece* in particular, the notion of 'revolt' is not only used to suggest the emergence of that which has been denied a place in the broader national narrative of struggle and resistance (mapping the visible), it is expanded to include that which persistently escapes codification in language and law – the abject, the non-human and, as I will suggest, the profane (see Finestone-Praeg 2011; 2010; 2007).

(UN)MAKING THE WORLD (SACRED SPACE)

It has been argued that the 'theatricality' of the images of torture from Abu Ghraib prison renders suffering as a spectacle (Anderson & Menon 2009). It is hardly surprising then that Finestone-Praeg found an 'incongruous resonance' between these images and the

challenge of deconstructing the spectacle of the trapeze. In the first section of *Inner Piece* (light, vignettes I-V) the performance text takes the form of ‘stage(d) directions’ which foreground her own ‘questioning or reflection on the relationships between theatre, war, peace, torture and the body’ (Inner Piece 2009). So there are questions around the politics of vision and visibility (primary witnessing), around textuality and testimony (secondary witnessing) and around the nature and meaning of empathic response and/as ethical responsibility (tertiary witnessing).

In the first place, discussing artistic responses to the images from Abu Ghraib prison, Wendy Hesford asks ‘[I]n order to resist violence must we give it violent expression? How can we minimize the risks of re-traumatizing victims in the process of capturing their trauma and injustice?’ (2006: 34). These questions concern the social treatment of victims of violence/trauma as much as they concern practitioners and audiences who are attempting to respond to the subject of violence/trauma. The problem of whether or not to look at violent images, whether we re-present traumatic experience or not has bearing on how we construct our subjectivity (read here as ‘agency’), and how we locate ourselves in the contemporary world. I noted earlier, in the context of the TRC, how repetition in the form of testimony (read re-presentation of trauma) might cause victims to suffer again. The same might also be said of images – the drive to make visual what is ‘unimagable’ (i.e. pain) potentially fetishizes pain and produces its site (the body, or the subject when we speak about psychic pain/trauma) as little more than an aesthetic object (Dauphinée 2007: 140). Indeed, critics of war photography have long accused the genre of aestheticising suffering in such a way that desensitises viewers and offers them a ‘disinterested pleasure’ in the image of suffering, and as such ‘depoliticising’ them (Möller 2009).

However, for Elizabeth Dauphinée there is also need for a healthy scepticism towards such arguments which emphasise the ‘un-representability’ and interiority of pain and in so doing uphold a Cartesian model of the sovereign subject, because this actually hampers the ability to conceive of an ethical engagement with the pain/suffering of others.

Yet if the violent ‘erasure’ of subjects that occurs in reproducing visual images of pain/war is unavoidable, one can only respond to the dilemma by acknowledging the risk and accepting that some degree of erasure does happen despite the integrity of our motives (2007: 153).

Although he too notes the risk of viewers perpetrating a ‘theft of subjectivity’ from the sufferer, Frank Möller also sees some potential for aesthetic representation to overcome these impasses (2009: 787). Möller observes that images themselves cannot give us assurances or help us to make judgements, so the viewing and/or circulating of images cannot be said to be an *inherently* ethical or unethical act (ibid. 783; Dauphinée, 2007: 153). Where Dauphinée remains focused on the ethics of *visual* representation, Möller considers how the same negative effects (e.g. erasure) can occur through different media and he concludes that no representation can be entirely free of risk. So the ‘looking/not looking’ dilemma is not simply a matter of the artists’ intention or even of their particular choice of media, because even ‘[A]nti-aesthetics are also aesthetics and representation cannot not aestheticise’ (Möller 2009: 785).

In the realm of ritual however, looking implies a different social function to do with *communitas* and efficacy, partly because of the liveness and the presence of an actual body whom the audience encounters in the flesh. In the opening vignette of *Inner Piece*, the audience is invited into the chapel to witness an event that is already happening. Entering in *media res*, they encounter what seems to be a ritual in progress being conducted by performers who, in their hooded black costumes resemble the prisoners in one of the Abu Ghraib photographs later referred to as ‘the scarecrow’. The sombre, mysterious figures guiding the audience with ropes look as though they could well be members of some kind of religious cult or gang. From the entrance of the chapel, the audience is lead into the chancel where the trapeze performer (Shaun Acker) is suspended in a peaceful, pieta-like repose. Acker’s lean figure is sculpted by a spotlight above the trapeze, the light catching his blonde hair so that it casts a kind of golden halo around him. His dominant position in

the space dictates the physical attitude of his audience, whose bodies, whether sitting or standing, are immediately drawn, upward: into postures of supplication or worship. Seemingly motionless at first, Acker's elevated body immediately commands attention. And looking up, one cannot help but notice the full height of the building's ceiling, the lights, and the imposing trapeze rig. Acker seems to writhe as he rises from his reclining position and begins to swing, yet the fluid, repetitive flexing of rope and sinew remain contained (framed), even buttressed, by the mass of solid stone arches and high wooden beams above him. The movement is contained by the space as much as its repetition gives the appearance of a free-flowing and seemingly weightless body.

Although the chapel is deconsecrated the architecture still generates a sense of religiosity. The building's high, austere stone walls and arches give the performance an amplified sense of ceremony and spectacle, whilst elements of design and staging have been used minimally in order to accent these inherent properties in the venue. In this first section of *Inner Piece*, it is clear that the work's playful title and the performance space together connote the interiority and sanctuary associated with the sacred. God has 'left the building', but there is *still life*, and light, in the 'holy of holies'.

Arvo Pärt's *Pilgrim's Song*, a rendering of Psalm 121, references not only the Biblical fall of man, but also the idea of divine redemption. The Psalm begins "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help. My help cometh from the Lord, which made heaven and earth." Although sung in German and thus unintelligible to at least part of the audience, the sentiment of the Psalm is conveyed through Pärt's music, which crescendos and decrescendos dramatically, capturing the narrative of ascent/descent, impending danger and desperate entreaty almost as it is described in the text of the Psalm.

As Acker's flight becomes ever more hypnotic the swinging of the trapeze, like a pendulum, keeps a constant, steady rhythm. Even as he is gaining momentum a pulsing strobe light makes his movements appear slightly slower, as though delayed in time. The scene is overlaid by the monotone light/dark contrast and slightly stilted quality of the

filmic image. With the audience gazing up at the trapeze, the scenario is of a sacrificial rite as Acker prepares to 'fall' from standing height. As he does so he takes up various suspended postures. The image of his body dangling by the feet references the Hanged Man in Tarot, said to represent 'wisdom, circumspection, discernment, trials, sacrifice, intuition, divination, prophecy. *Reversed*: Selfishness, the crown, body politic' (Waite & De Laurence 1997: 147).



31. 'Vignette I still life,' with Shaun Acker on the trapeze (photos by Sophie Marcus)¹⁸⁶

Facing physical risk in this flight, Acker's body functions as a sacrificial object as much as it is imbued with the power of profane spectacle. The power of the ritual, its potential efficacy, relies on its ability to create a communal experience for those who are present. We who are present are all required to look up at the performer and to face the fear of falling, so that the act of looking becomes itself a ritualised act and an attempt to avert the danger (Schechner 1993). At the same time, the trapeze performance is a show of physical dexterity through which the human body may aspire to transcend the limits of its own capabilities and to become 'superhuman' (see Acker 2010).¹⁸⁷ That is, in the way that religious devotees may place their own bodies in physical danger to prove their faith or a

¹⁸⁶ Cuepix online gallery, available at: <http://cuepix.ru.ac.za/main.php?g2_itemId=40733> [Accessed 24/10/12].

¹⁸⁷ Acker's MA thesis provides a useful historical background of aerial dance. He notes how early virtuoso performances were linked to ideas about the evolution of the human form, and with romantic connotations of freedom and the supernatural. Acker also argues that aerial dance work has tended to be relegated to the sphere of mere spectacle and is not often understood in terms of interiority or 'serious' choreography (2010).

connection to the divine, and to achieve a different social or spiritual status, Acker's body re-presents the aspirations of the theatrical project. Harnessed to the trapeze, he is literally *anchored* to a set of theatrical and aesthetic apparatus which places the performing body at the centre of an attempt to offer some kind of response to the violence of 'real' life.

To some extent, viewing the spectacle on the trapeze brings about a state of anxiety which lingers somewhere between what is 'real' and what is being represented. While the audience is confronted with *risk* here rather than actual bodily injury or psychic trauma, the *possibility* of danger is enough to suggest, if only for a moment, the space-time of sacrificial rite.

The anticipation felt by those watching catalyses a movement between modes of witnessing and entails a temporal shift akin to the temporal shift which characterizes ritual or sacred space. The performance effects a slippage in the spatio-temporal continuity of the immediate, live moment, and in the anticipation of an accident, it is as though one has *already* witnessed the accident, even though this anticipation is never fulfilled. Eliade (1959) describes the effect of such a transformation of space-time, suggesting that

...the experience of sacred space makes possible the "founding of the world": where the sacred manifests itself in space, the real unveils itself, the world comes into existence. But the irruption of the sacred does not only project a fixed point into the formless fluidity of profane space, a center into chaos; it also effects a break in plane, that is, it opens communication between the cosmic planes (between earth and heaven) and makes possible ontological passage from one mode of being to another. It is such a break in the heterogeneity of profane space that creates the center through which communication with the transmundane is established, and, consequently, founds the world, for the center renders *orientation* possible (Eliade 1959: 63).

So this opening vignette is therefore significant in terms of framing the performance as a whole. While there is a suggestion of the potential efficacy of the performance, there is also an awareness of its potential failure throughout *Inner Piece*.

However, while/as this idea of theatre-as-ritual is proposed, it is also inevitably deconstructed. Once the spectacle of the trapeze has transformed spectators into ritual participants and lulled the audience into a sense of familiarity with the theatrical space as a

space of transformations, the aura of other-worldliness so laboriously created is interrupted. In 'trapeze I' the music stops suddenly and the casual-sounding voice of a 'technician' booms over the sound-system. Under the pretence of doing a 'sound check', Finestone-Praeg stages the subject of Abu Ghraib from a distance through the intrusion of 'reality' into the realm of theatrical illusion, the external secular world invading the interior sanctuary of the sacred space. This meta-theatrical device fractures the contemplative mode of spectatorship established in preceding moments to reveal the banality of the backstage performance world. While the voice-over places the events at Abu Ghraib prison in context, the action onstage humorously foreshadows an uncomfortable tension in grappling with the subject of torture. While the irreverent 'crew' are engaged in preparatory acts – sweeping the stage and focusing lights – the audience becomes aware that the performance has not actually started, and that what they have just witnessed was in fact only a rehearsal.

In 'trapeze II,' the duet (featuring Acker on the trapeze and Richard Antrobus on the ground) returns us briefly to the world of worship, this time placing more emphasis on the contrasting spatial planes in the space. So while the space is somewhat intimate due to the proximity of the audience around the performance area, the use of these levels encourages the audience to regard the movement *as though* from a greater distance. In order to regard both terrestrial and aerial planes of movement simultaneously, the eye must compensate for the proximity of the performing body by adopting a 'softer' visual focus and sometimes physically stepping back from the 'scene'. This also allows the eye to view the architectural forms in space, further accentuating the contrast between Acker's seemingly weightless body and Antrobus's grounded movements.



32. Shaun Acker and Richard Antrobus in 'trapeze II scarecrow' duet (photos by Sophie Marcus)

When for a second time, the trapeze 'performance' is interrupted by an anti-climactic break, the audience is privy to the petty, playful and sometimes distasteful aspects of the rehearsal process. The self-conscious use of meta-theatricality is taken to extremes here, in that not only are we witnessing the preparation for a performance as in 'trapeze I,' but we now encounter, as though 'first-hand', the actuality of what has been commented upon. In performance studies terms 'performance' can be thought of as that which is 'twice-behaved behaviour', and 'restored behaviour', as the repetition and refinement of multiple possibilities and roles carried out in the subjunctive mood (cf. Schechner 2003). What is presented very clearly in this scene is not only a set of behaviours, but the process by which they have been arrived at.

The premise of the scene is that the choreographer/director has once again failed to appear at the rehearsal. The performers are frustrated and only half-heartedly concerned with actually completing the tasks of representing Abu Ghraib set out for them. Snatching the stage directions from one another, the performers bicker and jibe at one another,

appearing to be more concerned with serving their own desires for power and privilege – who should step into the role of the director, who will ‘get to smoke on stage’ – than with the actual tasks at hand. In the absence of the director, the order of the creative process is turned on its head. In this topsy-turvy world men play women, women play men, morality is fluid and boundaries of ‘acceptable’ behaviour are porous. Instead of performance being an instructive and carefully constructed map of how to respond to the world, in the rehearsal space we encounter a range of ‘failed’ responses to violence, or that which is left out in the course of crafting and editing the final performance event.

Acty Tang, who plays at ‘being’ Juanita, is a particularly heightened version of the figure of the frustrated auteur. Not only is he dismissive and impatient, he also seems entirely unable to communicate with the performers. Referring to the ‘stage directions,’ he tries to interpret in his own words what the performers have been asked to represent. To a certain extent, it is his character’s inability to get to grips with the directions, his own failure to ‘read’ and ‘translate’ both the stage directions and the images that accelerates the degeneration of the situation towards chaos. Hurriedly turning his body in circles as he addresses each performer, gesturing with one flailing hand and clutching the director’s script in the other, he gives the appearance of a tragi-comic puppeteer gradually losing control of his charges. Throughout the scene his body is poised for action, his stance conveys an attempt to grasp hold of something that proves elusive.

In both ‘trapeze I’ and ‘trapeze III’, the failure of the performers to respond to the Abu Ghraib images with any degree of sensitivity also implies the failure of representation to bear witness to suffering, the failure of testimony to do justice to the gravity of trauma. At the same time, the scenes play out the social ‘habitation’ to images and narratives of violence which is a condition associated with the contemporary moment and how we view images of violence and suffering (see Dauphinée 2007; Möller 2009 in my previous discussion on looking/not looking). Throughout *Inner Piece* the notorious images of torture are present onstage in the pile of notes left behind by the director, but the actual images are

never explicitly shown to the audience. Although the performers attempt to depict the suffering of the prisoners by mimicking their physical positions and theatricalising their ‘inner fear,’ the focus of the scene is not so much the images themselves but *how* they are being appropriated and re-framed. Just as for Caruth (1996) the ‘truth’ of a traumatic experience is only partially and indirectly voiced by the wound that ‘cries out,’ so the actuality of human suffering can only be partially referenced in the Abu Ghraib photographs themselves. By dealing with these images indirectly, Finestone-Praeg therefore attempts to counter the ‘counter-performativity’ which artists risk replicating because of the inherent theatricality of the original images (McKenzie 2009).

Finestone-Praeg is not interested in moralising or eliciting a ‘correct’ or ‘appropriate’ response from her audience. Instead, what is shown is a *relationship* between viewer and image – the performers act as the ‘disinterested viewers’ who read and interpret the Abu Ghraib images only in terms of their aesthetic potential. In eliding the ethico-political dimensions of the images and the cultural conditions that lead to the torture occurring in the first place, the radical urgency of any moral appeal is lost to the viewer. No attention is paid, for example, to the specificity of the gendered relations between victims and perpetrators, or to the setting of institutionalised brutality in which the violent events occurred.¹⁸⁸ As a way of framing the creative process, Tang sets up a simplistic role-playing scenario using the binaries of victim and perpetrator (dog and owner). But if Tang’s demonstration that the over-simplification of the subject is an unsatisfactory answer to the problem of a violent culture, we are shown that it is precisely because he asks the wrong question to begin with. The question which concerns Tang and the other performers – ‘how would you feel if...?’ – proves woefully inadequate both as means of inciting

¹⁸⁸ I am referring here to Lynndie England and Sabrina Hartman, the two women who were subsequently court-martialled for their role in the torture at Abu Ghraib. While all of the perpetrators were identified as ‘rotten apples’ in an otherwise respectable institution, the two female officers were treated particularly harshly in the media. It has however been argued that more attention needs to be paid to how the institutionalised gender hierarchy in the military contributed to the torture occurring, and to both women’s roles in it. For more detail on these arguments including analyses of the trials and media coverage see Caldwell (2012), and Sjöberg and Gentry (2007).

creative responses from the performers and as the basis for an ethical response from the audience and society in general. This question leads only to a superficial imaginative engagement with the suffering of the victims and fails to generate any kind of political agency for victims and viewers (that is any secondary witnesses) alike.

In 'trapeze III', the question 'how would you feel if...?' means that the performers approach the subject of Abu Ghraib as a structural trauma, drawing only on their own subjective experiences (of, for example, being powerless or fearful) to create physical images which are then re-framed by the assumptions that Tang himself makes while relaying the director's instructions. While creating the image of the 'smoking marine' for example, Tang describes the image as 'dirty,' 'sleazy' and 'sexy.' His own interpretation of what is occurring in the images is already shaping what will be seen by the audience, while to another viewer the original image may have nothing of the 'S&M' qualities he has described. As a consequence of the fact that historical and structural traumas are disastrously conflated in practice, the representations collapse and the (un)disciplined performing bodies fail to hold the images/ tableaux together.

Throughout this scene, humour is used to underscore the brutal effects of representation as yet another form of symbolic violence. The apparent 'levity' of the scene and dialogue in fact points to the 'gravity' of the subject matter by highlighting the absurdity of the task of re-presenting it to an audience. The jokes are at once an attempt to make the experience of torture 'understandable' in terms which the performers themselves can understand, and also to avoid the potential 'vicarious trauma' which might result from engaging seriously with the subject matter. Furthermore, regardless of whether they are actually looking at the printed photographs or imagining them, there is a sense in which the performers seem to relish and consume the images of torture, insofar as they appear to be taking pleasure in the suffering of others.

Viewer/audience complicity in this process of consumption is implicated by their presence on the periphery of this rehearsal space. By revealing moments which would

usually be hidden from view, Finestone-Praeg implicates the audience as consumers and co-creators of symbolic violence, especially when they laugh in response to the antics of the performers. In fact, the question of complicity emerges in much more complex ways in the spectacle of the trapeze as set up in the first vignette 'still life', because we, the spectators (both audience and performers) are compelled to look at Acker's body facing risk; and thereby are made aware that this risk is being performed for our delectation. What Praeg describes as the exceptional and the unexceptional (see Praeg 2008) readings of violent events point towards an aporetic tension which haunts, I argue, many of our attempts to derive meaning from such traumatic/violent events. In *Inner Piece*, this aporetic tension is also implicated in and necessitated by the work's confrontation with the subject of violence and the question of ethical responsibility. That is, the exploration of 'emptiness' emphasizes the gap between the two imperatives of rendering events 'legible'.

While the audience begin as participants in an intimate circle, from this point onwards their presence is formally acknowledged so that the rest of the performance adopts the temporality of 'performance' as opposed to 'rehearsal'. This also means that the audience are at a remove from the action and assume some distance from the performance. Furthermore the move from the chancel to the nave shifts the visual perspective from predominantly vertical lines in a cubic space to more elongated, horizontal planes of movement, from portrait to landscape view. From this view on the traverse the audience are now also able to observe one another's responses to the action, thereby becoming tertiary witnesses.

The performers' bodies continue to re-trace the imaginary lines of movement as they enter and exit the performance area. The performance space is such that the distance between audience and dancers is very narrow, and from such a position the lifts and jumps of the dancers are not only visible but audible and tangible. The audience is close enough to feel the rush of air created by the dancers as they move rapidly through space, to hear the sounds of the performers breathing or brushing against the carpeted floor. The ebb and

flow of entrances and exits not only draws the eye back and forth along the entire length of the space, but also generates a sustained rhythm which is perceived as an abstract taskscape of the performance world.

THE 'TECHNICALITY OF THE EXERCISE' (STRUCTURING/FEELING)

Everything is empty: conversations *may* be, promises *could* be, words mostly are; ...my body is the corpse I dread. But emptiness can also be full: what is the "it" in the sentence: "*it* is raining"? the ordinary is empty if you get it right' (*16 Kinds of Emptiness*, First Physical Theatre Company NAF fringe programme, 2006)

Most of the second movement of *Inner Piece* develops ideas from the earlier collaborative piece *16 Kinds of Emptiness* (2006). Also performed in the Nun's Chapel – this earlier work playfully stages '16 kaleidoscopic episodes of reflective (a)musings on emptiness' presented in vignette form. 'The challenge in the creative process was recognising that emptiness could not be directly represented but possibly only revealed by questioning the forms, rituals, ideas and beliefs that exist to persuade us that life is always *meaningful*' (Finestone-Praeg 2007). This initial creative exploration of 'emptiness' is what gives impetus to the questioning of absence/presence in *Inner Piece*. Broadly speaking, the seven vignettes in this section variously stage the pursuit of meaning. Whilst foregrounding the various ways in which we attempt to find or give meaning to experience, Finestone-Praeg is also questioning the pitfalls and limits of making the body 'legible' as a cultural text which, nevertheless, exists within discourse and not apart from it.

If the 'forms' of everyday and cultural practice explored in this section of *Inner Piece* can be said to serve the purpose of creating a sense of 'inner peace' for the individual subject (e.g. meditation, physical training, adornment etc.), they are also crucially social in that they effect and affect different ways of relating to other bodies. The range of practices I am speaking of include: meditation and/as religious practice or ritual ('inner peace'); language and the actions of writing/speaking/listening ('corpse I' and 'fullness of life'); the performance of skilled tasks and physical training ('better than

origami’); and aesthetic self-presentation or ‘styling’ (‘origami’). Through such practices, the individual ‘I’ attempts to forge social connections which begin at the level of somatic experience with the immediate, phenomenological interaction with environment and the proximity/distance between my body and the body of an ‘other’. These practices may enable us to commit our experiences to memory, to communicate our sense of identity to the world, and to prepare us for facing risk and danger. Having said that, they may also potentially function as a means of social exclusion, hindering rather than aiding human connectedness.

Working through performers’ physicality, the re-staged vignettes (‘empty fuck’, ‘inner piece’, ‘corpse I’ and ‘fullness of life’) have been choreographed anew in *Inner Piece*. What is introduced first as a profoundly aporetic tension in space – the capacity for something to contain even as it contains nothing – is incrementally elucidated in each vignette. The idea of ‘emptiness’ immediately resonates in this site – the notion of an ‘empty’ church is in itself somewhat incongruous, since for something to be understood as ‘empty’ it must *contain* nothing. The remaining three vignettes in this section, ‘origami’, ‘better than origami’ and ‘corpse II’, reference aspects of the original *16 Kinds* while nuancing the stated conceptual aims of *Inner Piece* to deconstruct spectacle and to negotiate the potential counter-performativity of violent imagery (or visual culture in general).

Lefebvre states that ‘the “other” is impenetrable save through violence, or love, as the object of expenditures of energy, aggression or desire’ (1991: 174). The body is continually suggested as a ‘container’ of meaning, yet no sooner has this assertion been made in *Inner Piece* than it is torn down and revealed to be inadequate or flawed. In both versions of ‘empty fuck’ (2006; 2009), desire and confrontation are framed as potentially meaningful encounters between self and other. Bodies embrace, collide, and repel one another with magnetic force. There are moments of tenderness and intimacy between couples in duet, which are then almost immediately interrupted by the *arrival of a third*, or

a fourth body. The proximal relation of two bodies in the space can expand in seconds, a brawl escalating into a gang war. A series of explosions is occurring at the micro level – sudden impulses seem to lift the bodies from the ground and haul them into the air weightlessly – and at the macro level individual paths of movement may briefly intersect or be suddenly transformed into moments of unison. At any moment, a single gesture could ignite the charged atmosphere and scatter the elements in energy and movement. As with the spectacle of the trapeze, the most immediate way to apprehend the experience is through kinaesthetic response. The movement language incorporates repertoires of gestural action which convey fragments of a potential narrative, but set against this (or any attempts to ‘read’ the dance as a text) are a relentless acceleration of rhythm and the physical proximity of performing and spectating bodies.

The vignette entitled ‘inner peace’ begins with an actual meditation: as the lights change Tang enters the space alone and in silence. We see him visibly calming himself and hear his deep, controlled breathing as he repeats a set of flowing arm movements and finds his position in the space. The process is one of removing oneself from the world, shutting out unwanted distractions, ‘emptying’ the mind of all that is extraneous and dwelling in the body through the ‘flow’ of simple repeated actions which calm and settle the mind. Tang’s Tai-Chi-inspired meditation sequence directs focus onto the body and obfuscates any sense of the internal dialogue with the self, which may well be vexed and chaotic in spite of his actions. As time passes, we anticipate that some sort of speech may eventually emerge on his breath, but none does. During all this time, and in the absence of actual words to frame the scene, and given that Tang is Chinese, Finestone-Praeg is deliberately tempting us to ‘read’ and consume Tang’s body as an exotic cultural object – through his manner he embodies the stereotypical figure of the sage or the wise man popularly depicted in Kung-Fu action films. While Tang actively shapes both the inner and the outer worlds his subjectivity inhabits, he is also being implicated in a set of discourses which automatically render or at least assume that certain bodies are more ‘meaningful’ (ie. symbolic) than

others. Paradoxically then, while the performing body is engaged in the act of trying to strip away the excessive stimulation of the previous scene, this same body also triggers a variety of cultural associations and thus acquires even more ‘weight’.

Narrative time appears to have been suspended until Acker enters hurriedly, shattering the prolonged subjunctive mood. The dialogue (which begins as a monologue) in this vignette is, once again, a self-critical examination of the art form of dance and its institutions. We are made aware that both Tang and Acker have arrived at an audition and are potentially in competition with one another for a role, and it also seems that they are auditioning for the very piece that is being performed before the audience – or at least a version of it. Acker’s opening commentary about his journey to the audition, and being forced to listen to ‘every kak [shit] pop song to ever come out of the States’ immediately takes us back to the relationship between violence and culture alluded to earlier. His flippant use of the word ‘torture,’ as well as the earlier reference to being ‘in a chain gang’ reminds us that language itself cannot ‘mean’ anything unless it is given meaning by the speaker – ‘weighty’ or ‘serious’ words can be used jokingly because the sign is merely an approximation and not the ‘thing’ itself.

As we discover during the scene, Tang and Acker are contenders for the roles of either ‘the swan’ (lead) or ‘the chrysanthemum’. The allusion to *Swan Lake* and, by extension, to the rest of the classical ballet canon, is a reminder of the legacies of contemporary dance and physical theatre in South Africa, which have functioned to a large extent as alternative forms (or as counter-narratives) to more traditional approaches to movement. The idea of a ‘township swan’ is an incongruous and hybridized image – since swans do not ordinarily inhabit this particularly South African, racialised urban space. The fictional production that the dancers are supposedly auditioning for also features a trapeze act, which Acker mentions in an ironically dismissive tone of voice. He goes on to comment: ‘between that and the bloody township swan they’ll have to call the company *Circque du So-lame!*’, the pun is intended to illicit laughter from the audience who, it is

assumed, have an idea of the tension between what is considered to be ‘art’ and what is ‘spectacle’; while also implicitly critiquing the multi-cultural spectacular performances of Cirque du Soleil.



33. The ‘swan and the chrysanthemum’, vignette vii inner piece (video still)

For Debord (2002), the ‘spectacle’ is not only that which is seen, but it is the way in which socio-spatial relations are structured through images. A number of juxtapositions are set up in this scene: between white and non-white bodies, suburban and township space, high and low art, serious ritual and meaningless routine, the spoken word and silence. And in each case, the meaning of one term can only be understood or defined in relation to its other. This juxtaposition of ideas is echoed by the use of both vertical and horizontal visual planes – a relatively still, seated Tang and a standing/jumping Acker face one another from opposite sides of the room.

Acker’s frenetic physicality and verbal diarrhoea is an attempt to traverse this physical and imaginary distance and to connect with the other body in the room, but his incessant speech fails to generate any kind of response or acknowledgment from Tang. Instead, Acker rambles on, pouring out his thoughts and seemingly unaware of how his words might be read alongside his physical actions: a remark about ‘balls bouncing around onstage’ is accompanied by pelvic gyrations, so that the spoken and then embodied

messages produce an unexpected result (assuming Acker is unaware of the humorouness of his actions).

The intrusion of speech into silence is an act of violence perpetrated unwittingly in an attempt to force connection with another body. The appearance of a third (female) dancer diffuses the awkward and tense atmosphere between Tang and Acker momentarily, but when Tlholoe joins in the one-sided conversation the balance of power shifts towards speech again. At the same time, both Tlholoe's black female body and Acker's camp self-presentation are rendered meaningless and empty in the presence of Tang's stoic composure. In comparison, their physical preparations – stretching and warming up – appear purely perfunctory. So when they finally leave the room Tang remains in solitude, seemingly unconcerned with the audition.

Removing a paper crane from under his shirt, Tang is transformed into an individual (as opposed to discursive) subject. The relationship between him (subject) and the crane (object) comes into being only at the moment when he reveals once again his own ability to act upon the world, rather than to be acted upon (i.e. spoken 'at' rather than 'to') by others. And when he finally does speak, Tang's utterance is in surprising contrast to the picture of serenity which his body, through an amalgamation of repeated motions, steady breathing, and stillness, has conveyed. Hearing the exasperated tone of his voice as he finally exhales 'dumb fucks!' we can now perceive that while his outward appearance may have seemed calm and tranquil, his inner state had in fact been less peaceful. So despite his attempts to appear un-disturbed by the other two dancers, he has in fact been drawn into engaging with them via language and their presence. If at the start of the scene Tang's body appeared to convey some form of inner peace, this lost as the words escape his mouth. Once again, the body fails to hold the meanings which we may attempt to ascribe it.

Having failed to tackle the Abu Ghraib ‘stuff’, the performers turn to structured improvisations using the ‘Viewpoints’ system devised by Anne Bogart and Tina Landau.¹⁸⁹ The exercises set out in Bogart and Landau’s book aim to facilitate the processes by which performing bodies can create connections with one another, with their onstage environment, as well as with the spectator. As such the system directly engages what I have termed the corporeal network, since it functions to bring the performing body into contact, and create connections with a variety of external elements, and does so in ways that allow for said connections to evolve and transform in the process.

In *Inner Piece*, the use of this system of improvisation has a dramaturgical function in that it demonstrates what the performance itself attempts to do with space-time. The improvisation at first provides an opportunity to move the audience from the chancel into the main seating area of the chapel and so change their points of viewing when the performers, still being directed by Tang, are instructed to work with ‘tempo and kinaesthetic response’, and as the music begins the audience is briefly implicated in the improvisation. With the help of the performers, the spectators must now navigate themselves through the space, negotiating other bodies in the sometimes frantic process of trying to find a seat. Spurred by an explosion of sound, the physical migration of the audience ushers yet another shift from textuality to movement in the performance underscored by the militaristic pulse of Amon Tobin’s drum and bass music. Then almost immediately, as the audience have all been seated, performers begin to move in lines through the main performance space. Working on an imaginary grid, they explore tempo: ‘[T]he rate of speed at which a movement occurs; how fast or slow something happens onstage’, and kinesthetic response, described as ‘[A] spontaneous reaction to motion which occurs outside you; the timing in which you respond to the external events of movement or

¹⁸⁹ To be more precise, the authors states that ‘Viewpoints is a philosophy translated into a technique for (1) training performers; (2) building ensemble; and (3) creating movement for the stage. Viewpoints is a set of names given to certain principles of movement through time and space; these names constitute a language for talking about what happens onstage. Viewpoints is points of awareness that a performer or creator makes use of while working. (Bogart and Landau 2005: 8)

sound; the impulsive movement that occurs from a stimulation of the senses' (Bogart & Landau 2005: 8).

The viewpoints exercise is introduced at the moment when all previous attempts to represent and to structure an ethical response to pain and trauma have failed. At this point in the performance, the only recourse for the performers is to repertoires of practice and embodied action which can potentially free up new and old spaces for inter-connectivity with the audience and with those whose suffering is being contemplated. What the audience witness here is therefore an actual, that is spontaneous and embodied, response rather than a rehearsed or theoretical argument. It is the creative process laid bare and open to scrutiny and, potentially, to failure as well. In rehearsals, Finsetone-Praeg used the idea of fashion modelling on the catwalk as an additional impulse for improvisation, prompting performers to play with the associated physical postures of posing, turning, stopping, entering and exiting, while moving and responding to one another. So whilst there is structure, there is also room for improvisation and experimentation.

As performers begin to form groups, their measured strutting and preening turn to agitation and their abrupt stops and furtive glances give way to outright panic as bodies rush back and forth, now fleeing, now attacking with the singular force of the violent mob. The progression of linear movement along the grid echoes the repetitive swinging of Acker's trapeze performance much earlier, but now the momentum is allowed to build until the particular moment when the bodies of the performers simultaneously fall to the ground; this reintroduces the trope of falling, which when performed in unison resonates at the level of the body politic as opposed to the individual body in crisis, and images of mass graves and genocide as opposed to sacrificial violence. And from this point the 'mob' of performers splinter into satellite duets and trios, engaging in more direct, confrontational encounters.

Much later when Finestone-Praeg finally 'arrives' for the rehearsal and instructs the performers in another improvisation exercise, she states that it is 'for the technicality of the

exercise’, so that again it is the *return to structure* that rescues the performers’ failed attempts at creating meaning. In this sense, the emphasis in *Inner Piece* is on a dwelling approach to the performance landscape – it is not that either the performers or the audience have prior knowledge of what will arise in the improvisation, but rather any potential ‘meanings’ arise spontaneously and out of the labour of engaging with the form and the ‘flow’ of the creative/interpretive task. These Corporeal Networks – relations between bodies ineluctably chained together at varying distances/proximities – are what structure and facilitate the audience’s embodied engagement with localised experiences of violence, without necessarily objectifying the subject or consuming their suffering.

THE POWER OF THE SMALL (INDIFFERENT TIMES)



34. ‘Monogram’ and ‘night flower’ (video stills)

‘What does it mean to witness?’ In response to his own question posed during a 2011 lecture, Mbembe puts forward that ‘witnessing’ describes a political act and a mode of critique which attempts to sustain the possibility of ‘writing anew the future itself as another name for the human’. As such, to witness is to ‘disrupt and destabilize the present order of things’ and to ‘testify about life, life itself understood as a relentlessly regenerative force’ (2011: n.p.). It is in this search for meaning amidst the chaos and crisis of the contemporary global age, that performance offers its audience the possibility of a return to the body rather than an escape from it. The body in performance is not only the primary locus and generator of meaning, but it is also the essential ‘life-force’ which Mbembe describes.

According to Helena Grehan, Lévinasian thinking posits responsibility before subjectivity as the basis for ‘ethical’ subjectivity, meaning that we become ethical subjects only when we ‘hear the call’ of the other (2009). Grehan uses this idea as a starting point from which to explore how performance can provide ‘an alternative space of resistance, of calm, or even of radical unsettlement within which spectators may hear the call of the other’ (ibid. 20). This is a space in which the subject’s responsibility to the other – which precedes conscious thought or action – comes about by the exposure of the Self to/by its Other, a space in which the subject stands ‘face-to-face’ with her other. Crucially, this is a space in which bodies communicate with one another.

Grehan of course points out that there are problems with applying a Lévinasian ethics of responsibility within the context of theatrical performance, including the fact that there is no way of knowing what ‘hearing the call’ might mean for every spectator or every performance. It is certainly not simply a matter of bodies being together in the same place, even in close physical proximity. Thus one cannot hope to develop a ‘formula’ for facilitating this kind of experience, but Grehan maintains that it may still be helpful to consider how particular performances work towards achieving such ‘radical unsettlement’. It is therefore important to attend to how ‘response’ is negotiated within the context of a particular historical moment (ibid. 2009: 19).

In *Monogram*, Finestone-Praeg both communicates and critiques issues surrounding ‘ethical’ spectatorship, effectively adopting the role of the ‘ignorant school master’ (Rancière 2007) in order to allow the spectator to develop his/her own responses to the issues. The entire work is an exercise in distilling essences and stripping away an excess of meaning or representational embellishments. So the work moves from the vast global landscapes of violence, to the minute, inter-personal interactions between two people. The violence here is not the violence of spectacular suffering, but it is suggested as the spectral presence of others, and the relentless call of the other which for Lévinas becomes an unbearable and unrelenting form of violent and traumatic encounter. And crucially, the

presence of a *third* body – myself as narrator/announcer behind the fence – not only amplifies the levels of ‘mirroring’ or ‘tertiary witnessing’ (watching someone watching something), but it also evokes the sense of a third, undefined presence which emerges in Lévinas’s later work.

The gestural movement which functions as language in *Monogram* activates what Juanita Finestone-Praeg calls ‘the power of the small’ (personal communication, 2010). In comparison to some earlier scenes, the amount of action is almost minimal. The (un)choreographed bodies resist a formal dance aesthetic which might indulge the viewer in a sense of ‘disinterested pleasure’ in the dancing body. Moments of visual beauty are not crafted as the display of physical dexterity, they arise out of a play between absence and presence, and they are revealed through subtle variations in rhythm: the immediacy of a sudden impulse to move, or stop; the lingering impact of an unfinished gesture.

At times there is a vivid sense that the two bodies in view are enacting some kind of violence upon one another which is implied rather than represented. What we have is an atmosphere made palpable through a play with the proximities of bodies in relation to each other. Proximity also serves as commentary in a landscape sculpted out of light/dark, where silence/sound are enunciated in the still/moving bodies which demand our attention, but refuse objectification.

David Low (2012) writes about the particular way that gutters and page breaks in graphic narrative function as invitation spaces. It is the gaps between vignettes which allow time for the spectator to process what has just happened, to infer or confer meaning, and to *inhabit* it while awaiting the next vignette (cf. *Terminal*)

REVOLTING BODIES (LANDSCAPES OF BECOMING)

It has been my position that there are various registers of performance at work in the production of social space, ranging from the everyday performativity of urban space to the dramatic worlds of the staged performance event. I have identified a tension between what

could be considered the profane, secular space-time of the everyday, and the ‘set apart’ space-time of rituals, festivals and other ‘eventifying’ practices. This tension persists in attempts to give meaning to experiences at the interface of forms of somatic and sensory perception – the visual, the auditory, the tactile, and so on – occurring at the pre-cognitive level of affect. I argue that the search for meaning is part of the on-going attempts at locating ourselves in the world, and as such it is not only achieved by giving narrative continuity to lived experience but also, crucially, through embodiment and engagement in and through the taskscapes of everyday life.

An imperative of social and cultural institutions is often to create narratives of identity which function to structure our experience and render it knowable and coherent, and to resolve these tensions where possible. This is exemplified by various forms of nationalism and state political rhetoric which, although aiming to be inclusive in their constructions of national identity, also suppress the counter-narratives of dissenting, critical voices and rebellious, homeless bodies. I have already said that the potentiality of certain performances in social space to speak to the complexity of our hetero-temporal, lived experience is partially contingent on a provocation, whereby the inner landscapes of subjective, embodied memory emerge within the performance world. The efficacy of performance relies on its ability to activate certain deeply held social meanings and/as archetypal symbols. The individual bodies of spectators become both the locus and the medium by which meaning is produced, and this foregrounding of the repertoires and incorporative processes of memory-making may potentially *speak back* to power, affectively allowing for the inclusion of what would otherwise be left out of the official archive of collective memory.

All this depends, of course, on what the spectating body is being asked to *do*, and the particular set of ‘ethics’ through which the spectator is engaged by the performance as ‘witness’. In performance, the context and intentionality of activity may give primacy to

particular kinds of perception, but these are to be understood as part of a continuum of somatic experience, rather than as distinct or absolute categories of structure or meaning.

Throughout my discussions, what I have been searching for are traces of possibility: that is, the possibility of bypassing, overwhelming and ignoring oppression, of escaping the old ‘ghettos’ of the apartheid imagination (cf. Jamal 2005). In theory, the ‘post-dialectic’ moment from which such a ‘celebratory imagination’ might emerge, even if fleetingly, is always already in process, or part of a process of chaining and conjunction – the ‘and...and...and...’ which makes up the ‘fabric’ of the rhizome (Deleuze & Guattari 1987: 25).

To return to the idea of maps again, the human body gesturing toward ‘here’ can be thought of in Simondon’s terms as the transductive kernel for creative ontogenesis, as perhaps the crystal around which tensions and intensities of energy assemble and transform, and it is because it is always already connected to other bodies and to the body politic, and this individual human body is both internally and externally *becoming* as it moves in space-time. Furthermore for Simondon, the process of transduction works towards the resolution of some of these perceptual tensions and incongruities, while perpetuating others as forms of potential:

Individuation must therefore be considered as a *partial* and *relative* resolution that occurs in a system that contains potentials and encloses a certain incompatibility in relation to itself – an incompatibility made of forces of tension as well as of the impossibility of an interaction between the extreme terms of the dimensions (2009: 5).

For Finestone-Praeg this means not only to give an account of the nature of the crisis itself, but in fact to ‘think in and through a system of oppression that...still dominates and disfigures cultural production and reception in South Africa’ (Jamal 2005: xi).

The performance engages the spectator in a pattern of complex activities. This involves looking, gazing and seeing, which are all perhaps slightly different *intensities* of the same type of action. But it *also* involves listening, hearing, and imagining. These modalities of experience help to elucidate the myriad of taskscapes already at work in the

everyday world, and thus catalyse more complex ways of engaging with complex, performed ‘others’ in the same shared time and space. Perhaps because bodies themselves always have the potential to unsettle binaries and rigid structures (cf. Briginshaw 2009: 16-17), physical theatre forms in particular highlight the *gaps* in meaning: *between* bodies in space, between texts and images, and between the different but implicated modalities of lived experience. Physical theatres create lacunae into which spectators must insert themselves in order to create meaning by way of dwelling with/in the landscape. This insertion is a kind of transduction – the ‘amplifying [of] reticular structure’ which Simondon describes as happening on a number of levels from the biological to the psychic. It affects and effects how we interpret images and connect them in narrative form, and also resonates at the level of somatic and experiential engagements which also implicate our own subjective positions. So the resultant ‘meaning,’ which emerges *through* such engagement, is a complex web of entanglements that avoids simplistic or moralistic renderings.

CONCLUSIONS:

...either or...both and...in conjunction with...

‘Where do I belong?’ seems to be the question that plagues so many of the discussions I participate in. As a constant lament it refers to dislocations felt by displaced subjects towards disrupted histories and to shifting and transient national identities. Equally, it refers to university departments and orders of knowledge, to exhibiting institutions and market places and, not least, to the ability to live out complex and reflexive identities which acknowledge language, knowledge, gender and race as modes of self-positioning.

Irit Rogoff, Terra Infirma (2000: 14)

EITHER OR (OBJECTS IN SITU)

To begin with, we were in different times and in different places – either you were ‘here’ and I was ‘there,’ or I was ‘here’ and you were ‘there.’ Throughout my discussions, I saw how these signs functioned as markers of location as well as indicators of belonging or not belonging, so that I might speak of ‘here’ and ‘there’ as being inhabited by ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders,’ ‘self’ and ‘other,’ ‘us’ and ‘them’ respectively. As well as suggesting the tension at the intersection between cartography and navigation (as discussed in my Introductions), the use of these locative terms also points me towards what became an essential question about the nature of identification: how do I *recognise* the signs, distinguishing traits and features by which I will be able to locate myself as being either ‘here’ or ‘there,’ either ‘inside’ or ‘outside’? All this leads me back to consider again how the cartographic metaphor has informed my discussions of various performances of identity in this thesis.

In each of the three thematic sections of this thesis, I have seen how messages of (un)belonging can be inscribed in spatial patterns (Fortress City), through myths and narratives (Frontier Nations) and throughout the movement of exchange and interaction between human and social bodies (Corporeal Networks). I have found South Africa particularly interesting as an example of how landscapes function in and as performance

because of the varied registers of its collective social performances or ‘mappings’, and the multiple ways in which a myriad of cartographic signs and conventions have often appeared to contradict each other at various moments in the process of the nation’s becoming or individuation. Whether we are speaking of the spectacular or the everyday, the performance of identities in South Africa is often framed in terms of a heightened almost histrionic and exceptional mode. This is why I have sought to explore what is at stake in speaking of South Africa as an idea: what does it mean, for example, to imagine South Africa as a traumascapes – Maria Tumarkin’s (2005) term for a place which has been transformed by tragedy? Or as the narration of the future perfect? Or as a laboratory, a space of rehearsal, preparation and risk-taking?

The various performances I have discussed attempt to highlight how violence, race and inequality continue to shape the social imaginary. Firstly, the performances in ITC frame the ‘everyday’ in a way that makes the familiar strange. As spectators we are invited to look again at our reality – as physical space, but also as a set of ideas, attitudes, and meanings. Framing the everyday in this way, performance creates opportunities for the public not only to engage differently with reality, but to imagine ‘belonging’ in different ways. Political speeches, on the other hand, attempt to manage the anxiety of the contemporary moment, and so are concerned with delimiting and narrowing imaginative space, except where they seek to engender very *particular* kinds of spaces of articulation. So Zuma and Mandela’s speeches both seek to control the unpredictability of performance. Brett Bailey’s *Terminal* also offers the spectator a very controlled experience, but uses the mythic structure to open up rather than close down the frontiers of racial identity. Finally, in the event that existing structures and ‘maps’ of identity no longer seem adequate to the task of making sense of the world, it is anxiety, unpredictability, and potentiality – the gaps – which produce meaning, as in *Inner Piece*.

BOTH AND (SUBJECTS IN MOTION)

‘We all know where South Africa is, but we do not yet know what it is’ (Sachs 1991: 187). Between the ‘where’ and the ‘what’ in Sachs’ speech, was a gap which necessitated a process of way-finding. As I have continuously argued, it is within the gaps and breaks that the most interesting and potentially novel perspectives of the South African social landscape can be found and/or developed. And gaps themselves are therefore not to be seen in terms of lack or ‘emptiness’, but as fields of unrealised potentials through which we may experience landscape.

By proposing the ban on culture as a weapon, Sachs emphasised the importance of regarding art not as merely a tool, but as part of the substance of freedom itself: ‘What are we fighting for, if not the right to express our humanity in all its forms, including our sense of fun and our capacity for love and tenderness and our appreciation of the beauty of the world?’ (1991: 188). This ‘love’ which Sachs speaks of is, in Jamal’s reading at least, more than a singular or personal emotion – it represents a ‘celebratory ethos...bliss or *jouissance*, an affect of being that bypasses the utility and closure of hermeneutic expression’ (Jamal 2005: 13).

If the challenge of writing the now in South Africa is a matter of accounting for the vexed questions about identity and alterity, and about the meaning of freedom-as-democracy in this particular historical moment, the question is how does one ‘bypass, overwhelm and ignore oppression, and, in so doing, create another space for thought and creativity’? (Jamal 2005: xii). How, after resistance, may it may be possible to find something more than struggle, the kind of humanism or ‘love’ which for both Sachs and Jamal is the substance of freedom? Culture – whether it is artistic endeavour or everyday practice – lies at the heart of both Sachs’ and Jamal’s reflections and has the ability to transform lives in ‘non-teleological and non-deterministic’ ways (2005: 4).

And so the predicament faced in Sachs' paper is not unlike that which has already taken place here, as I navigate between his argument, Jamal's interpretation of it, and my own translation of both their meanings. In my work I have attempted to pay attention to the processes involved in spectatorship, taking the view that in the South African context in particular, few studies focus specifically on the viewer's actual experience, because there is perhaps a distrust of the veracity of such experience. At the same time, it is perhaps not that such perspectives do not exist within the corpus of scholarship from South Africa, but they do not necessarily emerge and prominent forms of practice and writing. Because I have situated myself in this text, my particular approach – landscape in and as – attempts to answer this rift.

To a certain extent then, the themes explored in this thesis reflect my own personal preoccupations with the issues of violence, race, and belonging. At the same time, I have tried to situate my own voice within a broader discursive context, and even to use this subjective position as a way of counter-acting the dominant narratives which I have identified as features of the social landscapes in question. I have discussed the work of a very particular group of artists who are working from particular vantage points of race class and gender, and while this may perhaps be considered potentially problematic, I use my particular, 'intersectional' perspective to stand in for the absences in my discussion.

But there have been some limitations to what this thesis could cover, and my explorations have left me asking, for instance:

- How other themes of gender and HIV/AIDS which figure strongly in popular discourse could be unpacked using a similar model of landscape in and as performance,
- How the dialogue between texts and visual images could be developed further as a way of 'mapping' invisible connections,
- And finally, how new ways of mapping might be developing in the work of emerging practitioners who offer a different generational perspective.

These are perhaps subjects for further inquiry and for future research projects.

For now, I can conclude that landscapes in South Africa have been shaped by the

divisive policies of the past, and today it is arguable that the South African nation-space is still somewhat segregated into the various 'ghettos' of apartheid imagination. One example is the controversy surrounding Brett Murray's painting *The Spear* in May 2012 which refocused international media attention on the debates about race and cultural production in South Africa.¹⁹⁰ It seemed somehow, regardless of how one felt about the painting itself or the artist's intention, that the double-time of the nation posed a double threat to national integrity. On the one hand, there was the danger that the artist's gaze might threaten to derail national unity by perpetuating some kind of symbolic violence on the body politic. On the other hand, there was a danger of falling back into the oppressive practice of state censorship, which would undermine the very notion of 'freedom' at the core of national identity. Leaving aside the impassioned arguments for or against Murray's portrayal of president Jacob Zuma, I find it telling that *The Spear* not only generated such polarised reactions from its supporters and detractors alike, but that the story featured so widely in international news media. In many ways, *The Spear* provided the world with a way of assessing the state of South Africa since 1994. The controversy surrounding it generated an image of a country which is both free in one sense and 'unfree' in another, both a 'new' and also old in its aspirations and achievements.

IN CONJUNCTION WITH (INDIVISIBLE GAPS)

I began with a number of specific questions about South Africa as an idea:

- What are the shared values of the new South Africa? How and by whom are they defined, upheld and protected? (Who may speak for whom?)

¹⁹⁰ The painting was part of an exhibition by Brett Murray at the Goodman Gallery entitled *Hail to the Thief*. It depicted president Jacob Zuma standing in a Leninesque pose with his genitals exposed. After images of the portrait began to appear on the internet and in news media it was deemed offensive by the ANC who sought to have the circulation of the image legally banned. The actual painting was subsequently defaced by members of the public in the gallery on 22 May 2012. Images of the painting before and after it was defaced, as well as number of the press articles and opinion pieces on the entire controversy can be found on the artist's website and are available at <<http://www.brettmurray.co.za/the-spear-opinions/>> [Accessed 10/10/2012].

- What does it mean to be a South African at this point, and in relation to the continent and the world?

These questions related to the landscape as performance, and in order to attempt to answer them I examined, through my three thematic sections, how landscapes have been constructed in performance by asking:

- How do artists understand and perform their role in the new South Africa?
- How do I as an individual subject/spectator both relate to and locate my self in the (landscape in and as) performance? And how does my embodied experience correspond to the experiences of others in the same (subjunctive) space-time?

At this point, at the end of my explorations, I have discussed a number of possibilities and offered several potential readings of the events and examples chose. I have resisted definitive authoritative narratives or conclusions, and uncovered still more questions. What I have found and attempted to demonstrate in my writing is movement – a kind of migration which is also a chaining, from the local to the national to the global; from the particular, the subjective and the situated, to the communal, and to the universal. I have moved transversally from Fortress to Frontier to Network, and in so doing attempted to investigate how both micro and macro landscapes can function in and as performances. This means I have attempted to discuss both the subjective and the collective meanings of identity alongside and indeed through one another, since one cannot stand apart from the landscape in which one is situated.

During this movement there has been an ‘amplifying’ of resonances, an emerging form or structure taking place always in the zone between my being ‘here’ and your being ‘there.’ And at the same time, while we have been moving in one direction from inner to outer worlds, there has also been a corresponding movement of contraction, so that we have gone from abstract, social and constructed bodies to the body made flesh. These processes have not happened separately, nor have they merely been coincidentally parallel, but they have been symbiotic. So if my approach regarding landscapes in and as performance can offer anything to the study of performance in South African it is the

possibility of ‘mapping the invisible’ by attending directly to some of the cartographic silences left by existing paradigms and debates. Arguing that both external/material and internal/discursive ‘landscapes’ are constructed in and through human engagement with memories, perceptions and subjective experiences, my own concept of landscape *in and as* performance therefore implies a relational, multidimensional conception of performance as ‘set apart’ time and space, and foregrounds the ‘dwelling’ perspective as a way of approaching the subject of identity in South African performances. The analyses of both the context and content of performance offers a paradigm for comparable analyses of other South African physical, social and psychological spaces, while proposing ways of deconstructing linear or binary approaches to history and spatiality, and moving towards post-dialectical narratives and identities.

Towards the end of *Predicaments of Culture in South Africa*, Ashraf Jamal declares that ‘the interregnum is by no means over’ (2005: 157). But if the symbolic violence of colonialism and apartheid were so pervasive in all forms of living and production, if South Africans have indeed remained trapped in the ‘ghettos’ of apartheid imagination, the power of culture – whether it is artistic endeavour or everyday practice – to ‘sustain its transforming and life-affirming quest’ (Jamal 2005: 157) lies partly in recognising the incongruous temporality of ‘the now’ and in so doing side-stepping the nostalgia of modernity. As Jamal grapples with the depths of the ‘psychic disfigurement born of empire and racial strife’ (ibid.), there is an unmistakable hope-against-hope that pervades Jamal’s text which flies in the face of any simplistic disavowal of the possibility of self-recognition, and it is culture – in all its forms – that offers the promise of recognition. This sense of possibility is contained beautifully in the very last words spoken in *Inner Piece* – the haiku delivered in a moment of silence after the final improvised viewpoints:

Today, walked the dog
Tomorrow I’ll go to war
Hope it will be different.

APPENDICES

A: SPEECH BY PRESIDENT NELSON MANDELA ON RECEIVING THE FREEDOM OF

GRAHAMSTOWN (16 MAY 1996)

- 1 Your Worship Mr. Mzukisi Mpahlwa;
Honourable members of the Grahamstown City Council;
Members of the National and Provincial legislatures present;
People of Grahamstown;
Ladies and gentlemen.
- 2 I feel humbled to be counted as one of this city's citizens. In Grahamstown's history are joined the extremes of our nation's journey to freedom.
- 3 This town was established as a centre of confrontation between expanding colonialists and indigenous people who were defending their land and property. Grahamstown was to be the main fort where the military might of the colonialists was concentrated.
- 4 For a century this city was turned into a theatre of war, as your forebears fought relentlessly to preserve their freedom. Those engagements produced legendary heroes like Makana and Ndlambe.
- 5 But over the years the community of this city has outgrown those hostilities. You have turned Grahamstown into a city of cultural heritage and academic excellence. With the gift of the Freedom of your city, granted in reality not to me as an individual, but to the people of South Africa as a whole, you affirm your dedication to peace and reconciliation.
- 6 Grahamstown is also the cradle of a free press in South Africa. The pioneers of press freedom kept its flames burning despite repressive legislation emanating from governors-general in Cape Town. Today, with the entrenchment of that right in our new constitution, those pioneers can rest peacefully knowing that that cause has finally triumphed. I know that Rhodes University will always [sic] strive to ensure that its journalism graduates hold on to this proud tradition.
- 7 Rhini is also the home of the National Arts Festival. Our central goal in rebuilding our society is to improve the quality of life of all our people. Along with the building of houses; creation of jobs; and improved education and health care; we are committed to the restoration and restitution of cultural assets and to creating conditions for arts and culture to flourish.
- 8 Under apartheid, historical sites, cultural collections, arts, and monuments related to the history of a few. The heritage of the majority was neglected, distorted, and suppressed. Although the Government is addressing the situation, this process must be tackled from the grassroots level up. The people of Grahamstown, as an

advanced detachment on the cultural front, should take a lead in restoring the cultural heritage of the previously disadvantaged communities. The festivals which you host every year and other cultural projects based here can serve as foundation stones of cultural reconstruction.

- 9 Your Worship,
Despite its cultural richness, Grahamstown is one of the most economically impoverished cities in our country. Most of its residents are out of work. As the democratically elected municipality, you face the challenge of marketing the city so as to attract investments and develop its industrial potential. I was pleased to learn that the project to bring water to more than a thousand homes in Grahamstown East as well as the twenty million Rand housing projects, to build more than six hundred units are proceeding according to plan. Your municipality also deserves credit for the good work you are doing at Ethembeni Old Age Home.
- 10 The development of Grahamstown is the responsibility of all of us as residents. Rent boycotts and other actions that we used in the past against apartheid structures impact negatively on the community. We cannot use them against our own structures. Even the RDP projects already underway will come to nothing if people don't pay for services - the success of future projects depends on the funds generated today. Building a better life depends on the spirit of Masakhane.
- 11 Your city has gained a proud reputation for its institutions of learning and I hope that this tradition will be retained and improved upon. You have attracted students from all over the country and beyond its borders. It is my fervent hope that the recent disturbances will be resolved, sooner rather than later, through consultation and negotiations.
- 12 The Commission of Inquiry into Higher Education recently released a draft report and it is still receiving submissions from all interested parties. I urge all those concerned to approach this commission with their views and make a constructive contribution to the transformation process.
- 13 The adoption of the final constitution last week was a milestone in the democratisation of our country. Our democracy has come of age. I would like to thank all those who made submissions to the constitution-writing process. It was a joint effort. We all deserve credit for it.
- 14 Democracy in our country is coming of age. As government we will continue to pursue policies that are based on the needs and aspirations of all our people. As we proceed with the implementation of those policies, we will be relying on towns and cities like Grahamstown and the communities they serve.
- 15 Your Worship,
Once more I would like to thank you and your council and the people of Grahamstown for the honour you have bestowed on me today. I will always carry myself in a manner befitting a resident of Rhini.
I thank you.

B: ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT JACOB ZUMA, ON THE OCCASION OF THE BESTOWING OF THE
FREEDOM OF THE CITY BY THE MAKANA MUNICIPALITY ON THE PRESIDENT,
GRAHAMSTOWN (13 JUL 2011)

1. Eastern Cape Premier, Ms Noxolo Kiviet
Executive Mayor of Makana municipality
Councillor Zamuxolo Peter, Members of the Provincial Executive Council and
Legislature
Councillor Khunjuzwa Kekana, Cacadu District Mayor
Traditional leaders present here
Mphakathi wase-Makana,
2. I am humbled to stand here among the people of Makana Local Municipality to receive such a great honour, the Freedom of the City of Grahamstown.
No greater honour can be given by a people than to share what is most precious to them - their home, their freedom, their rights as citizens and their own town or city.
3. It is equally important that the municipality conferring the honour is named after an illustrious freedom fighter who sacrificed his life for his people, Makana of the AmaNdlambe people.
Like Sekhukhune, Moshoeshe, Dingane, Bhambatha, and many other stalwarts who led the first battles against colonial encroachment in the 19th and early 20th centuries, the name Makana is inscribed in the annals of our glorious history of centuries of struggle.
It stands as a symbol of heroism, bravery and dedication.
4. Makana, one of the most trusted warriors of Inkosi Ndlambe, inspired and led an attack against the British garrison in Grahamstown in 1819.
After that epic battle he was incarcerated at Robben Island, and he was among the earliest generation of freedom fighters in that island.
5. When Makana arrived at Robben Island, he found several other political prisoners from what was known then as the Eastern Frontier.
These were men of Khoisan descent, who had from 1799 to 1803 fought against colonialism in a previous war in the area around Port Elizabeth.
To those latter generations of prisoners who also came to Robben Island, Makana represented an indomitable spirit.
To them he became known from historical accounts as a fiery and intelligent leader. The fact that he managed to escape from Robben Island was a clear illustration of his unwavering spirit of independence which could not be contained by anyone – let alone his jailers.
6. Even during our time in Robben Island, the name Makana reverberated with very poignant substance and reverence.

It was also adopted by a sporting body in the Island, the Makana Football Association, in which I personally participated as a player and also as a referee. Therefore, most of us identify with Makana. We have lived and felt his pain and it is still an inspiration for us in our struggle to improve the lot of our people.

7. Fellow South Africans,
I am highly moved by the fact this event of conferring the freedom of the city acknowledges our humble role in the struggle for liberation.
It also acknowledges the role we played in placing our country firmly on the world map through the successful hosting of the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup Tournament last year.
Only two days ago, on the 11th of July, we marked the first anniversary of the end of that historic soccer tournament.
8. The struggle for liberation and the soccer world tournament that we are being honoured for were collective efforts, in which many South Africans participated to ensure victory.
It is my honour and privilege therefore, to receive this award on behalf of all freedom loving South Africans and our friends beyond the borders of the country, who fought endlessly and heroically over many decades until freedom and democracy was achieved in 1994.
9. I receive the award on behalf of the patriotic and energetic South Africans who bought tickets and filled the soccer stadiums and fan parks during the soccer world cup event last year, proving wrong critics who had said the tournament in South Africa would be characterised by poor attendance and would fail.
10. I receive the award on behalf of the construction workers who built the 2010 World Cup soccer stadia, roads and airports, the immigration, traffic and police officials, sports administrators and indeed all who made the tournament the success it was.
I thank you most heartily for this honour and privilege.
11. Compatriots;
This occasion reminds us all that despite our seventeen years of hard work to improve the lives of our people, we still have to do more to provide access to basic services such as water, sanitation, electricity and refuse collection.
I am heartened by the fact that despite the challenges that we face at local government level, this municipality works to improve the lives of the people.
12. This municipality started receiving Municipal Infrastructure Grant funds from the 2005 financial year, with an amount of 92, 6 million rand granted over the past six years for eradication of infrastructure backlogs.
To date, about fifty projects, mainly sanitation, have been implemented at a cost of R92, 4 million.
I am informed that another achievement in the municipality is the Neighbourhood Development Grant Programme, through which R90 million was allocated for infrastructure development.
This included roads which have already been built, street lighting as well as household electrification.

This project has contributed to local development including job creation. In addition, R66 million has been allocated for bulk water services through the Municipal Infrastructure Grant.

These developments will not solve all developmental or service delivery backlogs, but they lay a foundation for further work, and working together, more can be achieved.

13. The local government elections of May this year have provided us with renewed energy and impetus to work harder to improve the situation.

Some of the major improvements we must make include getting each municipality to involve the communities they serve in decisions affecting their lives. It involves ensuring continuous communication between municipalities and the citizens.

If people are promised certain services, when there is a delay they should be informed.

If there is water or electricity cuts, for whatever legitimate reason, people should be informed and told when this will be fixed.

In short, our citizens should be treated as valuable customers. Once we improve the customer care ethos and programmes of our municipalities, we will reduce the levels of frustration and anger.

14. However, no amount of frustration should justify violence and destruction of property.

While our constitution allows protest action as part of the freedoms we fought for, the violence that sometimes accompanies the protests is unacceptable.

The recent attacks of councillors and their homes in some parts of the country are shocking and are not what should be seen in a democratic society, where people have so many avenues of voicing their grievances or suggestions.

We must all support our councillors in performing their difficult tasks of serving communities.

15. As government we are committed to support councillors in all possible ways to enable them to perform their responsibilities better.

This includes providing training that enables them to understand their leadership role, training on legislation that guides local government, key municipal processes, developmental local government and service delivery.

We know that our people want to see change in local government, and want that to happen without delay.

16. We have a turnaround strategy that is being implemented in municipalities to effect change.

The plan for each municipality looks at the peculiar challenges in that area to provide most relevant solutions to the situation.

The challenges facing Makana Local Municipality for instance, will not be the same as those facing Buffalo City, Ngqushwa, or Musina in Limpopo.

Over 90% of Municipalities in the country have developed their municipal turnaround strategies which have now been integrated into their Integrated Development Plans and municipal budgets.

17. We also indicated during the elections that we want to build corruption free and efficiently run municipalities.

Since the launch of Operation Clean Audit 2014 in 2009, steady progress has been made in efforts to achieve clean municipal audits. This will ensure more prudent and corruption free use of state resources.

The increase in the number of municipalities who achieved clean audits from only 4 in the 2008-09 financial year, to seven in the 2009-10 financial year are a significant achievement.

18. Another exciting Programme which is a key component of the Local Government Turn Around Strategy is Operation Clean Cities and Towns.

In May, the Acting Minister for Cooperative Governance & Traditional Affairs (CoGTA), Mr Nathi Mthethwa, launched this programme in Flagstaff as a partnership between government, the private sector and local communities. It will henceforth be rolled out throughout the country with a view to making all our cities clean, creating jobs, building safer communities, attracting investments and importantly, also building healthy environments for our communities. We hope that this municipality will embrace it with both hands.

19. Compatriots

We have heard the sad news of the passing on of King Maxhobayakhawuleza Sandile. We extend our deep-felt condolences to the royal family and the amaRharhabe people on this loss. Sithi isizwe samaRharhabe asilale ngenxeba.

20. Fellow South Africans,

I accept this honour conferred by the Makana Municipality with humility and knowledge that together we will live up to Makana's spirit of service to the communities.

I thank you for this very special privilege and for the acknowledgement of one's humble contribution to making our country a better place for all.

I would also like to acknowledge my organisation the ANC which in the main made me to be what I am today, and enabled me to make this contribution that has been acknowledged by the Makana municipality.

I wish the people of this district and municipality all the best, as they work together to create better communities.

21. I am also very proud that I also share this honour with my leader Madiba who was also my national volunteer-in-chief during the 1950s, my commander-in-chief in uMkhonto Wesizwe and, my President in the ANC and my first democratically elected President of our country.

You must rest assured that I will from now on frequent this town so that I can fully enjoy my freedom!

I thank you.

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