Kabbo ka Muwala
[The Girl's Basket]

Migration and Mobility

in Contemporary Art

Harare, Zimbabwe
in Southern and

Kampala, Uganda
Eastern Africa

Bremen, Germany

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[The Girl's Basket]

kabbo ka muwala

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National Gallery of Zimbabwe

| DOREEN SIBANDA
DIRECTOR, NATIONAL GALLERY ZIMBABWE

The National Gallery of Zimbabwe is honoured to be the nominal host of *Kabbo ka Muwala – The Girl's Basket. Migration and Mobility in Contemporary Art in Southern and Eastern Africa;* a travelling exhibition that explores the theme of migration, dispersion based experiences and the physical and psychological barriers that affect migrants. The inarguable fact is that humanity is inherently nomadic, and migration based on socio-political and economic factors would occur naturally in any circumstance where war, disease or abuse were to take place in an individual's abode.

The analogous application of *The Girl's Basket* serves as a window into the tumultuous experiences that migrants go through. This puts the female experience in a much more focused aperture where the usually considered trivialities of nuptials are brought into a metaphorical setting with "the girl's basket", a device that may as well serve to illuminate all the hardship associated with uprooting and migration.

The fate of displaced people around the world is commanding renewed interest as the turmoil in various parts of the world is taking its toll. People undertake enormous risks in pursuit of a better life and opportunities they perceive to be elsewhere. To have Zimbabwe host *Kabbo ka Muwala* at this moment is particularly poignant as it is an experience that resonates with almost every family as many people continue to cross borders in pursuit of supplementary support and improved livelihoods. Unlike in the past when the central player in southern Africa was the male, the female crossing borders has taken centre stage.

The artist, by nature attests to a nomadic way of life and their expectation of migration is always high. Artists in the diaspora have a realistic exposure to the negatives of migration as usually they exist on the margins in the dichotomy of a new abode and 'other' origins. Although most are bound to experience a much more temporary and at times, a prolonged exile, the artist can measure the collective woes of being in a space by interconnecting with the immigrant communities of that particular society.

Kabbo ka Muwala thus serves as an indicator of numerous experiences, tethered to a conference that commemorates International Women's Day. The struggles and achievements of migration for women from across the region and the world will be zoned in on to best understand and appreciate how strenuous the life for these individuals is in pursuit of their livelihoods.

As the exhibition is set to travel to Kampala and Bremen, it is the National Gallery of Zimbabwe's hope that the southern artists' contribution to this very crucial global discourse will explore and present issues that resonate with various publics seized with the increasingly difficult phenomena that is engulfing the world.

Die Nationalgalerie von Simbabwe fühlt sich geehrt, Gastgeberin von *Kabbo ka Muwala – The Girl's Basket. Migration und Mobilität im südlichen und östlichen Afrika* zu sein, einer Wanderausstellung, die sich mit Migration und Migrationserfahrungen beschäftigt sowie mit den physischen und psychischen Grenzen, die Migrant_innen überwinden. Es ist eine unbestreitbare Tatsache, dass Menschen von Natur aus nomadisch sind und Migration aus soziopolitischen und ökonomischen Gründen eine unvermeidbare Folge von Krieg, Krankheit oder Misshandlung ist, mit denen Menschen konfrontiert sind.

Der Bezug auf *The Girl's Basket* eröffnet eine Perspektive auf die aufwühlenden Erfahrungen von Migrantinnen. Die weibliche Erfahrung wird in den Fokus gerückt, der metaphorische Korb des Mädchens weniger als Ausdruck der scheinbaren Trivialität der Eheschließung verstanden, als vielmehr mit Entwurzelung und Migration in Verbindung gebracht.

Während das Schicksal vertriebener Menschen auf der ganzen Welt unsere Aufmerksamkeit erregt, fordern Aufruhr und Unruhen in verschiedenen Teilen der Welt ihren Tribut. Menschen nehmen in ihrem Streben nach einem besseren Leben und besseren Bedingungen an einem anderen Ort enorme Risiken in Kauf. Dass Simbabwe genau jetzt Gastgeber von *Kabbo ka Muwala* ist, ist vor allem deshalb so bedeutsam, weil die Ausstellung Erfahrungen berührt, die heute beinahe jede Familie schon gemacht hat: Den Weggang von Menschen auf der Suche nach zusätzlichem Einkommen und besseren Lebensbedingungen. Im Gegensatz zur Vergangenheit jedoch, als der Mann die Hauptrolle im südlichen Afrika spielte, steht nunmehr die Grenzen überquerende Frau im Mittelpunkt.

Künstler_innen neigen von Natur aus zu einer nomadischen Lebensweise und ihre Erwartungen an die Migration sind meist hoch. Künstler_innen in der Diaspora kennen jedoch auch die negativen Auswirkungen der Migration, da sie üblicherweise im Zwiespalt zwischen neuem Heim und ‚anderer' Herkunft existieren. Obwohl die meisten zeitlich begrenzt im Exil leben, ermöglicht ihnen der Kontakt zu anderen Einwanderer_innen, kollektive Erfahrungen an einem bestimmten Ort nachzuvollziehen.

Kabbo ka Muwala, Ausdruck einer Vielzahl von Erfahrungen, steht auch in Zusammenhang mit einer Konferenz zum Internationalen Frauentag. Die Anstrengungen und Errungenschaften weiblicher Migration aus der Region und der gesamten Welt werden hier analysiert; es soll deutlich werden, wie schwer das Leben dieser Menschen ist, im Bemühen, ihren Lebensunterhalt zu sichern.

Da die Ausstellung nach Kampala und Bremen weiterreisen wird, hegt die Nationalgalerie von Simbabwe die Hoffnung, dass der Beitrag der Künstler_innen aus dem globalen Süden zu diesem wichtigen Diskurs auf eine Art beitragen, die einen Nachhall finden wird auch bei all denen, die von diesem zunehmend ernsten Phänomen betroffen sind.

Makerere Art Gallery

| GEORGE KYEYUNE
DIRECTOR, INSTITUTE OF HERITAGE CONSERVATION AND RESTORATION, MAKERERE UNIVERSITY, KAMPALA

Kabbo ka Muwala is an interdisciplinary project, which seeks to analyse and understand the journeys of migrants in eastern and southern Africa. Migrants are forced to leave their countries of origin and settle in new countries, in some cases permanently. They are driven by calamities such as war and instability, or by the desire to seek better education, greener pastures or even medical attention. When they migrate, they carry with them cultural baggage from their places of origin, and in their new places of abode they make a mental as well as a physical contribution. Migration is about give and take – it is also about losing something as much as gaining something. As they pick something new, migrants lose aspects of their past to become new beings.

Kabbo ka Muwala is a Luganda proverb, which refers to the Ganda marriage practice where a bride returns to her parents with gifts from her husband's parents. Equally, upon coming back to her husband she carries gifts from her own parents. *Kabbo ka Muwala* is thus a fitting title and allegory for the migration idea that this project explores, bringing together the thoughts, experiences and skills of migrants with the responses of the new cultures they encounter.

Uganda has had its fair share of migrants and the international community has in fact commended the country for its compassionate handling of the complex question of migrants. From 1959, when political and ethnic wars in neighbouring Rwanda forced refugees to settle in Uganda, to the incessant fighting in the DR Congo which has from time to time created a stream of people fleeing from persecution across the Congo/Uganda border, it is evident that the issue of refugees in Uganda is not about to end. Uganda has also witnessed internal displacements, particularly from the late 1980s through the late 2000s when people in the northern region were forced into camps because of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) insurgency.

A lot has been written about these and other stories but what has not been explored is a concerted visual engagement where migration is observed through artists' lenses and subjected to creative scrutiny. Unlike the written word, which is in any case reserved for the lucky few who can read and who have access to it, art has the ability to reveal itself as an object of contemplation and as a representation of the phenomenon. Both the literate and illiterate can read art. This project gives an opportunity for the international language of art to be used as a tool to reflect on the dynamics of migration in Africa and expand the experience and appreciation of migration to those without the opportunity to read.

As well as being a visual analysis of the little known but widespread pattern of migration in Africa, this project also has an international dimension in so far as it brings together a collaboration of three institutions in Uganda, Zimbabwe and Germany.

African artists of international repute, working with both traditional means and modern media such as video, installations and performance, draw on their own experiences and on interactions with migrants and shine new light on the vexed question of migration in the African context. We are aware that Africa cannot be reduced to a single story, and as such the diversity and complexity of the continent is being appreciated and taken into account in this show. Narratives of migration have been visually interpreted and summed up into art. We are delighted that a travelling exhibition that will be shown in two further venues – the Städtische Galerie Bremen in Germany and also Makerere Art Gallery/Institute of Heritage Conservation and Restoration (IHCR) – has come to pass the National Gallery of Zimbabwe, Harare.

The international status of the project has given Makerere University both publicity and visibility. We would like to thank the scholars and the curators for the initiative and their dedication, the TURN program of the German Cultural Foundation for funding the project and Makerere University for its support.

Kabbo ka Muwala ist ein interdisziplinäres Projekt, das es sich zur Aufgabe gemacht hat, die Wege von Migrant_innen im östlichen und südlichen Afrika zu analysieren und zu verstehen. Migrant_innen sind gezwungen, ihr Land zu verlassen und sich in einem anderen Land niederzulassen, in manchen Fällen dauerhaft. Sie sind getrieben von Krieg und Unsicherheit, von dem Wunsch nach besseren Lebensbedingungen oder einfach nach medizinischer Versorgung. Migrant_innen bringen kulturelles Gepäck mit sich aus ihrem Herkunftsland und leisten in ihrer neuen Umgebung wichtige Beiträge. Migration bedeutet Geben und Nehmen – sie bedeutet ebenso, etwas zu verlieren, wie etwas zu gewinnen. Während die Wahl für etwas Neues gleichzeitig den Verlust von etwas Vergangenem bedeutet, werden sie zu neuen Persönlichkeiten.

Kabbo ka Muwala ist ein lugandisches Sprichwort, das sich auf einen Heiratsbrauch der Baganda bezieht: Ausgestattet mit Geschenken der Eltern des Ehemannes besucht die Braut ihre Eltern, um anschließend mit deren Geschenken zu ihrem Ehemann zurückzukehren. So ist *Kabbo ka Muwala* ein ausgesprochen passender Titel und zugleich eine Allegorie für das Verständnis von Migration, von dem dieses Projekt ausgeht, wenn es die Gedanken, Erfahrungen und Fähigkeiten von Migrant_innen im Spiegel der Reaktionen des neuen kulturellen Umfelds betrachtet.

Uganda hat viele Migrant_innen aufgenommen und ist von der

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internationalen Gemeinschaft für seinen mitfühlenden Umgang mit den komplexen Herausforderungen der Migration gelobt worden. Von den politisch und ethnisch motivierten Kriegen in Ruanda, die im Jahr 1959 viele Menschen zur Flucht ins benachbarte Uganda zwangen, zu den unablässigen Kämpfen im Kongo, die immer wieder wahre Ströme von Flüchtlingen verursachen, die vor Verfolgung über die kongolesisch-ugandische Grenze fliehen, hat sich immer wieder gezeigt, dass die Flüchtlingsfrage in Uganda in naher Zukunft nicht zu beantworten sein wird. Gleichzeitig fanden in Uganda interne Vertreibungen statt, insbesondere von den späten 1980er bis zu den späten 2000er Jahren, als Menschen im Norden des Landes aufgrund des Konflikts mit der Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in Lagern Zuflucht suchen mussten.

Es ist viel über diese und andere Geschichten geschrieben worden und sie sind der Welt bekannt. Eine Leerstelle ist bislang ihre visuelle Aufarbeitung, eine Herangehensweise, die Migration durch die Augen der Künstler_innen wahrnimmt und sie so einer eingehenden kreativen Auseinandersetzung aussetzt. Im Gegensatz zum geschriebenen Wort (welches ohnehin nur den wenigen Glücklichen, die lesen können, zugänglich ist), hat Kunst die Fähigkeit, sich als Sphäre des Nachdenkens und der Würdigung des Phänomens zu offenbaren. Analphabeten können Kunst ebenso gut lesen, wie gebildete Menschen. Dieses Projekt ermöglicht es der internationalen Sprache der Kunst, zu einem Werkzeug der Reflektion der Migrationsdynamik in Afrika zu werden – und deren Erfahrung und Anerkennung auf diejenigen auszudehnen, die nicht lesen können. Das Projekt ist mehrschichtig: einerseits analysiert es wenig bekannte und doch weitverbreitete Migrationsmuster in Afrika visuell, andererseits hat es aber auch eine internationale Dimension, indem es zur Zusammenarbeit dreier Einrichtungen in Uganda, Simbabwe und Deutschland geführt hat.

Afrikanische Künstler_innen von internationalem Ruf, die sowohl mit traditionellen Mitteln als auch mit modernen Medien wie Video, Installationen und Performance-Kunst arbeiten, nutzen dabei ihre eigenen Erfahrungen und Interaktionen mit Migrant_innen. Sie werfen so ein neues Licht auf die umstrittene Frage von Migration im afrikanischen Kontext. Es ist uns bewusst, dass Afrika sich nicht auf eine Geschichte reduzieren lässt, die Diversität und Komplexität des Kontinents werden in dieser Ausstellung anerkannt und gewürdigt. Migrationsnarrative wurden visuell interpretiert und sind in Kunstwerke übersetzt worden. Wir sind froh, dass die Wanderausstellung, die an drei Orten gezeigt werden soll – der Nationalgalerie von Simbabwe in Harare, der Städtischen Galerie Bremen in Deutschland und der Makerere Art Gallery/Institute of Heritage Conservation and Restoration (IHCR) – nun zustande gekommen ist.

Die internationale Bedeutung des Projekts hat der Makerere Universität Aufmerksamkeit und Sichtbarkeit verliehen. Wir möchten uns bei den Wissenschaftlerinnen und Kurator_innen für ihre Initiative und ihr Engagement, bei der Kulturstiftung des Bundes für die Finanzierung des Projekts sowie bei der Makerere Universität für ihre Unterstützung bedanken.

Städtische Galerie Bremen

| ROSE PFISTER
LEITERIN/DIRECTOR STÄDTISCHE GALERIE BREMEN

Die Städtische Galerie Bremen freut sich, als europäische Ausstellungspartnerin das Projekt *Kabbo ka Muwala – The Girl's Basket. Migration and Mobility in Contemporary Art in Southern and Eastern Africa* zu präsentieren. Die Ausstellung mit ihrem umfassenden Katalog und Begleitprogramm, die gemeinsam mit unseren Partnern der National Gallery in Harare, Simbabwe, und der Makerere Art Gallery in Kampala, Uganda, unter der Projektleitung des Masterstudiengangs EMMIR (European Master in Migration and Intercultural Relations) der Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg entwickelt wurde, stellt eine große Chance im interkulturellen Austausch dar. Gerade in Zeiten, in denen Migration als Thema in den Medien und bei den Menschen in Deutschland dauerhaft präsent und nahe ist, eröffnet dieses Projekt die Möglichkeit, Migration und Mobilität aus afrikanischer Sicht zu reflektieren. Die in der Ausstellung vertretenen Künstler_innen differenzieren mit ihren Werken eine Diskussion, die in der bundesrepublikanischen gesellschaftlichen Realität in hohem Maß von Klischees, verkürzten Annahmen und häufig schrillen Tönen geprägt ist.

Schon der Ausgangspunkt und die Ausarbeitung des Projektes sind bewusst anders gewählt, als dies aus der Perspektive europäischer Ausstellungs- und Forschungsinstitutionen üblicherweise der Fall ist. Die drei Kurator_innen und die sozialwissenschaftlichen Partnerinnen ge-hen von einem afrikanisch geprägten Blick auf Migration aus. Der geografische Fokus liegt auf den Regionen des östlichen und südlichen Afrika, einem vielschichtigen, von Wanderbewegungen geprägten Gebiet. Die erste Analyse und Präsentation der künstlerischen Positionen zum Thema Migration findet in Simbabwe statt, geht dann nach Uganda und kommt erst im Anschluss nach Bremen. Anders als in den meisten afrikanisch-europäischen Kooperationen wird nicht eine Ausstellung von Europa nach Afrika übernommen, sondern sie wandert umgekehrt von Afrika nach Europa. Die Ausstellung selbst erfährt Migration, insofern sie sich von Ort zu Ort gemäß den räumlichen Gegebenheiten und vor allem gemäß der gesellschaftspolitischen Blickrichtung verändert.

Als Handels- und Hafenstadt hat für Bremen der internationale Austausch immer eine große Rolle gespielt. Über Bremerhaven, Bremens Seezugang, fand im 19. Jahrhundert die große europäische Auswanderung nach Amerika statt. Die Hansestadt wird in der letzten Zeit von einer wachsenden Zahl von Bewohner_innen mitgeprägt, die aus vorwiegend west- und nordafrikanischen Ländern kommen und gekommen sind. Vor allem aber hat Bremen eine besondere Rolle in der deutschen Kolonialgeschichte gespielt. Die deutschen Kolonien im heutigen Namibia, die Schauplatz brutaler Kolonialgeschichte und des Völkermords an den Herero waren, wurden ab 1883 vom Bremer Kaufmann Adolf Lüderitz initiiert, der seine persönlichen Annektionen vor Ort staatlich legitimieren ließ. In der

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Folge war Bremen wiederholt Ort der Verklärung der Kolonialgeschichte, was in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus kulminierte, in der für drei Jahre während des zweiten Weltkriegs sogar ein kleines Kolonialmuseum mit dem Namen Lüderitz-Haus im Zentrum der Stadt existierte.

Bremen hat angesichts seiner besonderen Rolle in der deutschen Kolonialgeschichte eine Verantwortung, der sich die Stadt seit Jahren stellt. Die Beschäftigung mit aktuellen Migrationsbewegungen sowie mit allgemeinen Fragen der Migration ist Teil dieser Verantwortung, die sich unter anderem auch in künstlerischen Projekten im öffentlichen Raum zeigt. Zum „Elefanten", dem ehemaligen Kolonial- und heutigen Antikolonialdenkmal hinter dem Bahnhof, dem sichtbarsten Symbol Bremer Kolonialgeschichte, hat es mehrere künstlerische Initiativen gegeben. Immer wieder finden künstlerische Kooperationen mit Partnern in Namibia und in Bremens südafrikanischer Partnerstadt Durban statt.

Vor dem Hintergrund der Kolonialgeschichte und der aktuellen Ereignisse und Diskussionen über Migration aus Afrika nach Norden, erscheint eine fundierte, vorurteilsfreie Analyse von Migration besonders wichtig. Sie muss diejenigen Menschen, die aus ganz unterschiedlichen Gründen in andere Länder und Regionen ziehen, ernst nehmen und mit ihnen selbst sprechen – eine Analyse im Miteinander in größtmöglicher Offenheit.

Diese Offenheit gewährleisten die zwanzig Künstler_innen der Ausstellung. Ihre Werke bilden in diesem Katalog die Basis für die Reflektion über Migration und Mobilität. Sie wurden von den drei Kurator_innen des Projekts, Katrin Peters-Klaphake (Kampala), Raphael Chikukwa (Harare) und Ingmar Lähnemann (Bremen) ausgewählt, die in einem gemeinsamen Text im Katalog künstlerische Positionen und Ansätze darlegen und analysieren. Die sozialwissenschaftliche Begleitung für die Ausstellung und den Katalog haben Dr. Lydia Potts und Dr. Katharina Hoffmann von der Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg übernommen. Durch ihre Initiative wurde das Projekt, dessen Leitung sie innehaben, angestoßen. Ihnen sowie allen Beteiligten in Harare, Kampala, Bremen und Oldenburg herzlichen Dank.

Möglich wurde die Ausstellung *Kabbo ka Muwala – The Girl´s Basket. Migration and Mobility in Contemporary Art in Southern and Eastern Africa* dank der großzügigen Unterstützung durch die Kulturstiftung des Bundes, die mit ihrem Programmformat TURN künstlerische Kooperationen zwischen Deutschland und afrikanischen Ländern fördert.

Den entscheidenden Beitrag jedoch leisten die Künstler_innen, deren visuell starker Blick auf Migration uns einen eindringlichen Erkenntnisgewinn ermöglicht. Ihnen gilt unser besonderer Dank.

The Städtische Galerie Bremen, European partner of the project, is delighted to present *Kabbo ka Muwala – The Girl's Basket. Migration and Mobility in Contemporary Art in Southern and Eastern Africa.* The exhibition was developed by the EMMIR (European Master in Migration and Intercultural Relations) programme at the Carl von Ossietzky University in Oldenburg in cooperation with our partners the National Gallery in Harare, Zimbabwe and Makarere Art Gallery in Kampala, Uganda. It offers both an extensive catalogue and accompanying programmes, and constitutes a great opportunity for intercultural exchange. Especially at a time when migration has become a constant presence in the media and to the people in Germany, this project offers an opportunity to reflect migration and mobility from African perspectives. The artists represented in the exhibition help to differentiate a discussion in Germany, which is fraught with clichés, half understood ideas and often near hysteria.

The starting point and development of the project were deliberately chosen to differ from the usual perspectives of European research or exhibition customs. The three curators and two social scientists take a different view on migration. The geographic focus is on eastern and southern Africa, areas known for regular migratory movement. The first analysis and presentation of artistic positions on the issue of migration will take place in Harare, then move on to Kampala and finally come to Bremen. Contrary to the more usual form of African-European cooperation, this exhibition does not move from Europe to Africa but from Africa to Europe. The exhibition itself experiences migration, insofar as it keeps changing when going from one locality to another according to the spatial conditions and especially according to socio-political views.

International exchange has always played an eminent role for the merchant town and port of Bremen. In the 19th century Bremen's seaport Bremerhaven saw the great wave of European emigration to America and of late Bremen has become home to a growing number of citizens from predominantly western and northern African countries. But in particular, Bremen played an important role in Germany's colonial history. The German colonies in what today is Namibia, which became the scene of brutal colonial history including the genocide of the Herero people, were initially claimed in 1883 by Adolf Lüderitz, a merchant from Bremen, who had his personal annexations legitimized by the state. Bremen subsequently became a place of glorification of colonial history, culminating during National Socialism. For three years during World War II a small colonial museum, Lüderitz-Haus, existed in the city centre.

Bremen has accepted responsibility for its role during German colonial history and considers the current migratory movements as well as migration issues in general as part of this responsibility, which includes art projects in the public domain. Several of these projects are concerned with the "Elephant", a once colonial and now anti-colonialism monument behind the main station. Bremen has repeatedly been involved in artistic cooperation with partners in Namibia and Bremen's South African partner city Durban.

In view of colonial history and the current events and discussions on migration from Africa to the North, a well-grounded and unbiased analysis of migration is called for. It must take the people seriously, who for a variety of reasons move to other countries and regions and it must talk with them personally and in the greatest frankness.

Twenty artists stand for this frankness in the exhibition. Their works are the foundation for the reflection on migration and mobility in this catalogue. They were chosen by the three curators of the project, Raphael Chikukwa (Harare), Katrin Peters-Klaphake (Kampala) and Ingmar Lähnemann (Bremen), who in their text explain and analyse the artists' ideas and positions. Dr. Lydia Potts and Dr. Katharina Hoffmann (Oldenburg), who initiated the project also attended to the social scientific aspects of the exhibition and catalogue. My wholehearted thanks to them, and all who have been involved in the project in Harare, Kampala, Bremen and Oldenburg.

The exhibition was made possible thanks to the Kulturstiftung des Bundes (Federal Cultural Foundation), whose TURN Fund sponsors cultural cooperation between Germany and African countries.

The most vital contributions, though, come from the artists, whose forceful visualisations of migration allow us impressive insights. Our special thanks to them.

kabbo ka muwala

Carl von Ossietzky Universität

| MELANIE UNSELD
DEAN OF THE SCHOOL OF LINGUISTICS AND CULTURAL STUDIES

Drei Kunstmuseen in drei Ländern – zwei afrikanischen, einem europäischen – konzipieren und präsentieren gemeinsam eine Ausstellung. Schon dies ist keine alltägliche Konstellation. Das Thema dieser Ausstellung ist Migration, und auch hier steht die Suche nach einem neuen Blickwinkel im Vordergrund: künstlerische Auseinandersetzungen mit und Repräsentationen von Migration, die sowohl Mikroblicke als auch den Fokus auf (zuweilen unerwartete) globale Zusammenhänge erlauben. Ein drittes ist ungewöhnlich: Die Idee zur Kunstausstellung entstand an einer Universität. Dass hier die Wurzeln dieser Idee liegen, ist freilich kaum zufällig, existiert an der Fakultät III Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaften doch ein Umfeld, das Phänomene von Migration, Praktiken der Transformation und geschlechterwissenschaftliche Perspektiven als Forschungs- und Lehrzusammenhang versteht.

An der Fakultät III der Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg ist der europäisch-afrikanische Masterstudiengang EMMIR beheimatet, der von einem Konsortium von sieben Universitäten beider Kontinente gemeinsam entwickelt und getragen wird. Ein solches Programm basiert auf Grenzgängen: Migrationsstudien, die sozialwissenschaftliche Perspektiven dezidiert mit kulturwissenschaftlichen verbinden, der Versuch, globale Dimensionen von Migration zu denken und auf allen Ebenen Repräsentationen afrikanischer Migrationsprozesse zu integrieren, die Analyse nationalstaatlicher und supranationaler Migrationsregime ebenso wie ihre Zusammenhänge mit zivilgesellschaftlichen Strukturen und Engagements. An der Fakultät III für Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaften wird dies verbunden auch mit der Arbeit von und mit Künstlerinnen und Künstlern, die in den Studiengang ebenso einfließen wie kuratorische Perspektiven.

Die Ausstellung *Kabbo ka Muwala* ist dabei zweierlei: Ergebnis dieses Zugangs zum Thema Migration und ebenso erneuter Aufbruch. Sie stellt zeitgenössische visuelle, künstlerische Auseinandersetzungen mit und um Migration in den Mittelpunkt – mit bewusster Betonung auf zwei Regionen Afrikas: den Osten und den Süden, wobei zugleich deren globale Bedeutung und Reichweite deutlich werden. Diese beiden Regionen sind im besonderen Maße durch und von Migrations- und Fluchtbewegungen geprägt. Die Ausstellung reflektiert und hinterfragt dominante Diskurse um Migration durch ihren Fokus auf künstlerische Auseinandersetzungen und ihren Akzent auf Künstlerinnen und Künstler aus dem südlichen und östlichen Afrika.

Initiiert und moderiert durch EMMIR hat sich für dieses Projekt ein Konsortium gebildet, das drei Ausstellungshäuser in drei Ländern umfasst, die die gemeinsam die kuratorische Arbeit verantworten. Ermöglicht wurde die Realisierung durch die großzügige Förderung durch den Fonds TURN der Kulturstiftung des Bundes und nicht zuletzt durch die Bereitschaft aller Beteiligten, insbesondere der Direktorinnen und des Direktors, der Kuratorin und der Kuratoren, der Künstlerinnen und Künstler sich auf dieses Experiment zwischen Kunst und Wissenschaft einzulassen.

Three art museums in three countries – two African and one European – unite to conceive and present an exhibition. This in itself is unusual. The theme of the exhibition is migration and here, too, the endeavour to find a new angle of perception is foremost: the artistic occupation with and representation of migration, which allow micro views as well as a focus on (sometimes unexpected) global contexts. Moreover, the idea for the art exhibition was conceived at a university. This, however, can hardly be called accidental, as the School of Linguistics and Cultural Studies presents an environment, in which the phenomena of migration, practices of transformation and aspects of gender studies are understood to be part of both academic research and teaching.

The School of Linguistics and Cultural Studies at the Carl von Ossietzky University is home to the African-European EMMIR MA course, which is formed and run by a consortium of seven universities on both continents. Its programme is based on a deliberate crossing of borders, i.e., migration studies, which combine social scientific with cultural aspects, the attempt to think migration in global dimensions and at the same time integrate on all levels representations of migratory processes in Africa, the analysis of national and supranational migration regimes in conjunction with their societal structures and engagements. The School of Linguistics and Cultural Studies combines in its EMMIR course the above aspects, the cooperation with and of artists and curatorial issues.

The exhibition *Kabbo ka Muwala* is both result and renewed starting point of this particular approach to the subject of migration. It gives centre stage to the current visual arts' treatment of migration, concentrating on two regions of Africa in particular, i.e., the east and the south, while at the same time emphasising their global importance. Both regions are characteristic for the large numbers of people who are either migrating or fleeing. By focussing on the artistic approach, particularly of artists from eastern and southern Africa, the exhibition reflects and challenges dominant discourses on migration.

Initiated and presented by EMMIR, a curatorial consortium has formed to take responsibility for this joint project of three galleries from three different countries. The realisation of the project was facilitated by the generous support of TURN, the German Federal Cultural Foundation, and not least by the willingness of all participants, in particular the directors, curators and artists, to join in this experimental collaboration between art and academia.

kabbo ka muwala

Contextualizations

The Patriarchal Logic, 'Encroaching' Femininity and Migrant Zimbabwean Women

| ROSE JAJI

Much of the rhetoric on gender relations among Zimbabweans implies that these relations and the patriarchy upon which they are based are static, omnipotent and immune to subversion, negotiation and alteration. The result has been perpetual and homogenizing depiction of women as victims regardless of their socio-economic status. The rhetoric continues to depict womanhood and femininity as inherently cumbersome, limiting and synonymous with blocked opportunities. Specifically focusing on the nexus between female migration and gender relations among Zimbabwean migrants, this article argues that gender relations are mediated and reconfigured by transformation in men and women's roles facilitated by transnational mobility. Gender relations in Zimbabwe as they are structured by patriarchal ideology entail duties and responsibilities; the societal and family positions occupied by men and women are premised on performance of specific tasks in conformity with prevailing gender ideologies. As such, the privileges that patriarchy confers on men are rationalized through male obligations upon which the subordination of women thrives. This article discusses the changes in gender relations that occur in instances where women gain previously absent economic opportunities through migration. It also addresses the intersection of female migration and power dynamics where men fail to perform specific gender roles in fulfilment of their obligations resulting in women taking over such roles.

Introduction

The public discourse conveyed through the media in Zimbabwe exposes surprising oversight to three main issues. First, the discourse persistently portrays women as victims and creates the impression that patriarchy is inexorable, to such an extent that factors such as female physical mobility and economic opportunities do not have an impact on how this ideology functions. Secondly, the discourse is clamorous about how patriarchy marginalizes women and largely inaudible about how it accommodates and recognizes women's agency even if it does so within its own structure and logic. Thirdly, while women who 'encroach' on the male domain in terms of gender roles are visible in Zimbabwe and in the diaspora, the public discourse on gender relations between women and men expresses vexed surprise and panic at changes in the gender *status quo* emanating from transformation in gender roles. At the core of this panic is a crisis of attribution in which changes in women's social status are attributed to the influence of foreign cultures. These are perceived to be inimical to local or traditional social organization, although the discourse is silent on how these cultures influence men. The panic derives from the view that when women engage in activities previously designated as male, they emasculate and 'feminize' men. This translates into the perception that women cannot gain power without disempowering men.

This chapter presents four main arguments. First, contemporary migration among Zimbabwean women, like colonial migration, provides them with opportunities that have transformed their social status by reconfiguring their relations with men as fathers, brothers and husbands. This reconfiguration or transformation of gender relations impacts on patriarchy in ways that portray disjuncture between rhetoric, belief and practice. Secondly, transformation of migrant women's social status does not necessarily sound a death knell for patriarchy because the latter has an intrinsic logic and structural capacity that enables it to accommodate, co-exist with and rationalize such changes. It also has social mechanisms that discourage and constrain women's choice to exist outside its ambit. These two arguments are premised on a third, that patriarchy, contrary to popular belief that it is exclusively about male privilege, also emphasizes male duties and responsibilities and a failure to perform them impacts on their social status and perception about them. The structure of gender relations is legitimized by performance of specific gender roles and patriarchy assigns this obligation not only to women but also to men. The fourth argument suggests that the efficacy of patriarchal ideology is tethered to physical space such that mobility, which severs the ideology from its appropriate prerequisites, has the potential to relax its grip. The article discusses the reconfiguration of gender relations where femininity among migrant women 'encroaches' onto the socio-cultural constructions of masculinity. In the context of migration, where men often fail to fulfil their obligations, women often assume roles and responsibilities previously assigned to men. The discussion of gender relations is thus situated in the context of migration which became a dominant phenomenon in Zimbabwe with the country's descent into economic crisis at the turn of the 21st century.

This chapter is based on research conducted with both female and male Zimbabwean migrants in Germany between 2005 and 2009 and ongoing research on Zimbabwean migrants based in South Africa. It draws on semi-structured interviews with ten women in the German cities of Bonn, Kassel and Munich. In the ongoing research with female Zimbabwean migrants based in South Africa, I initiated contact in 2010 and 2011 during a one-year fellowship in Johannesburg, South Africa. I also used snowballing for selection of research participants and face-to-face in-depth interviews. In Zimbabwe, at the time of writing, research data is based on social media and interviews with visiting Zimbabwean migrants.

Zimbabwean Female Migration in a Historical Context

Colonial history in Southern Africa in general and Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) in particular points to the fact that the colonial administration targeted men for labour mi-

gration. New colonial law, drawing on Victorian ideology, conferred the status of household head and breadwinner on men. Women were conceived as minors in both colonial and customary law. It was thus the men who provided migrant labour for the farms and mines. Paradoxically, this meant, too, that men were employed as gardeners, cooks and cleaners in settler homes, the private 'female' domain of the household. Women on the whole remained in the rural areas, responsible for maintaining the family and for homestead production. In this way, women contributed to the profitability of the low-wage colonial economy. They also provided necessary social services, caring for the aged, disabled and retired male migrants. However, the history of colonial Africa shows that women also migrated to urban centres, albeit at different times. In the main, women were excluded from the definition of 'worker', and thus did not carry passes, despite their involvement in income generating activities such as trading, beer brewing and even prostitution (see White 1990; Barnes and Win 1992). Despite the congruence of interest between African elders and the colonial administration in controlling women manifest in efforts to confine the latter to rural areas and restrict their mobility, migrant women in Southern Rhodesia were able to establish themselves in the nascent urban centres, and, in some cases, were among the first Africans to own homes in these centres. Even during this period when women were treated as minors, change in gender relations within the lineage occurred as physical mobility and distance from the patrilineage and gerontocracy enabled migrant women to create social space which enabled them to shape their own destinies.

There is evidence in some parts of Africa, that colonization resulted in previously powerful women losing power (van Allen, 1972), it created opportunities for some women to escape forced marriages, witchcraft accusations and other anti-social practices. They fled to urban centres and mission stations where they converted to Christianity and were trained in home economics (see White, 1990; Barnes and Win, 1992; Schmidt, 1992; Jeater, 1993; Thomas, 2000). There, migrant women became independent and exercised a certain freedom of choice in matters of marriage, including socially disapproved *mapoto* marriage or cohabitation, in defiance of the traditional cultural arrangement in which the patrilineage played a central role particularly in the payment of bridewealth. While the physical distance from the patrilineage afforded to women through migration created cultural tensions by slackening the grip of gerontocracy and patriarchy on them, it simultaneously enabled the women to sooth these tensions through sending remittances to their natal families. This suggests that men's loss of authority and, in some cases, bridewealth, was compensated for through acquisition of material gains accruing from migrant daughters and sisters. Thus, where women had previously acquired social status through chronological age, marriage and motherhood, migration enabled them to acquire it through accumulation and the deployment of economic capital within the patrilineage. Yet, colonization did not eliminate either the traditional patriarchal ideology nor its practices. Rather, Christianization and Western education as corollaries of colonization supplanted the traditional patriarchal ideology with a European version of patriarchy and sexism that emphasized that women's position was in the home (Berger and White, 1999). In line with this version, women had to focus on nurturing the family and doing unpaid work in the domestic arena while men occupied the public sphere where they engaged in paid employment as providers for the family. This state of affairs continues to inform debates on gender relations in contemporary Zimbabwe, notwithstanding the changes that have occurred in gender roles since independence in 1980.

Masculinity, Femininity and the Patriarchal Logic

As social constructs, masculinity and femininity do not always correspond with biology or sex. Various anthropological studies across Africa demonstrate how women can acquire masculine social attributes, a striking example being the phenomenon of male daughters and female husbands among the Igbo of Nigeria where prosperous women could marry wives and give them to male relatives to sire children on their behalf (Amadiume, 1987). Masculinity and femininity are not naturally bestowed as they derive from specific socio-cultural expectations such that a woman's femininity or a man's masculinity can be queried where the individual involved fails to conform to these expectations. Vernacular languages in Zimbabwe clearly illustrate this in such idioms as the Ndebele *indoda sibili* or the Shona *murume chaiye* (a 'real' man). There is also the Shona *murume pasina vamwe* (a weak man who can only be considered a man in the absence of 'real' men) and the Shona and Ndebele reference to a man who is a weakling, a coward or is effeminate as *mukadzi* and *umfazi* (woman) respectively. This demonstrates that male privilege legitimized through the patriarchal ideology is not premised on manhood per se but on masculinity. While manhood is about physical maturation, the position of men within the context of patriarchy requires manhood to be accompanied by masculinity which is "a cluster of norms, values, and behavioural patterns expressing explicit and implicit expectations on how men should act and represent themselves to others" (Miescher and Lindsay, 2003, p.4). Where manhood is recognized on the basis of chronological age, masculinity is earned and achieved. As an achieved rather than ascribed status, masculinity can be lost such that a man can become a 'woman' in the Zimbabwean vernacular sense of the word. It is therefore possible to be physically male without being so socially. In other words, it is possible for a man in sexual terms to become a woman in gender terms; a biologically male person can become socially and culturally female.

Conversely, the subordination of women is premised on both womanhood and femininity as opposites of manhood and masculinity respectively. Where womanhood refers to biological maturation, femininity is "the essence of this maturation embodied in specific cultural values and expectations" (Jaji, 2015, p.495). A woman who fails to perform culturally sanctioned femininity is dismissed

as a woman in name only *(mukadzi wezita* in Shona or *ipendeka* in Ndebele). Within patriarchal logic, hegemonic or normative masculinity is performed in relation to hegemonic or normative femininity. While femininity is normally the opposite of masculinity, local languages in Zimbabwe also use male terms for women who 'transgress' and 'encroach' onto the socio-cultural space designated as male by performing duties associated with masculinity. Thus terms like the Shona *murume pachake* or Ndebele *umfazi oyindoda ngokwakhe* (a male woman) or *umfazi ozimele yedwa* (independent woman) describe this shift. Thus the logic of patriarchy can embrace fluidity in gender roles and identities, as men can transform into women where they display attributes associated with femininity and women can be regarded as men where they exhibit attributes reflecting masculinity. Patriarchy also bestows power and authority on women in acknowledgement of their royal status (Hoffer, 1972; Bádéjo, 1998; Andersen, 2000), political position (Nhongo-Simbanegavi, 2000), role in rituals (Amadiume, 2002), age (Kanogo, 2005) and strength (Ismailbekova, 2014).

However, in the context of the patriarchal logic, while 'masculinisation' of women implies strength and is complimentary, 'feminisation' of men carries negative connotations that imply weakness. The gender hierarchy inherent in patriarchy requires that a man who wants to be regarded as a 'real' man earn his masculinity in the same way that an industrious and autonomous woman is 'elevated' to the status of a man. For women, femininity is a learned and achieved status, for women learn how to be feminine and how to conform to expectations. Thus, women achieve the status of being feminine in the same way that prosperous women achieve the status of being male. Yet, as a status associated with weakness, femininity, unlike masculinity, is ascribed rather than achieved where it is used to refer to weak men. In Zimbabwean vernacular idioms, strong women can be 'elevated' to men in the same way that weak men can be 'demoted' to women. Similar to the logic applied to manhood and masculinity, it is possible for women to be biologically female but socially male. In other words, a woman in sexual terms can become a man in gender terms; a biologically female person can become socially and culturally male. Thus female subordination is not innate but can be subject to subversion, negotiation and modification in situations where women acquire attributes associated with hegemonic or normative masculinity epitomized by 'real' men. As such, patriarchy is based on a flexible rather than rigid ideology, which is susceptible and reactive to situations that confound its internal logic.

Re-conceptualizing the Breadwinner

While various gender policies pursued in post-independence Zimbabwe have created economic space for women, there remains a discrepancy between ideology and reality. Men continue to be conceived as the head of the household in contemporary Zimbabwe despite women's involvement in paid employment. More than three decades after the end of colonial rule in Zimbabwe, women have become integral agents not only of rural-urban but also transnational migration, particularly to neighbouring South Africa, in search of economic opportunities. Earlier literature depicted female migration in Europe in terms of family reunion, the trailing wife (Breugel, 1996) and a "male producer and female reproducer" (Kofman, 2004, p.243). Contemporary female migrants do not necessarily migrate simply as wives but in their own right, as single mothers, unmarried students, *au pairs* and as professionals. Women contribute as much as men to the household income, so the idea of the 'male breadwinner' no longer holds water. The perception of women's roles as confined to the private realm overlooks women's active role in alleviating economic adversities both within and outside the home (Ismailbekova, 2014). There is a need to re-conceptualize socio-economic space and gender roles in ways that capture women's role as breadwinners.

Female migrants' participation in the economic sphere has led to changes in the position of women in society and in traditional lineages. Where women traditionally looked up to their brothers, fathers and husbands for resources such as land as well as social and physical security, there are growing numbers of migrant women who provide for male kin among migrant Zimbabwean women. In one case, Joy, a Zimbabwean woman based in Germany migrated to join her husband who was employed there. While she could live comfortably on her husband's salary, she decided to look for a job, use her income to invite her brother to Germany and pay for his professional course. The woman also sent remittances to her mother in Zimbabwe and would also instruct her on how to use the money. Apart from assisting family members, female migrants who make decisions on how their remittances are to be used acquire a higher economic and social status in the family. Joy inverted the idea of women being dependent on men not only by refusing to depend solely on her husband's income but also by providing for her brother and mother. This enabled her to play an active role in her brother's professional choices. This situation in which women play an active role in decision-making through provision of the means to implement decisions is in sharp contrast to traditional settings in which men made decisions pertaining to female family members and made women subjects rather than protagonists in family and community discussions. Joy's economic role in her natal family challenges the traditional preference for sons in patrilineal societies and overturns the rationale that sons perpetuate the patrilineage and provide prestige and security to parents in old age. In earlier times, daughters moved to their husbands' homestead in conformity to exogamous marriage and patrilocal residence.

Marriage, Space, Mobility and Culture

Sharing of intimate physical space is an integral aspect of marriage in many societies. But for long, migration in Zimbabwe forced spouses to live apart for long periods, with one partner often living outside the country. In one case, Mary moved to Germany to reunite with her husband. There, she found better paying employment than

she would have had in Zimbabwe. When her husband decided to return to Zimbabwe, Mary remained in Germany with her teenage daughter, a situation that showed a growing autonomy. She explained that she had not divorced her husband. Migration had in effect led to a redefinition of the meaning of marriage. It remains a status, but confers a new self-sufficiency and independence on women.

Co-residence is no longer assumed to be a defining and essential part of marriage. Indeed, Mary lives in a liminal situation that straddles the boundary between the status of a married and a single woman. As she oscillates between the technical and practical aspects of marriage at her own discretion, marriage becomes a status subject to dormancy and activation through physical absence and presence respectively. Contrary to the idea of the trailing wife, women can use the opportunity of family reunion to become independent of their husbands, who may well have facilitated their migration, as they access better economic prospects than at home. The affective bond in marriage is thus subject to mediation of economic interests with the latter taking precedence in Mary's case.

The dynamics of marriage and gender relations between spouses are also transformed in instances where 'the trailing wife' was replaced by 'the trailing husband'. This happens in cases where the wife initiates migration and after settling in the destination country, invites her husband to join her. Angela, a Zimbabwean migrant woman in South Africa provides an illustration of this. I interviewed Angela after her husband had subjected her to severe abuse that resulted in her seeking treatment. This is how she told her story:

> For him [her husband] to come [to South Africa], I am the one who helped him to get a passport using my own money. I also got him a job so I do not know how exactly I wronged him. He could have beaten me to death but my nephew restrained him and was hurt in the process. I called the police and they took me to the hospital. The police asked me, 'Do you want us to deport him or open a docket so that we can lock him up?' I told them, 'Give me a peace order so that I can live on my own.' On the basis of the many years that we have been married, the police said, 'We will forgive him but if he beats you again, we are going to lock him up.' But then immediately after the police officers had left our home, he started shouting at me saying that calling the police was not different from poisoning his food. Now he says I am the one who is wrong because I called the police.

Angela explained her subjection to domestic violence in terms of the traditional requirement of a husband to pay bridewealth and look after his wife:

> He did not pay any bridewealth for me except that old red ten dollar note [now invalid after being phased out by the government] for damage [paid by the man for getting a woman pregnant before marriage]. My job is strenuous and I now have a problem with my blood pressure and he is the reason why it is high. I am going to leave him and go back to Zimbabwe. He has become difficult to live with and he is stressing me out and he can't even say sorry. I could have moved out a long time ago but then I bought the things that are in the house. In any case, I am coming back to Zimbabwe and it is not necessary for me to look for another house and move out in the remaining few days. I am the kind of person who earns her own income and I earn more than him. Actually, he stole my ZAR3, 200 [South African currency].

Similarly, Lea divorced her husband for engaging in an extra-marital affair with her best friend and workmate. She said:

> It is difficult to give so much to someone who does not respect you. You try to hold on, worrying about what people would say about you. But when I found out that he was having an affair with my best friend, I thought I would die. It hurt me so bad. The marriage was so stressful and after enduring for some time, I decided to leave because it had started to affect my health. Let me tell you, women who keep talking about how happy their marriages are, if you look at it closely, are actually in unhappy marriages. They have to brag about their marriages because they are trying to hide their pain. I was married before, so I will tell you, don't be fooled.

Angela also expressed disappointment with her brother, whom she had assisted in migrating to South Africa:

> I helped my younger brother to get a passport so that he can provide for his family but he is nothing. He goes to drink beer with this man [her husband] and even after he beat me, my brother did not come to see me. They have the same behaviour and that's why they go and drink together.

Angela's narrative portrays changes to gender roles arising from female migration. Not only did Angela initiate her migration, she also assisted her husband's migration to South Africa. While it seemed irrational for a violent husband to beat his wife on whom he was economically dependent, the fact is that violent husbands were admonished but their behaviour was tolerated in traditional marital unions. Traditional gender power relations remained intact even in the context of the shift in gender roles, as Angela's case shows. Yet his failure to pay bride wealth, to fulfil his role as both economic and ceremonial head of the household and his dependence on his wife did not undermine his 'right' as a man to beat his wife even though she had assumed those roles. However, in the logic of normative masculinity exhibited by 'real' men, the husband's inability to fulfil his masculinity provided a legitimate basis for the wife's decision to leave him. Thus, patriarchy's efficacy in promoting male dominance and female subordination thrives only when men are able to fulfil the obligations that it places on them. By defining the obligations of a man, patriarchy's internal logic exposes it to subversion by women whose husbands do not meet these obligations. Angela, like Joy cited earlier, provided financial assis-

tance to her brother. Although Angela assisted her brother, he would not protect her when her husband beat her. He thus failed to conform to the traditional role of a brother to protect his sister. Angela explains both her husband and brother's behaviour as a failure of both to fulfil the expectations of masculinity – they both relied on her initiative and resources.

Angela's decision to leave her husband in South Africa and return to Zimbabwe also demonstrates the role of physical space in marriage. If physical presence through co-residence was a fundamental aspect of the marital bond, the decision to leave an abusive husband shows how physical mobility becomes protective and emancipating. Not only does physical mobility provide women with the opportunity for upward social mobility, it also enables women to escape control or abuse by husbands through strategies either of moving away or of refusing to return. Physical space creates social space. In the case of Mary, the decision to settle in Germany instead of returning with her husband to Zimbabwe constitutes a form of resistance to the patriarchal ideology by which a woman is expected to defer to rather than defy her husband. Whereas Mary used immobility in the sense of staying put in Germany as a strategy of resistance and escape, Angela used mobility in the sense of returning to Zimbabwe and abandoning her husband in South Africa whom she had helped to migrate in the first place. Both Angela and Lea, after agonizing over the decision and enduring violence for some time, resolved to forego the virtue and dignity culturally bestowed on married women in order to end the gender-based violence and abuse. Regarding economic dependence associated with femininity, the women cited above challenged the notion of women's need for a man to 'look after' them, a view which still prevails in Zimbabwe.

The interconnection of culture and place are important in understanding how patriarchy functions. Historically, anthropologists sought to study ethnic groups, their cultures and ideologies in particular geographical locations. If culture in classical anthropology was understood as the study of a sedentary anthropological object, what has become of culture where the anthropological object has become mobile and culture is now practised in a new geographical space? Research has shown that across physical, social and cultural spaces, the hallmark of patriarchy has been its variation and heterogeneous nature, its adaptability and fluidity. An example of the adaptability of patriarchal logic in the context of the migration is clear in the case of the Zimbabwean migrants where gender relations and gender roles have been transformed through opportunities presented by transnational mobility.

Geographical space changes how patriarchal ideology functions. Mary's decision to settle in Germany when her husband returned to Zimbabwe was facilitated by the absence of family elders who traditionally played a mediatory role in situations where spouses' choices clashed. Shandy (2007) observes how Sudanese women take advantage of an environment in the United States that protects women in the absence of restraining male elders to divorce their husbands. Similarly, Mary, although she did not divorce her husband, was able to defy him and determine how her marriage should be structured. For her part, Angela took the advantage to appeal to the police, an alternative and impersonal institution instead of using traditional mechanisms of appeal to family members for conflict resolution. While the position of being a migrant or foreigner is often depicted as disempowering particularly in relation to citizens, for married women it is emancipating. They can appeal to impersonal legal structures rather than members of the patrilineage. Instead, immigration creates social space for female migrants to make individual decisions. Migration can thus provide cultural and patriarchal liminality — a space in which culture and patriarchy become a resource rather than a constraint. Angela could appeal to cultural expectations of a 'real' man in order to resist and end submission to a man who does not conform to these expectations.

From *Womenandchildren* to Women and Children

In many societies, childrearing is associated with femininity and motherhood. In much of the literature on women and gender roles, women are inextricably linked to children, a situation which led Cynthia Enloe to coin the term "womenandchildren" (Enloe, 2002). This term in the African context, goes a bit further, in that it captures the idea that women fall into the same category as children, and are treated as minors, which was certainly the case in customary law. While there have been heated debates in which some Zimbabwean men resist the idea of assuming child-rearing roles, the economic circumstances prevailing in Zimbabwe have inadvertently reversed parenting roles between spouses — an issue on which gender policy and advocacy in Zimbabwe have registered limited success. Much of the broader literature on gender and migration notes that women are anchored by social obstacles and family responsibilities such as child and elder care (see De Jong, 2000 on rural Thai women; He and Gober, 2003 on Chinese women; Stecklov et al., 2010 on Albanian women). Even when they become mobile, women usually travel with their children, a fact which determines their migration itinerary (Stock, 2012). In contrast to men and women without children, migrant women living with children experience a negative impact on their income as they dedicate more time to unpaid work which requires them to engage more in part-time work than men (Nilsson, 2001).

Nonetheless, the case studies mentioned earlier show that some Zimbabwean women migrants are able to circumvent social obstacles to their mobility. Some migrate without their children in arrangements that physically strain the 'and' in *womenandchildren*. As the physical bond in *womenandchildren* is weakened, so the economic bond is strengthened as women acquire the means to meet their children's economic needs. There are various reasons that compel migrant women to leave their children behind in Zimbabwe. Among these is the quest to ensure that they can concentrate on their jobs without having to juggle with child-care. While grandmothers have for long taken care of migrant women's children, more recently other relatives or

older siblings have stepped in to play parental roles. Fathers, too, have had to assume child-rearing roles in the absence of their wives. Migrant Zimbabwean women also take advantage of traditional kinship structures in which lineage proxies are called upon to take responsibility. Thus a woman's sister is not an aunt to her children but a mother in the same way that a man's brother is not an uncle to his brother's children, but a father. While female migration creates new forms of parenthood and physically separates motherhood from children, it enables women to assume the role of family provider role in their children's live where the husbands lack the wherewithal to fulfil their economic obligations. Angela juxtaposed herself to her husband in their children's lives thus, 'I paid by myself all the tuition fees for my second son to study at the university and my last child is here [in South Africa] and I am the one paying his school fees.'

Between Economic Emancipation and Social Constraints

Economic independence from husbands does not automatically translate into women being able to divorce abusive husbands. The transactional nature of marriage is mediated by socio-cultural factors that compel women to remain either in marriages where husbands economically depend on their wives or in violent and abusive unions. One can argue that patriarchy still determines women's status. Single women tend to be seen as deviant, and marriage remains the route to a woman's status and respectability, irrespective of her achievements. The tendency to associate unmarried women with loose morals persists. Thus one can see similarities across societies with women migrants or refugees. For instance, Jaji (2015) has noted that married refugee women in Nairobi remained in abusive marriages despite their economic independence. The reason for this was the stigmatisation associated with divorced and single women, who were vulnerable to sexual abuse and violence. Beyond economic security, marriage is about values and social expectations and family pressure. Women are prepared to endure infidelity and violence to retain their status as married women. Lea, quoted above, is one example. This explains why some women forego the opportunity to convert economic independence into social emancipation. Anna clarified the situation:

> You pay for everything and he [husband] is unemployed. You get home from work and then you hear him say, 'You think at your age you can look after me? A little child like you?!' It's tough. You wonder, 'Who can remove this thing from my finger for me?' [raises her wedding ring finger to show the ring].

Conclusion

Transnational migration impacts on gender relations and patriarchy by presenting women with economic opportunities and capital that improve their social status as daughters, sisters and wives. Mobility and migrant women's occupation of alternative physical space create socio-cultural distance between female migrants and their patrilineages. This relaxes the patriarchal hold and creates socio-cultural and economic space for women to make individual choices independent of the extended family and, sometimes, their husbands — a situation which elevates their social status. Patriarchy is transactional and this is reflected in marriage where spouses are not only bound to each other by affection but also by mutual obligations discharged through performance of normative femininity in correspondence with normative masculinity. Patriarchy is reactive to discrepancies in which the performance of normative femininity is not matched with the reciprocal performance of normative masculinity. Moreover, in situations where women's femininity is compelled to 'encroach' on masculine terrain male dominance becomes fragile. Migrant women are able to use the disjuncture between ideology and practice to unsettle patriarchy. Ironically, in the process, they rationalize their actions by appealing to the inherent logic of patriarchy, which pronounces the prerequisites that legitimise male dominance and female subordination. Contradictory as it may seem, patriarchy retains its efficacy through this inherent logic and structure that simultaneously demand the fulfilment of obligations by men at the same time that it acknowledges and 'elevates' industrious women. Patriarchal ideology is thus reproduced notwithstanding the contradictions that female migration engenders to its logic because of its fluidity and inbuilt capacity to accommodate transformation in gender roles and gender relations. Thus patriarchal ideology itself demands that men earn their dominance and privilege and at the same time rationalises and accommodates women who 'encroach' on the male domain.

Even as patriarchy 'elevates' diligent women to the status of men, it does so on its own terms. It confers virtue and dignity on women on the condition that they fulfil the terms of engagement with men – through marriage and motherhood. 'Male woman' and normative femininity can thus be construed as binaries with migrant women having to choose either and not both. Women do not automatically defy or divorce economically expendable husbands precisely because marriage and motherhood continue to be extolled and presented as the primary criteria vital to the performance of socially approved or normative femininity. Juxtaposed to the unmarried marital status, marriage and motherhood are treated as obligations, extolled as virtuous, dignifying and completing a woman. It is within this set of ideological precepts that migrant women find themselves wedged between economic emancipation and social constraints. The choice of resistance or conformity to patriarchal ideology depends on whether migrant Zimbabwean women wish to considered 'male women' on the one hand or to remain within the bounds of normative femininity on the other hand.

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"You are the home ..." Refugees and Settlements in Uganda

| KATHARINA HOFFMANN

Uganda is the eighth largest host country for refugees worldwide and the third largest in Africa. This chapter brings art performance, songs and poetry together with a factual analysis to contextualise the politics of refugee settlements and to evaluate the policy of self-reliance through the case of the situation in Nakivale Settlement, itself the eighth largest refugee camp in the world. The emphasis is on the perspectives of refugees and the creative art forms that offer a representation of their experiences.

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The verses of the *Nakivale Song* (see next page) are published on the music CD *Sauti Zetu*, which means "Our Voices" in Swahili. The songs are composed by Congolese refugees who live in the Nakivale Settlement, located in southwest Uganda. As their website informs us, the music project by refugees and Matteo Carbognani has

> *...met the digital arrangements of a group of Italian musicians and producers with the aim of overcoming any geo-political borders and any cultural closures. We sing to provide a different insight of what [it] means to be a refugee and to live in a settlement. We sing to demonstrate the complexity of the refugee condition, and that there are no easy solutions to complex problems. We sing to challenge rooted stereotypes, to spread awareness, and to stimulate deeper reflections. We sing to make visible the invisible. The silence, heard. (Sauti Zetu Nakivale, 2015a; Carbognani, 2014).*

The paradoxes of the experience of living in the settlement are poignantly expressed in the Nakivale song in such words as "the lonely nest of asylum seekers'. But if it is escape from the conflict they are looking for, the song proclaims otherwise, "-You are the wine, for those in trouble", perhaps alluding to the dulling of the senses that drinking wine gives, when what they actually find is that Nakivale is "But a breeding place of bigger crimes". What might these be? Ominously, the song proclaims "You keep feeding the future warlords, Nakivale, You are the hell where we live". Is this a reference to rendition, a factor that also exists, not so much among the Congolese, but certainly threatens all refugees as conflict comes to an end in some countries in the region?

NakivArt is another project in the Nakivale Settlement initiated in July 2014 by the refugees Patrick Muvunga and Dezaira Bin Zabona, who live in the settlement, and Bárbara de Lira Rocha and Carlos Felipe Morgado, who are from Germany and Brazil respectively. The four of them met regularly with other refugees to discuss and produce artworks (Morgado, 2015, pp.111-130). The group conceives art "as a way of bringing different communities in the settlement together, with the motto: 'Art is our common language. Art is our freedom'" (NakivArt, 2015). Currently, Patrick Muvunga, Emile Kwilyame and Ben Terarc coordinate the collective work of the refugee artists in the settlement.

Both creative projects provide insights into the experience of refugees, addressing reasons for their flight, their sorrow, frustration and the living conditions in the settlement, as well as their hopes and dreams. As Matteo Carbognani (2014, p.47) emphasises "... all these songs do carry important socio-political messages, and challenge the stereotypical homogenizing and compassionate perception of poor and passive young refugees staying in the settlement waiting to be saved. Indeed, *Sauti Zetu* shows the individual agency and the very diverse and critical awareness of these young refugees' own condition ..."

Refugee Policy in Uganda

Uganda, a landlocked country (241,038 km²) in the Great Lakes region has a very young and diverse population of 37,101,745. With almost 511,000 UNHCR registered refugees and asylum-seekers living in settlements set aside for them, Uganda is the eighth-largest refugee-hosting country worldwide and the third largest in Africa in 2015 (UNHCR, 2015a and b). There are many more unregistered refugees living outside the settlements, who receive no aid assistance from the UNHCR. In 2002

Nakivale Song

You are the home when we don't have other
The lonely nest of asylum seekers
It's your thirsty land that gives us maize and beans
But Nakivale, we can't forgive you

You make people try to cross the oceans
Looking for relief to their polluted lives
Making them forget their past and their homelands
O Nakivale, we'll never trust you

You are the wine, for those in trouble
But a breeding place for the biggest crimes
You keep on feeding the future war lords
O Nakivalve, you are the hell where we live

Why do we keep on closing our eyes?
Why can't we see how beautiful is life?
Why do we keep on closing our minds?
Why don't we try to fly above the sky?
Why can't we try to fly above the sky?

Author Anonymous. Singers Crispin Kabuya and Matteo Carbognani (Sauti Zetu Nakivale, 2015a and b).

FIG. 1 The NakivArt collective's initiative "Please God, make me a bird, so I can fly away from here" aimed at making visible the praxis of enclosed areas within the settlement as well as the alienation between refugees and the local population. *NakivArt* collective, October 2014 (NakivArt's collection).

Watoto Africa
Mimi mtoto wa Africa Siwezi fikiriya future
Mi najuwa tu ikikucha nijitafutie maisha
Wazazi wangu walikufa ndugu zangu wakatawanyika
Ajili ya vita ya Africa maisha yangu inaribika
Inaniuma eh, inaniuma eh
Vita ya Africa inaniuma kweli inaniumiza
Ni lini tutapata freedom freedom freedom?
...

English translation: African Children
Me, African child, I can't think about the future
If it reaches the next morning, then I'll start looking for life
My parents died and all of my relatives dispersed
Because of African wars, my life has been destroyed
It hurts me, it hurts me.
African wars are really hurting me
When are we going to get freedom?

Author and singer: Lil Tris *(Sauti Zetu*, Nakivale, 2015a and b).

I was born and raised in Kenya. The country bordering Uganda.
Third-generation East African Asian.
Raat thodi ne vesh jaja, the proverb I grew up on.
The night is short and our garments change.
Meaning: Don't put down roots. Don't get too
comfortable. By dawn, we may be on the move, forced
to reinvent ourselves in order to survive. Invest only in
what we can carry. Passports. Education. Jewellery.
...
I grew up on tales of the last trains
coming out of Uganda. Laden with
traumatized Asians who had been
stripped of all they possessed. The
grown-ups whispered: 'They took even the
wedding rings, the earrings, off the women.
They searched their hair'.

Quotes from Shailja Patel's book *Migritude*, which is based on her artistic spoken-word performance (Patel 2010, pp. 10-11)

government officials estimated that in the capital of Kampala alone, 5,000 to 10,000 refugees lived without any assistance or services (Dryden-Peterson and Hovil, 2004, p.28).

The country has a long history of hosting refugees. During the Second World War, thousands of civilian internees, prisoners of war and refugees from Europe arrived in Uganda and stayed in internment camps for shorter or longer periods of time. For example, approximately 7,000 people, mainly women and children, were housed in Masindi and Mukono (Lwanga-Lunyiigo, 1993; Mulumba, 2010, pp.62f; see also on this topic the artistic perspective of Emma Wolukau-Wanambwa in this catalogue). However, Uganda in the post-colonial period has also seen the displacement of thousands of people as a result of internal conflict and cross-border insurgency during the last forty years or more. In the 1970s, under the regime of Idi Amin, 70,000 Ugandans of Asian origin who had lived in the country for generations and including intellectuals, non-national businesspeople and workers, were forced to flee the country (Kuper, 1979; Mulumba, 2010, p.89). As Shailja Patel said in her performance, the traumatising event of the expulsion meant "I can't think about the future", instead her life became unstable and fluid, with the clear message that they couldn't "put down roots" or "get too comfortable". The more recent depredations of the Lord's Resistance Army led to the establishment of refugee camps for internally displaced people in the north of the country. Most of these internally displaced persons living in camps (some 800,000 in 2003), have now returned home or have been resettled – with 29,776 persons still displaced in May 2015 (Mulumba, 2010, pp.88; Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, 2015).

The current migration and refugee policy in Uganda is based on the ratification of numerous international and regional conventions on human rights and internal displacement and migration agreements and regulations. Moreover, national laws and regulations address issues of citizenship for non-nationals as well as rules about immigration, emigration, and deportation (International Organisation of Migration 2013, p.62-68). The International Organisation for Migration states that the framework of Ugandan refugee and migration policy "has been progressive" (ibid, p.62). The Ugandan government has played a leading role in adopting and implementing national policy on internal displacement. This became the model for the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa in 2009 (the Kampala Convention). The Convention was ratified by many African states in 2010 and contributed to filling a gap in international law. This and the other regulations improved the situation of refugees and internally displaced persons. Yet as the songs and performances show, refugees felt trapped in the settlements – "Nakivale, You are the hell where we live". However, the Refugee Law Project based at Makerere University is more critical of the internal displacement policy, and suggests that it "should be rewritten, to more clearly state exactly what government will actually do rather than what it would like to do." (Refugee Law Project, 2012, p. VI).

As in many African countries refugees in Uganda are placed in organised settlements which are often large sites located in rural areas. The UNHCR and the government of Uganda have established a policy which aims at assisting refugees in acquiring economic independence, in what they call the Self-Reliance Strategy. In this respect, Uganda's nine rural settlements "are perceived to be more humane and to provide a more enabling environment for refugees to develop their capacities and become independent and self-reliant" (Ilcan, Oliver and Connoy 2015, p.2).

In the settlement areas, refugee families are given a small piece of land to grow their own crops and vegetables, agricultural tools and food rations, which are reduced once they are settled and able to become more independent of aid. UNHCR officials argue that the Self-Reliance Strategy has changed the attitude of the state and society towards refugees since its implementation in 1999. Refugees are now seen "as potential for development". The strategy "over time has also helped in 'attitude change' amongst refugees and host communities alike – from free handouts to self-help and capacity building" (Bagenda et al., 2003; p.5; Svedberg, 2014, pp.9ff; UNHCR, 2003, p.3). Yet the picture is more complex, as the songs and poems from Nakivale testify. Research into the situation of refugees by international agencies and the Refugee Law Project at Makerere University also show a different picture.

The Nakivale Settlement

The Nakivale Refugee Settlement is one of the oldest refugee settlements in Africa and the eighth-largest refugee camp in the world, encompassing an area of about 185 sq km. The colonial government decided to build the settlement in the Isingiro district, in the Ankole region, in 1958, when Rwandese Tutsis fled one of the first waves of ethnic conflict in Rwanda. The settlement is relatively near the border to Rwanda and Tanzania in a tsetse fly-ridden rural area, characterised by dry scrubland, next to Lake Nakivale, with a sparse Ugandan population. The UNHCR and the Ugandan Office of the Prime Minister are responsible for the administration of the settlement. Both work in partnership with other UN agencies, NGOs and civil society organisations to provide initial support for refugees and assist them in capacity building and economic independence. Education, health, water and nutrition programmes address not only the 60,992 refugees living in the settlement but also 35,000 Ugandans (March 2014) in the neighbourhood. The 185 sq.km settlement consists of three zones, Rubondo, Base camp and Juru, and 79 villages none of which are formally demarcated. By way of comparison, the settlement is the same size as the mega city of Kolkata in West Bengal, India. Many different nationalities coexist in the settlement: the largest refugee community is formed by Congolese (32,455 from DRC), followed by Somalis (9,992), Rwandese (9,021), and Burundians (8,499). Among the smaller groups are Eritreans, Ethiopians, Sudanese, and South Sudanese (UNHCR Uganda, 2014a.) The great majority of these refugees are children, adolescents, and young adults. The overwhelming majority are long-term refugees, living in a

Afrique Noire
Je suis fière de mon sang noir qui coule dans mes vaines
L'Africa est debout dans ce monde moderne
Il y a des têtes bien faites en Afrique qui raisonnent
Come in Africa, la belle Africa.

English translation: The Black Africa
I am proud of the black blood that runs through my veins
Africa stands upright in this modern world
There are good minds in Africa, which think
Come in Africa, Beautiful Africa

Author and Singer: Sami * Malonga
(Sauti Zetu Nakivale, 2015a and b)

Amani
Amani, Amani, Amani
Twakosa amani katika congo
Sababu tulitafuta amani kwa silaha
Twakosa amani katika congo
Nazo silaha hazitupatiye amani
Twakosa amani katika congo
Solulisio la kweli ni kwake bwana yesu

English translation: Peace
Peace, Peace, Peace
We don't have peace in Congo
Because we have been using weapons to build it
We don't have peace in Congo
And these weapons will not bring us peace
We don't have peace in Congo
The true solution comes only by the Lord

Authors: Darious Sivasima, singers: Safari Ya Injili
(Sauti Zetu Nakivale, 2015 a and b)

state of limbo for many years, even for decades. At the same time new asylum seekers continuously arrive in the settlement, in 2013 an average of 2,000 every month. The diversity of refugees living in the settlement not only refers to gender, age, nationality and ethnicity but also to language. Calisto Mudzingwa (2011) promotes KiSwahilii as the lingua franca in the settlement and in the settlement's neighbourhood as it has for a long time been an established trade language between Africans in the region and is understood by many refugees and Ugandans alike. This could help to manage the complex linguistic situation in the settlement and its hinterland (Ahimbisibwe 2013, p.22; Bagenda et al., 2003, p.4; Svedberg, 2014, p.7, 15; UNHCR Uganda, 2014a and b).

In Nakivale, 31,226 children, who comprise 45% of the refugee population, are of school-going age. In all refugee settlements in south west Uganda 80% of the children are enrolled. The schools operating in education in Nakivale settlement – nine primary schools, one community secondary school and one vocational school – lack many basic facilities. The infrastructure is poor, classrooms are overcrowded, and the number of teachers is very limited. Even so, attending school in the Nakivale context could be considered a privilege as many children complete primary education, though the dropout rate, especially among girls, is high, particularly in the higher classes. Many children cannot attend secondary school and an even smaller number has the opportunity to go on to university. The Vocational Training Centre offers three-month courses in brick-laying, agronomy, tailoring and carpentry for both refugees and Ugandans in the neighbourhood (UNHCR Uganda, 2014b; Mulumba, 2010, pp.229ff.). Although social integration is one of the main goals of the refugee policy, issues of multiculturalism and socio-cultural implications are not considered in school curricula, teaching and learning activities (Dryden-Peterson, 2003, pp.30f). The UNHCR has also pointed to the paradox of a welcoming refugee policy, yet a difficult naturalisation and citizenship integration process (UNHCR, 2011).

FIG. 2 Isangano market in the centre of the settlement. Photo taken by Naohiko Omata in March 2013 (caption and image, Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford, United Kingdom. Available at https://www.flickr.com/photos/refugeestudiescentre/14295533081/in/album-72157644496679269/ [Accessed 8 January 2016]).

According to Svedberg (2014) the success in implementing the Self-Reliance Strategy is limited. The focus on agronomy is inappropriate given the poor weather conditions and inadequate land. Meanwhile, opportunities for earning livelihoods beyond farming are minimal. Other economic activities such as trade, are limited as the settlement is far away from local trading centres in Isingiro and Mbarara. The infrastructure is poor and transportation costs are too high for refugees (Carbognani, 2014, p.9). Svedberg's findings support the research of Sarah Dryden-Peterson and Lucy Hovil (2004). Their study on the integration of refugees into society suggests that the UNHCR and Ugandan policy has failed to integrate the refugees either economically or socially. Mulumba and Olema in a separate study, show that the "physical separation between refugees and nationals creates an environment conductive to tensions between the two groups" (Mulumba and Olema, 2009, p.29). The integration of refugees into Ugandan society is also constrained by the fact that refugees need travel permits to leave the settlement, while locals, too, require permission to enter the area (Mulumba and Olema, p.33).

However, Alexander Betts, Louise Bloom, Josiah Kaplan and Naohiko Omata in their study of refugee economies, challenge the widespread assessment that refugees are economically isolated, technologically illiterate and dependent on aid. They conducted field research in Nakivale, Kyangwali, and Kampala in 2013. They found that refugees established widespread networks "within the settlements, nationally, and transnationally". They showed through their findings that "[b]oth refugee and Ugandan traders connect refugee settlements to wider economic systems". Indeed, they found that the range of economic activities beyond livestock farming were diverse. For example they enumerated economic activities in Nakivale such as a refugee-run guesthouse, a cinema – the New Congo market cinema – a maize mill, and restaurants. Nevertheless, they also pointed to the existence of "significant levels of internal in-

FIG. 3 Charcoal purchased from a Ugandan trader, in storage for a Congolese refugee business in Nakivale refugee settlement, Uganda. Photo taken by Louise Bloom in May 2013 (caption and image, Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford, United Kingdom. Available at: https://www.flickr.com/photos/refugeestudiescentre/14112196019/ [Accessed 8 January 2016]).

equality" (Betts et al., 2014, p.5, 22ff.). Mulumba goes further, to show that those levels of inequality were often entwined with gender hierarchies which discriminated against women and girls and led to gender-based violence (Mulumba 2010). More critically, and despite the positive effects of the policy of self-reliance, Suzan Ilcan, Marcia Oliver and Laura Connoy (2015, p.3) argue that its application and practice in the management of refugees "aim[s] to reconfigure and manage refugees in a manner that stresses their responsibility to care for and support themselves with minimal external support, and to do so in ways that align with neo-liberal values of enterprise and market-oriented economies".

Refugees in Nakivale also face the hostility of local Ugandans, who resent land allocation to refugees. Indeed, some Ugandans are themselves newcomers, having migrated to the Nakivale area due to land problems where they lived before. The conflict also refers to grazing land for livestock (Bagenda et al., 2003, pp.8-13). Frank Ahimbisibwe states in his recent study that the conflicts have led to deteriorating relationships between refugees and Ugandans. For example, refugees fear contacting their Ugandan neighbours either to seek casual work or to buy food from them. He concludes that "the land conflicts have not only undermined the livelihood strategies ... but also led to environmental degradation ... [and] increased the vulnerability of refugees" (Ahimbisibwe, 2013, p.24, 26, 27).

The international and national policies on repatriation following violent conflicts pose further serious problems for some refugees living in Nakivale, especially the Rwandans. Since the end of the Rwandan conflict, Rwandan refugees have been denied access to land because of a bilateral agreement between Uganda and Rwanda. The latter argues that internal conditions have settled, and refugees should return. The Refugee Law project conducted research on the Rwandan refugees that shows that they "have had their land re-allocated to Congolese refugees. Many live in constant fear of being forcibly repatriated and some have resorted to hiding their belongings in the bush." (Refugee Law Project et. al 2010, p.1). Both the Refugee Law Project and the UNHCR suggest that Uganda's behaviour towards the Rwandan refugees verges on 'refoulement' (compulsory return) that contravenes the 1951 Convention on Refugees (UNHCR, 2011). The Refugee Law Project argues that "The absence of open conflict is ... not an adequate benchmark on which to promote return. Return must be considered in terms of political openness and factors such as good governance ... and effective systems of justice, mechanisms that are increasingly being promoted within the ambit of transitional justice." (Refugee Law Project et al, 2010, p.3). The impact of the policy framework on refugees themselves is captured in the Nakivale song.

Conclusion

The Nakivale Settlement is just one example of how international and national policies of confining refugees to particular areas restrict their freedom. The voices of those in the settlement evoke the lived experience of such confinement – "the hell where we live", "you are the fence that we can't pass by" – encapsulates the frustration of not being able to freely move to seek a new life – as one line sadly says "Nakivale, here we live without life". Thus the Self-Reliance Strategy instead of providing a new life, or new opportunities full of promise, instead promotes precarious living conditions for most of the refugees. In this vein, the Nakivale Song, quoted at the beginning, is as Matteo Carbognani (2015, p.61) explains "basically an open letter to the settlement, addressed to its administrators and to its inhabitants." The anonymous author stated:

> I have been living here for more than 5 years now. Things have certainly improved, I struggled and I worked hard, now I finally got something but this something does not allow me to go anywhere in life. How can I be happy of what I reached? I've always dreamt to study, having a good job and becoming a big man. And the hardest thing is that I had almost succeeded when I was back home. I used to have a good life. These jobs here now for me are nothing. With this job I can't save any money, I can't even buy shoes. And my family is big, and my ambitions too. The truth is that I had to flee North Kivu in order to survive, but now I should flee Nakivale in order to live (Carbognani, 2015, p.62).

Nakivale Song
You are the fence that we can't pass by
You are the grave where our past has died
You should give us hope and respect our own, own rights
But Nakivale, here we live without life

You are the wind, which blows diseases
You are the rain coming through the roof
You are the violence, beating our children and wives
O Nakivale, here we live without life.

How difficult is it to live, this exile inside me?
How difficult is it to cry, tears without water?
How difficult is is to live, this life without life?
O Nakivale, give us the freedom we need
O Nakivale give us the freedom we need."

Author Anonymous. Singers Crispin Kabuya and Matteo Carbognani *(Sauti Zetu* Nakivale, 2015a and b).

FIG. 4 A community-based goat-rearing enterprise in Kashojwa village. This community group is funded in part by Nsamizi, a Ugandan organization which is the main partner implementing the Refugee Livelihoods programme of the UNHCR in the settlement. Photo taken by Erik Svedberg in May 2014 (caption according Svedberg. Erik Svedberg's own private collection).

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The Southern Dream and Migration Risks:

The Case of Young Adult Migrants from Southern Ethiopia to South Africa

| YORDANOS SEIFU ESTIFANOS

South-South migration accounts for half of global migration today. This article focuses on the migration of young adults from southern Ethiopia to South Africa and the factors that instigated, intensified and perpetuated it over a span of two decades. Specifically, it looks into how the narratives of pioneer Ethiopian migrants concerning financial and material success in South Africa induced further migration. Currently many if not the majority of the youth and young adults in southern Ethiopia are desperately dreaming about South Africa and constantly looking for loopholes to migrate there. South Africa has become an imaginary place where money is abundant and success is inevitable.

This is juxtaposed to the multitude of risks and daunting challenges in the experience of immigrants with migration and resettlement. The risks – when told as individual stories – might at times seem deliberately contrived narratives aimed at exaggerating and creating strong images. They are, however, actual biographical experiences – and include reference to those who did not survive the risks to share their stories. These stories are often hidden from the general public and mainstream media.

Ethiopia as a Land of Extremes

While Ethiopia is rich in history, culture and civilisation, (Gill, 2010) and is a demographic giant with a population of more than 90 million, it is also the poorest country in Africa in per capita terms (The African Wealth Report, 2015). Some 83 percent of the population lives in rural areas in grinding poverty on dwindling landholdings with deteriorating soil fertility (CSA, 2010; Yordanos et al, 2011). Yet Ethiopia has one of the fastest growing economies in Africa, registering double-digit growth over the past decade and a half with a very high rate of urbanisation (MoFED, 2014). At the same time, Ethiopia's capital city Addis Ababa is where the African Union headquarters is located. The capital city is also the seat of such international organizations as the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UN ECA) among others.

Ethiopian Emigration

Within Ethiopia, the population density is most pronounced in Southern Ethiopia (Teller and Hailemariam, 2011). The fact that the country is at an incipient stage of a demographic transition – with a broad-based population pyramid and a bulging youth population – has implications for migration, as migration is inherently age selective. Demographics and economics aside, there are other internal and external forces contributing to the migration out of Ethiopia.

Many Ethiopians, particularly the youth, are leaving the country both legally and illegally in pursuit of a better life. The major migration routes are to the Gulf countries (especially for women) (Zeleke, 2014); to Europe, through Sudan and Libya and then across the Mediterranean Sea; to South Sudan with the birth of a new nation and subsequent opportunities there; and male-dominated migration to the Republic of South Africa (Kanko et al., 2013). However, there are many Ethiopians unable to leave because of the high costs, stricter immigration and border controls in destination countries as well as the rise of xenophobia.

This article focuses on the migration of young adults from southern Ethiopia to South Africa, in particular from the town of Hosanna (located 185 km south of Addis Ababa) and its rural hinterland (FIG 1).

South Africa: Hub for African Migrants

South Africa is another land of extremes. It is Africa's economic powerhouse, boasting the global financial city of Johannesburg. South Africa claims to be a 'Rainbow Nation', historically embracing a mosaic of people from Asia, Europe and Africa (The South African Story). It is the wealthiest country in Africa with a per capita income of US$11,310 in 2015, more than 40 times higher than Ethiopia's US$260 (African Wealth Report, 2015). On the other end of the spectrum, South Africa is the most unequal country in the world with a Gini-coefficient of 65 in the year 2011 – compared to Ethiopia's 32 – (World Bank, 2011). South Africa is rich but the legacy of apartheid created endemically high levels of unemployment and one of the highest levels of inequality in the world. These factors have combined with a culture of protest and violence that have fed an epidemic of violent crime in the country (Meredith, 2005). Bribery and corruption are endemic too, which intensifies criminality.

Gauteng, the richest, most powerful, but smallest province in South Africa is a magnet for both internal and external migrants. The majority of immigrants originate in neighbouring countries, but many migrants, including undocumented ones, also come from East African countries, mainly from Somalia, Ethiopia and Kenya. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimated that there were about 70,000 Ethiopian immigrants to South Africa in 2009.

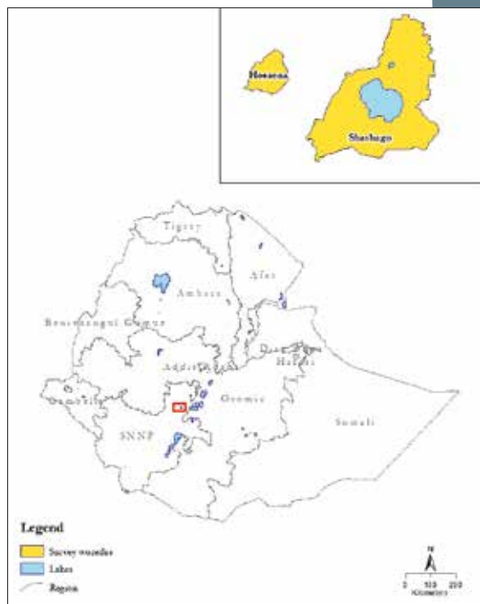

FIG 1 Map of Hosanna in Ethiopia where the majority of Ethiopian emigrants to South Africa emerge (map built using ArcGIS).

Political Changes in Ethiopia and South Africa: A Concurrence

Three years before the end of apartheid and the rise of democracy in South Africa, there was a regime change in Ethiopia. The year 1991 marked the end of the military Dergue regime that controlled and regulated mobility within and outside Ethiopia. Until 1991 Ethiopians only acquired a travel or exit visa after protracted of-

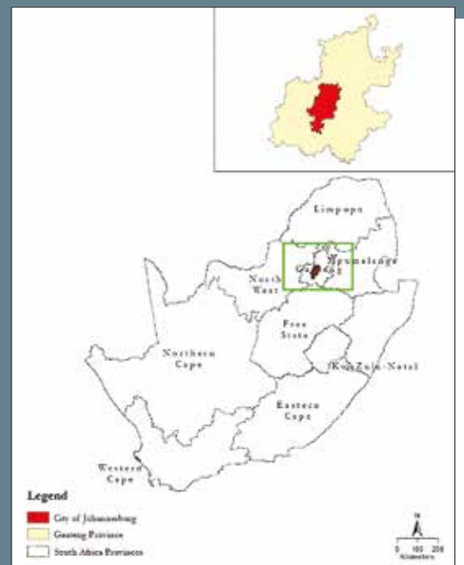

FIG 2 Map of the Gauteng province in South Africa where the majority of Ethiopian immigrants settle (map built using ArcGIS).

ficial investigations (Asnake and Zerihun, 2007 Ethiopian Calendar). Internally, too, they could only travel with a 'pass' to move from one district to another (Teller et al., 2012). With the fall of the Dergue regime, Ethiopian citizens were free to travel. Currently they do not require a visa for Kenya, which makes it an important transit country for Ethiopian migrants heading south.

With the end of apartheid in South Africa in 1994, the democratic government introduced asylum laws that allowed for temporary residence or asylum permits. The permits also provided the right to work and study. This liberal approach arose from the experience of the exiled South African liberation movements, including the African National Congress (Wehmhoerner, 2015), which acquired political asylum and support, including from Ethiopia. Indeed, Nelson Mandela had received military training from Ethiopia in the early 1960s. Immigrants from Ethiopia, among others, arrived in the 1990s, mainly to settle and work in Johannesburg (Sindu, 2009). This narrative tells of the origins of the migration of Ethiopians to South Africa. But how did this 'southern dream' translate into reality?

Utopian South Africa or 'The Southern Dream'

For many youth and young adults in southern Ethiopia, South Africa is considered heaven: an imaginary place where money is abundant and success is inevitable. Consequently, many young adults abandoned school and even teachers followed in the footsteps of their students. Others left their jobs, sold their cattle, and rented out their land. Some first sought wage work to finance their migration. Others realized their southern dream through seeking help from brokers, smugglers, and other actors involved in the migration and settlement processes.

Ethiopian immigrants to South Africa are predominantly young men who leave families and loved ones behind. They seldom visit the ones left behind in the early years of their migration because air tickets are very expensive. More important is that they lack the required documents and permits to leave and re-enter South Africa. The bureaucracy and regularization process for undocumented migrants is both time-consuming and often corrupt.

Despite the difficulties for immigrants in South Africa, remittances mean that their families improve their living standards. In rural areas, sending families manage to renovate old huts or even build new modern houses. They are able to send their children to school and improve nutrition and health. Remittances boost agricultural productivity because inputs such as fertilizers, high-yield variety seeds, and other modern farm technology can be purchased.

The positive changes for families of migrants have encouraged surrounding communities to send members of their families to South Africa too. The financial and material improvements lead to greater social status and influence that triggers further migration. Thus the families of those who have emigrated from southern Ethiopia earn honour and respect from the community, particularly from non-migrant families. Considerable social pressure, including abuse, is put on young non-migrant adults to join the outflow. Even repatriated deceased migrants are honoured more than the jobless youth (Asnake and Zerihun, 2007 EC).

Migration versus Education

The southern dream is manifested in less value being attached to education. Once considered as security for a rainy day and a mark of social status and privilege among the community, education is no longer the key to upward social mobility for a majority of the youth and young adults. Rather, South Africa (and not education) is seen as their destiny. In a random sample of interviews in southern Ethiopia, an adolescent boy acknowledged that his dream was 'to go to south.' Asked about his education, the boy sighed: "It is not the educated that are better off here, but migrants and their families. After all, even the educated ones are heading to South Africa."

This personal opinion mirrors the general perception of education. In one of the rural high schools visited during the research, the majority of the students – male and female alike – have their passports ready and are looking for loopholes of any kind to sneak through and reach South Africa. Education has become secondary. This prompted the high school management to establish an 'anti-emigration club' with the intention of creating awareness among the students about the disadvantages of migration. This proved a futile exercise, as even the teacher in charge of the programme was keen to head south.

Wedding Ceremonies as Part of 'The Southern Dream'

The financial success of some immigrants despite difficulties of visiting home, has given rise to another kind of migration: the migration of brides and wives who are smuggled in. They might be former girlfriends or girls whom the male immigrants heard of, knew from before, or saw their photos on social media. The mode of transport for the would-be-wives is comparatively safe as most of them fly to South Africa or neighbouring countries such as Mozambique and Swaziland. Travel is lubricated by omnipresent corruption from source, to transit and in South Africa.

Once in South Africa, the hosts prepare extravagantly luxurious 'welcome' and 'wedding' ceremonies that are partly enmeshed in social associations known as *mahiber*. These associations have played a significant role in perpetuating the migration of young adults from southern Ethiopia to South Africa. The wedding ceremonies are rooted in a practice of reciprocal social institutions with quid pro quo business arrangements where

every member is socially bound to attend and contribute. During these gatherings every member offers a gift to the bride and bridegroom in cash (and occasionally in kind). As one interviewee explained:

> I smuggled in a girl from *Hosanna* and we made promise in a church and stayed together for a while before we officially got married. Once we sorted things out, we prepared a wedding ceremony. The ceremony alone cost more than R200,000 including hiring cameraman, limousine, hall, food and clothing. … On the wedding day, however, I received gifts in cash. The individual gifts fall in the range of R300 to R10,000 … I keep record of that for I am expected to pay it back someday. The cash gifts I received more than covered the wedding expenses, leaving me with profit. Cash aside, my brother and my uncle, together with other close relatives, gave me a 2010 model car. We also received another car from the bride's relatives.

Seldom do bridegrooms not profit from the wedding arrangements. Excluding other non-pecuniary benefits, the profit alone is estimated to be between R50,000 to R200,000. Partly for this reason, male migrants from southern Ethiopia do not marry women from other immigrant groups or local women. Rather, once established, almost all of them bring their would-be wives from home.

Extravagant wedding ceremonies have become a tradition and are comparable to those of South African 'high level officials', as one immigrant recounted:

The wedding ceremonies usually start at Yeo Street and reach attractive public parks of Johannesburg. The ceremonies alone cost R100,000, R200,000 or more. They usually include hiring of 30-metre long limousine, which is accompanied by large numbers of other fancy cars of fellow immigrants. The crowd attending the ceremonies can go as high as 1,000 people … For regular South Africans – watching it happening almost every weekend – the whole ceremony is a jigsaw puzzle. They question whether the ceremony is held for a South African government minister or an immigrant who came to South Africa in search of better life opportunities. These wedding videos are sent back home and stimulate the ones left behind. Brokers and smugglers also use them to recruit migrants.

The wedding ceremony in and of itself stirs a huge desire among succeeding migrants, while painting a rosy picture about South Africa.

One particular wedding ceremony was exceptionally extravagant that even exceeded the conventional standards of rich South African wedding ceremonies. The ceremony included a helicopter, expensive wedding cars, and a boat, among other extravagances. Local brokers and smugglers use the wedding video to entice potential young migrants to dream but about South Africa.

The videos amplify the success of Ethiopian immigrants in South Africa, but simultaneously conceal a great deal of risks and daunting challenges migrants endure in the migration and settlement processes.

In addition to the dangers and risks they encounter in the migration processes, Ethiopian immigrants also become 'soft targets' for thieves, burglars, and robbers once they arrive in South Africa. They also became victims of corrupt police officers. In this regard Lauren Landau captures this experience: Although mandated to respect non-nationals' rights, police often refuse to recognize work permits or refugee identity cards. Some of this reluctance is rooted in illicit economies, where bribes are exchanged for freedom; a practice so common some police see foreigners as mobile ATMs (Landau, 2011).

Migration Risks

After the long stage of decision-making and preparation for migration, the actual journey to South Africa follows different routes with different modes of transport: air, water, and land. This variation includes a direct flight from Addis Ababa to Johannesburg or combining bus and foot to cross transit countries. In between are other combinations of flight: boat, car and foot; flight and car; and car, boat and foot. These routes fluctuate depending on the physical and legal barriers migrants encounter.

Financial capacity as well as the level and depth of connection smugglers might have with border police, immigration officers and public officials, means that one migrant can easily fly to Kenya, with no need for a visa, and then transit to Mozambique or Swaziland or other neighbouring countries before arriving in South Africa. Another might cross the Ethiopian-Kenyan border on foot, and continue the journey to South Africa bribing border police as well as immigration and public officials en route. Yet others fly directly to South Africa and then transit back to Mozambique to cross into South Africa by land. Some even take boats along the Indian Ocean rim to avoid being caught in difficult transit countries, such as Kenya and Tanzania. A few even fly to Dubai en route to South Africa.

FIG 3 depicts two forms of migration – South-South and South-North. As the map shows, there is no significant difference in the distance from Ethiopia to Italy or from Ethiopia to South Africa. Low status undocumented migrants avoid Europe because of its legal and physical barriers, although there are fewer transit countries between Ethiopia and Europe than between Ethiopia and South Africa. However, it is also the power of established social networks that explains the continued migration of young adults from Southern Ethiopia to South Africa. These obscure the real risks faced by migration and settlement. Moreover, potential migrants refuse to take the risks seriously. As one returnee to Ethiopia said:

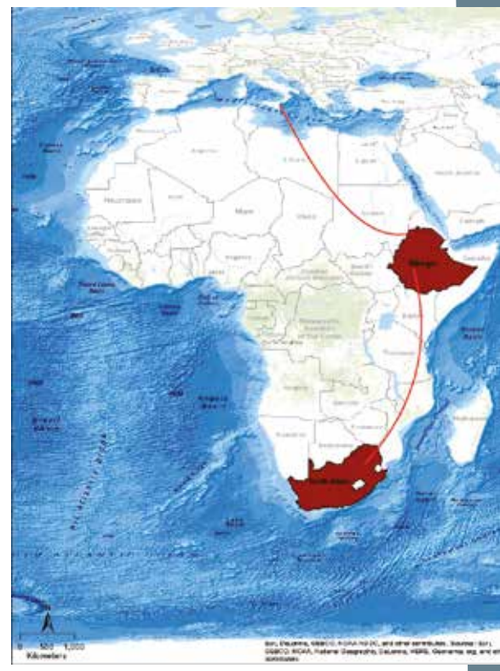

FIG 3 Cylindrical equal area map of Africa and Europe outlining some of the routes Ethiopian migrants follow during their migration processes (map built using ArcGIS).

> I was told about the risks that I encountered during my migration in transit countries as well as during my settlement in South Africa, but I was totally blinded by the benefits and by a completely different and positive image that I pictured about South Africa before my arrival. There is also a difference when you are told and when you actually face these dangers yourself.

Smuggling networks in particular, pose dangers. They are unreliable and can be cut off at any point, leaving migrants stranded and even on the verge of death. Undocumented migrants try to bribe immigration and police officers on the borders of transit and destination countries. Some succeed, others languish in harsh prisons and hostile refugee camps, and yet others perish in the middle of nowhere hidden from history and unnoticed by mainstream media.

Smugglers without connections to officialdom often conceal migrants in containers and unhealthy, congested 'concentration' camps in transit countries. In 2012, for example, Al Jazeera reported that at least 47 Ethiopians migrants died after a boat carrying scores of migrants capsized in Lake Malawi. Six days later the bodies of 43 Ethiopian and Somali nationals were found thrown off a truck and dumped in the bush in Tanzania after the driver of the truck realized that some of the people he was smuggling had perished, smothered inside a container (Aljazeera, 21 Jun 2012).

A returnee spoke of the ordeal that he went through:

> We were a group of about 120 Ethiopians travelling on the Indian Ocean for two weeks. The shaky boat we boarded on suddenly started to wobble and a furious shark emerged from under the water and nearly overturned it. As if he is throwing a stone, the captain throw away my friend to the shark, and the boat immediately calmed down. I was terrorized! I thought I would be next. Thanks to God, I was not. When we approached the coast, the captain said 'you Ethiopians are lucky; we usually sacrifice around ten people to endure the sharks.' ... Afterwards, 35 people boarded on a Land Cruiser, jammed like potato, and started to head to Mozambique. To avoid giving money for bandits hiding in a jungle, the Somali driver drove the car nonstop. The bandits fired and killed two people who sat next me. Later on, we buried them and continued our journey. As we were about to cross the Tanzanian border, however, iron nails erected across asphalt road by Tanzanian border police pierced through the four tires of the car. The Land Cruiser came to an emergency stop. The police put us in prison, for illegally entering Tanzania. ... After one year, they deported back some of us to Ethiopia. The rest are still languishing in prison, for they are sentenced for two years.

Destination: Labour Market/ Economic Opportunities

Little is studied about the risks immigrants face in destination countries, including Ethiopian immigrants in South Africa. Unfortunately, for the majority of the Ethiopian migrants it is only the end of the beginning of their suffering. The 2010 Soccer World Cup succeeded in suggesting that South Africa was an alluring destination, exaggerated by brokers and smugglers alike. But South Africa itself has had continuous problems of unemployment for unskilled youth and there is enormous competition for jobs. Since most of the young male immigrants from Ethiopia and elsewhere are unqualified, they are forced to enter the informal sector. Not only is there enormous competition from other immigrants, they also face considerable resentment from small-scale informal businesses and jobless black South Africans in townships and elsewhere.

Thus intense rivalry between immigrants, even from the same region and town, is pronounced and causes rifts and even violence. Mutual respect dissipates in this environment. As one interviewee put it:

> Despite his or her economic status, no immigrant is in a position to earn respect. No one would respect them even when they claim it because all they have is money, and all of us are poised well to make money if we work hard. It is a public secret that a driver in Ethiopia earns way too much respect than a rich businessman here; and a farmer with two oxen at home is more respected than the wealthiest Ethiopian immigrant in South Africa. It is the lack of this respect, combined with competition and ethnic and other rifts, which generate new conflicts or intensify existing ones that eventually mature into violence.

Instead of mutual respect, the accumulation of wealth and capital becomes the primary objective. Consequently, money becomes a good servant, but more importantly, it overwhelms all other positive, traditional, moral and social values that immigrants used to abide by, respect being the main one.

The lack of mutual respect and abnormal business competition fuels infighting and physical assaults among Ethiopian immigrants themselves. The attacks take many forms and for various reasons, including competition for a customer base, the intrusion of one group on the business territory of others, snatching or sharing clients (especially in the tuck-shop business) and refusal to repay debts, among others.

Conflict, Crime and Xenophobia

The low social status of Ethiopian immigrants exposes them to a range of risks, one consequence of which is the infringement of their individual rights. Since many immigrants from Ethiopia are unable to speak English or other native language, especially during the initial years of their arrival, they are unable to mediate their relations with officialdom easily. This means that they depend on money to 'talk' on their behalf. Indeed, the conventional and popular motto in the South African informal economy is 'money talks'. Hence, 'making-a-plan' becomes a means of survival. For instance, if an immigrant has a car but not a driving licence or adequate driving skills, he 'makes-a-plan' with traffic police and drives freely. This kind of reckless disregard for their own lives and those of others has led to accidents and to the deaths

of many. An interviewee in South Africa said:

> Some of them cannot even read the road signs. Nor do they have driving skill. What makes it worse is that they have to regularly drive back and forth between big cities like Johannesburg and townships. The traffic is heavy in the highways and the cars run at exceedingly high speed. Because of this, many immigrants from rural southern Ethiopia have died or became disabled. I have two friends from my village who died of car accident; it is not even two months since we sent the dead bodies back home. Many more have lost part of their bodies because of car accidents.

Another risk factor is conflict with black South Africans. Many respondents from southern Ethiopia joined the tuck-shop business after the 2010 World Cup. These tuck-shops are predominantly found in the townships, and historically were mainly run by immigrants from Bangladesh, Pakistan and Somalia along with a few black South African-owned businesses. The South African shop-owners openly accuse immigrants of price-cutting and unfair competition. This accusation holds water as many of the respondents acknowledge that the products they sell in their shops are cheaper than the prices in mom-and-pop shops. This magnifies long existing and expanding xenophobic attitudes simmering among many black South Africans. Even a leading politician in KwaZulu Natal has made xenophobic remarks (NPR, 26 April 2015). Lauren Landau has argued that the South African government scapegoats immigrants to mask its delicate internal problems (Landau, 2011).

South Africa faces significant internal socio-economic and political problems arising from both the legacy of spatial segregation and high rates of unemployment. Protests against lack of services and corruption are widespread too. These factors have combined to create conditions where immigrants are at particular risk from xenophobia and violence. Xenophobia is superimposed upon problems arising from increasing criminality and the apartheid past. It manifests itself in both violent and non-violent attacks and verbal abuse of immigrants. And as one migrant indicated, "Whenever something goes wrong in South Africa, all eyes are on immigrants". Landau expresses it well:

> The simultaneous demonization of mobility and the practical impossibility of controlling it have elevated migration and migrants to an official and popular obsession in which they become a convenient scapegoat for poor service delivery, crime and other social pathology (Landau, 2011).

Ironically, this xenophobia is revealed not just during protests where masses of angry and disadvantaged youth demand that local councils fulfil their social and infrastructural service obligations, but also during moments of jubilation. Many of the respondents indicated that they repeatedly encountered verbal abuse, insults and threats during and after the 2010 World Cup. Worse still, xenophobia is manifested in the nature of criminality. An interviewee, with deep resentment, lamented:

> The xenophobia here is so deep and palpable that you can even experience it during the acts of robbery. When robbers or thieves come to you, they don't say 'give me YOUR money or YOUR mobile or YOUR car'. They rather say 'give me MY money or MY mobile or MY car. It is painful to lose your property, but more painful is the way you lose it and the unreasonableness of it at all. ... As if this is not enough, some of the residents abuse you with piercing words, which destroys your inside. While working in townships, I myself have encountered these: some downgraded me below a South African dog; others make fun out of my work; and yet others splashed boiling water onto me.

The risk of death from accidents and violence are high. An official from the Ethiopian Embassy in Pretoria indicated that, excluding the unknown number of dead repatriated to Ethiopia illegally, every week at least two or three bodies are processed through the embassy, the majority of whom are young adults from southern Ethiopia. This concurs with the indirect estimation of the number of deaths, as many respondents indicated that there are gatherings in Yeoville, Johannesburg, at least two or three times each week, of migrants from southern Ethiopia to mourn the deaths of people from their place of origin. They have *Idir*, financial associations responsible for coordinating the mourning and repatriation of the bodies of the departed.

This article has shown that although migrants understand the risks of migration, the poverty at home and the enticement of the possibilities in South Africa act as a gravitational pull. The benefits of migration are exaggerated by visiting migrants and films, as well as brokers and smugglers. Though apprised of the risks, the youth from sending communities take the view of "We are going to die somewhere, anyway" or put it another way, "One has to die for others to prosper"

Research into a protest in Lenasia, some 40km south of Johannesburg, provides an illustration of the experience of three Ethiopian immigrant shopkeepers, Tamirat, Girum and Abera, who were caught in the middle, robbed and had their lives threatened.

On Tuesday, 23 September 2014, there was a protest of hundreds of black South Africans in Lenasia – a former 'Indian' area – against the failure of local authorities to provide social services. They blocked the streets with stones and set fire to tyres. They also carried batons, machetes and axes, and marched through the township. The authorities did not respond immediately to the protestors, so the crowd then turned against other targets – the tuck-shops of foreigners. In broad daylight immigrants were attacked and chased away, their shops looted.

On that morning the protesters invaded Tamirat's shop. He and his business partner Girum were chased away and everything there was to take was looted. He was just one of the many people who were victims of such acts. However, among the three tuck-shops robbed that day, Tamirat's was the biggest (FIG 4). One victim lamented, "some of these people use a lot of drugs and life is

FIG 4 Ethiopian immigrants' shop after the robbery and looting. Photo taken by Yordanos Seifu Estifanos, 23 September 2014.

cheap here. When they kill you, they do not understand that you are dying forever: it is as if you are resurrecting after a while!" Luckily, both Tamirat and Girum managed to escape with the help of a woman customer, with whom they had an established relationship and were able to hide for more than six hours. While they narrowly escaped physical attack, all of their belongings were looted.

The victims spoke of how robbers in many of the townships would enter the tuck-shops during the day with weapons of diverse kinds, and would demand cash, 'airtime' or cigarettes. But these days robbery has changed in form, frequency, and intensity. Instead, the whole shop is plundered, usually at midnight, in the darkest hours. However, on 23 September 2014, the robbery was in broad daylight. Deeply depressed and with no hope of reclaiming his belongings, Tamirat estimated his loss to be over R200,000. He said, "These days, if you go down in business, it is becoming difficult to bounce back."

The fate of Abera was no different. Abera had worked with Dessalegn in the same area for more than three years and had been a victim of similar incidents many times before. He mentioned that there was no conflict between them and the locals. However, drug addicts would rob and assault them at random. He explained that a week before the protest, they received notice from the local council officials not to open their shops during the protest, underlining the fact that, "the local administrators are aware of the dangers coming."

Abera had opened cases with the police before. But while he was waiting for his cases to be solved, one theft followed after another. Although he reported them to the police who told him that they would investigate, he was not sanguine. "If history is any guide", he said, "there is little chance of justice being done." Standing in his empty, upturned shop, Abera complained of the reluctance of the police to help them even during the attack. He lamented, "The police in the area are equipped with all the material and logistics necessary to control the robbers or regulate the strike before it went out of control."

Instead, they chose inaction. This reluctance to act prompted Abera to go beyond questioning the everyday corruption in the South African Police Service and to ask, "whether the police are working with the thieves?" From the start of the protest, and once they were hiding, the shopkeepers had repeatedly sent distress calls to the police, but to no avail. Instead, they contacted relatives in Johannesburg to come and rescue them. The police only arrived after the dust had settled and the robbers escaped.

Even worse was Girum's case. In the past, Girum had been a victim of such incidents or deliberate attacks in other townships. He had worked in Alexandra, Tembisa and other townships for three years and had been a victim of robbery more than ten times. After a long legal wrangle with the justice system, he managed to get some of the thieves convicted and imprisoned. But things backfired on him. The thieves' relatives sought vengeance. As a result Girum had to suspend his business and begin again elsewhere. Tired of losing his possessions to daylight robbers and nocturnal burglars, he re-established himself in Lenasia, but the same thing happened time and time again. Finally, he sold his last tuck-shop and bought a second-hand car to transport stock for his colleagues. Now, Girum survives on doing errands and seeking assistance from his friends. He described his frustration:

> I am fatigued. After spending a significant part of my life as a migrant, I am left with nothing but hopelessness and misery. I worked hard, made a fortune, but all is taken. I can't return home, although I wanted to. I can't go to other peaceful countries either because I don't have the necessary documents to enter there. I am stuck in life. I even wanted to die, but it is not easy.

Girum and his friends, like many other Ethiopian immigrants, make a lot of money in South Africa. However, they also carry huge stress with them. Girum concludes, "I came here thinking that there is democracy, but the democracy here is counterfeit."

As shown in the Lenasia incident, the risks these migrants face are not just physical attacks and robbery, but also the everyday stress of trying to run business operations in townships and establish routines of daily life. Psychological stress is a major factor that Ethiopian migrants encounter in South Africa.

Conclusion

The financial and material improvements of Ethiopian migrants in South Africa – evidenced and documented through remittances, wedding videos and photographs – is in sharp contrast to the low living standard of the population in rural southern Ethiopia. The effect is to paint a rosy picture about South Africa. The dream about the south blinds potential migrants to the multitude of risks and daunting challenges they encounter on the journey and in the settlement processes, even when these were told to them. Consequently, many perish in transit countries before reaching South Africa. Even for many of those who made it to South Africa, it is only the end of the beginning of their sufferings, as the stories told here show.

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List of Interviewees

(Interviewer: Yordanos Seifu Estifanos. At the request of the interviewees, the names used in the article are pseudonyms)

1. Dimetros Gebeyehu (male). 15 April 2015, Hosanna, Ethiopia.
2. Bedlu Abera (male). 19 April 2015, Bonosha, Hosanna, Ethiopia.
3. Petros Hailemariam (male). 5 September 2014, Johannesburg, South Africa.
4. Admassu Belachew (male). 11 September 2014, Johannesburg, South Africa.
5. Binyam Alemayehu (male). 4 April 2015, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
6. Hailu Getahun (male). 21 April 2015, Hosanna, Ethiopia.
7. Esubalew Zerihun (male). 8 September 2014, Johannesburg, South Africa.
8. Yohannes Takele (male). 26 August 2014, Johannesburg, South Africa.
9. Tamirat Kebede (male). 23 September 2014, Lenasia, South Africa.
10. Girum Tadesse (male). 23 September 2014, Lenasia, South Africa.
11. Abera Aschenaki (male). 23 September 2014, Lenasia, South Africa.

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Imagine|Nation: Mediating 'Xenophobia' through Visual and Performance Art

| GERALD RALPH TAWANDA MACHONA

The author explains the context, meaning, framework, background, and theoretical underpinnings of his multimedia work Vabvakure: People from far away. *The work challenges xenophobic attitudes in general and more specifically Afrophobic attitudes that fanned the flames of violence against foreigners in South Africa in recent years. Introducing visual and performance art as a site of public intervention and tool of mediation, he argues that performance art can offer insights and possibly yield solutions that can be used to address xenophobic and Afrophobic sentiments.* Vabvakure *consists of film and video, performance and sculpture and was first presented in 2013 in the Guy Butler Theatre in South Africa.* Vabvakure *draws on* Nyau *or* Gule Wamkulu, *masking societies and performances, a powerful cultural practice of the Chewa people from Malawi. Historically and in the present, both became signifiers of Chewa/ness and a platform for mediating tensions including those resulting from foreignness.* Nyau *was used to construct and imagine forms of identity that subverted stereotypical and derogatory labels projected onto Chewa as foreigners. In the 20th century it became a migratory cultural practice, known in Zimbabwe and South Africa. The author links negotiations of 'strangeness' in the historical Chewa diaspora in colonial Zimbabwe and Zambia to issues of 'foreignness' in the contemporary diaspora in South Africa.* Vabvakure *combines elements of transformed traditional culture with the aesthetics of Afrofuturism as represented in the image of the Afronaut.*

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The inclusion of performance art as a genre within the visual and fine arts space has often been questioned, and over the last few decades performance has had to fight for its place as a medium of representation, among traditional and established genres (Searle, 2012). Hill and Paris (2001, p.136) explain that performance art can be any circumstance that involves the following basic elements: "time, space, the performer's body, or presence in a medium, and a relationship between performer and audience". Not only does this definition imply the unbound potential of performance as a form of artistic expression, but it alludes to the way that performance art has contributed to blurring the line between art and life. Performance art has been the contemporary site where art imitates life, which in turn imitates art (Tureche, 2010, p.106). Rose Lee Goldberg (1993, p.8) further illustrates the parameters of performance by arguing that:

> Performance manifestos, from the futurists to present, have been the expression of dissidents who have attempted to find other means to evaluate art experience in everyday life. Performance has been a way of appealing directly to a larger public, as well as shocking audiences into reassessing their own notions of art [as well as life] and its relation to culture. The work may be presented as a solo or with a group, with lighting, music or visuals made by the performance artist him or herself, or in collaboration, and performed in places ranging from an art gallery or museum, to an 'alternative space', a theatre, cafe, bar or street corner. Unlike theatre the performer is an artist, seldom a character like an actor and the content rarely follows a traditional plot or narrative. The performance might be a series of intimate gestures or large-scale visual theatre, lasting from a few minutes to many hours; it might be performed only once or repeated several times, with or without a prepared script, spontaneously improvised, or rehearsed over many months.

Ultimately through performance art, the performer is able to astound audiences, encouraging them to think in new and unconventional ways, and break down traditional and conventional ideas about art and life. Aull (2010, p.5) argues that the Dadaists were trying to bring art into the daily life, turning life into art. This approach continues in performance art, which dissolves the separation between life, art, artist and audience.

In this vein performance art also intervenes in the unquestioned, unconscious societal practices of performance as described by Kapchan:

> Performances are aesthetic practices – patterns of behavior, ways of speaking, manners of bodily comportment – whose repetitions situate actors in time and space, structuring individual and group identities. Insofar as performances are based upon repetitions, whether lines learned, gestures imitated, or discourses reiterated, they are the generic means of tradition making. Indeed, performance genres play an essential (and often essentializing) role in the mediation and creation of social communities, whether organized around bonds of nationalism, ethnicity, class status, or gender. (Kapchan, 1995, p.479)

The performance art parameters I have used in the production of the *Ndiri* performance series can best be understood and found in the Chewa cultural spectacle of *Nyau*, more specifically their tradition of *Gule Wamkulu*.

Nyau, Gule Wamkulu and the Colonial Gaze

Nyau is a Chewa word meaning mask, also used to describe the masked association of the Chewa ethnic group found in Southern and Central Africa with a tradition that originates in Malawi (Chikuta, Guhrs and Mtonga, 2007, p.179). Although this society and its masked dance are usually called *Nyau* in scholarly literature, the term *Gule Wamkulu* (the great dance) is used by the members themselves. Both terms are used here — *Nyau* as a general term for the masking society and *Gule Wamkulu* to refer to the performance of the masked characters (Korpela, 2011, p.121).

Nyau or *Gule Wamkulu* is also called *pemphero lalikulu* (the great prayer), and according to Birch de Aguilar (1996, 9) "*Nyau* societies are often likened by their members to Christian churches or Islamic congregations..." This is perhaps the reason why when the early colonial settlers and missionaries arrived, they were quick to view *Nyau* with suspicion, subsequently banning its practice (Guhrs, 1999, p.ii). Guhrs further substantiates this point:

> Nyau [masked] performances have been affected by Colonial processes in varied ways. They were banned by the former government of Northern Rhodesia and severely censored by Catholic Mission teachings in the former Nyasaland. Other forms of vilification have been more subtle. Information about performance in Africa has often been collected and arranged in ways which limit the understanding of these genres. Images of Africa which cluster around the notion of the 'Primitive Other' have enabled a representation of Nyau masking as a superstitious and outdated practice with no relevance for contemporary Africa.

Chikuta and Mtonga (2007, p.179) report that recognition came only in 2006:

> *Gule Wamkulu* was accorded official recognition by UNESCO as a masterpiece of oral and intangible heritage of humanity – something to be preserved, documented and nurtured. 50 years ago, this cultural treasure was demonised by the British administration and the mission churches as an abomination. The tradition thrived, despite being pushed underground, and became a powerful weapon for criticism and expression. The *Gule Wamkulu* is a fascinating example of the power of art in sustaining communities.

Nonetheless, there are still ongoing attempts to vilify and represent *Nyau* masking as a 'Primitive Other' or an outdated practice with no relevance to African contemporary life (Guhrs, 1999, p.ii). This spurred scholars such as Smith (2001), Mtonga (1980), Birch de Aguilar (1996), Yoshida (1993), Chikuta, Guhrs and Mtonga (2007) to conduct studies that re-contextualized the social relevance of the practices to the African continent today, beyond the gaze of the colonial establishment.

Smith (2001, p.188) argues that the representation of *Nyau* foremost as a secret society[1] is misleading: "*Nyau* is more properly described as a closed association" (Smith, 2001, 188), and the development and use of secrecy and masking has a unique significance to Chewa society. Chikuta, Guhrs and Mtonga (2007, p.179) explain that, because Chewa kinship society is largely matrilineal, *Nyau* and its performance art of *Gule Wamkulu* possibly developed as a response to female dominance within their society. They explain that:

> When a man married he moved to the village of his wife, where she had her domestic allies, while he was a stranger in a new village. The Nyangu, or Queen mother was highly powerful, producer of the heirs to leadership. The secret knowledge that women guarded and maintained related to all the mysteries and powers of child-bearing, and these were considered magical, as were the powers of Chauta princesses who called rain and ensured successful crops. Men therefore developed some secret practices in order to gain some mystery and power of their own and to express the frustration of the married man's politically weak position. (Chikuta, Guhrs and Mtonga, 2007, p.179).

Thus masking and secrecy serve as a performance strategy through which anonymity is attained. This anonymity provides the *Nyau* performer with a powerful tool through which social commentary and criticism can be expressed without censorship or fear of reprisal. In the context of *Nyau* in Chewa societies in Malawi, the social commentary was concerned with gender identity politics and challenging matriarchal dominance. *Nyau* served

1 Compared to occidental secret societies and brotherhoods that have been accused of conspiracies of world domination and the new world order.

as a way of mediating this dominance and uplifting Chewa manhood from a politically weak position to a state of equilibrium with the female gender. Daimon (2007, pp.2-4) further argues that the *Nyau* performance of *Gule Wamkulu* is not just a closed association but a rite of passage used to initiate young men into an "exalted status of adulthood as well as entertaining the audience". Furthermore it was mandatory for nearly every Chewa boy between the ages of 12 and 15 to be initiated into a masked association, and males were not considered to be adults until they joined (Yoshida, 1993, p.35). Although historically the Chewa social system was based on matrilineal kinship, the effects of western influences and urbanisation have resulted in the adoption of some patriarchal practices that have affected the role that *Nyau* plays in gender construction within the Chewa community (Yoshida, 1993, p.35). Yet, to quote Korpela, the role and function of *Nyau* has always been diverse, the "masquerade is more than just a tribal dance or a community performance. It is a unique phenomenon that combines politics, education and entertainment into a ritual that is core to the traditional culture of Malawi" (Korpela, 2011, p.39). Thus the practice has always been able to adapt to the changes and new concerns in society. With colonialism came a new hierarchy of power for *Nyau* to focus on. As Mtonga put it, (quoted in Ruth Simbao's catalogue in 2012, and referring to my own work): "*Nyau* masquerades often commented on strangers – both visitors who came in the form of traders, or invaders who came in the form of colonists" (Simbao 2012, p.22). Simbao's characterisation shows how *Nyau* became a way of mediating three different layers in "negotiating the distance between the insiders and outsiders, between the familiar people and strangers" within Chewa society:

> In this first layer of negotiating distance, *nyau* masks and costumes explore differences and at times subvert belief systems, such as Christianity, that were not only imposed onto Chewa people but also drove *Gule Wamkulu* masquerades underground during colonialism. The Maria or Malia, figure is a well-known female masked figure that is gentle in her demeanour but subtly references the *nyau* tradition's battle with Christianity. The *mulungu*, or *muzungu* Caucasian settler was portrayed with bright pink, sunburnt skin, the Chinese trader was portrayed with narrow eyes, and the Arab trader was portrayed with a long narrow face and sometimes wore stilts to reflect the tall impression created by the long flowing robes worn by Muslims (Simbao, 2012, p.22).

In the colonial era the *Gule Wamkulu* became both an expression of "foreignness" and provided a platform for mediating the tensions between people from far away and the native people of Malawian society. When the Chewa migrated to other parts of Southern Africa *Nyau* also worked to negotiate their 'foreignness' in relation to other natives in Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Referring to the second layer of "negotiating distance" Simbao suggests that

> when some Chewa people migrated to Zimbabwe and worked as 'aliens' on mines and farms in the country that was predominantly Ndebele and Shona. As such the Gule Wamkulu performances became a signifier of 'Chewa-ness' for people residing in Zimbabwe who at the times faced xenophobic name-calling such as *mabwidi* or *mabvakure*. (Simbao, 2012, p.22).

The Migratory Cultural Practice of *Nyau*

Historically, the tradition of *Gule Wamkulu* spread to Zimbabwe between the 15th and 17th century with the Maravi invasions. The tradition became the signifier of Chewa identity rather than that of either language or ethnicity (Daimon 2007, p.4). The Chewa labour migrations of the late 19th and 20th centuries in Southern Africa renewed its reach. According to Daimon (2007, pp.2-4), the *Nyau* masked spectacle and its confrontational 'strangeness' was used by the Chewa to construct and imagine forms of identity that subverted stereotypical and derogatory labels projected onto them as foreigners in Zimbabwean society. Daimon argues that the *Nyau* performance of *Gule Wamkulu* dances aimed to transform its members into "an exalted status of adulthood" (Daimon, 2007 p.2). It became a powerful mode of expression in which the Chewa could challenge xenophobia and negative stereotypes associated with their identity as foreigners to Zimbabwe. Daimon explains:

> [T]he dances and rites that are conducted among Chewa amongst others are done to signify a change of status in society as well as to preserve their identity. In this light, identity refers to the self-image which members of any social group construct on the basis of identification and stereotyping both among the members and the outsiders. It is a sense of selfhood and is not necessarily ethnic but can be based on gender, religion, profession, class, age, locality or political persuasion. Hence the identities can be real, constructed or imagined. The dances have thus, acted as a tag in differentiating the Chewa against other ethnic identities, in particular the dominant autochthonous Shona and Ndebele groups. Therefore, the dances have evolved through generations and have gone a long way in defining their identity and in carving a niche for this ethnic entity in Zimbabwe. (Daimon, 2007, p.2)

This ability of the performer to reconstruct self-images through *Nyau* became the inspiration behind my *Ndiri* (I am) series. My practice of *Ndiri* transplants the Chewa performance strategies and appropriates them into my concern with the self-image of the African migrant in South Africa. This performance work attempts to engage a local South African audience on issues relating to Afrophobia, connecting negotiations of 'strangeness' in the historical Chewa diaspora in Zimbabwe and Zambia, to issues of 'foreignness' in the contemporary diaspora in South Africa.

I have used several performance approaches appropriated from the *Nyau* closed association in my work. First, the process of masking and secrecy retains the anonymity

of the figure behind the mask. Anonymity provides the performer with a powerful tool through which social commentary and criticism can be expressed without censorship or fear of reprisal. Masking also creates a risky, unpredictable and at times confrontational tension between the performer and the viewer, which I attempt to underscore through satirical humour. Confrontational 'strangeness' is essential for the *Nyau* as it enables contravention and disruption in the order of things (Simbao, 2012, p.47), and just like most forms of performance art, *Nyau* aims to shock audiences into reassessing their notions of art, life and culture (Goldberg, 1993, p.8). Simbao (2012, p.22) argues that "the masquerade dancers are famous for kicking up dust both literally and figuratively". Masking, secrecy and anonymity have served the performance of *Gule Wamkulu* well in becoming one of the most influential mediation tools for identity negotiation and social construction among the Chewa people of Southern Africa. Other strategies used in the masked association that I have also incorporated in my work, are the use of metaphor, gesture, sophisticated reverse role-playing, proverbs, mimicking and most importantly, satire.

The Exhibition and the Chewa Creation Myth: 'Vabvakure' People From Far Away

Vabvakure: People From Far Away[2] is an exhibition that utilises sculpture, performance and film. Through these visual artistic mediums the show invites the viewer on a journey to follow an 'alien' who falls from the sky and has found itself stranded in a foreign landscape. The narrative of this short film borrows its ideas from the Chewa creation myth. Birch de Aguilar (1996, p.10) best explains this myth:

> [O]ne day Chiuta-God sent a man and a woman down from the sky with a hoe, a grain mortar, and a winnowing basket. With them came pairs of animals as well as Chiuta ("Great Bow") himself, who was accompanied by the first rains. They all alighted on a flat-topped hill by the name of Kaphirintiwa. Because of the rain, the earth, which until then had lain barren, sprang to life, and man began to cultivate his gardens. During this initial period Chiuta, men and animals lived together in peace. That situation, however, was changed when man invented fire by rubbing two sticks, one soft, the other hard. This set the grass ablaze and made the animals flee, full of rage against man. Chiuta, being too old to run, was rescued by spider, who spun a thread along which Chiuta climbed back to the sky, whence he had come. Thus driven away by the wickedness of man, God proclaimed that man would die and join him in the sky, where he would have to make rain clouds in order to quench the fires he had invented.

The significance of this story to my work is partly its moral implications: how "man's" misuse of fire resulted in the destruction of all that was good. My interpretation of this tale perceives the fire as a metaphor for knowledge. In the Greek myth of Prometheus, fire is represented as both a gift and curse and draws attention to the metaphor of fire as knowledge or the point at which human civilization began (Matthewman, 2011, p.11). Fire as a metaphor thus represents a moral dilemma, for knowledge provides the ability to create both good and bad things. Civilization in this case, refers to the imagined communities which we have constructed, which are capable of being utopian or spaces of dystopia. This exhibition is also a critique of the nation as an imagined community, as the character journeys through geographic space he comes into contact with various national symbols such as a flower or a flag. What becomes increasingly clear to this alien is the propensity that all these ideological constructs have towards fracture or failure if they are not nurtured.

Although the two characters found in the short film are derived from the man and woman found in the Chewa myth, they are presented as androgynous beings – my emphasis is not on their gender, but on their unexpected relation, of having similar alien traits. A relationship that acknowledges that they are able to find solace in the fact that they are both strangers to one another. The first character is titled *Ndiri Afronaut (I am an Afronaut)* (2012-2013) and the second *Uri Afronaut (You are an Afronaut)* (2012-2013). They are mirror images of you and me. The first character represents the African foreign national in South Africa, the second the South African citizen. Both are 'alien' to each 'other' but it is within that 'foreignness' that they find communion.

Kristeva best conveys these sentiments:

2 *Vabvakure* is a word used by the Shona people of Zimbabwe.

> Strangely, the foreigner lives within us: he is the hidden face of our identity, the space that wrecks our abode, the time in which understanding and affinity founder. By recognizing him within ourselves, we are spared detesting him in himself. A symptom that precisely turns 'we' into a problem, perhaps makes it impossible. The foreigner comes in when the consciousness of my difference arises, and he disappears when we all acknowledge ourselves as foreigners, unamenable to bonds and communities. (Kristeva, 1991, p.1).

Nevertheless, Kristeva imagines a new, an emerging community:

> a paradoxical community ... made up of foreigners who are reconciled with themselves to the extent that they recognize themselves as foreigners. The multinational society would thus be the consequence of an extreme individualism, but conscious of its discontents and limits, knowing only indomitable people ready-to-help-themselves in their weakness, a weakness whose other name is our radical strangeness. (Kristeva, 1991 p.195)

In this light I have utilized the space suit as a universal metaphor. It visually illustrates the very moment, at which the foreigner disappears, and the resultant new bond and community that is created; a bond that transcends traditional relations of culture, race, gender, kinship, nationhood or religion.

With this realization it became important that for the work to truly realize Kristeva's ideas, the conclusion of this film had to embody this act of the protagonist spectacularly disappearing. The exhibition was thus staged in a theatre, an arena where I could combine cinema, performance and sculptural installations as display. The Guy Butler Theatre in Grahamstown, South Africa was converted into a cinema by installing a large projector screen between the seating of the audience and the stage. The stage became the exhibition space where all the sculptural objects in the film were put on display, concealed behind the veil of the projector screen. The audience was invited under the pretext of coming to see a short film. During the screening the narrative builds up to a climatic conclusion: on screen the two alien characters meet for the first time. As they locate themselves in relation to each other, the film abruptly stops and the auditorium fades to pitch black. After a short wait, the sound of the projector screen slowly rises and what was concealed behind the curtain is gradually revealed (*People from Far Away,* 2013). First, *Ndiri* Afronaut is spot-lit, alone, then together with other objects on stage, a flag, a protea, a great big door and the other alien, *Uri* Afronaut. As the theatrical lighting of the objects occurs, the protagonist *Ndiri* Afronaut becomes animated. Then suddenly, the light fades again and loud raffling sounds come from the stage, followed by thumping footsteps that race across the stage towards a staircase leading to the seating area. When the lights are turned on again *Ndiri* Afronaut has vanished – all that remains of him is his outer shell, the space suit that lies discarded on the stage floor.

The space suit, within popular culture, is reminiscent of the Cold War era when the world's superpowers were jostling for the bragging right of having sent the first man into space, as the final frontier and onto the foreign terrain of the moon. When the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) finally succeeded, Neil Armstrong's famous firsts words from the moon would forever reverberate through space and time as a living testament to having broken through a celestial threshold and barrier: "That's one small step for man, one giant leap for mankind" (Donkin, 2010, p.113). On a functional level, the space suit is designed as an extra-vehicular suit, a cocoon with life support and other essential protective gear that enables traversing foreign terrain in an atmosphere hostile to human physiology. For one to venture to the moon, this adaptive technology is required in order to survive. In comparison, the act of crossing a geographic threshold or boundary such as a national border often presents a similar risk in the form of intolerance towards one's 'foreignness'. In relation to the discourse around Afrophobia, this metaphor of a space suit becomes a powerful vehicle to perform the ways in which the African foreign national to South Africa experiences alienation and foreignness. In order to survive any hostility, they often find ways of adapting to the environment. I remember going through such a process of adaptation. After the xenophobic events of 2008 I changed my dress code and selectively wore clothes that had a local distinctiveness. I picked up words and phrases from various local languages, and if asked by a 'stranger' where I was from I would reply with a local geographic place such as Cape Town or Limpopo. In respect of the exhibition, what becomes evident as the audience is ushered onto the stage to explore the sculptures, is that the space suit as a structure is now presented as a discarded cocoon, and whatever this creature that embodied it was, it has now disappeared and lives among 'us'. At this point, the alien has become an element of 'us' and no longer exists on the fringe of our society.

Another noteworthy metaphor that I utilised in this exhibition is drawn from science fiction; a large door-like structure entitled *The Monolith* (2012-2013). This artwork borrows its name from a famous object found in a book by Arthur Clarke entitled *Space Odyssey,* which was also turned into a film. In this film this monolith – a large rectangular black structure – strangely appears whenever there is a human evolutionary leap. *Space Odyssey* leads the viewer to the conclusion that this extraterrestrial structure is somehow responsible for nudging along human evolution. Titling this door-like structure is an attempt to illustrate a shift in consciousness. As *Ndiri* Afronaut travels from a desolate landscape to a crowded metropolis he is transported through this door, which in effect compresses geographic space and time. It represents a shift in how we relate to place and space, as the bridge that connects these points removes borders and boundaries and reduces the journey into a mere opening and closing of a door. *The Monolith* presents a world that is neither structured around thresholds and boundaries nor spaces that

are any longer geographically segmented. Instead, we have a space where migrants or travellers are not restricted and are granted legitimate access to any space.

The Image of the Afronaut

The image of the African space person has appeared a few times in contemporary art history but perhaps the most relevant to my exhibition is in the works of Yonka Shonibare and Christina De Middel. Shonibare is a British-born Nigerian artist who is renowned for his use of factory – printed cloth made in Europe for the African market. Mullen Kreamer (2012, p.310) argues that this material that is now often associated with being an African textile has a more complicated history:

> African cloth serves as an apt metaphor for the entangled relationship between Africa and Europe and how the two continents have invented each other. The artist's remarkable body of work has critiqued the wealth, and privilege, and frivolity of European aristocracy, the social and political ambitions of the Victorian era elite, and eighteenth century Enlightenment philosophy that, for some, ushered in the modern era through its promotion of reason and science.

While a number of Shonibare's works have been partially inspired by the Victorian era and the Enlightenment and its ramifications, some of his other work such as *Cloud 9* (1999-2000) appear to be influenced by Afrofuturism. Juang and Morrissette explain that "Afrofuturism is an emergent literary and cultural aesthetic that has strong association with African American literature; it combines elements of science fiction, historical fiction, fantasy, Afrocentricity, and magic realism", and explores the effect of technologies on black culture (Juang and Morrissette, 2008, pp.72-73). For Mullen Kreamer (2012, p.310), *Cloud 9*

> juxtaposes ideas about history, technology, and the American dream, taking as its point of departure the iconic image of an astronaut planting a flag on the moon, the "postcolonial twist" being that the figure is wearing an African fabric space suit, and the flag is not a national flag but a flag of suburbia, a textile printed with the motif of cars and box houses.

I am acutely aware of the similarities in objects and curatorial strategies found in Yinka Shonibare's work and my own practice. This is not an attempt to copy or emulate his work but rather, it is an attempt to pick up where he left off, to add to the discourse of cultural identity, colonialism and post-colonialism, within the contemporary context of globalisation.

Another artist who has worked with this kind of fictional futuristic concern is Cristina De Middel. Upon completing her MA degree in Fine Arts at the Universitat Politécnica de Valencia in Spain, De Middel chose to pursue a career in photojournalism. De Middel admits that she "didn't find it a good platform for the way I thought. So to amuse myself I began exploring a way of telling stories in which I deliberately played with fiction" (Davies, 2013). This cross-pollination between photojournalism and fine art photography resulted in De Middel's first project, a fictional portrayal of the people who send spam emails about unclaimed millions, *POLY-SPAM* which was exhibited at the Photo España festival in Madrid in 2009 and garnered quite a bit of attention. However current notoriety emerges from the work titled *The Afronauts* (2010) which she produced while researching psychological experiments. Davies (2013) explains how De Middel "found a list tucked away in a file of the 10 craziest experiments in history. Top of the list was the Zambian space mission." De Middel (2011) explains how this story made it to the top of that list:

> In 1964, still living the dream of their recently gained independence, Zambia started a space program that would put the first [A]frican on the moon catching up the USA and the Soviet Union in the space race. Only a few optimists supported the project by Edward Makuka, the schoolteacher in charge of presenting the ambitious program and getting its necessary funding. But the financial aid never came, as the United Nations declined their support, and one of the astronauts, a 16 year-old girl, got pregnant and had to quit. That is how the heroic initiative turned into an exotic episode of the African history, surrounded by wars, violence, droughts and hunger.

The works of both Shonibare and De Middel resonate with my exhibition in terms of their approach towards Afrofuturism and fictional accounts that challenge reality, truth and historic misconception.

Conclusion

There is a need to re-evaluate definitions that frame xenophobic intolerance only as an attitude and that do not comment on its link to abuse and violent retribution towards foreigners especially in relation to South Africa. While not all foreigners are targets of this intolerance in South Africa, black working class African immigrants, through a process of racial, ethnic and class profiling, are the most vulnerable to the awful violence unleashed by xenophobia. This profiling also victimised local citizens and promoted a problematic form of nationalism that assumed an authentic South African identity rooted in autochthony, further complicating who is considered an 'insider' and an 'outsider' in South African society. Pitting 'native' against 'alien' and perpetuating an exclusive sense of belonging that is reminiscent of the racial doctrine of Apartheid, this phenomenon has testified to the identity crisis within post-Apartheid South African society. It raises questions about whether the multicultural ethos of the Rainbow Nation has succeeded in unifying the diverse people of this nation. If we are to imagine multicultural forms of nationhood that truly unify the nation, they must not be at the expense of socio-economic concerns that the nation has inherited from Apartheid's legacy. For if we do not address this legacy fully then we are bound to re-enact the mistakes and injustices of the past, and the Rainbow Nation ethos becomes just another superficial imagined community that exists in our minds and does not become a lived experience.

In relation to this discourse, the visual and performance art community has played an important mediating role in further understanding, scrutinizing and in offering possible solutions to the trauma and social fragmentation that South African identity is currently facing. The discourse that has emerged from these spaces now offers various pathways towards imagining identity and collective communities in an era of neoliberal capitalism. Some of those pathways are found within performance art and have informed how I approach my art production. *Nyau*, which I have used as a performance strategy, has allowed me to deal with experiences of alienation and foreignness and the trauma I experienced as a result of Afrophobia in South Africa. In concluding the exhibition *Vabvakure: People from far away*, I have used visual and performance art to address the unspoken, through these artistic interventions I have offered new insights and perspectives on the discourse of Afrophobia.

ITA KUTI KUNAYE II (MAKE IT RAIN II), 2010
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND
GOODMAN GALLERY, CAPE TOWN

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The Black Man in the White Suit

| A LETTER FROM CAPE TOWN BY KILUANJI KIA HENDA

In 2008, the South African artist Ed Young invited me to take part in a three-month artist residence programme in Cape Town funded by two Swiss cultural institutions. Ed and I were good friends and at that time we had a collective called *International Association For a Happy Artist*. I had been to South Africa twice, first in Johannesburg, where I had lived for two years, in 1996-1998, during my adolescence, and right after the end of apartheid. Until then, I had never known what it was to live in a country with so much racial tension. My parents are of mixed race in a country which, even if it had not been a colony, would have created the status of *assimilado*1, a kind of makeup applied to the colonial oppression to try and reach a peaceful rapport between the two races. All of this contrasted heavily with what I saw in South Africa, where a line seemed to establish unbridgeable separations between cultures, without so much as a possible half-way solution visible on the horizon. It was a big shock to me. I identified with neither the whites nor the blacks, which led to me never understanding the society more deeply. I lived in a kind of denial of the society that I was presented with.

Later, in 2006, I returned south, this time to Cape Town, to print some works. Cape Town is one of the most beautiful cities I have ever visited, with a vibrant art and music scene, beaches and mountains; for a time, I thought it would be the perfect place to live. But during the three months I lived there, the tourist charm began to wear off, and that was when I noticed some nuances in relation to the conflict that had left such a mark on me in Johannesburg. While in Johannesburg the violence is more explicit, in Cape Town a kind of cynical peace holds sway, a façade of racial democracy in the area of town closest to the sea. Behind the mountains lie the neighbourhoods which are the opposite of the picture postcard of the idyllic city; it was useful that I had heard my friend Christian Nerf's theory that the concept of paradise is only possible if the opposite also exists.

But outside this disturbing issue, what made Cape Town so special for me was the fact that many of the friends I grew up with in the neighbourhood where I was born in Luanda live there. They had emigrated in 1998, ten years earlier, and now had children and South African wives. It was a moment of great happiness to rediscover this childhood friendship. I had to admit that South Africa, even with its racial segregation problems, had been a refuge for thousands of Angolans trying to flee the war and poverty in their home country, chiefly in the 90s. This fact brought about a kind of reconciliation with the country. It was striking how much the country had changed in ten years, even in the townships where I had the opportunity to get to know the Gugulective collective, which, for me, was the symbolic synonym of this slow change.

And there I was, for the third time, in the south of the continent, in a huge two-storey house that had been allocated to me for three months. One night, looking at the shelves of a bookcase full of films on VHS, I came across *Do the Right Thing* by Spike Lee. I put the film on and watched, utterly absorbed.

I was amazed at the ability of the film to condense, in a single day and in a single street, a tension (racial, social, economic...) that envelops the whole of the United States, a country which still today has one of the most sophisticated forms of apartheid. Even the pores of the characters and the streets, the music, the close-ups and the hellish heat of New York in the summer created the simmering atmosphere of a pressure cooker about to blow its lid. But the catastrophe could only occur if something ignited it. On the walls of a pizzeria in Brooklyn, a meeting point of the black characters and the centre of the film's narrative structure, there was a collection of photographs of boxers all of whom were Italian-American. It wasn't even anything very important, they were just photos, but the fact that there was not a single black man was enough to act as the trigger for all that pent up violence. It created a chain reaction which went from an argument to a brawl, from a brawl to the death of one of the black men and from death to the uncontrollable revenge that led to the total destruction of the pizzeria. I couldn't stop the tears at the end of the film. Living in that city, and remembering the years in Johannesburg, was a whole mixture of revolt and nostalgia, but I could never have imagined that it would also be a forewarning of what was about to happen to me.

1 "Assimilado" (lit. 'assimilated') is the term that refers to a social rank which arose in the colonial era formed by natives who relinquished their cultural traditions to adopt those of the West, such as eating with cutlery, going to church, not speaking Kimbundu...

During that period in which the ideas for the project began to take form, there was an outbreak in the country of the most violent xenophobia, starting in Johannesburg and spreading out all the way to Cape Town. My Angolan friends, who lived in the suburbs of the city, were appalled at the extent of the violence being meted out to immigrants of African origin. There was a strong wave of indignation among many African immigrants, chiefly those from countries where many black South Africans had sought refuge during the apartheid era, Angola being one of the main destinations.

I had already bought the materials to make another work on cultural hybridism, and suchlike... but given the context, I changed direction radically. The result was *Expired Trading Product*. On the covers of newspapers had appeared a photograph of a Nigerian being burned alive in the street, while around him the people looked on with indifference. This image of incineration therefore stuck. A product whose use-by date has expired is buried or incinerated. The African immigrants at that time in South Africa were being treated like industrial products which, after their usefulness had expired, had to be destroyed.

I started then to create this work on xenophobia. For the photographic session, I invited one of my Angolan friends who had married a South African. I asked him to wear the same white suit he had worn at his wedding. I also invited two doormen from a nightclub, Joseph and CJ, who were also Angolan immigrants. I took other photos and made some photo-montages on hessian sacks bought in Luanda.

On those days, I frequented the Kimberley Hotel bar, where artists went for drinks in the evening, and which was also frequented by some veterans of the South African invasion of Angola. The bar is in a 19th century building, the former home of Barney Barnato, a British fortune-hunter who became rich from diamond mining. Barnato dug a hole that became legendary as *The Big Hole*, a useless venture that became a tourist attraction in the city of Kimberley. On the walls of the bar were a series of photos of Barnato's various journeys around South Africa. It didn't take me long to notice that, among the dozens of photos of his exploits in South Africa's mines, there wasn't a single one in which a black man appeared.

The opening day of the exhibition arrived. I hadn't slept well for five days because of the stress. I invited the whole Angolan community and asked my friend to come in the same white suit he had worn for the photograph. Everyone was surprised by the presence of the model at the preview and it turned into the performance element of the work.

At the end of the exhibition, I was so tired all I wanted to do was go home, but all of my Angolan friends kept saying, "Just one drink, just one, just one." I remember like it was yesterday that when the car accelerated, a voice behind me said: "There goes Kilu with his crazy friends!"

There are nights when you sense that something is going to happen, like the hot and closed atmosphere prior to a storm. There's an electricity in the air, the humidity levels rise bit by bit, but when it starts it doesn't pause, it isn't gradual, it is sudden and violent. Like that day. Everything was already in place, there had been various signs of what was to come. But you can only understand them when it is already too late. Perhaps it is the tiredness.

We went to Barney Barnato's bar, Kimberly Bar, for a party. The time passed rapidly. Suddenly, on the way to the toilet, I noticed an argument between one of my Angolan friends and the barman. All because of a Red Bull, one was shouting that the other had to pay and the other was shouting that he wouldn't, which didn't make any sense because the exhibition was paying the bill.

When I returned from the toilet, the two of them were already fighting in the street. I knew the barman, so I was caught between both sides. I separated them, but it only lasted for twenty seconds. Another friend came over, the model in the white suit, and punched the South African in the face. He fell down, got up, went into the bar and came out with a baseball bat and started swinging it left, right and centre. My Angolan friends joined in the fight. It was impressive: no one got hurt by any of the attacks until the bat broke. Then he returned to the bar and came out with a broom handle. At the moment he was just about to hit the man in the white suit, the latter ducked and the handle hit me straight in the face. I fell over backwards, with an arm across my chest and passed out. The man in the white suit, when he saw me on the ground, thinking I was dead, picked up a piece of the broken baseball bat and broke every window in the bar, one by one. They were precious, dating back to the time of Barney Barnato.

Bleeding, they put me in a car and took me to hospital. While they were sewing up my broken lips, the police entered the operating room and said, "When the operation is over, this man is under arrest. They tried to rob a bar." "What!?" I exclaimed and the doctor said "Shut up, if you don't want to have a disfigured lip!" After the operation, and paying the hospital bill, I was no longer a police suspect. However, all of my friends had been arrested and released the same night, except for the man in the white suit, who remained in jail over night and had to appear in court.

Finally, I was taken home. All that was left was to lie down in the coldness of the white sheets, wait for coloured dreams and wake up black as always.

The next day, Ed Young came to visit me and to find out what had really happened. He said it was best not to set foot in the bar again because they were furious about it. For two weeks, I rested at home. After I had recovered, I returned to the Kimberley Hotel. It was like the return in a Western; like when the character who is treated badly by the town's people returns for vengeance. I opened the doors of the bar with my lips swollen and the room fell quiet. I ordered a Cuba Libre and

the first person I saw was the barman, Themby, who had hit me, and who was afraid I was there for some kind of revenge, as if I had enough strength left for anything.

I went over to him, held his hands and asked: "Isn't there a police station next door?" "Yes," he said. "Then why get your hands bloody?" He apologised without looking for any more excuses to justify his actions. But there was still the problem of the man in the white suit, who ought to pay for the windows. I gave the bar his photograph to smooth the problem. They framed the picture and hung it up. Now, among Barney Barnato's portraits, you can see the figure of a black man in a white suit with the words "Some say we are in Africa... Celebrate!" written above it.

This text will be published in the book *Travelling to the sun through the night* by Kiluanji Kia Henda. Göttingen: Steidl, 2016. Reprinted here with permission of the artist.

KILUANJI KIA HENDA, SOME SAY WE ARE IN AFRICA... CELEBRATE, 2008
PHOTOGRAPH, 150 X 100 CM
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND GALLERIA FONTI, NAPLES

Baskets, Balloons, Boats and Borderlines. An Artistic Migrational Turn

| RAPHAEL CHIKUKWA
INGMAR LÄHNEMANN
KATRIN PETERS-KLAPHAKE

The exhibition Kabbo ka Muwala *– The Girl's Basket looks at migratory issues from the perspective of contemporary artists in the region. Past migratory movements have affected the three countries that are host to the exhibition venues – Zimbabwe, Uganda, and Germany – and continue to do so in various ways in the present. Historically, the National Gallery of Zimbabwe in Harare and the Makerere Art Gallery in Kampala were established under colonial rule, while the Städtische Galerie Bremen is the municipal gallery of a German Hanseatic town that played a significant role in Germany's colonial history. Bremen's port Bremerhaven was also the most important point of departure for millions of German emigrants in the 19th and 20th century. The exhibition is structured along the thematic domains of Migration Continuum, Diasporic Experiences and Border(land)s, cross-cutting topics that have numerous obvious references among them. The project is conceived as an itinerant exhibition with some adaptations to each local context. Migratory movements and experiences result in new, transcultural or hybrid forms of subject formation and construction of cultural identities. Due to the multi-directional processes of migration, this affects migrating individuals as much as it does the receiving communities and societies. The works on display show that issues of migration are manifested not simply as topics of artistic practice but also in terms of migratory aesthetics.*

> When dealing with questions of migrancy, we automatically enter undefined or suspended spaces in between cultures. And one of the strategies we saw as important was to claim this space in-between, this interstice, as a cultural location in its own right that needs to be visualized, named and legitimized (Ursula Biemann, Presentation at 'meeting places', Sofia, 2001).1

What are we referring to when speaking about "migration and mobility in contemporary art in southern and eastern Africa"? What is the context for these big-sounding terms whose notions are so multifarious? To start at the end: southern and eastern Africa first of all indicate a regional focus, a geographical reference to the first two exhibition spaces in Harare, Zimbabwe and Kampala, Uganda and to the participating artists who have various relationships to those regions. Yet, this mention of the geographical regions denotes a variety of discursive spaces, of history and politics, of social and cultural realities – in other words, a symbolic dimension that is laden with frictions, power relations, cultural transgressions and negotiations of being and belonging. While obviously each country in those regions today has very particular and divergent histories and socio-cultural conditions, there are also entanglements and links that shine through the artworks in the exhibition and the biographies of the individual artists.

The artworks on display reflect contemporary explorations of issues that are situated in the context of movements of human migration, primarily with regard to different forms of migration within and to the African continent. By and large, migration is a global phenomenon that significantly marks the industrialized and globalized world in several ways and different forms – economically, politically, socially and culturally. Nowadays, almost everyone shares experiences of being a stranger at some time or in some place, and of interacting with foreigners, especially in the city, as migration is an essential aspect of all urbanization. In 2005, the Paris-based artist collective Claire Fontaine created a pivotal piece, a neon sign spelling out the words "foreigners everywhere" in different languages.2 The work has since been exhibited around the world in different contexts and numerous languages – except in English. As Dogramaci (2013) points out, this work dissolves the notion of self and other, of familiarity and otherness, that are commonly the crucial dichotomies along which the self is perceived and defined, and addresses foreignness as a condition of being.

Further, an exploration of the question if and how an increasingly prevailing nomadic condition

1 The 8th of March Group. [online] Available at http://mart8.ica-sofia.org/conf6.html [Accessed 27 November 2015]. Ursula Biemann is a filmmaker, curator, and cultural theorist based in Switzerland who interrogates and maps the physical, metaphorical, and gendered geographies of borderlands produced by the intersection of new technologies and globalized capitalist economies. For a review of some of her videos including "Performing the Border" (1999) see Rosi (2005).

2 In the project statement they explain: "Les étrangers sont partout, il est vrai, mais nous-mêmes nous sommes des étrangers dans les rues et les couloirs du métro sillonnés par les hommes en uniforme." (Foreigners are everywhere, it's true, but we ourselves are foreigners in the streets and subway corridors, patrolled by men in uniforms.) Claire Fontaine (2005)

manifests itself not only as a theme of art but also as visual vocabulary, as 'migratory aesthetics' stands to reason. Durrant and Lord (2007, p.11, 12) argue that the topic of "'Migratory aesthetics' suggests the various processes of becoming that are triggered by the movement of people and peoples: experiences of transition as well as the transition of experience itself into new modalities, new art work, new ways of being." This line of thought opens a space that surpasses the limiting notions of art as representation and of essentialistic perspectives. It further provides a new entry point for audiences, who are key in creating meaning in art and exhibitions.

The term 'mobility' also refers to movement in social contexts linked to the process of subject formation. Rodríguez states that:

> ...the symbolic dimension of mobility is inscribed in the very process and cultural context in which (geo-epistemologically) new subjectivities are being negotiated; *other* subjectivities which were not inscribed either in the body or in the memory of individuals prior to displacement; *other* subjectivities which could not have been imagined as future identities or as identitary perspectives before being embodied through movement. (Rodríguez, 2011, p.344)

While this thought refers primarily to the perspective of the mobile individuals, the process in fact also concerns the social fabric and shifting discourses of the places and communities that meet the incoming people. The effects of migrancy always have, at the very least, to be thought as two-directional and fluid. In other words, migration not only transforms the migrants but also has a significant impact on the host societies. The Ugandan proverb *Kabbo ka Muwala*, of the title, loosely translated as *The Girl's Basket*, points to this directional duality. The expression refers to the practice of a wife taking a basketful of goods and gifts from her new family when visiting her parents, and she does the same when returning to her husband with presents from her family of origin. Hence the basket represents not only material goods but also stands metaphorically for the characteristics of a personal biography, hopes and expectations, which inevitably develop and change along the journey. Additionally, the image points to the importance of a gender perspective when looking at migration.

The concept of cultural hybridity in postcolonial theory, coined by Stuart Hall in the early 1990s, and the philosophical theory of transculturality are essentially based on the idea that migration processes generate concurrent activities of subjects resulting in new cultural expressions and identities. In this way, the concept of identity is considered to be an incessant open-ended procedure of multiple and at times even conflicting, identification processes gaining coherence mainly through personal narratives of the self. The constructive potential of this idea is that, on an individual and a social level, different cultures are no longer thought of in terms of fixed entities existing in parallel, but rather as fluid, manifesting themselves in continuous, ever-changing articulations. Welsch (1999, p.203) summarizes the idea: "The transcultural webs are, in short, woven with different threads, and in a different manner."[3] Those threads and the specific mode of the weaving of the web in question, like concrete socio-political and historical realities, can and have to be analysed and taken into consideration. Recently, transculturality has become a widely discussed subject in (global) art history and theory.

All three exhibition venues have been affected by historic migration movements. The National Gallery of Zimbabwe and Makerere Art Gallery are, in different ways, a result of colonial intervention, while the Städtische Galerie Bremen is the municipal gallery of a German Hanseatic town with a long history of overseas trade and colonial endeavours. Furthermore, Bremen's seaport Bremerhaven was the exit port for more than 7 million German emigrants in the 19th and 20th century.[4] The British artist, teacher and missionary, Margaret Trowell, initiated the School of Fine Arts at Makerere University, today called the Margaret Trowell School of Industrial and Fine Arts, in the late 1930s under British colonial rule. The affiliated gallery was established in 1969 on the initiative of Jonathan Kingdon, the British head of the art school at the time, and built with funds from the Gulbenkian Foundation.[5] The National Gallery of Zimbabwe (then Southern Rhodesia) was founded in 1957 as a result of a £3,000 bequest left in Trust for the project in 1943 by Sir James McDonald.[6] The board of the then Southern Rhodesia Gallery advertised the post of oversees director for the Gallery and Frank McEwen, the successful

3 Welsch (1999, p.203) elaborates further: "Therefore, on the level of transculturality, a high degree of cultural manifoldness results again – it is certainly no smaller than that which was found between traditional single cultures. It's just that now the differences no longer come about through a juxtaposition of clearly delineated cultures (like in a mosaic), but result between transcultural networks, which have some things in common while differing in others, showing overlaps and distinctions at the same time. The mechanics of differentiation has become more complex – but it has also become genuinely cultural for the very first time, no longer complying with geographical or national stipulations, but following pure cultural interchange processes."

4 The Bremen Staatsarchiv (Bremen National Archives) provides a variety of sources on the history of emigration from Bremen, and the Auswandererhaus Bremerhaven (The German Emigration Centre of Bremerhaven) houses a library of German emigration and immigration and a family research section. See the German/English flyer "Auswanderungsquellen im Staatsarchiv Bremen – Sources on emigration to be found in the Staatsarchiv Bremen" published by the Bremen Staatsarchiv.

5 For an overview of the history of the art school and the development of art in Uganda see Kyeyune (2003), and for the history and current situation of the Makerere Art Gallery see Peters-Klaphake (2012). For a critical review of Trowell's art education see Wolukau-Wanambwa (2014).

6 For a detailed overview of the history of the gallery see the history section on the website http://www.nationalgallery.co.zw/index.php/about/history [Accessed 27 November 2015].

applicant, arrived to begin his tenure as its first director.

Both Trowell and McEwen vigorously engaged in collecting arts and crafts, and in promoting art education. The legacy of both still marks the way visual arts are understood in Uganda and Zimbabwe, be it in an affirmative or critical way. Indeed the influence of British migrants on art on the continent was far-reaching and specifically in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) where four men, Tom Blomefield, Canon Edward Paterson, Father Hans Groeber and Frank McEwen from Europe and South Africa redefined art in the country. They constituted a powerful aesthetic critique through their processes of selection (Chikukwa, 2015).7

As one of the oldest art schools on the continent, the art school at Makerere University in Kampala was of great regional significance both prior to and around Ugandan independence in 1962. The school comprised an international intake of students from eastern, central and southern Africa, while the faculty were mainly lecturers of British descent. Both, colonial migration into Uganda as well as the influx of students from surrounding countries or further away, significantly shaped the development of the visual arts in Uganda before and during the independence decade. These students also influenced art in their respective home countries to which they mostly returned after graduation. In the early postcolonial years, Uganda went through a history of forced displacement when Idi Amin expelled the Indian population in the 1970s and many critics of the regime fled into exile, some to neighbouring countries like Kenya and Tanzania. Later in the 1990s and 2000s, a civil war in the northern region of the country led to massive internal displacements. Yet today, Uganda is an important haven for refugees from surrounding war-torn countries including the DRC, South Sudan, Somalia, Eritrea and Burundi. Uganda did not experience the effects and pain of large-scale white settlement or land alienation as did Zimbabwe or apartheid South Africa, with its troubled aftermath. As Gutberlet and Snyman (2012) put it:

> The idea of migration in South Africa is of particular significance. It would be close to impossible to find a single individual whose history and self-definition is not related to some form of migration – from roving peoples, settlers and trekkers, to the more recent realities of the Group Areas Act and forced removals. (Gutberlet and Snyman, 2012, p.1)

Even though this refers specifically to South Africa there are similar histories in the neighbouring countries, including the hopes and struggles of the post-apartheid era.

The mutual influences of these entangled histories during colonial and postcolonial times, frame the setting in which the artists and curators of this exhibition are working, be it explicit or implied. The exhibition is loosely structured along the thematic domains of the Migration Continuum, Diasporic Experiences and Border(land)s, reoccurring and cross-cutting topics with numerous overlaps and references between them. From the outset this project was conceived as an exhibition that would take place in three different locations with some adaptations to the respective local contexts, thus itself being an itinerant, migrating, show.

Migration as a Source of Art

The 20 artistic positions in *Kabbo ka Muwala – The Girl's Basket* focus on migration in different ways and under various influences. They choose a narrative setting, an ironic approach, conceive projects of direct social impact or refer to migration issues on an abstract level. Common to their approach is a double interest in the subject. On the one hand, these artists reflect migration as an important and constitutive social dimension in the eastern and southern African societies from which most of them come as well as in the European or North American societies in which some of them live and work. On the other hand, all of the artists participating in the exhibition rely on first-hand biographical experiences of migration. This embraces multiple problems faced in the diaspora – of living abroad as well as returning 'home', – which are widely treated in the art works. Thus, experiences of migration become a driving force in the artistic practice.

It is a common observation that travels, transnational exhibiting and international artists residencies all over the world play an increasingly important role in a globalized (art) world. In the history of art, intercultural exchange has been much sought after and taken on by artists. It has shaped the content and forms of art – from travelling medieval workshops to avant-garde artists at the dawn of the twentieth century, who have been amazed by African masks. But the

7 This influence is also evident in South Africa through the Rorkes Drift Art Centre and the Polly Street Art Centre in Johannesburg, both of which engaged in mentoring black artists within the confines of the apartheid system.

artists in this exhibition have a more direct relationship with migration. The biographical setting that forms the artist's way of dealing with migration depends much on the social conditions of their home countries. For eastern and southern African artists it is still crucial to seek part of their academic art education in the African capitals as much as in Europe or North America. This means either continental migration or migration overseas. On the continent, South Africa, with its comparatively high level of art education infrastructure, is the most popular destination.

However, those artists who have studied or live in Europe – Anawana Haloba and Victor Mutulekesha in Norway, Nástio Mosquito and Kiluanji Kia Henda in Portugal, Mwangi Hutter in Germany – go back and forth and keep a close relationship with their home countries. They live in two or more places, adapting to their travelling lives in a conscious manner. It can be said that these artists are in constant migration (or to describe this at a positive emotional level, they are at home in many places). It is not simply an exogenous need for migration for economic, political or social reasons, but a strategy. These artists relate to migration as a basic artistic concept in a double sense. It is both a condition and an inspiration for their work. Only then, significantly shaped by their own experience, does it become a subject these artists reflect upon in their artworks.

The artistic positions manifest in *Kabbo ka Muwala* help to analyse migration and mobility and their contemporary impact on art in a theoretical way and on a common basis that may be used for general analysis. However, in contrast to theoretical examinations of migration and mobility in a political, economic, statistical or social perspective, the artistic approach to the topic of migration offers the audiences in Harare, Kampala and Bremen subjective propositions. This includes strong images and visual anchors for any individual dealing with migration as a central contemporary topic.

The Migration Continuum

Migration has been a basic human strategy for survival and subsistence throughout history, however diverse and substantial it seems to be in contemporary globalization. Migration is the rule, not the exception, and the continuous development of culture is the best example of this fact. Art has throughout history always been a field of cultural migration and changing identities even in the most recurring forms. A consciousness of migration as a continuum is a central theme among the artists here and represents the contemporary art view on migration.

Kudzanai Chiurai addresses the continuum of historical and contemporary migration in his sculptural work *Leviathan* (2016). Its title and concept is based on the epoch-making philosophical text "Leviathan or The Matter, Forme and Power of a Common Wealth Ecclesiasticall and Civill" by Thomas Hobbes, published in 1651, linking the artwork to colonialism and Christianity. This then refers to the migration of ideas and their transformation into a physical manifestation, which is perfectly represented in merchant ships. The artist had three wooden boats carved by local wood sculptors in rural Zimbabwe. These long boats, each measuring approximately three metres, provide an image of a means of transportation for migrants when crossing the sea – be it the Mediterranean, the Pacific or the Atlantic. But the three boats contain sample goods that have their own migrant history, and symbolize the multiple economic aspects of migration. They refer to products that change their value and identity by adaptation in their new homes. Kudzanai Chiurai uses examples of merchandise that 'migrated' into Africa, not out of it, as part of a colonial process. Emancipation, redefinition and empowerment of the people is reflected in their use of these goods. This includes the appropriation and transformation of accompanying beliefs and norms of, for instance, Christianity. The artist shows in form and content that migration is in constant flow. It is a continuum, in the sense that these processes are ongoing, and changes occur all the time. In his lecture "Of Other Spaces" (1967) Foucault refers to colonies, brothels and boats to exemplify his concept of the heterotopia as a space of otherness, a space where time and space and social orders are disrupted, forming an existing space of an imaginary order in opposition to utopia as an imaginary space.

> Brothels and colonies are two extreme types of heterotopia, and if we think, after all, that the boat is a floating piece of space, a place without a place, that exists by itself, that is closed in on itself and at the same time is given over to the infinity of the sea and that, from port to port, from tack to tack, from brothel to brothel, it goes as far as the colonies in search of the most precious treasures they conceal in their gardens, you will understand why the boat has not only been for our civilization, from the sixteenth century until the present, the great instrument of economic development (I have not been speaking of that today), but has been simultaneously the greatest reserve of the imagination. The ship is the heterotopia par excellence. In civilizations without boats, dreams dry up, espionage takes the place of adventure, and the police take the place of pirates. (Foucault, 1967, p.49)

Mwangi Hutter, who in their own artistic approach and biographies span two continents and two countries between Kenya and Germany, give another visually striking image. In their recent video *Nothing Solid* (2015) a woman is shown hanging upside-down against a white background with a raspberry-like bunch of floating black balloons tied to each of her dreadlocks. In the turned picture the floating balloons hang down in space. One by one the woman cuts off her dreadlocks with a pair of scissors. The balloons fly off, fly down, and some stick to the bottom line of the video picture, some vanish below with only the threads still visible, and others remain stuck beside her. By the simple act of turning the picture upside down the braids seem to be roots by which the woman is bound to a place, although this is an anonymous, almost neutral space. When these roots are cut off, the balloons, normally associated with lightness, dreams, happiness, a symbol of wishes and ideas, sink down instead

of flying into the sky to other places. The more balloons disappear out of the picture frame, the more the woman seems to be isolated in her position at the upper end of the picture, and the more she seems to be hanging downwards. There are possible positive and negative aspects for an interpretation and for a reading of this video; the woman could be seen as lost, but changing one's hair, cutting off long groomed braids is doubtless also a very powerful act pointing at a strong will for change. The undefined location and the image of cutting off roots – and thereby the wishes that often seem to be more of a burden – are striking metaphors to characterize migration on a general allegorical level.

In her new video installation *The Flower* (2014), Rehema Chachage gives a specific yet general and poetic image for the impact of historic migration processes mainly through sailors and traders from the Middle East on the Swahili coast. Influences that find continuity in living customs and cultural traditions have become integral parts of Swahili culture. The video is projected onto a white transparent fabric, like a veil, which serves as a light moveable canvas. It can easily be removed and conveys notions of invisibility, transparency, and temporality. Hence, characteristics that symbolize migrant experiences, needs, or even virtues. While the very nature of fabric[8] neglects and rejects any of the commonly eternal aspects of a monument, we suggest that Rehema Chachage proposes a migration monument. By means of an individual story that stands as an example of many women's biographies and via a vital form of cultural migration – the henna tattoos – she shows how the replication of migration processes shape cultural identities over generations. Migration as an ongoing process, migration as hardly palpable, but still a central biographical mark.

The female figure in Rehema Chachage's video cannot be identified, while she is part of the projection screen, her own shape is impalpable. She remains ghost-like. Immy Mali concentrates on this appearance in her new work *Virtually Mine* (2016), in which she refers to her communication with her boyfriend who migrated to Abu Dhabi a year ago. They converse via telecommunication and social networks. This shows how linked many migrants remain to their origins. In the analysis of transnationality this fact has been widely examined, emphasizing that migration is rarely a one-directional process (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007). The artist, to her own surprise and alienation, found that within a short time the known person became more and more ghost-like as she can only confirm his presence by virtual snapshots of his life. The work touches a core aspect of communication and identity construction in a digital age in which individuals tend to dissolve into virtuality. In this way, the confirmation of a lived reality, of localization in time and space, via written statements and the sharing of everyday actions and thoughts creates an imaginary intimacy and bond. Essentially the ghost appearance of persons (which certainly is implied in all indirect communication but which would hardly be perceived as such in Wanja Kimani's postcards on utopia, for instance) is true for many contemporary tendencies under increasingly mobile working and living conditions. Yet, especially in the context of migration new media and digital social networks seem to reduce distances in the world and between far-away countries. In migrants' attempts to be in at least two places at the same time the new forms of communication have a striking and frightening power of dissolving into the migration process itself, of being lost on the way instead of coming from somewhere and fully arriving in another place.

Wanja Kimani is working on two longer-term projects entitled *Objects of Memory* and *Utopia*. Her approach is a constant exploration and reflection "upon the fragility of memory, the imagination and absence".[9] Her artistic practice is rooted in her own experience of moving between places and countries. Notions of home and belonging, remembering and holding on to a place that used to be a home while at the same time making an effort to become familiar with a new environment and creating a new home, have significantly influenced her work.

> *Objects of Memory* and *Utopia* are about memory, the imagination, on how you can imagine a memory that isn't real. My memory of growing up in Kenya is based on personal snapshots, stories from older family members and what the media choose to show. When I visit, the place has evolved and my memories need to keep up. I'm interested in how objects can contribute to memory, our relationship to that object and how it changes over time. (Wanja Kimani cited in *Utopia in Ethiopia*, 2013)

8 Fabric is a common 'migration material'. It is used by many artists dealing with issues of migration, in this exhibition it is seen also in the work of Wanja Kimani. Dan Halter is another artist who works widely with fabrics typical of migrants. In 2012 he produced a body of work called *Rifugiato Mappa del Mondo*, of very individual handcrafted world maps stitched together by refugees from their own worn-out textiles. Also in 2012, Nobukho Nqaba for her project *Umashkhenkethe likaya lam* (The China Bag is my Home), used typical china bags in which migrants transport their belongings – a good image for the contemporary girl´s basket to which we refer in the title of the exhibition. Hers is a photo series in which the china bag fabric serves as material for clothes, wallpaper, bed linen and furniture. The typical ornament and the plastic fabric become a migration uniform, which in fact it is, in the perception of migrants in contemporary Africa.

9 See her artist statement on her website. Available at http://www.wanjakimani.com/about.html [Accessed 27 November 2015].

Her work pointedly illustrates spatial simultaneity in the feeling of belonging and transcultural identification in migrant identities by working with memories in a constructive way rather than from a perspective of mere loss. She actively tackles adaptation to a new place and society in considering it as an enriching and resourceful process. Her video *Utopia* (2012) deals with the hopes and desires of migrants from the perspective of someone who has reached the desired destination. She consciously explores the potential of materials and objects as carriers of meaning. In her own interpretation of the *Borrowed Intimacies* (2013) series she explains: "The appropriation of material signifies the battle won when one realises that immigration is a creative process that has the power to add different voices to one's personal vocabulary."10 Wanja Kimani's approach further suggests that once someone has left a home for the first time, the act of moving loses some of its dread and can become a condition of living, of being in the world and a source of one's new subjectivity.

The crucial meaning of being able to tie personal memories to something tangible is very significant in migratory biographies. For many migrants, especially refugees who were forcibly displaced, there are no or very few objects and at times not even architectural structures they could go back to as physical remnants of historic events and lived experiences. Emma Wolukau-Wanambwa has followed a barely known story of a very specific historic forced migration. In her long-term project *Paradise*, first exhibited at the Kampala Contemporary Art Festival KLA ART in 2012, she excavated the story of a community of Polish World War II refugees who were brought to Uganda and housed in two internment camps. The work emerged from her ongoing project *Of Houses and Death*, a long-term artistic investigation into the changing relationship between the land, architecture and the body in contemporary Uganda. Her core interest in this is the politics of remembering and representation in the country she has familial ties with. *Paradise* focuses on the former Polish refugee camp in Kojja, located east of Kampala on the shores of Lake Victoria. From 1941 to 1952 about seven thousand Polish and Ukrainian refugees were living in camps in the Uganda Protectorate, cut off from the local population by strict order of the British colonial administrators. After its closure in 1952, the camp was entirely dismantled. Today, the only reminder of the settlement is a reconstructed cemetery. In new photographs from the former camp area and in the video *Promised Lands* (2015) Emma Wolukau-Wanambwa approaches this forgotten story of forced migration via oral histories and the landscape that shows no visible traces or signs of that history. At a recent commemoration meeting where former Polish refugees now living in different parts of the world gathered in Uganda, she interviewed many of them. Their biographies are marked by the memories of that time that greatly influenced who they are today. The artistic project is ongoing and its realization changes in different contexts.

Another work that deals with a historic migration and ongoing migration process is Anawana Haloba's two-channel video *A Dragon King In Sleepy Pride Rock* (2016). The video is an artistic investigation of Chinese migration into Africa. In most African countries the presence and impact of Chinese migrant workers and business people has gained a growing influence in recent years. Haloba takes the example of her home country, Zambia, where China engaged in the construction of the railway system between 1970 and 1975 in an act of international socialist solidarity. On the other hand, this was the first massive Chinese economic intervention on the continent. Since then the migration of people from China into Africa has increased considerably due to China's continued and growing economic investment on the continent. Anawana Haloba's video about this migration is not – like Emma Wolukau-Wanambwa's reconstruction of the Polish presence in Uganda – a strange, half forgotten migration story, but an important aspect of migration to Africa with a major impact on its economies. Haloba questions the construction of group identity among migrants of the same national origin – which in the context of such a big and diverse country as China is an absurd assumption, therefore questioning another migration misconception.

Emma Wolukau-Wanambwa and Anawana Haloba focus on groups of migrants, marked by their difference in geographical origin, cultural background and language in African contexts. They therefore pick up on the migrants' key experience of being different and how that determines their identity and behaviour as much as the people who live in the place they migrate to. The image of being a stranger and of being alienated is a truism but it is still often seen as the

10 Wanja Kimani on "Objects of Memory" on her website. Available at http://www.wanjakimani.com/objects-of-memory.html [Accessed 27 November 2015].

hallmark of migrant identity. Some of the artists in the exhibition deal with this basic character of migration on a more symbolic level.

Symbols play a central role in many of the artworks displayed. Like Kudzanai Chiurai's *Leviathan*, Xenson's new work, *Musisi* (earthquake) that he developed for this exhibition speaks most clearly to those who understand the subtext of its symbols. The piece, strongly rooted in many references from the Baganda culture of Central Uganda, uses materials such as bark cloth, coffee beans, *'empiki'* seeds and baskets, that here symbolize vessels carrying migrants. It is inspired by an inconspicuous element that forces people to move or to migrate. As Xenson says, life is always insecure and unpredictable, no matter how hard we try to plan it and secure our future. Sometimes unforeseen circumstances might throw us towards places where we can't live in peace. His work reflects upon the recent trend in urbanization and people being moved from place to place and often not being able to live like they used to. Musisi is also the name of the current chief executive of Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA), an institution that engages in clearing many informal areas and small businesses in the city, which has displaced many people. The often quite reckless acts performed by the KCCA staff epitomize an imminent danger, inducing movement that seems to have no direction and that will be the main focus of the performance aspect of the piece.

While Xenson uses the traditional bark cloth in his installation, Helen Zeru works with the *Mutuba* tree, the source of this material. Zeru chose a direct metaphor for being uprooted by migration, for having to live in a different, mostly unknown environment, by digging out a *Mutuba* tree and replanting it in another spot. The series of three performances and the resulting videos are entitled *One Foot In, One Foot Out; Inside Out* and *Guzo* (2014). The artist, who had previously worked on issues of displacement induced by modernization and urban development in Addis Ababa, developed these artistic interventions as site-specific works in Kampala during a residency at 32° East Ugandan Arts Trust. The last performance *Guzo* took place during the art festival KLA ART 014. Despite its localized inspiration the underlying questions of home and rootedness are touching universal quests, which also mark some of her earlier works. When developing this piece, Zeru interviewed Eritrean refugees in Kampala. The symbolic act of moving a tree from a suburb to the capital illustrates her question: "If somebody has lived their whole life in one place and you move them, what will happen? Will they be uprooted forever or will they find their way back into the soil again, even though the soil might be of a different composition?"[11] Even the realization of the work showed similarities to situations all too familiar to migrants when undergoing the administrative process; she spent weeks trying to get written permission from the KCCA to carry out the project and was forced to find a compromise location. During the last part of the performance after the replanting of the tree in its new location on Makerere Hill, she dragged a sack around with the logo of the UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) on it. She eventually sat down by the tree writing emotive words on her face from her interviews with refugees – who wanted to remain anonymous. Zeru explains in an interview: "The UNHCR logo is everywhere and you can find the bags all over the place, they are reused for houses, charcoal bags, etc. and... the refugees are also being dragged around. I wrote their touching words on my face like death, fear, sickness during the performance."[12] As she is covering her face with words written with a black marker in Amharic, something else becomes almost painfully evident: the fundamental difference between moving freely for work or other purposes – as she does as an artist – and being displaced for reasons that are imposed on someone and leave no other option. Like Wanja Kimani who is the creator and the actor in Utopia, she enacts the narrative with and on her own body. For this exhibition Helen Zeru built and expanded on this body of work and created a new installation entitled *I Live, Leave, Everywhere*.

Feelings of estrangement and foreignness as well as xenophobia as core aspects of the migratory experience are the themes of Gerald Machona's video *Vabvakure/People from far away* (2012). Its protagonist is the figure of the 'Ndiri Afronaut'.[13] The little shift from Astronaut to "Afronaut" is a play on words that makes fun of the stereotyped view of the 'African' and his or her image of being strange in the world. The figure, in the video appearing first in sandy hills in a desert, seems to have landed in a place as strange as the moon. This becomes more ironic when the Afronaut finds a golden flower in the

11 Interview with Helen Zeru cited in van Deursen (2015b)

12 Van Deursen (2015a).

13 *Ndiri* is a Shona prefix meaning "I am" (Machona, 2013, p.15). See also Machona's article in this catalogue. The figures in the video, the Afronauts as well as the rose they find, are autonomous sculptures that together with the video and other elements form the installation *People from Far Away*.

desert (just like the space travelling Little Prince finds his rose in Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's influential book, in which the encounter with the Prince also takes place in the desert). The Afronaut takes the flower with him as if it was a moonstone. He afterwards appears in civilization in his suit and with his glass-protected flower, performs a number of daily routines and eventually meets another Afronaut with whom he then wanders around. Their spaceman attire is made of decommissioned Zimbabwe Dollars, thus visibly marking them as strangers in the community in which they find themselves – and referencing the neighbouring country that is Machona's home country. The image of difference – both in physical appearance and in behaviour – is here displayed in an exaggerated manner intending to point to the fact that difference is a social construct and that external factors like phenotype, complexion or spoken language do not define a person's identity nor, for that matter, justify it.

Machona claims the need to deconstruct notions of identity and belonging that are based on concepts of ethnicity or nationalism in South Africa still infested by the mind-set of Apartheid. He argues that visual and performance art can function as forms of cultural mediation and offer insights into social trauma and potentially resist intolerance and xenophobia as extreme effects of migratory realities. Whatever the motives are, or the ways and the possibilities of migration, in specific cases the deconstruction of traditional identity formation and the reflection of diasporic experiences are crucial for migrants all over the world and throughout history.

Diasporic experiences

While Gerald Machona uses the visually literal image of an alien in his exploration of diasporic experiences, Immy Mali picks up a different, although similarly striking metaphor in her project, by choosing the figure of a ghost. Another ghost-like image of a migrant appears in the series of digital collages titled *Rose's Relocation* (2015) by Miriam Syowia Kyambi. In these multi-layered images the inhabitant of a room is absent but still present as a figure in the mist. We cannot distinguish her face nor her actions. She seems to be leaving, but even this remains unclear in the apparitional figures in the background. What is much more visible is the room she seems to be living in, which is a small space with supplies for basic needs – a bed, a table, curtains. It looks like some standard migrant room that above all shows its transitoriness as a home. A place made for the passing through of its inhabitants.

The feeling of existing in the diaspora is often on the edge of loneliness, and works like the ones by Gerald Machona, Immy Mali and Miriam Syowia Kyambi show this in a visually direct way generating an emotional relationship with the spectators. As Miriam Syowia Kyambi expounds in her artist statement: "It's really important for me to make those connections to the other because I am always seen as the other – so maybe subconsciously – making that connection to otherness is also redirecting that connection back into me because I am always the other."[14]

The sentiment of being outside and apart, of being different, is the subject of various artworks in this exhibition. Rut Karin Zettergren's work *The Outlanders* (2012-13) deals with this in a series of videos conceived as subtitled episodes of a web TV series. Living in Rinkeby, a suburb of Stockholm, Sweden, she and her husband felt very much like outlanders in this residential area of social housing estates. She sets up a docu-fiction about the outlanders in that particular place. She does not show their real life, but engages with specific actions, which include attracting other outlanders in Episodes 2 and 3 of the series. It is also a recorded performance, because she and her partner act in their normal surroundings and interact with the people living there, e.g., a man and his dog appear while they are trying to contact other outlanders by running around a green hill with mirrors as if they were outer space aliens sending signals to other aliens. Apart from the shift of turning everyday hardships and frustrations into weird and self-confident behaviour and apart from the comic, ironic tone of the videos, they show a general feeling of displacement and of being lost. This by and large seems to be true for all dwellers of the suburban settlement and it might be that actually all people there are outlanders. Being a bi-national couple obviously makes this feeling worse.

It is remarkable that Rut Karin Zettergren, coming from Sweden, having grown up there, speaking the language, being part of the cultural avant-garde of the country has the same outlander sentiment. So the diaspora can even happen at home, the moment one decides to migrate. On the other hand, the diaspora can be a positively connoted space, a situation Wanja Kimani somewhat ironically and ambiguously hints at in her pro-

14 Miriam Syowia Kyambi, "In my own words", on her website. Available at: http://www.syowiakyambi.com/words.html [Accessed 27 November 2015].

ject *Utopia* (2012). Apart from the video it consists of an interactive action with the audience. They are encouraged to write on postcards about their utopia.

Wanja Kimani shows the discrepancy between migrants' pre-migration images of their destination and their experience. She mainly refers to the fact that migration has always meant the search for new possibilities, which many migrants have found, but which contain also utopian hopes. She asks what it would be like if one really arrived in Utopia. As seen in her works *Self Portrait* and *Borrowed Intimacy* Kimani's question about Utopia is mainly related to her own story. What this proves is her positive attitude towards migration and the mindset in which she conceives her artworks – even if all the ironic undertones of her oeuvre is taken into account.

Berry Bickle's work *Makokoba* (2016) explores Zimbabwean women's migration to urban centres in the early 20th century followed by their growing influence on cultural and political life, defined by the processes of activism and struggle. The work is a historical review of the migration of women in the city of Bulawayo, which is the starting point of contemporary migration where the patterns and reasons for migration of women have altered although the same core issues have remained. These relate mainly to women's responsibility for supporting the family economically, but also to the gendered nature of social and political violence combined with the vision and aspiration of women to be seen and heard as equals in the greater struggle for cultural and expressive freedoms. The largest migration of the 21st century in the history of Bulawayo is to South Africa and in particular to Johannesburg. Berry Bickle's photographic series looks at this pattern from the point of view of women from the suburb of Makokoba, in particular the image and idea of home, the wish to return and how the social and political networks accommodate or reject women who do so.

As early as 2000, Jodi Bieber portrayed the hardship of foreigners in South Africa when documenting the official expulsion of illegal immigrants, in this case mostly from Mozambique. She accompanied the migrants and took impressive, radical black and white photographs of their involuntary journey to repatriation. Against the backdrop of the recent xenophobic attacks and riots against migrants her photo series *Going Home – Illegality and Repatriation* is of a frightening actuality and a precise analysis of an absurd development in a society that has purportedly overcome apartheid. That her photographs are more a statement than mere documentation becomes visible in individual photographs as well as in her considerate sequencing in the mode of classic photographic story telling. Photos like *Black Label, Operation Crackdown, Hillbrow, Johannesburg, 2000* give a commentary on the wider situation by documenting the arrest of a male migrant. The whiskey advertisement poster that takes up as much space in the picture as the two persons that should be in the centre of it is deeply ironic. Bieber uses thoughtful lighting and focuses on the name of the whiskey and the words "more reward" – both seem to be a direct description of the situation – a man labelled 'black' and his reward-receiving head-hunter. Many of Bieber's photographs in this series are such thoughtful and complex brilliant arrangements that one would never think of snapshots or documenting. It is much more than photojournalism. She stands in the line and tradition of photographers such as Walker Evans, transferring her field research observations into artworks by the use of light and sharpness of image as well as by carefully determining the photographic details. Some of her photographs hold the same visual power as pivotal photographs such as Evans' *Migrant Mother* (1936). Bieber created very touching visualizations of a deportation situation in South Africa that are exemplary of the treatment of illegal residents almost everywhere in the world. And she shows that repatriation, going home, often a euphemism for deportation, has strong aspects of new displacement, that home may not be 'homely' anymore.

Another photographic series refers to the issue of going home as a specific migratory experience. Mimi Cherono Ng'ok took photographs based on her own situation after returning home following a seven years absence while studying in South Africa. She went to university in Cape Town and suddenly felt displaced again when she returned to Kenya – a sensation that is typical for migrants who realize that they do not belong to either society, mainly when they return to resume the life they had before their departure. Cherono Ng'ok's photographs grapple with the question of how someone alienated from what had been the source of her identity sees this old-new surrounding. In an interview, she describes the series as her "visual diary that documents an imaginary sentimental journey" (Obling, 2014). In still and thoughtful images she succeeds in simultaneously revealing layers of alienation and intimacy, of an estranged gaze as well as moments of recognition and re-convergence. It is an underrepresented aspect of migration that there is no return in the sense of going back to where one has come from, because one can only return in space not in time. Mimi Cherono Ng'ok's photographs remind us that migration is not a linear, one-directional process.

The photographic light that Jodi Bieber chose to put the destiny of undocumented immigrants in South Africa into the spotlight is used by Rehema Chachage in a literal, physical way in her sculptural installation *Mwangwi (Echo)* (2012). It is a powerful theatre searchlight spot, equipped with a motion sensor, installed in the exhibition space. Each visitor – maybe in the typical attitude of the museum passer-by – is suddenly put into the limelight, alone, and singled out from the audience as a group. It is a simple perception, felt by the one in the light and by everyone not being touched by it, and it highlights in the most literal sense of the word a diasporic feeling. Culturally, the searchlight is associated with a theatre stage where actors are exposed to a wide audience, or as seen in many thrillers where criminals are hunted with searchlights, a typical ingredient of the jailbreak. These associations happen to the ones in this spotlight. Even if they take it as a positive display and feel the urge to act, dance, or sing (and the artist conceived it as a positive experience of being given the

chance to be seen and heard) – they are determined to react to an exceptional situation. The light of a theatre spot sets a clear mark where the light ends and the darkness begins. This is a borderline and it has the power to differentiate just as borders do – with the difference that on stage a border between light and dark is easy to cross with one step. Other borders are much more definite.

Border(land)s

Rehema Chachage's piece gives the audience a direct experience of how borders create difference. The way migrants have to deal and live with prejudice, xenophobia, an uncertain legal status and vulnerable identities is dependent and not separable from the notion of the nation state and citizenship – a socio-political reality that in the case of the African continent was imposed by colonial powers. Nationality categorizes people – who might not be very different – in definable terms as nationals and foreigners and creates legal and illegal residents.

The photographic series *Do you miss me? Sometimes, not always* (2014-15) by Mimi Cherono Ng'ok visually speaks of travels, loss, and memory, implying the fragility of place and 'placelessness'. The depicted spaces, nameless and timeless, by implication denote the fact that moving is by no means unrestricted and sometimes can only happen in the imagination. Supported by the installation using prints of different sizes and on different kinds of paper, the subtext of the work mirrors the simultaneity of different narratives in divergent locations coming together through the artistic expression. In a way, the photographs that are displayed also denote the ones that could not be taken and trips the artist could not make due to visa restrictions.

The Border Farm Project is a collaboration between Johannesburg artists and Zimbabwean immigrants living on a farm on the South African-Zimbabwean border in South Africa's far-northern Limpopo Province. It was conceived and developed by Thenjiwe Niki Nkosi in dialogue with Meza Weza, a Zimbabwean writer, farm worker, and community spokesperson. In the course of the cooperation process the farm-based participants formed an acting troupe called the Dulibadzimu Theatre Group. The joint project resulted in an exhibition and the video *Crossing* (2010) and the docu-drama *Border Farm* (2011), a film about a group of Zimbabwean 'border jumpers' who make their way across the Limpopo River from Zimbabwe to seek work on the farms in South Africa. The film portrays the multi-layered drama of forced migration and is written, acted and crewed by people who made the journey themselves.

While *Border Farm* tells stories re-enacted from the perspective of and by border crossers, Gerald Machona deals with the impact of South Africa's borders creating fictional artistic figures. In his photographic performance series *Ndiri Cross Border Trader* (2010) comprising of photographs with narrative captions, he invents a businessman in an elegant suit, his head covered with a helmet of money bills – of the valueless Zimbabwe Dollar again. The border trader looks quite martial and also takes on aggressive male postures of claiming power and economic success in the performance done on a Harare rooftop for his video *Untitled 2010 (Harare)*.[15] The performance is reminiscent of the *Nyau/Gule* coming of age dance. The faceless gargoyle represents the migrant/cross border trader in search of wealth. The captions of the photoraphs like *Amai Ndoenda kuJoburg nemari yebepa II (Mother I am going to Joburg with paper money II)* clearly indicate the absurdity of achieving economic wealth as a cross border trader. Although he has created yet another comic and somehow lonely figure Gerald Machona conceives a kind of monument to those migrants who in South Africa are marked as foreigners. Like Jodi Bieber, Thenjiwe Niki Nkosi, and Kiluanji Kia Henda, Machona responds to his own experience of xenophobia in South Africa by creating artworks. Performances and re-enactments provide an artistic language that is particularly suitable in conveying the intended message to the audience, which is addressed in a specific and direct way that calls for self-reflection.[16]

National, economic, religious and linguistic borders in Africa (but also in most of the world, including Europe) cannot be analysed without looking at colonialism. The aftermath of colonialism worldwide still shapes the world today and marks globalization. In *Kabbo ka Muwala* several artists refer directly to the impact of colonial structures and historical incidents. They seek creative ways not only to examine colonial legacies, but also to overcome them.

15 See O'Toole (2013) and Simbao (2012, p.22).

16 Xenophobia in South Africa is also the subject of two essays by participating artists in this catalogue: Kiluanji Kia Henda's *The black man in white suit* (Henda, 2016), and Gerald Machona's *IMAGINE|NATION: Mediating 'xenophobia' through visual and performance art* (Machona, 2013).

Shifting Perspectives

Colonialism has set the ground for migration and migratory movements for centuries all over the world up to the present day. Among its most pertinent legacies are the imposition of languages and accepted approaches to knowledge production. Much of today's theorizing in many disciplines including art history and theory is still based on Western thought and concepts as a point of departure and centre of gravity. The concept of "decolonial aesthetics"[17] no longer relies on European categories to analyse and critique colonial legacies and histories but focuses on alternative forms of enunciation. Walter Mignolo elucidates this in regard to 'border' and 'diaspora' in an interview:

> Border and diaspora could be articulated in several universes of meaning, that is, in several options. No option has property rights over any given term. Border and diaspora could be objects of sociological, economic, political or artistic research (disciplinary options), or they could be key concepts of decolonial thinking. When this happens, border and diaspora are no longer objects of study, but are in-corporated in the enunciation. They become consciousness: border consciousness, diaspora consciousness and, let me add a related one, in-migrant consciousness. In-migrant consciousness overlaps with diaspora, but they are not the same. Diaspora underlines the dispersion from a point of departure; in-migrant underscores the life situation in a foreign country. (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2014, pp.199, 200)

Anawana Haloba in her second project for the exhibition, the installation *Rape at the Piccadilly Circus* (2016) revisits the exceptional biography of a woman. Sarah Baartman, a young Khoisan slave, known as 'Saartjie', was smuggled to London in about 1810 and exhibited naked as the 'Hottentot Venus', and forced to display animal-like behaviour. By referring to this historic case Anawana Haloba gives an extreme example of the economic exploitation of human beings (along with sexual and racial exploitation). She links this oppression, this absence of having a choice, to today's many repressions, which she sees in neo-colonial structures, in dictatorial regimes and in a fatalistic religiously induced passivity. The artist refers to all these repressions as a "rape".

Her installation consists of a tunnel that deals with the story of Saartjie Baartman as an audiovisual experience for the audience. On the transparent walls of the tunnel, bodies (possibly a replication of the same body) appear and vanish. They are unidentifiable, and no physical characteristic can be seen. With their hands, they seem to touch the walls of the tunnel, an impression of people captured behind these walls appears. From hidden speakers visitors to the installation clearly hear whispered poems by Anawana Haloba, which are made visual in constantly vanishing human appearances projected onto the transparent walls. As in other artworks in the exhibition the human form again becomes a ghost, a foggy figure without identity. But it becomes clear for the visitors on a direct sensory level how desperately this figure is searching for a place and an identity.

Miriam Syowia Kyambi deals with another concrete colonial story in a site-specific work for the Städtische Galerie in Bremen. The city's important role in German colonial history is the starting point for her investigation.[18] She looks at the objects and documents of the former small and short-lived colonial museum, Lüderitz-Haus, that existed in Bremen's city centre between 1941 and 1944, glorifying the central role of the Bremen merchant Adolf Lüderitz in the colonisation of today's Namibia.[19] After World War II the objects were transferred to the Übersee-Museum, Bremen's anthropological museum, where they are still kept today. Miriam Syowia Kyambi makes the exhibition an occasion to review German colonialism by returning to the perspective of everyday life as she did in her permanent installation *Infinity* (2007) at the Nairobi National Museum. Here, she went through the museum's photographic archive, scanned many pictures and arranged them hanging on chains down a staircase, representing a panorama of Kenya's history in photography, everyday life as important as political incidents.

While Anawana Haloba and Miriam Syowia Kyambi refer to concrete examples of historic colonialism, Nástio Mosquito and Kiluanji Kia Henda focus on changing perceptions of the relationship between the colonisers and the colonised. The video *3 continents, Europe, America, Africa* (2010) by Nástio Mosquito, depicts a speech by a businessman or politician who states, in front of crude maps, that he has bought the continents to which the maps refer. He reads a paper in which he explains, with similar texts for Europe and the USA, a

17 In 2011, the Transnational Decolonial Institute published its *Decolonial Aesthetics Manifesto*. Available at https://transnationaldecolonialinstitute.wordpress.com/decolonial-aesthetics [Accessed 20 December 2015].

18 Please see the foreword by Rose Pfister in this catalogue for Bremen´s special responsibility for colonialism in Africa.

19 For a brief history of the museum see Schleier (2005).

manifesto-like document about what it means to have 'bought the continent'. The irony of overturning the categorization of the world into first, second and third world, of treating two former colonialist continents with an arrogant colonial attitude, reaches its climax when after his speeches, he marks the maps of Europe and the USA with his fingerprint in what seems to be thick boot polish. The punch-line of his *3 continents* video is his statement on Africa, in which he starts, then stops as if he just can't talk about it, and then exclaims: "Fuck Africa!" As he departs the scene, the shabbiest map is seen hanging, lonely and badly fixed, on a rotten wall. Nástio Mosquito addresses European and North American fears in the face of migration and migrants. In an aggressive tone he seems to take a kind of revenge by defeating the colonialists with their own weapon, that of economic dependence. However, his Africa statement turns all this into a disillusioned, resigned, incredulous statement about the reality – the relation of the three continents will not change with big gestures, economic leaders or with words.

In his photograph *The Merchant of Venice* (2010) Kiluanji Kia Henda puts a European cliché of the African migrant onto a pedestal. And like Nástio Mosquito he reverses the usual European-African perspective by choosing the title of a Shakespeare play, and thus refers to the peak of European high culture (in the colonial age) and to Othello as the classic stereotype of a black man in Europe. While the irony of this photograph is as direct as is the setting of the picture, Kiluanji Kia Henda makes a sarcastic turn in his piece *As god wants and the devil likes it, O.R.G.A.S.M. (Organization of African States for Mellowness)* (2011-13). He creates a fake African NGO mimicking the typical European NGO in Africa. The work consists of a collage of images that form wallpaper, with a visual reference to the European flag in the repetitive insignia of the organization, a half circle of stars, and the blue colour of a head, and a video. He combines these images with partly fake photographs of meetings with European politicians and himself in various religious settings as if to visually define the sacredness of his organization.

Kiluanji Kia Henda claims that this time the African NGO is there to assist Europe, to bring them relief – perhaps from their need to prolong colonial control by means of social welfare, or from the many problems Europe encounters in its own countries. Both Nástio Mosquito and Kiluanji Kia Henda make a claim for a different migration to the North, a conscious, self-confident, organized migration that enables migrants to overcome colonialism. In this sense, as artists they not only make ironic gestures towards Europe but they themselves take over art strategies and smoothly bring them into European contexts.

Many artists include aspects of migration as a core matter in their artistic practice. It is both their subject and their rationale. A striking aspect in this regard is their choice and use of media and the extent to which these vary within artistic positions and artworks. Many art works displayed in the three exhibitions of *Kabbo ka Muwala* take different forms and shapes depending on local and site-specific requirements and opportunities. It is a migrational strategy to be flexible in form in order to ship ideas and their materialization around the world. (The mere fact that nearly all the artists within the exhibition show their works worldwide in many different locations also points to how crucial mobility is within their respective art positions.)

The great variety of art forms shows a deep consciousness of the importance of the context in which the works have to be viewed. This means a constant, open reflection about space and – even more important in a migrational sense – about place. These reflections can be determined by borders and can present an absolute status, but they can also be flexible, relational and open to the artists' interventions. Artistic and migrational strategies deal with both, as seen in the many projects in this exhibition. Apart from the consciousness of each specific place in which the artworks appear, many artists in this exhibition deal, too, with stimuli they gain while being in these other places. So new works or changes in the existing ones also occur because of the transitory status that the artists seek (maybe even need) for their art and the emerging artworks.

Migratory aesthetics as reflected and exhibited in these works refer to a consciousness of these artists about working in an in-between space of varying discourses, identities, places, and art practices. Or as mentioned earlier, informed by "experiences of transition as well as the transition of experience" (Durrant and Lord, 2007, p.11, 12). These tendencies exist in many of the local art scenes worldwide. Transculturality as the culture of migration is a chance to reclaim and articulate differences in an art world that is becoming more uniform. New ways of subject formation and an inspiring fluidity is what a migrational turn in contemporary art can offer. Or, in Wanja Kimani's words: "This kind of in-between place is where I'm most content. It's not just a physical space, but a place in the mind where I can appreciate migration as the creative act that it is." (Utopia in Ethiopia, 2013)

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kabbo kamuwala

Artworks

Berry BICKLE

MAKOKOBA, 2016
Photographic process, c-print on
Fabriano 100% cotton paper

This series, still in progress, reflects on a phenomenon that the United Nations already reported on in 2002:

During the past decades, the gender dimensions of migration have attracted much attention and the notion of the feminization of migration has been widely recognized. However, the term "feminization of migration" must not be misunderstood. Women have always migrated: moreover, the proportion of women in global migration flows did not significantly fluctuate during the past decades. What has changed is the share of women in labour migration flows that has been increasing since the 1970s. Women do not only migrate as dependents anymore. This is the rise of autonomous female migration that is referred to as "feminization of migration".

Women have been a part of the patterns of migration since the colonial intervention in Africa. In the contemporary and specifically southern African context, women have migrated from the rural to the urban and from one country to another, just as men, for economic, political and personal reasons.

In both my research and interpretation of the questions posed by mobility and migration, I have looked at the issue of the 'feminization of migration', its causes, the choices available to women and the effects this has had on women. In conversations and interviews, there were many pertinent words that I recorded and used to guide my approach in developing my response to the themes set by the *Kabbo ka Muwala* exhibition:

SEPARATION.
The separation from family and the familiar. One of the most incisive factors for women migrants, however, is the separation from their children. While the motivation to migrate is often to support children and, in the first instance, is often only temporary, to allow for new professional realities and new identities to be established, this does not lessen the feeling of loss and anxiety.

I still feel her on my back, even if she is at home, I still feel her.

IDENTITY.
With migration comes new identity, even if the perception is a response to outside factors or the internalized recreating of a certain persona – either as a means to blend into a new social reality in a new society, as a mechanism of defence or as a newfound personal freedom of expression.

I wanted to be like the others, I felt the chance to be someone new.

THE JOURNEY (FEAR).
Some of the women I engaged with were irregular migrants, who crossed borders illegally and faced substantial risks. Journeys have beginnings, but sometimes no ending. Closely associated with fear is courage, the will of many women to overcome hazards to offer their children a better future.

I do not want my daughter to suffer as I have suffered.

[Berry Bickle]

MAKOKOBA

MAKOKOBA, 2016
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

MAKOKOBA, 2016
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

MAKOKOBA, 2016
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

Jodi BIEBER

GOING HOME – ILLEGALITY AND REPATRIATION
South Africa/Mozambique, 2000, photography

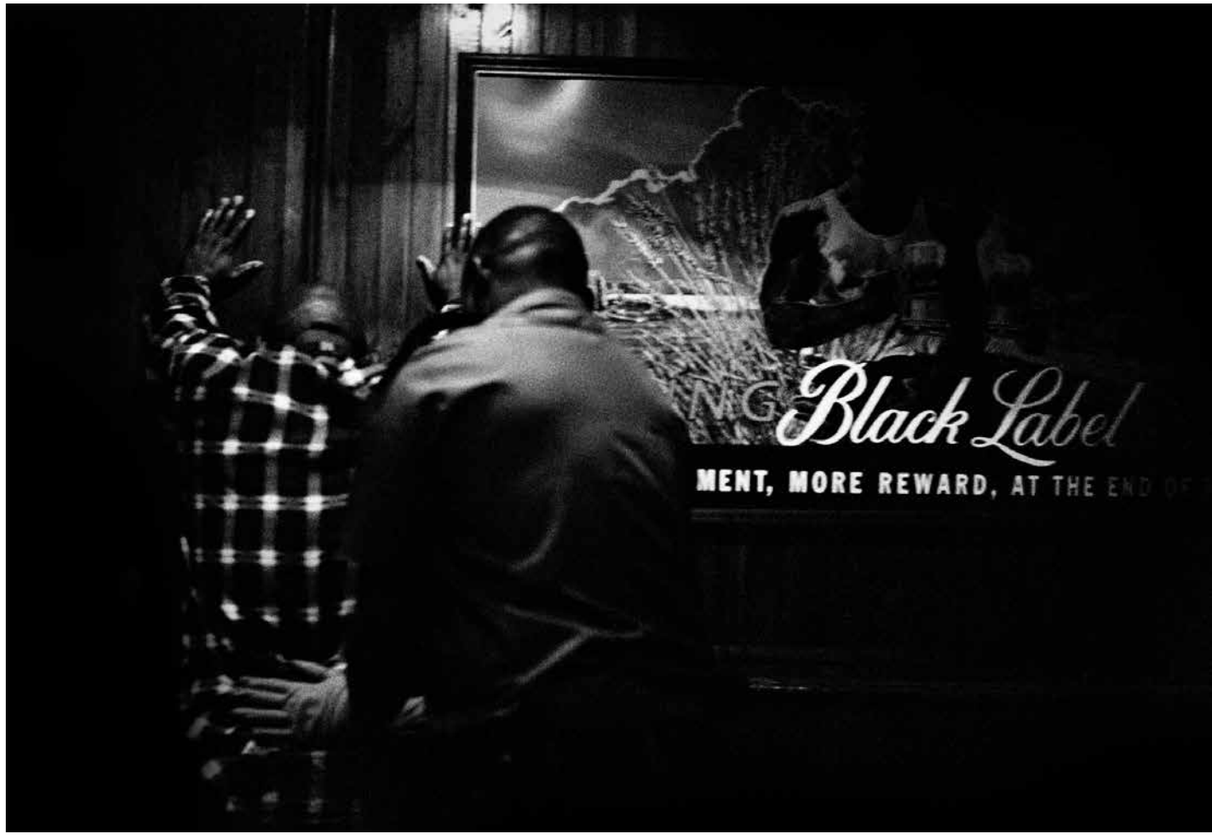
Since the first democratic elections in South Africa in 1994, there has been a strong increase in immigration into Africa's southernmost country, the second-largest economy on the African continent. War, famine and poverty in Africa have made South Africa an attractive option for a better life. At the same time, xenophobia is widespread among South Africans, who feel that immigrants steal their jobs for lower wages and play a major role in the crime in the country. South African newspapers often carry stories of the abuse and hardship that many immigrants face at the hands of South African citizens. The borders around South Africa, however, are extensive and impossible to secure. In 2001, there were 300 immigration officers in the country, a lack of police manpower and corruption within the services. Therefore the Department of Home Affairs with the aid of the South African Police Service deports no more than approximately 180,000 immigrants a year. It costs the government R300 (Euro 30 in 2001) to repatriate an immigrant from a neighbouring country without a valid residence permit. My project began after the devastating floods in Mozambique in 2000. It was the time also when 'Operation Crackdown' was in progress in South Africa. This was an on-going initiative by the South African Police Service to eliminate the high levels of crime in the country; part of this initiative was to also detain 'illegal immigrants'. Hillbrow, an inner-city neighbourhood of Johannesburg, was seething with policemen. With court orders in hand, the police searched buildings looking for immigrants without valid papers or with stolen goods. Once detained, these men, women and children were taken to Hillbrow police station to fill in forms and to be bussed off to Lindela, a repatriation centre for undocumented migrants approximately 45 minutes west of Johannesburg. From there the detainees would board trains, which would take them back to their countries of origin. I chose to spend my time with Mozambicans as they were in the majority and because – as a result of the floods – they often found themselves without homes when they arrived back home. Upon completion of my project, I was informed that the train carrying the immigrants back to Mozambique had been – due to an article published in the South African weekly *Mail & Guardian* – suspended. Journalists, who had been on the train with me, had disclosed that corruption was ripe on the journey: Immigrants were paying policemen, who guarded the carriages, R100 (10 Euro in 2010) to be allowed to jump off the train while it was still in South Africa. On that specific journey, approximately half the immigrants had jumped off. The other half had continued their journey through flooded areas, facing destroyed towns and homes replaced by displacement camps. The South African Human Rights Commission closely monitors immigrant affairs. However, my experience on this project sometimes left me with a bitter taste in my mouth. I feel that some South Africans sometimes forget their dark past and what it is like to be on the receiving end.

In 2008 and 2015, further xenophobic attacks took place in South Africa.

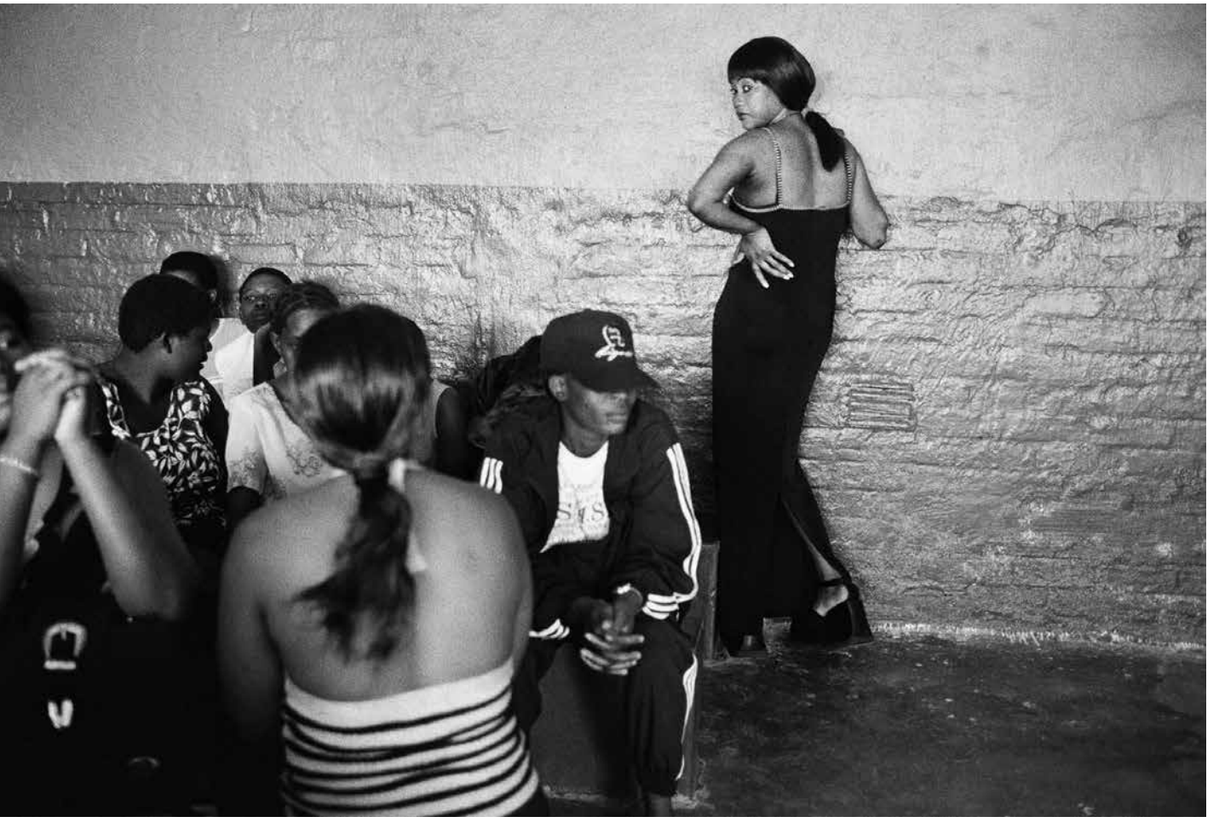
[Jodi Bieber]

Note: This text appeared, in slightly different form, in: Gutberlet, M.-H. and Snyman, C. eds., 2012. Shoe Shop. Johannesburg: Jacana Media.

GOING HOME – ILLEGALITY AND REPATRIATION



OPERATION CRACKDOWN, HILLBROW, JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA. A man is apprehended and searched by a policeman in a bar in Hillbrow. Each person searched is asked to present his or her Identification Documents. Hillbrow is home to many immigrants from other parts of Africa. It is an area also known for drug dealing and prostitution. Operation Crackdown formed part of an extensive police operation, which now takes place on an on-going basis in the fight against crime in South Africa. Part of the operation was to detain 'illegal immigrants'.



LINDELA REPATRIATION CENTRE, SOUTH AFRICA. 'Illegal immigrants' stay an average of 5 to 7 days in Lindela Repatriation Centre, with a cost of R24 (3.50 Euro in 2001) to the state per person per day. Detainees are given two meals a day and are provided with free medical treatment, have visiting rights and have access to satellite television, sports facilities, a games room, and a library. The South African Human Rights Commission has compared the standard of this facility with that known from accredited boarding schools.

LINDELA REPATRIATION CENTRE, SOUTH AFRICA. Minutes before leaving Lindela to board the train back home. There are trains to Mozambique and Zimbabwe once a week. These are used specifically to repatriate 'illegal immigrants'.

SHAFKOP, SOUTH AFRICA. The train stops at many stations along the journey. To prevent the 'illegal immigrants' from escaping, they are being told to bury their heads between their knees.

XIA,XIA, MOZAMBIQUE. Xia Xia was deserted. Shops completely destroyed. The roads bore huge crevasses and potholes where no vehicle could pass. On arrival home all that was left in the house were two photographs of family members hanging on the wall. Many 'illegal immigrants' caught and sent back home will eventually return to South Africa, where they have at least a chance to make a living and survive. IMAGES COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

THE BORDER FARM PROJECT

The Border Farm Project was conceived by South African artist Thenjiwe Niki Nkosi in dialogue with Zimbabwean writer, farm worker, and community spokesperson Meza Weza. It took place over a year, from 2009 to 2010, on a farm on the South African/Zimbabwean border, near the town of Musina in South Africa's far-northern Limpopo Province. The project brought together a group of artists from Johannesburg, facilitated by Nkosi, with artists and other interested participants living and working on the farm. Stressing the primary importance of the interaction between participants, Nkosi and Weza allowed the specific form and intended outcomes of the project to take shape in the course of regular discussions. The participating farm workers were all migrants from Zimbabwe, and the almost weekly meetings, held in a communal area on the farm, became a space for people to speak about their experiences of 'border jumping' – at first in conversation, and eventually through targeted workshops. Through these workshops – run by the artists from Johannesburg, and which included performance, photography and writing – a film script developed. At the same time, farm-based participants formed an acting troupe called the Dulibadzimu Theatre Group. Together the artists from Johannesburg and the members of Dulibadzimu shaped the film script that spoke about experiences of crossing the border. *Border Farm* (2011) is that film – a docudrama film about a group of Zimbabwean 'border jumpers' who make their way across the Limpopo River from Zimbabwe to seek work on the farms in South Africa. It portrays the many-layered drama of forced migration and is written, acted and crewed by the people who made the journey themselves. The scripted 'fiction' film is threaded through with interviews with group members about their actual experiences and footage of the workshop process.

The finished film has been shown on national television in South Africa, in film festivals abroad and in educational contexts. The film has also been 'pirated' and has been distributed across the neighbouring farms and in the region. The photographs from the photography workshop have appeared in a traveling exhibition called *Border Farm* that showed in both Johannesburg and Musina, with photos also being published on the web and a few print publications.

Dulibadzimu continues to work successfully on their own and surrounding farms, and in the town of Musina, appearing in festivals, films and playing to other communities.

[The Border Farm Project]

NOTE: Some of the above material appeared, in slightly different form, in: Purves, T. and Selzer, S.A. eds., 2014. *What We Want Is Free. Critical Exchanges in Recent Art*. 2nd Edition. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

(TOP) *BORDER FARM*, 2011
VIDEO STILL

(BOTTOM) MILDRED BANDA
PROCESSION, 2010, PHOTOGRAPH
IMAGES COURTESY OF THE ARTISTS

THENJIWE NIKI NKOSI, *LOOPHOLE*
2010, PHOTOGRAPH
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

Rehema CHACHAGE

MWANGWI (ECHO), 2012
A spatial intervention

Being under the spotlight: A limelight moment, where all the focus and attention is on you. Conceptually a hope piece, this public intervention consists of a motion-activated spotlight that showers light upon you whenever you step under it and offers you – at least the illusion of – being for a few seconds 'in the spotlight'. For once, you are being heard and paid attention to, and all that no longer from an inferior position.

[Rehema Chachage]

MWANGWI (ECHO)

MWANGWI (ECHO), 2012
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

THE FLOWER

2014, video installation (5:36 min)
(Sound by Jacqueline Mgumia)

The video and sound installation *The Flower* explores the henna ritual widely practised in the coastal regions of Tanzania as informed by centuries of contact with adventurers, merchants and rulers from the Middle East. Intermarriage led to a fusion of the Islamic traditions of the seafarers and the Swahili traditions of the native population. The female ceremony of the henna ritual consists of adorning the body of a bride-to-be with floral and leafy designs. The body thus embellished is considered an offering to the future husband. The use of henna for traditional decorating purposes varies from culture to culture, but generally is closely linked to rituals like circumcision, pregnancy and giving birth, serving as a token of good luck and offering protection from the 'evil eye' and 'jinis' (malignant genies) as well as underlining female camaraderie and beauty.

The video and sound installation features a female figure veiled in white fabric. Progressively, as the camera draws in, the floral and leafy henna drawings appear until the body becomes completely invisible. A woman's voice can be heard wailing a Mwambao chant. The chant tells the story of a woman who is giving birth alone: It draws a vivid acoustic picture of the pain she is experiencing, the fear she is feeling, and her need for her mother's support. At the same time, *The Flower* is projected onto a veil, which bears a poem written by my mother, Demere Kitunga, in 2014:

Pleasing to the eye your veiled familiar rendered unbeknown
A blanket of colour so snugly hugging as if it were your second skin
Beautifully patterns traced on your limbs akin to the blooming of a creeping vine
Garbed as a sensuous wrapper of modesty to which you are partially beholden
To the ritual of pleasing, a wedge for thriving in a woman's station

This inter-generational dialogue has become an important element in the making of my artworks. The approach and its extended metaphor allow me to point a finger at religious and cultural rituals that continue to contribute to the persistence of patriarchal oppression in Tanzania, the reduction of women's bodies into colonized territories.

[Rehema Chachage]

THE FLOWER, 2014, VIDEO STILL
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND OSE GRECA SINARE

Mimi CHERONO NG'OK

THE OTHER COUNTRY, 2008 – ongoing
Photography

The Other Country is a collection of photographs that I started in 2008 when I returned to Kenya. Using analogue photography I document occupied and empty spaces in relationship to myself, and those close to me; I map personal memory and intimacy from a Kenyan middle class perspective. Implying a visual diary, my photographs include the emotions attached to seeing a familiar place, friends and family and the associated nostalgia. Rather than a reconciliation, this series is an oscillation between shared narratives and a personal story. I attempt to define 'home' in an accumulative way, by shooting landscapes, architecture, family members, still life(s), self-portraits and domestic spaces, creating photographs intersecting experience, memory, fiction and nostalgia. Inspired by my daily surroundings, recollections of growing up middle class in Nairobi, and the experience of returning to what was once familiar and is now distant, my work functions as an exploratory dialogue between my country and me, producing photographs interrogating ideas of intimacy in relation to place, belonging and dislocation.

[Mimi Cherono Ng'ok]

(RIGHT) *DADDY'S SHIRTS*, FROM THE SERIES *THE OTHER COUNTRY*, 2008 – ONGOING

THE OTHER COUNTRY

(TOP) *CHEMU*, FROM THE SERIES *THE OTHER COUNTRY*, 2008 – ONGOING

(LEFT) *DINING ROOM*, FROM THE SERIES *THE OTHER COUNTRY*, 2008 – ONGOING
IMAGES COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

CHEBET AND CHEMU IN THE GARDEN,
FROM THE SERIES *THE OTHER COUNTRY*
2008 – ONGOING, COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

DO YOU MISS ME? SOMETIMES, NOT ALWAYS

2014-15, photography

Do you miss me? Sometimes, not always is a series of vignettes on travel, loss, memory, and the impossibility of getting to places when you need to get there the most. Taken over a period of six months in Kigali (Rwanda), Kampala (Uganda), Nairobi (Kenya) and Abidjan (Ivory Coast), these trips reminded me of the fragility of place and placelessness. The images do not follow an obvious theme but what is going on subconsciously or intuitively. As most of my work functions as a visual diary, I aimed to create a little cinema/diary with pauses, transitions and jarring interventions, exploring the dichotomy between autobiography and fiction.

While on the one hand, these images are about my experiences, in some ways they are also imagined scenarios of multiple narratives that all exist at the same time. By creating photographs that connect images from my own imagination and things I see, I am charting an emotional map, whereby the title *Do you miss me? Sometimes, not always* references the intermittent attachments formed in new places.

The series encompasses a period in pictures recorded to remember and to understand. It features no linear narrative, no beginning, no ending, and functions as a visual processing of a sense of loss and emptiness. The motives are random landscapes and places I have been to and they are more about atmosphere and feeling than anything else, but often exploring loss. The analogue process is an important part of my work, combining 35mm and medium format as well as black-and-white and colour images. The photographs are an attempt to close the distance between my emotions and the experiences I have had in these places and creating an archive of memories and diary notes.

[Mimi Cherono Ng'ok]

UNTITLED, FROM THE SERIES *DO YOU MISS ME? SOMETIMES, NOT ALWAYS*, 2014-15, COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

ALL PHOTOS: *UNTITLED*, FROM THE SERIES *DO YOU MISS ME? SOMETIMES, NOT ALWAYS*, 2014-15, COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

Kudzanai CHIURAI

LEVIATHAN, 2016
Carved wooden boats, digitally printed cotton textiles, found objects, dimensions variable

The Leviathan is a sea monster mentioned in the Old Testament. It gives the title to Thomas Hobbes' book 'Leviathan', published 1651, in which he argues that civil peace and social unity are best achieved by the establishment of a commonwealth, ruled by a sovereign power, through a social contract.

The missionary effort was a major part of and a partial justification for the advancement of colonialism and acted in many ways as the 'religious arm' of those powers. Christian evangelists were intimately engaged in the active exploration and pioneering of trade and empire in Africa, while also transporting ideas about language, education, religion and health care. As an early example of migration, these missions demonstrate that migration across borders and between continents is never just physical (body) but also the movement of ideas.

When considering the migration of ideas as encapsulated within the structure of the body, it can be argued that the information superhighway – a popular term used throughout the 1990s in reference to a global information and communications network – has long been in existence. The first superhighway of information created by colonial migration, merchant routes and the slave trade was used to project new ideas of a global commonwealth.

Though we now live in a multidimensional age, where migration can be experienced through digital data, physical migration still exists and is rooted in systems established during colonialism. We continue to deal with the ramifications of the first superhighway and the impact this has on ideas that shape commerce, labour, nationality and identity, in particular negative notions expressed about the physical – race, skin colour and hair; and cultural – language, education and traditional versus religious beliefs.

Leviathan postulates that the migration of ideas has to mutate into a physical manifestation – a projection of one's psyche. Whether through trade or colonisation, merchant ships are the vessels of these monstrous ideas. These thoughts, when brought into the digital age, affect the superhighway of information like a virus. Projecting these thoughts, we find the physical manifestation of these ideas, the objects found in the ships. The cassocks that are part of the sculptural installation suggest a mutation in the idea of Christianity, with the establishment of syncretic churches that merge Christianity and indigenous belief structures.

[Kudzanai Chiurai]

LEVIATHAN, 2016
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND RAPHAEL CHIKUKWA

LEVIATHAN

LEVIATHAN, 2016 (DETAIL)
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

Anawana HALOBA

STRANGE FISH

The sea spits out strange fish ashore, the sun is not
shimmering today.

They said the sun shimmers on the vast sandy
beaches of the south like crowds of dancing brides.
They said the sun-rays make the sand seem like tiny tiny
speckles of shades of gold and diamonds.
They said the water is a see-through blue mirror, the
heavens and all that is hidden in the sea become one.
They said I would breathe in the fresh air and its secrets will be
revealed.
They said it's the freshest of air, without
dust from bombs, fire, bullets or falling buildings.

A body lies on a cold cold metal tabletop mutilated, a being
reduced to pieces of flesh in bell jars, a scientific case study on freakiness
A woman reduced to nothingness, all humanity is lost.
The ancestral spirits have travelled borders, rivers, vast lands
and seas to come and see for themselves. They sigh «abomination»
The calls of crows are heard everywhere.

They said my brother and I would run, play, and run, dance,
jump, laugh so hard that our little stomachs would ache that
mummy would have to massage them.
They said mummy would take long swims in bluest clear water that
would heal her sad face and heart.
They said we'd board a ship, my brother and I would play navigators
like the great Arab explorers Al-Dimashqi, Ahmad ibn Majid or
Sulaiman Al Mahri.

Bodies squashed together my brother and I are sitting on mummy's
lap, daddy standing next to us. The captain insists that all sit
and avoid too much movement. It's getting too hot, we have drifted
far far from the mainland. I am so thirsty. All I see around us is deep depth of
dark.
The ship is rocking violently, my brother and I are so scared, mummy,
please mummy I am so scared. My brother and I hold mummy tight.
Mummy clings tight to us too. People are shouting and screaming,
mummy is whispering into our ears.

don't be scared my little boys mummy is here, all will be alright
don't be scared my little boys mummy is here, all will be alright
don't be scared my little boys mummy is here, all will be alright

Everyone is fighting the strong currents mummy is trying hard to
hold on to my brother and I and father is trying to save mother and
us. Bodies everywhere, spirits still fighting to hang on to life...
I can't find my brother, mummy and father. Where are you mummy,
I can't breathe, I can't breathe... my little lungs are filling up,
my little lungs are filling up. Where are you mummy, mummy I am scared.

I close my eyes tight and let my mind drift back home to a time before
the clouds eternally turned grey from falling bombs,
to a time before the eternal smoke and burning of our house and school
to a time before the eternal dust dust from concrete falling buildings

my brother and I running running through the olive trees, giggling, playing
my brother and I running running through the olive trees, giggling, playing

The sea feels heavy, it spits out strange fish ashore
My little lifeless body lies here... a raven hovers over.
His call so loud, the sky heavily hangs and grey.
The sun is not shimmering today.

[Anawana Haloba]

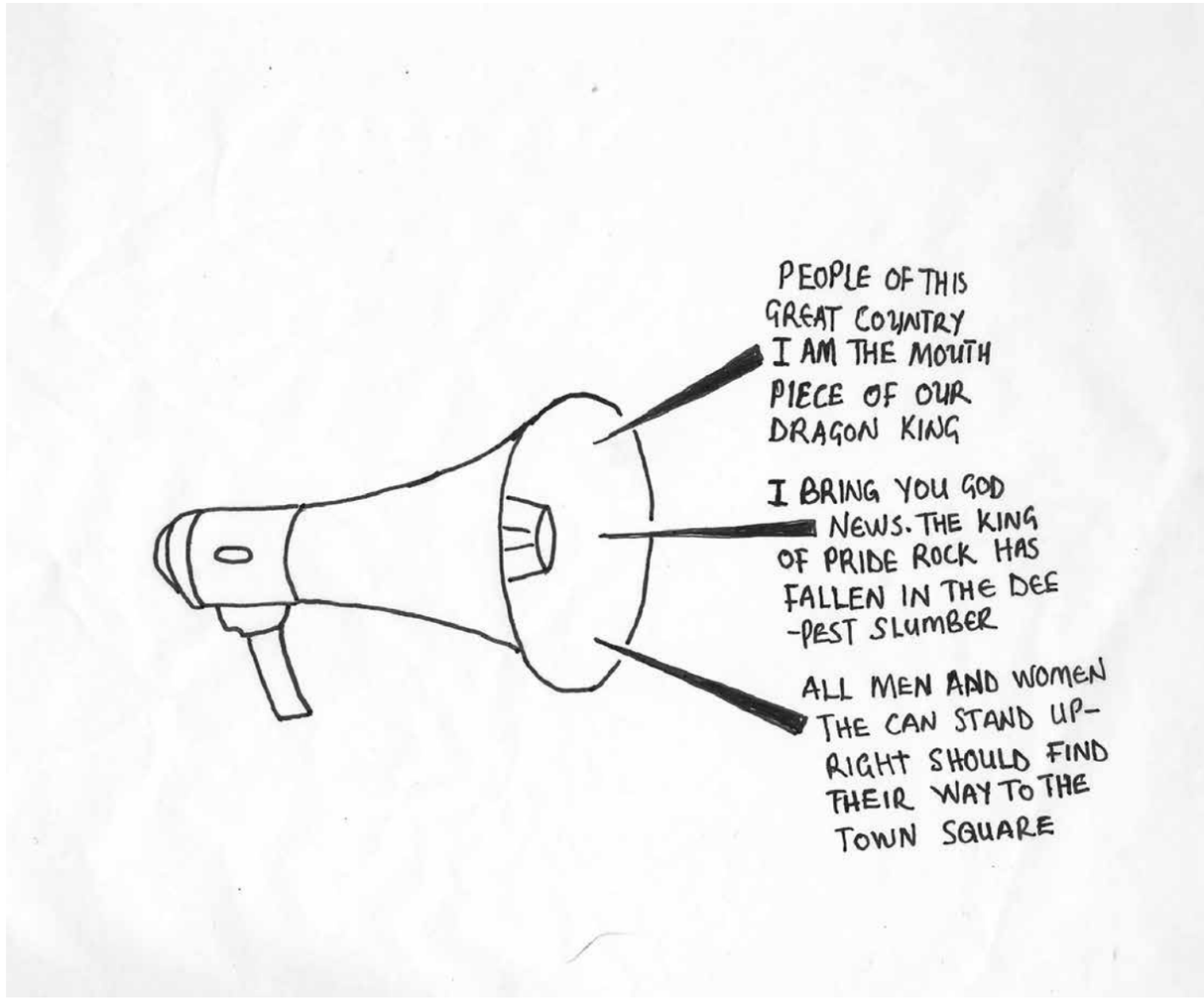
‘RAPE’ AT PICCADILLY CIRCUS

2015, video installation

‘RAPE’ AT PICCADILLY CIRCUS, 2015
VIDEO STILLS, COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

A DRAGON KING IN SLEEPY PRIDE ROCK

2016, single channel animation video



ARTWORK SKETCH, 2016 (DETAIL)
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

Kiluanji KIA HENDA

THE MERCHANT OF VENICE, 2010
Photograph, 150 x 225 cm

Kiluanji Kia Henda focuses his research on the complex postcolonial situation in today's Angola, a country in contention for its oil resources by the world's superpowers during the Cold War from the year it gained political independence from Portugal (1975), and immediately afterwards ravaged by a brutal civil war (1975-2002). The perennial conflict between human history and the current state of affairs of the societies in the contemporary world is thus a central theme for Kia Henda. In his works, the artist is committed to challenging the false claims created by the ideology related to the birth of European nations and racial politics in relation to black people, the 'Moors', which have massively imposed the European colonial model, spreading it all over the world, thus also helping to create a hybridization of aesthetics, where tribal culture is deformed by the imagination of mass culture.

The Merchant of Venice pays homage to William Shakespeare's play set in late sixteenth century Venice. The male figure photographed in the interior of the Istituto Veneto per le Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, is a Senegalese musician, who, like so many other immigrants, is forced to accept whatever job comes his way just to survive, even at the cost of the proverbial 'pound of flesh'.

The historical and artistic heritage of Venice, the actual situation of many migrants and the fact that this city was chosen by Shakespeare as the setting of his play, make Venice the perfect starting point for this work and for its contemporary representation. The work *The Merchant of Venice* arises from the concern for the lack of representation of the 'outsiders' in classical art. Beyond the issues of migration, the portrait is more concentrated on the question of diaspora, already present in Shakespeare, and on how history becomes a doorway to better understanding the actual situation.

(Kiluanji Kia Henda and Mara Ambrožič)

NOTE: The text is an amended version of a text written by Mara Ambrožič for the exhibition *Kiluanji Kia Henda – Self-Portrait As a White Man* at Galleria Fonti in Naples, Italy, October 22 to December 4, 2010 (http://www.galleriafonti.it/index.php?pagina=comunicati_mostre&id=39).

THE MERCHANT OF VENICE, 2010
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND GALLERIA FONTI, NAPLES

THE MERCHANT OF VENICE

AS GOD WANTS AND THE DEVIL LIKES IT (O.R.G.A.S.M.)

2011-2013, photographic and video installation, variable dimensions

O.R.G.A.S.M. consists of setting up the first African non-governmental organisation (NGO) dedicated to charitable projects in the West. The project was inspired by the book "Dead Aid" by the Zambian author Dambisa Moyo, who after a long career in leading global financial institutions, undertook an enlightening investigation into the perverse strategy of Western aid organizations and their ability to perpetuate Africa's problems. The *O.R.G.A.S.M.* project deliberately uses fiction, satire and irony to turn the established order and create a portrait of paternalistic behaviour that divides and distances the two hemispheres, and which is deeply embedded in the discourse of the organisations and individuals in charge of the huge financial machine called charity.

The work *O.R.G.A.S.M.* is based on an installation with a mural, featuring the organisations' flag, and a video. The flag refers to symbolism as one of the indispensable elements in the creation of an organisation. The video is an 8-minute publicity trailer on the NGO's objectives, which alludes to the films produced in 1970s Colombia baptised 'misery-porn'. The narrative uses various stereotypes – such as violence, homelessness, disconsolate celebrity – that are part of a world of images and situations which are repeatedly and excessively used by humanitarian organisations with the aim of underscoring the legitimacy of the 50-year history of western philanthropy in Africa.

The series of photos *As God Wants And Devil Likes It* (O.R.G.A.S.M. Congress), is composed of manipulated pictures of meetings of European Union leaders, an open studio event in Paris where the artist invited his friends to pose, self-portraits of a performance by the artist Kia Henda and the historical theatre group Txiloli, which includes local cultural elements in its performances and uses, too, classical European dress to enact the story "The Tragedy of Charlemagne and the Marquis of Mantua", intends to raise questions about the schizophrenic relationship between Europe and Africa. A relationship that has enormous cultural, religious and even biological exchange, but at the same time is replete with remarkable hostility and a history of warfare. A relationship that is about charity programs and the trade in armaments, with the same religious beliefs and latent racism.

[Kiluanji Kia Henda]

AS GOD WANTS AND THE DEVIL LIKES IT (O.R.G.A.S.M.), 2011-2013
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND GALLERIA FONTI, NAPLES

Wanja KIMANI

UTOPIA

UTOPIA, 2012
Single channel video (3:50 min)

Utopia is a short film in which the artist portrays herself as the subject and addresses the creative dimensions of migration: both the inward journey of self-discovery and the outward exploration through a foreign landscape. The voyage taken by many from the Global South to Europe, North America and Australia is one of mystery, an adventure into the unknown with big ambition and little information.

Utopia traces the journey of those who are successful in reaching their desired destination. Presented as an archive interview, a seemingly talking passport photograph, the subject reveals her naiveté whilst the interviewer remains unidentified, untraceable and inevitably superior.

References to state and non-state actors as perpetuators of this imbalance are acknowledged and approached with astute humour that calls on viewers to question how issues of social justice are presented in the real world.

[Wanja Kimani]

The participants were all successful in their attempt to migrate to Utopia and completed their 'Life in Utopia' course in 2012.

UTOPIA, 2012, VIDEO STILL
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

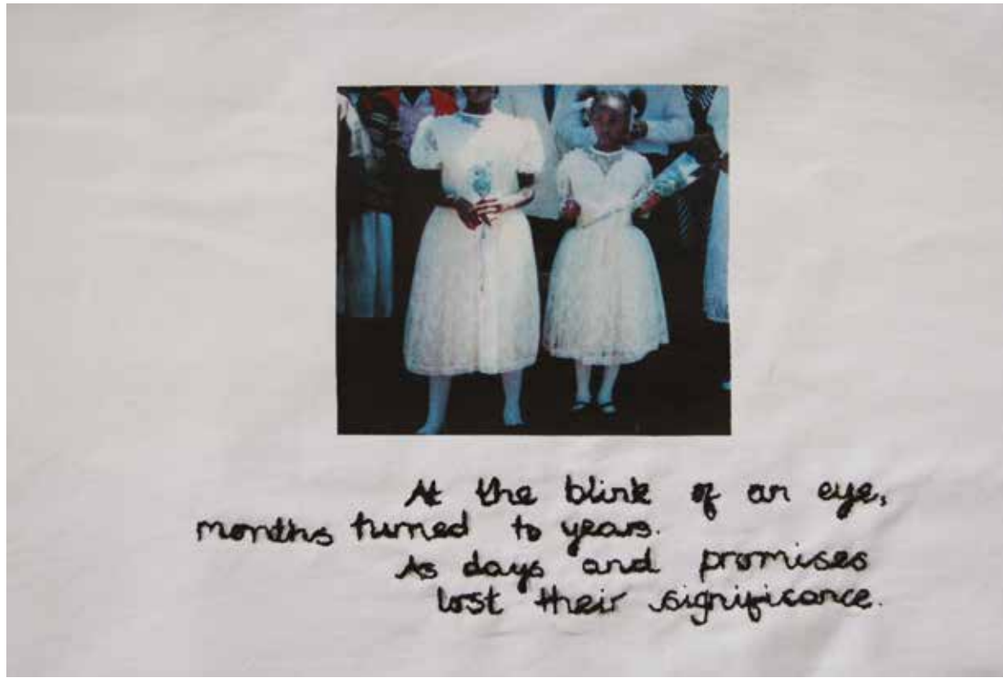
BORROWED INTIMACY

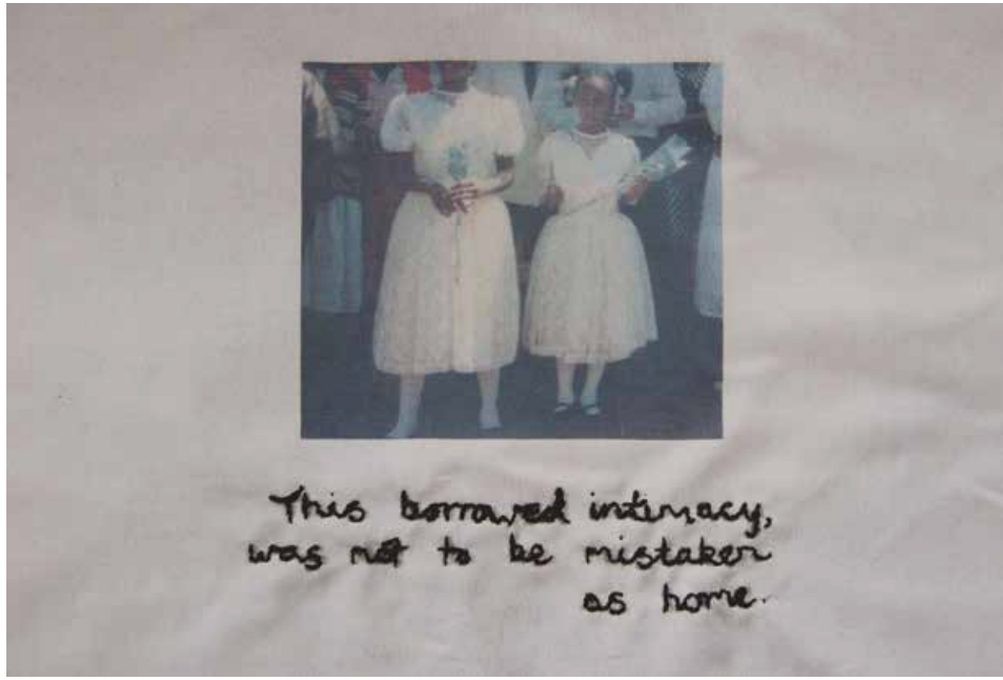
2013, mixed media
25 x 35 cm, edition of 8

This series looks at the process of assimilation into a new surrounding; the act of engaging and creating a new place to belong whilst still holding onto the memory of the previous place. Drawing on my own experience, I look back at the conscious and subconscious processes that led me to see England as my home and think and dream in English. In the text, the object of my affection is my memory of home and the realization that I left it behind and that it no longer is mine to call upon: that it has moved on, grown, and that my memories of it do not necessarily correspond with reality. This process of realization is a slow one in the same manner that the repeated image slowly fades from one piece to the next.

The embroidered text sits on white cotton drill. This fabric was first used for the uniforms of British troops in India during the 1840s and later dyed to a tan colour to provide camouflage during the British Expedition to Abyssinia (modern-day Ethiopia) in 1867-8. The appropriation of a given material signifies a battle won; it allows one to realize that immigration is a creative process that has the power to add different voices to one's personal vocabulary.

[Wanja Kimani]





(TOP) *BORROWED INTIMACY (1)*, 2013

(BOTTOM) *BORROWED INTIMACY (7)*, 2013
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

Miriam Syowia KYAMBI

WOMEN, FRÄULEIN DAMSEL & ME

WOMEN, FRÄULEIN DAMSEL & ME
2007 – ongoing
Phase II Release, 2007-2009
Performance and video installation

In Phase I, *Engaging Entrapment*, I explored my mental entrapment by Kenya's colonial past in relationship with my father and siblings. My father (b. 1936) struggled with growing up under colonial rule and the contrasts he later faced living in Germany for twenty years, returning to his homeland in 1978. His struggles with his own multiple expectations on a nation, on his family, as well as his personal aspirations; growing up I wanted to facilitate these expectations, even though they were not mine to fulfil. I was confronting the internal cage I felt inside of me, that derived from the experiences of my childhood. The installation which housed the performance was constructed with barbed wire and a vinyl collage of protectorate maps of East Africa between 1950 and 1952, beach sand, red wool, broken mirror pieces and three figures in foetal position: symbolizing myself and my siblings.

In a private performance I engaged with the three figures taking down the structure of the installation removing myself and my siblings from the 'entrapment', breaking down the fragmented hanging mirrors in a symbolic gesture confronting our collective history and its effects on our lives. During the last phase of the project, titled *Release*, located along the Indian Ocean on Bofa beach, I cremated the three figures, sending them out to sea on small wooden rafts. I found it important to fully liberate the figures, in order to be able to go beyond the legacies of colonial pasts that have entrapped me.

The original installation *WoMen, Fräulein Damsel & Me / Phase I: Engaging Entrapment* was shown at the Goethe-Institut Nairobi, Kenya in 2008 for my solo exhibition titled *Gender, Power and the Past*. Robby Bresson recorded the video documentation and James Muriuki the photographic documentation.

[Miriam Syowia Kyambi]

WOMEN, FRÄULEIN, DAMSEL & ME
2007-2009, *PHASE II RELEASE*, VIDEO STILL
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

WOMEN, FRÄULEIN, DAMSEL & ME
2007-2009, *PHASE II RELEASE*,
VIDEO STILL
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

ROSE'S RELOCATION

2015, digital pigment print on matt paper
with museum glass frame
28 x 38 cm, edition of 5

Rose is a character I created for a previous work, *Fracture (i).* She is struggling with coping in her current environment, a small town in France. The collages portray her in this town with superimposed images of her memories of her mother's home. A series of five works are presented in a golden frame that is reminiscent of the kinds of frame that a middle class Kenyan household might use to present images of their family members. As much as living overseas often is seen as a great accomplishment, it also often presents a great burden, and can provoke feelings of isolation and loss for many.

I use photography to document objects that have personal symbolism for me, often zooming in and highlighting details. This is the core of my photographic process. These photographs in turn are reconstructed and incorporated into the final installation and performance works and most recently in the digital collage series, *Rose's Relocation*. In contemporary Kenya photography is a readily accepted technique that spans across most economic and social sectors. Photographs are part and parcel of the atmosphere of urban and rural homes; they are in calendars, family albums and displayed as framed pictures and engaged with via television and social media platforms. Photographs penetrate home life; they are a portal into a past time and ultimately create feelings of nostalgia as well as future aspirations.

Part of this work characterises a contemporary woman named 'Rose', who wants to make it in the capital city. She comes from Kirinyaga, a rural town near Embu (approximately 3 hours away from the capital city, Nairobi). Within the installation/performance of *Fracture (i)* is a slide projection of photographs referencing Rose's memories of her mother's home and it's surroundings. Rose is a person that you find often in urban spaces around the world; a person struggling to keep up appearances, striving to obtain the latest gadgets and she is grappling with making sense of her life.

The series *Rose's Relocation* takes the character a step further. Rose has now not only moved from being lower class to middle class, she is living the dream of being overseas. Yet here too as in *Fracture (i)* she navigates her new European small town environment and is facing the pressures of materialism, family expectations and knowing her identity.

[Miriam Syowia Kyambi]

ROSE'S RELOCATION (I) {METZ SERIES}, 2015
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

ROSE'S RELOCATION (IV) {METZ SERIES}, 2015
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

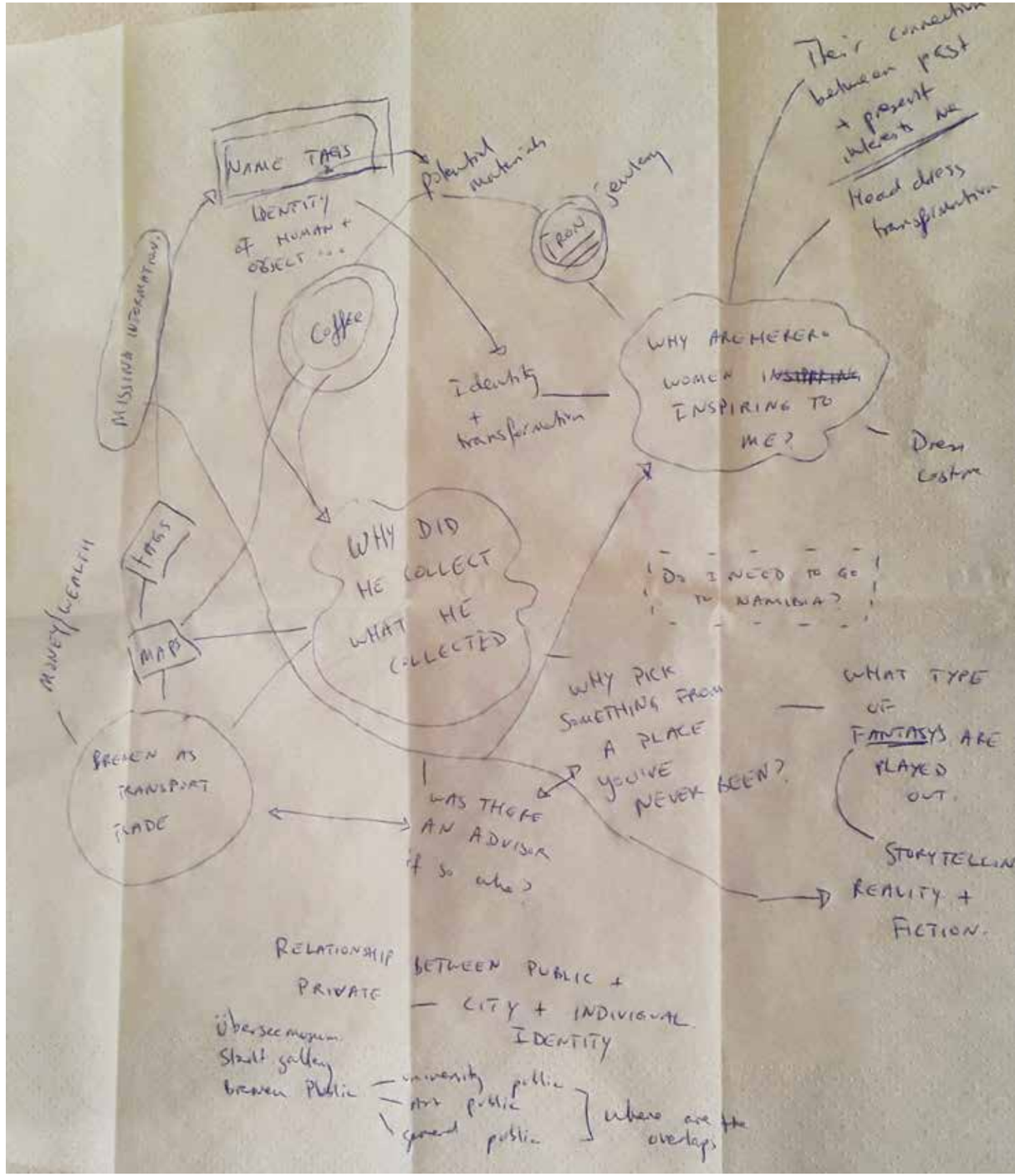
IN PROCESS: SITE-SPECIFIC PROJECT 1

2016, in response to the archive of the Übersee-Museum Bremen

The project with the Übersee-Museum archive is a work in process and the moment of writing this text is at the very beginning of this project. I am not yet able to clearly define the direction this work will take but I would like to take the opportunity to share some initial thoughts.

In 2007 I created a site-specific permanent installation called *Infinity: Flashes of the Past* for the Nairobi National Museum. The work explored the museum´s photography archive and consists of scanned photographs from the archives installed back to front, suspended from an octagon shaped mirror located in the museums circular stairwell. Whilst creating this work I came across a lot of descriptive text on the back of the photographs and have always had a desire to work with the text and the cataloguing elements present in archival material. This is what I hope to do in this project. Within these texts I'm interested in the silences, the missing components, the things that are unmentioned. I am also interested in how or if archival material connects to bodily memory through 'feeling'. I hope to also reinvestigate ritual and spiritual elements in my own performative work and see if/how this connects with the archive. How does this archival material connect with collective and individual memory and what does this mean? How can we make a memory physically present? What are the meanings of the archive? I see my participation as an instrument to another kind of ordering or maybe an intuitive kind of archaeological activity. The starting points for my research will be about missionary involvements in Namibia in the 18th and 19th centuries, and the genocide of the Herero and Namaqua people between 1904 and 1907, and exploring bodily memory in connection to what I discover in the archive.

[Miriam Syowia Kyambi]



PROJECT WITH ÜBERSEE-MUSEUM BREMEN, 2016
SKETCH BY THE ARTIST

Gerald MACHONA

NDIRI CROSS BORDER TRADER, 2010
Photography

Scholarly studies have described the "Nyau" masquerade as a potentially subversive form of performance that was used by the Chewa people while living as 'foreigners' in Zimbabwe and other diasporas. They used it to challenge xenophobia and negative stereotypes associated with their identity as foreigners to Zimbabwean society. Adding a contemporary layer to this negotiation of imposed 'strangeness', I created characters that perform specific occupations typical of African immigrants in South Africa today. Each performer was titled with the Shona prefix 'Ndiri', meaning 'I am'. For example, *Ndiri barber*, *Ndiri barman*, or *Ndiri cross border trader*. For each character I constructed a mask using decommissioned Zimbabwean dollars, which referenced the Nyau masquerade. This led to a new character *Ndiri Afronaut* that performs in an astronaut's suit meticulously stitched out of decommissioned Zimbabwean dollars.

[Gerald Machona]

NDIRI CROSS BORDER TRADER

ITA KUTI KUNAYE I (MAKE IT RAIN I), 2010
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND
GOODMAN GALLERY, CAPE TOWN

VABVAKURE: PEOPLE FROM FAR AWAY

2012, single channel video (12:57 min)

Vabvakure is a body of work that negotiates the condition of xenophobia within Africa through the cultural aesthetic of Afrofuturism. 'Vabvakure' is a Shona word used to describe foreigners, and in the series I explore feelings of estrangement associated with the experience of foreignness while living in South Africa. This series of works was developed as a response to what I call 'the Afrophobic nature' of the xenophobic violence experienced in South Africa in 2008. Central to this body of work is my use of various decommissioned currencies as an aesthetic material, in an attempt to link historic and contemporary trends of African diasporic migration on the continent.

Although the two characters found in the short film *Vabvakure* are derived from the man and woman found in the Chewa myth, they are presented as androgynous beings – my emphasis is not on their gender, but on their unexpected relation, of having similar alien traits. A relationship that acknowledges that they are able to find solace in the fact that they are both strangers to one another. The first character is titled *Ndiri Afronaut (I am an Afronaut)* (2012-2013) and the second *Uri Afronaut (You are an Afronaut)* (2012-2013). They are mirror images of you and me. The first character represents the African foreign national in South Africa, the second the South African citizen. Both are 'alien' to each 'other' but it is within that 'foreignness' that they find communion.

[Gerald Machona]

VABVAKURE (PEOPLE FROM FAR AWAY), 2012
VIDEO STILL, COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND
GOODMAN GALLERY, CAPE TOWN

kabbo ka mwala

Immy MALI

VIRTUALLY MINE, 2016
Mixed media installation

Turning his back on his university qualification at home in Uganda, he travelled to the United Arab Emirates to work as a security guard.

'I am here for the money, not the comfort', was his reply when I asked about his living conditions. Family, friends and I were left behind. He made promises of returning – and between us, as two lovers, more promises of waiting for each other.

It's over a year today. I'm only able to see a misty image of him on Skype, hear his voice in long-distance calls and chat with him via WhatsApp and Facebook. My Sony Xperia C002 is the only presence of him that I can touch. Our entire relationship is now imaginary, worked out by the brain then translated to the heart. Happiness, sadness, laughter, grief, fights – all expressed and felt on this tiny device.

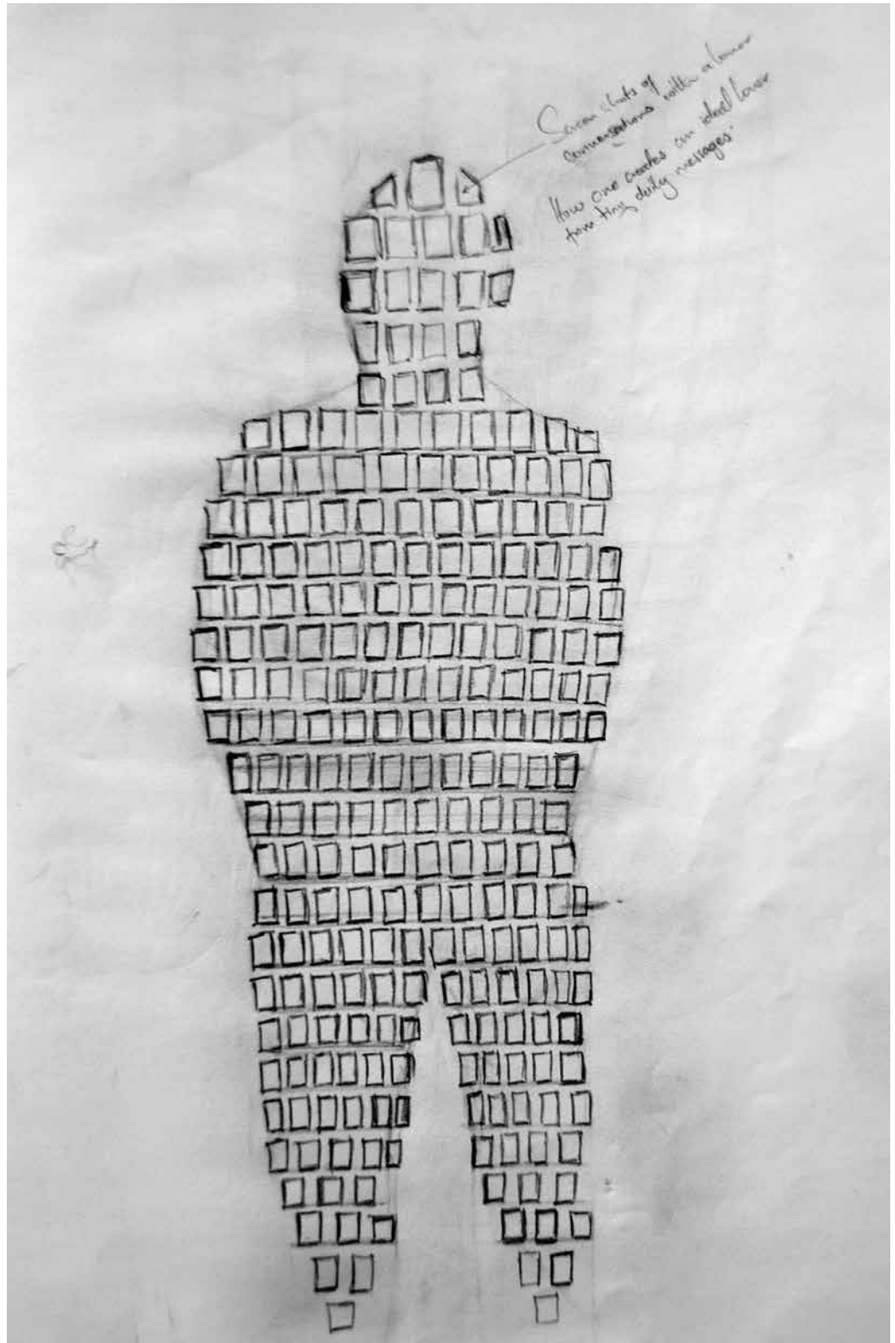
Over time my mind has created an ideal man: broad chest, 6 feet tall, well-built biceps. Images fed to me by television. A man greater in stature who provides a sense of security and hope that I jealously cleave to.

[Immy Mali]

(ABOVE) *VIRTUALLY MINE*, 2016
INSTALLATION DETAIL

(RIGHT) *VIRTUALLY MINE*, 2016
INSTALLATION SKETCH
IMAGES COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

VIRTUALLY MINE



Nástio MOSQUITO

3 CONTINENTS, 2010
Single channel video (7:45 min)

A computer once, out of nowhere, 'turned' to me and said, with a steady male voice: 'IT'S NOT MY FAULT'. I find it amazing how many times my brain tries to trick me into blaming my discontentment on another brain that is not my own. Opportunities are not things to overlook... Make it always your fault, just don't feel guilty or be a nag about it! Be Power.

[Nástio Mosquito]

3 CONTINENTS

3 CONTINENTS, 2010
VIDEO STILLS
IMAGES COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

Victor MUTELEKESHA

NOT YET THERE, 2009
Sculpture and video installation

Not There Yet investigates the human condition of a person in transit, representing all those people who are in a constant state of transit not of their own 'free will', but led by circumstances beyond their control: 'circumstances that pin one between a rock and a hard place'.

In the poem *Home* the Somali-British poet Warsan Shire (*1988) writes:

no one leaves home unless
home is the mouth of a shark
you only run for the border
when you see the whole city running as well
your neighbours running faster than you
breath bloody in their throats
the boy you went to school with
who kissed you dizzy behind the old tin factory
is holding a gun bigger than his body
you only leave home
when home won't let you stay.

Not There Yet charts the metamorphosis of wishes and dreams of a migrant from the point of departure to the latest point in transit. It speaks of a dream that once was and now is.

Incorporated in the installation of a capsized boat frame is the video *Cat and Mouse* in which I impersonate an imaginary immigrant whose story, though seemingly real, is in fact a collage of different situations as observed by me in cities like Venice, Nice and Barcelona.

Along Venice's streets, Nice's beaches and Barcelona's corniche one finds young men and women from African and Asian countries, some enjoying success as entrepreneurs while others just languishing, but all reminiscent about what 'home' once was and unsure about what 'home' will be – talking about the allure of the West and the reality they faced. Often they also talk about the desire to return 'home', but wonder what they would return to and if they can indeed return – the shame quite possibly being too great, considering they have little or nothing to show for the risks taken to cross deserts and seas.

[Victor Mutelekesha]

NOT YET THERE

NOT THERE YET, 2009
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND
FONDAZIONE DI VENEZIA

MWANGI HUTTER

NOTHING SOLID, 2015
Single channel video (28 min)

I am hanging on by the skin of my teeth and that of my children grown adult. They must venture out into the world and reveal themselves, even though it must sting their skin and hurt their eyes. They are calm and beautiful, and enduring. They are not part of the future and have gone beyond the past. One of them has taken great pains to let go. She is shining like a chandelier. She severs each of her precious roots, carefully. The outgrown become-burdens and adjoining bulbs of air drop away, exemplifying the quality of disturbances overcome. The direction each limber vine is carried away is either this way or that, floating by nature. Nothing solid. One can never prepare oneself properly to leave the present moment, much as one tries. Yet this person's dignity surprises, even me, who has done the same in time gone before. It is a world held inwardly, experienced within. We cannot hesitate but change.

[Mwangi Hutter]

NOTHING SOLID

NOTHING SOLID, 2015
VIDEO STILL
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

kabbo ka muwala

NakivArt | Anke FISCHER

BETWEEN GUIDELINES, 2015
Video and text-based collective work
and dialogue

between guidelines is a video that features text-based imagery and dialogues as created by Anke Fischer in collaboration with members of *NakivArt*, a group of artists located in the Nakivale Refugee Settlement in south-western Uganda. The video was especially commissioned for this exhibition.

Having worked in a wide variety of media and with a particular interest in memory and participatory art projects, Fischer invited young artists to explore their role and role shifts as refugees, displaced artists and art facilitators and to translate their experiences into their own guidelines. The participants accumulated footage of linear shapes carrying various guidelines as inscribed on labels on everyday objects, architectural structures, and 'readymades' of both rural and urban origin. In this context they critically reflected their roles as artists, exhibition organizers and hosts of communal art initiatives in the Nakivale Refugee Settlement:

> Some people think we should do something other than art because for them, Nakivale is not the right place to do it. For us the place doesn't matter. It's, like, we should all do the same activities to survive here ... but we are using our brains instead of physical strength, even if there are no art materials. (Collective statement *NakivArt**, 2015)

As the young artists drew up and recorded the guidelines relevant to the *NakivArt* collective, they thus had to negotiate between communal, group and personal concerns. The video *between guidelines* illustrates lines between what is public or private and what it means to work as a young artist in one of Africa's oldest refugee settlements.

Artists involved from *NakivArt*:
Gabriel Dibwe, Dnm Dupris, Ujumbe Falj, Abubakal Issa, Bernadette Itongwa, Emile Kwilyame, Jerome Kwilyame, Jozy Matimano, Raphael Muvunga, Patrick Muvunga and Ben Terarc

Concept:
Anke Fischer

[Anke Fischer]

**NakivArt* is an art collective, originally created in July 2014 by Bárbara de Lira, Carlos Felipe Morgado, Patrick Muvunga and Dezaira Bin Zabona. Since its initial formation, the collective, formed by artists of various nationalities living in Nakivale Refugee Settlement, has created different artistic productions in Nakivale, aiming at integration, self-reflection and community development through arts. Today, *NakivArt* is coordinated by Patrick Muvunga, Emile Kwilyame and Ben Terarc.

BETWEEN GUIDELINES

BETWEEN GUIDELINES, 2015
VIDEO STILLS COLLAGE
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

kabbo kamuwala

Emma WOLUKAU-WANAMBWA

PARADISE

PARADISE, 2012
Multi-media installation, overall dimensions variable

I am currently researching the impact of colonialism on ways of thinking, seeing and remembering. My work in this area explores processes of subject formation, 'colonial exhibitionism', and art education's 'colonial hangovers'.

Paradise is the first work to emerge from my research into the largely forgotten story of the 30,000 Polish refugees who were sent to live in refugee camps in Britain's East African colonies during the Second World War. The work is a meditation on erasure of this history.

[Emma Wolukau-Wanambwa]

Produced supported by a stipend granted by the Foundation of Lower Saxony at the Edith-Russ-Haus for Media Art, Oldenburg, Germany *(Stipendium für Medienkunst der Stiftung Niedersachsen am Edith-Russ-Haus für Medienkunst)*

PARADISE, 2012 (DETAIL)
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

XENSON

MUSISI, 2016
Mixed media installation

Musisi is a performance and an installation inspired by the invisible element that forces people to move or migrate. It could either be economic reasons, marriage, enslavement, natural phenomena, or just a sense of adventure that causes this movement. It is an ambiguous force that deconstructs a utopian vision and creates a complexity and uncertainty of the constructed aesthetic.

My work is multi-layered and includes a lot of metaphors and references. The traditional bark cloth that I use in the installation symbolizes the earth, nature and African ingenuity, but also, in this case, the imminent danger caused by "musisi" (earthquake). There can be survivors, but also casualties. The stitches show the borders imposed either by tribal demarcations or the colonial partition of Africa. They also show their fragility, and how they are increasingly being blurred by intervention of a proposed United States of Africa and other stake holders in the region.

The little baskets represent the carriers, boats and other means of transport that migrants use. Each of the baskets contains 50 coffee beans and 50 black seeds called 'empiki'.

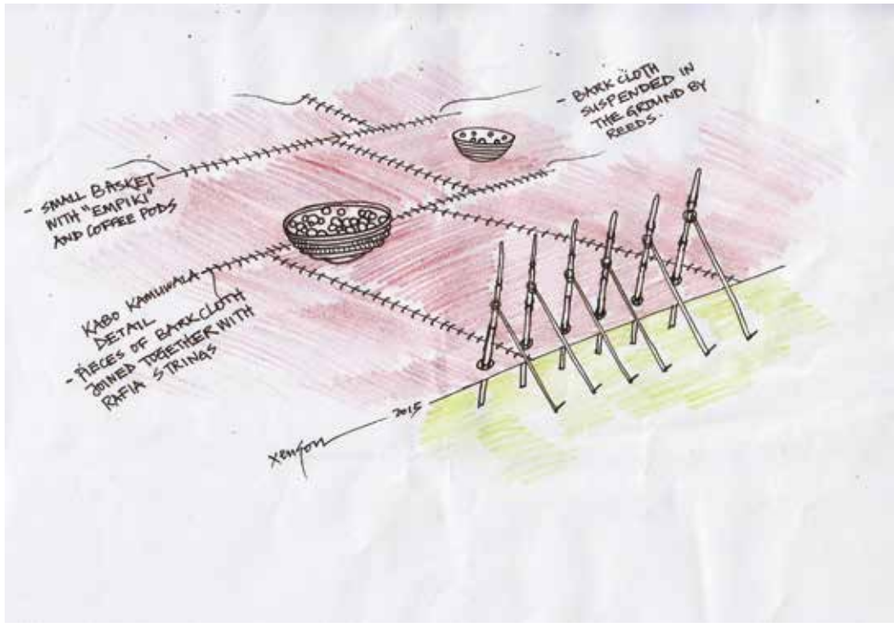
The meaning of the coffee bean is highly spiritual in Baganda culture. For example, in the context of a wedding, a man called 'omuko' introduces and gives the bride away. On the morning of the wedding ceremony he brings some alcohol and coffee beans in a small basket. That gift symbolizes friendship, or 'omukago', literally meaning 'we have bonded'. The custom is also a symbol of being at peace with oneself and with the community one comes to live with.

The empiki seeds, in contrast, are used in a popular game called 'omweso'. The meaning they carry is that life is always a 50/50 gamble, and even though we sometimes try to carefully plan it, it always remains an adventure, as there are just too many variables to control – assuming that one can even control them. Movement can be planned or forced, but still the outcome might not be what was expected. The empiki seeds symbolize the force inherent in movement.

Coincidentally, *Musisi* is a current commentary on the prevailing social-political phenomenon of evictions happening within and on the outskirts of Kampala city.

[Xenson]

MUSISI



MUSISI, 2016
INSTALLATION SKETCHES
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

Helen ZERU

I LIVE, LEAVE, EVERYWHERE, 2014-16
Performances and video installation

This project builds on and extends a previous work consisting of three interlinked performances entitled *One Foot In, One Foot Out, Inside Out* and *Guzo*.

This work, first executed in 2014, explored migration within East Africa, focusing on Eritrean and Ethiopian migrants in particular. The project inception was the result of a close relationship I developed with some migrants. We bonded deeply and they shared tales of their unfinished journeys with me. These were not alien to me, but reminded me of similar stories told by close family who migrated from Eritrea to Ethiopia. Such stories unleash cultural identities and political constructions that operate within the refugee community.

Through my predominantly performance-based practice, I try to understand exile, what it means to seek asylum and, more generally, the phenomenon of diaspora. What characterizes the journeys that individuals take to live in a new place? What happens in the space between home and a planned destination? Where do they leave their values, culture, thoughts and beliefs? When do these values plummet on the road behind them? How do they assimilate or even integrate into a new culture and society? How are their values transformed by the prevailing culture? And how does culture pass from generation to generation?

All of these questions I tried to address in the three interlinked performances entitled *One Foot In, One Foot Out, Inside Out* and *Guzo*, whereby I took on the role of being a migrant on the move to a new place. To underline how free mobility differs from forced mobility, migration most often being the latter, I took a very static being, a tree, to metaphorically represent what it means to migrate. In the three performances I thus uprooted a big tree, applied salt to the place where it had once stood (rendering the land infertile) and replanted it in an urban location. What does it mean for a tree/migrant to be uprooted and replanted in a new place and will the tree's/a migrant's roots ever find their way back into the soil again?

For *I Live, Leave, Everywhere*, my contribution to the *Kabbo ka Muwala* exhibition, I use soil, a physical entity shared by humans around the world, to explore human mobility. Soil represents what migrants leave behind and serves as a metaphor loaded with significance in much of Africa.

[Helen Zeru]

I LIVE, LEAVE, EVERYWHERE

INSIDE OUT, 2014
PERFORMANCE, VIDEO STILL
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND ALEX LYONS / 32° EAST

(ABOVE) *ONE FOOT IN, ONE FOOT OUT*, 2014, VIDEO STILL
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND ALEX LYONS / 32° EAST

(RIGHT) *GUZO*, 2014, PERFORMANCE, PHOTOGRAPH
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND KATRIN PETERS-KLAPHAKE

Rut Karin ZETTERGREN

THE OUTLANDERS, 2012-13
Web video/TV series, 7 episodes

The Outlanders is a web TV series about a couple living in Rinkeby*, a suburb with a bad reputation, built during the utopian 'Million Programme'**, a public housing project located near the former military training ground Järvafältet in northern Stockholm. The area is commonly known as a problem area and often described in media as one of the most dangerous neighbourhoods with the highest crime rate in Sweden. It's also often put as an example of Sweden's failure to integrate immigrants into the society as nearly 90% of its inhabitants are from immigrant backgrounds. As a citizen of Rinkeby I want to create an alternative image of people living here than what is usually portrayed in the media. In the series, we follow the couple as they search for aliens at Järvafältet, send sunbeam reflections from Granholmstoppen, light signals from a football field, and work longer in the local grocery store. Their greatest desire is that aliens will one day land and join them so that they are no longer Sweden's only outlanders.

The work was created within the Husby TV project, a cooperation between the Department of Computer and Systems Science at Stockholm University, the Royal Institute of Art and Moderna Museet (Modern Museum). The first episode was launched at Husby Carnival and at Moderna Museet in Stockholm. It has since then continued to grow and is now broadcast through the web.

[Rut Karin Zettergren]

** Rinkeby is one of 5 suburbs surrounding Järvafältet (Rinkeby, Tensta, Hjulsta, Akalla and Husby). It has 15,000 inhabitants, a centre with a metro station, a shopping zone, and a library. A Swedish sociolect called* Rinkebysvenska *('Rinkeby Swedish') has been named after Rinkeby. The sociolect is a multi-ethnic youth language that is broadly spoken by youth from similar suburban areas around Sweden.*

*** 'Million Programme' is the name of the ambitious public housing programme where about 1,006,000 new dwellings were built between 1965 and 1974 by the governing Swedish Social Democratic Party to make sure everyone could have a home at a reasonable price. Due to its poor aesthetics the suburbs are often referred to as 'concrete suburbs'. One of the main aims behind the planning of these residential areas was to create 'good democratic citizens'. A principal objective, although ultimately unsuccessful, was to mix and integrate households of different ethnic groups and different kinds of tenure.*

THE OUTLANDERS

THE OUTLANDERS, 2012-13
COLLAGE OF VIDEO STILLS
COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND EHIS IDADA

kabbo ka muwala

Appendix

ARTISTS

Berry Bickle, born in 1959, belongs to the generation of African artists who emerged onto the international art scene in the early 1990s. She was a recipient of the Rockefeller Foundation scholarship as an artist in residence in 2010. Her work has been exhibited internationally in locations including the Havana Biennale, Cuba (1994), the Johannesburg Biennale, South Africa (1995), Africa Remix (2006/2008), Dakar Biennale, Senegal (2002, 2006), Iwalewa-Haus/Kunstmuseum Bayreuth, Germany, Palais de Beaux Arts, Brussels, National Museum of African Art/Smithsonian Institute Washington (2013), Bamako Biennale (where she was awarded the Jury prize) and the Zimbabwe Pavilion at the Venice Biennale (2011). She lives and works in Maputo, Mozambique, and Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. [http://africa.si.edu/exhibits/textures/artist-bickle.html]

Jodi Bieber, born in 1960, is a South African photographer. She has won numerous international awards, including the Premier Award at the World Press Photo in 2010. She has published three monographs: *Between Dogs and Wolves – Growing up with South Africa* (1996), *Soweto* (2010) and *Real Beauty* (2014). Her projects are exhibited in solo and group shows locally and abroad. She also mentors students working with grants to produce their projects, and gives lectures and photographic workshops all over the world. [www.jodibieber.com]

Rehema Chachage is a mixed media artist working mostly in video and sculptural installations as well as performance. She graduated with a BA degree in Fine Arts in 2009 from the Michaelis School of Fine Art at the University of Cape Town. The themes explored in her work are very much determined by her situatedness, but the most prominent ones are 'rootedness' 'gender' and 'identity', explored in her earlier works from the point of view of a stranger, the outsider, the other, alien and often voiceless – a feeling gathered from the social alienation she experienced in the four years she spent as a 'cultural foreigner' and a non-South African, black female student in a predominantly white middle-class oriented institution. Of late, her interest in these themes have steered her in the direction of exploring rituals as valuable tools for deconstructing and examining social norms and tensions, including women's identity, gender relations and subversion. [www.rehemachachage.com]

Mimi Cherono Ng'ok is a photographer currently based in Nairobi, Kenya. Following her studies at the University of Cape Town, South Africa, she participated in residencies in Salvador de Bahia, Brazil; Berlin, Germany; Accra, Ghana, and most recently Abidjan, Ivory Coast. In 2010, Cherono Ng'ok won first prize in the PhotoAfrica contest for her entry, *Self-portrait*. Her work has been featured in exhibitions at Tiwani Contemporary, London (2015), Rencontres de la photographie Africaine, Bamako (2015), Dak'art: African Contemporary Art Biennale, Senegal (2014), Savvy Contemporary, Berlin (2011) and the Market Photo Workshop Johannesburg (2008).

Kudzanai Chiurai was born in 1981 in Harare, Zimbabwe, where he currently lives and works. His work is focused on tracing the trajectory of political, economic and social conditions in his homeland from colonialism and independence, to the present day. Chiurai completed a BA degree in Fine Arts at the University of Pretoria (2005). Notable international exhibitions include *The Divine Comedy: Heaven, Purgatory and Hell Revisited*, curated by Simon Njami (2014-15); and exhibitions at the Museum of Modern Art in New York (2011), the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (2011), and dOCUMENTA (13). His film *Iyeza* was screened at the Sundance Film Festival in 2013.

Anke Fischer is an artist and lecturer based in Berlin. She holds a BA degree in Fine Art from Sheffield Hallam University, in the United Kingdom. In 2000, she was awarded a place at Marina Abramovic's Master's Programme at the School of Fine Arts in Braunschweig. She was also a member of Professor Birgit Hein's experimental film class. Fischer works with drawing, expanded drawing, sound, video, installation and participation/engaged art. Her collective video series and installations conceiving participatory forms, have been exhibited. She has curated gallery education programs and group shows. Since 2010 she has been a lecturer at the Institute of Art and Visual Culture, at Carl von Ossietzky University, Oldenburg. [www.ankefischer.com]

Anawana Haloba, born in 1978 in Livingstone in Zambia, works with performance-based video and sound installations, using the body as a medium. Her work explores the positions and relations of different communities within varied political, social, socio-economic and cultural contexts, taking into consideration the histories of the given societies and how they relate to the now. She is also interested in finding unexplored alternative histories and understanding how their adoption might have differently influenced the thinking positions of given communities. Using poetry and short phrases she then sketches the processes and findings on the themes or situations of each study to create the physical work. She lives and works in Oslo, Norway. [www.anawanahaloba.com]

Kiluanji Kia Henda was born in 1979 in Luanda and works between Luanda and Lisbon. His solo exhibitions have been held in galleries and institutions around the world. A profound springboard into this realm comes from growing up in a household of photography enthusiasts. His conceptual edge was sharpened by immersing himself in music and avant-garde theatre and collaborating with a collective of artists in Luanda. Kia Henda has participated in several residency programs and in the following selected exhibitions: Triennial of Luanda (2007) *Check List Luanda Pop*, African Pavilion, Venice Biennale (2007), *Farewell to Post-Colonialism*, Triennial of Guangzhou (2008), *There is always a cup of sea to sail in*, 29th São Paulo Biennial, (2010), *Tomorrow Was Already Here*, Tamayo Museum, Mexico City (2012), *Les Prairies*, Les Ateliers de Rennes (2012), *Mondays Begins On Saturday*, First Bergen Triennial (2013), *The Shadows Took Form*, The Studio Museum of Harlem, New York (2013), *The Divine Comedy*, Museum für Moderne Kunst, Frankfurt (2014), and *Surround Audience*, New Museum Triennial, New York (2015). In 2012 he was awarded the National Award for Culture and the Arts by the Angolan Ministry of Culture.

Wanja Kimani, born in 1986 in Nairobi, lives and works in Addis Ababa. Her visual practice weaves stories and visual histories which explore and reflect upon the fragility of memory, the imagination, loss and trauma. Her work functions as a medium by which the artist and participants are able to understand the past and locate the present. She imposes elements of her own life into public spaces, creating a personal narrative where she is both author and character. Her new body of work, *The Art of Pretence*, is an exploration of modern day feminist ideologies and experiences, capturing the nuances of the societies she inhabits; the migratory and postcolonial condition which is marked by resilience and transformation. The work is trans-medial encompassing performance, installation, film and textiles. [www.wanjakimani.com]

Miriam Syowia Kyambi, born in 1979, is a multi-media artist of Kenyan and German heritage based in Nairobi, Kenya. Her work combines performance with impermanent and permanent mediums including clay, sisal, paint and photography. Much of her work dissects and questions perception and memory. She examines how the contemporary human experience is influenced by constructed history, past and present violence, colonialism, family and sexuality. Syowia graduated with a Bachelor of Fine Arts degree from the School of the Art Institute of Chicago (2002), where she resided for five years

before returning to Kenya in 2003. She has been the recipient of several prestigious awards and grants including second place in the UNESCO Award for the Promotion of the Arts, the Art in Global Health Grant from the Wellcome Trust Fund in the United Kingdom, a grant from Mexico's Ministry of External Affairs, and commissions from the Kenya Institute of Administration, the National Museums of Kenya and the Art 4 Action Foundation in Kenya. Her work has been shown in Belgium, Finland, Kenya, Mali, Mexico, South Africa, France, Germany and the United States of America. [www.syowiakyambi.com]

Gerald Ralph Tawanda Machona is a Zimbabwe-born visual and performance artist. He received his Master's degree in Fine Art (Sculpture) from Rhodes University in 2013 and holds a BA degree in Fine Art (New media) from the University of Cape Town. He works in sculpture, performance, new media, photography and film. A notable aspect of his work is his innovative use of currency – particularly decommissioned Zimbabwean Dollars – through which he explores migrant and diasporic narratives as well as the creative limits of visual art production. In 2015 Machona's work featured in the South African pavilion at the Venice Biennale in Italy. He has also participated in several international group exhibitions such as *Making Way* at the Standard Bank Gallery in Johannesburg (2013), *The Beautiful Ones*, Nolan Judin Gallery, Berlin (2013) and *US II*, Iziko South African National Gallery, Cape Town (2010). Machona is also the recipient of a Mellon Scholarship and a member of the Visual and Performing Arts of Africa (ViPAA) research group at Rhodes University.

Anderu Immaculate (Immy) Mali, born in Arua, Uganda, in 1990, is a multi media artist who lives and works in Kampala, Uganda. Mali's work revolves around personal narratives of living in Uganda. She creates precarious installations in an attempt to digest the pain of childhood incidents and offer perspectives on human resilience and what can be overcome by representing pain as an emotion that can be touched.

Nástio Mosquito is a multimedia artist known for performances, videos, music and poetry that show an intense commitment to the open-ended potential of language. Easily misread as a kind of world-weariness, it is the extraordinary expression of an urgent desire to engage with reality at all levels. Mosquito has shown his work and performed live worldwide and has received awards including the Future Generation Art Prize 2014 (Ukraine), the Cedric Willemen Award 2015 (Belgium) and the Angola 35 Graus 2015 (Angola). [www.nastiomosquito.com]

Victor Mutelekesha, born in 1976 in Chililabombwe, Zambia, received his art education from the Evelyn Hone College of Applied Arts and Commerce in Lusaka, Zambia, and the National Arts Academy in Oslo, Norway. He works with recurrent issues pertaining to the human condition, which he confronts through different perspectives and mediums. His focus is oriented towards the 'displacement' of the human (mental or otherwise), which is generated by ongoing repressive manipulation and by the increasingly visible social and environmental breakdown of a culture permeated with wars and conflicts. He has participated in many solo and group exhibitions and is a recipient of several grants and awards. He currently lives and works in Oslo, Norway. [www.mutelekesha.blogspot.com]

Ingrid Mwangi was born in Nairobi and **Robert Hutter** was born in Ludwigshafen/Rhein in Germany. They both received New Artistic Media degrees from the University of Fine Arts Saar, Saarbrücken, and received scholarships from the Studienstiftung des Deutschen Volkes, and residency scholarships of the Rhineland-Palatinate studio at the Cité Internationale des Arts, Paris. After working together for several years and marrying, Mwangi and Hutter merged their names and biographies and became a single artist, Mwangi Hutter. Working with video, photography, installation, sculpture and performance, they often use their own bodies as the sounding board to reflect on changing societal realities, creating an aesthetics of self-knowledge and interrelationship. Mwangi Hutter live and work in Berlin, Germany and Nairobi, Kenya. [www.mwangihutter.com]

Emma Wolukau-Wanambwa, born in Glasgow in 1976, studied literature at Cambridge University and art at the Slade School of Fine Art, University College London. She is Director of Research at the Nagenda International Academy of Art & Design in Namulanda, Uganda, and has recently been awarded a research fellowship at the Academy of Art & Design in Bergen, Norway. She is also convener of the Another Roadmap for Arts Education network's Africa Cluster. Emma's artistic work encompasses installation, sound, video, photography, printmaking, writing and drawing. Recent and upcoming exhibitions include *Feedback: Art, Africa and the Eighties* (Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth, US and touring), *Greetings to Those Who Asked About Me* (Contemporary Image Collective, Cairo), *Artificial Facts* (Kunsthaus Dresden and CA2M Madrid), and *Giving Contours to Shadows* (Savvy Contemporary/Neuer Berliner Kunstverein). Emma is currently researching the impact of colonialism on ways of thinking, seeing and remembering. Her work in this area explores processes of subject formation, colonial exhibitionism and art education's colonial hangovers. [www.wolukau-wanambwa.net]

Xenson (Samson Ssenkaaba), born in 1978, is a multi-media artist who interrogates contemporary issues of hybrid identity, consumerism, postcolonial histories and global circulation of culture through a synergy of installations, videos, poetry, fashion and paintings. His latest body of hybrid works titled *Canerica* (2012 – present) form a virtual eco-world that explores the consumerist tendencies and power hierarchies that are present in contemporary society. He has exhibited his work in group and solo shows in Uganda and internationally. He has been a part of many residency programmes including Instituto Buena Bista, Curacao, Deveron Arts, Scotland, and 32° East Ugandan Arts Trust, Kampala. Xenson lives and works in Kampala, Uganda. [www.xensonfashion.com]

Helen Zeru Araya, born in Addis Ababa in 1987, studied economics at Bahir Dar University before enrolling at Addis Ababa University of Fine Art where she received her BFA in 2008. After her graduation she studied photography with the DESTA for Africa Foundation for one year. She is an active member of Netsa Art Village, and works as a studio artist and freelance photographer, and also as an art-therapist for several local NGOs. Helen works with photography, video art, performance, painting and charcoal drawings. Her works often start as reflections of personal and emotional themes, and end up entering a broader social context, touching upon relevant and pressing issues in society. [www.helenzeruaraya.wordpress.com]

Rut Karin Zettergren was born 1984 in Gothenburg, Sweden. Her works explore popular music, dance, creolised internet culture and futuristic possibilities for changing the world. In many works she uses an alter ego and makes performance art interventions in everyday life which are filmed and turned into video works that are later displayed as installations, short films and on websites. Her works have been exhibited internationally at screenings and galleries including FACT, Liverpool (2012), The Barbican Centre, London (2013), The Taiwan International Video Art Exhibition (2014) and Oberhausen Film Festival (2015). She studied Fine Art in Kampala and Havana, and received her MFA from The Royal Institute of Art in Stockholm in 2011. She lives and works in Stockholm, Sweden. [www.rutkarinzettergren.se]

CONTRIBUTORS

Raphael Chikukwa has been chief curator at the National Gallery of Zimbabwe since 2010. Born in Zimbabwe, he was first inspired to pursue a curatorial career by the 2nd Johannesburg Biennale in 1997. He holds an MA in Curating Contemporary Design from Kingston University, London. Chikukwa was the founding curator of the Zimbabwe Pavilion at the Venice Biennale in 2010-2011; he curated both the 1st Zimbabwe Pavilion in 2011 and the 2nd Zimbabwe Pavilion in 2013. In 2013 he acted as the founding coordinator of the 1st Zimbabwe Curatorial Workshop and Forum, that saw regional emerging and established curators exchange experiences and views at the National Gallery of Zimbabwe. Most recently he was invited to serve on the selection committee of the Future Generation Art Prize 2014. Chikukwa regularly contributes to exhibition catalogues and scholarly journals, among which are African Identities, Art South Africa, and Savvy Contemporary.

Yordanos Seifu Estifanos holds an MA in Migration and Intercultural Relations (EMMIR) from the University of Oldenburg, Germany. He also earned an MSc. in Population, Environment and Development from the Institute of Population Studies (IPS), Addis Ababa University. He earned his BA in Economics from Jimma University. Estifanos has previously worked for national and international organizations and has published two monographs and research articles. He is currently working on the establishment of a regional think tank in East Africa as well as actively working on the creation of Africa Unbound Inc. His research interest focuses on demographic transition in Africa, the political economy of migration, youth and the nexus among population, environment and development.

Katharina Hoffmann is a member of the 'Working Group Migration – Gender – Politics' at Carl von Ossietzky University Oldenburg, Germany. She holds a PhD in history and has worked as an historian for projects on remembering the atrocities of National Socialism. She also lectures in Gender Studies. Her projects on memory cultures have focused on forced labour under national socialist rule and on the memorialisation of a former U-boat bunker in Bremen. Her main areas of research and teaching are memory cultures, gender and 'transitional justice', migration and diversity.

Rose Jaji is a senior lecturer in the Department of Sociology at the University of Zimbabwe. She holds a PhD in Anthropology from Bayreuth University in Germany, a BSc in Sociology and an MSc in Sociology and Social Anthropology from the University of Zimbabwe. Her doctoral thesis is on refugee women and integration in Nairobi, Kenya. Her research areas of interest are migration, identity, belonging, citizenship, refugee and minority groups' rights and gender. She has published on the subjects of refugee masculinities and femininities, refugee containment, refugee hosting and identity, asylum seekers and border crossing as well as humanitarian law and politics. Her current research is on Western migrants in Zimbabwe.

Kiluanji Kia Henda, see artists' section, p.185.

Anna Kućma is an independent curator collaborating with Makerere Art Gallery/Institute for Heritage Conservation and Restoration. She also acts the Creative Director of the Uganda Press Photo Award, a yearly photography competition and series of exhibitions, workshops, portfolio reviews and talks. She holds an MA in Cultural Policy and Management from Sheffield Hallam University, UK. She has also worked at the National Art Gallery in Nyanza, Rwanda as an assistant curator during preparations for the yearly display of the Gallery's permanent collection. In 2014, she was selected to participate in the Independent Curators International Curatorial Intensive in Addis Ababa.

Ingmar Lähnemann is a curator at the Städtische Galerie Bremen. Having read art history, ethnology and Spanish language and literature at the Universities of Freiburg, Madrid and Bonn, he dedicated his PhD dissertation to a close study of the American-Irish artist Brian O´Doherty/Patrick Ireland and the origins of artistic institutional critique. From 2006 to 2009 Lähnemann worked as an assistant curator at Kunsthalle Bremen. Alongside organizing exhibitions with new media artists Christina Kubisch, Manfred Mohr, and Norman White, he also coordinated, for the duration of the renovation of Kunsthalle Bremen, a loan exhibition, entitled *Noble Guests*, which sent major works from the collection to twenty-two other galleries and museums in Germany. From 2009 to 2014, Lähnemann was a curator at Edith Russ Site for Media Art in Oldenburg, also serving as interim director in 2012. In these roles he curated exhibitions with Guy Ben-Ner, Kerstin Ergenzinger, Yunchul Kim, Hörner/Antlfinger, and Timo Toots, as well as a group show featuring laureates of the Edith Russ Site Award for Emerging Media Artists.

Gerald Ralph Tawanda Machona, see artists' section, p.186.

Katrin Peters-Klaphake is a curator at Makerere Art Gallery/Institute for Heritage Conservation and Restoration (IHCR) and lecturer at Margaret Trowell School of Industrial and Fine Arts (MTSIFA), Makerere University, Kampala. She is in charge of the exhibition program and the care of the gallery's art collection. Among others, she co-curated the local section of the exhibition project *Visionary Africa – Art at Work 2012* in Kampala and was a founding member the Kampala contemporary art festival *KLA ART 012* in the same year. Recent activities include collaboration with *History In Progress Uganda* photography project, serving as a jury member for the annual Uganda Press Photo Award and being on the curatorial team of the Portfolio Meetings, a master class for photographers in Africa. Currently, Peters-Klaphake is working on a longer-term research project on African Modernism and collection histories in collaboration with the Museum of World Cultures, Frankfurt, and the Iwalewa-Haus, Bayreuth.

Lydia Potts is a social scientist specializing in migration studies as well as in gender studies. She teaches Political Science, Intercultural Education, and Women's and Gender Studies at Carl von Ossietzky University of Oldenburg, Germany, and has also extensive experience in transnational research, teaching and curriculum development with European, Arab and African partners. Dr. Potts directs the working group 'Migration – Gender – Politics' and has been coordinating director of the Erasmus Mundus Master Course 'European Master in Migration and Intercultural Relations' (EMMIR) since 2010. Her main fields of research are global migration and gender, migrant families, single migrant mothers, migration and ageing, and travel literature written by women.

kabbo ka muwala

KURZFASSUNGEN/ABSTRACTS

Seite 18 Patriarchale Logik, „Verletzungen“ von Weiblichkeit und simbabwische Migrantinnen (Rose Jaji)

Vieles in der Rhetorik zu Geschlechterbeziehungen in Simbabwe geht davon aus, dass diese Beziehungen und das Patriarchat auf dem sie basieren, statisch sind, omnipotent und immun gegen Verhandlungen und Veränderungen. Das Resultat ist eine fortlaufende und homogenisierende Darstellung von Frauen als Opfer, ohne Berücksichtigung ihres jeweiligen sozio-ökonomischen Status. Die Rhetorik stellt Frau-Sein und Weiblichkeit weiterhin als von Natur aus beschwerlich, limitiert und synonym mit verwehrten Chancen dar. Das besondere Augenmerk des Artikels liegt auf dem Zusammenhang zwischen weiblicher Migration und Geschlechterbeziehungen unter simbabwischen Migrant_innen. Transnationale Mobilität ermöglicht die Transformation von Geschlechterbeziehungen und konfiguriert Männer- und Frauenrollen neu. Geschlechterbeziehungen in Simbabwe, so wie sie durch die patriarchale Ideologie strukturiert sind, setzen ganz bestimmte Pflichten und Verantwortungen voraus. Die gesellschaftliche und familiäre Stellung von Männern und Frauen ist abhängig von der Verrichtung spezifischer Aufgaben in Übereinstimmung mit den vorherrschenden Geschlechterideologien. So werden die Privilegien, die das Patriarchat den Männern einräumt, durch männliche Verpflichtungen rationalisiert, auf deren Grundlage die Unterordnung der Frauen fortbesteht. Dieser Artikel diskutiert die Veränderungen in den Geschlechterbeziehungen, die sich immer dann ereignen, wenn Frauen durch Migration ihnen zuvor nicht zugängliche ökonomische Möglichkeiten erhalten. Er zeigt auch Schnittstellen zwischen weiblicher Migration und Machtveränderungen dort auf, wo Männer nicht mehr in der Lage sind, die Verpflichtungen ihrer spezifischen Geschlechterrolle zu erfüllen und die Frauen diese Rollen übernehmen.

Seite 32 “Du bist das Zuhause ...” Flüchtlinge und Lager in Uganda (Katharina Hoffmann)

Uganda ist das achtgrößte Aufnahmeland von Flüchtlingen weltweit und das drittgrößte in Afrika. Dieser Beitrag verbindet Kunstperformance, Lieder und Lyrik mit Datenanalysen, um die politische Strategie der Eigenständigkeit von Flüchtlingen, ihrer Unabhängigkeit von Hilfsunterstützungen und der damit verbundenen Verantwortlichkeit für den eigenen Lebensunterhalt, am Beispiel des Nakivale Settlements, des achtgrößten Flüchtlingslagers weltweit, einzuschätzen. In den Blick geraten dabei insbesondere kreative künstlerische Formen der Flüchtlinge, Repräsentationen ihrer Erfahrungen.

Seite 44 Der Traum vom Süden und die Risiken der Migration: Junge erwachsene Migrant_innen auf dem Weg von Südäthiopien nach Südafrika (Yordanos Seifu Estifanos)

Süd-Süd Migration macht heute die Hälfte der weltweiten Migration aus. Dieser Artikel beschäftigt sich mit der Migration junger Erwachsener von Südäthiopien nach Südafrika und mit den Faktoren, die diese Migration über einen Zeitraum von zwei Jahrzehnten vorangetrieben, verstärkt und perpetuiert haben. Er beschäftigt sich insbesondere mit der Frage, auf welche Weise Geschichten, die die Pioniere der äthiopischen Migration über ihren finanziellen und materiellen Erfolg in Südafrika erzählen, weitere Migration begünstigen. Zurzeit träumen viele, wenn auch vielleicht nicht die Mehrzahl der Jugendlichen und jungen Erwachsenen in Südäthiopien, verzweifelt von Südafrika und sind beständig auf der Suche nach Schlupflöchern, um dorthin zu kommen. Südafrika ist zu einem Traumland geworden, wo das Geld in Strömen fließt und der Erfolg selbstverständlich ist. Daneben stehen eine Unzahl von Risiken und erdrückenden Schwierigkeiten in der Erfahrung jener Immigrant_innen, die fortgegangen und wieder zurückgekommen sind. Die Risiken in individuellen Geschichten wirken oft übertrieben und an den Haaren herbeigezogen, um eine stärkere Wirkung zu erzielen. Es handelt sich jedoch um tatsächliche, biographische Erlebnisse, und sie enthalten Hinweise auf diejenigen, die nicht überlebt haben. Diese Geschichten bleiben der allgemeinen Öffentlichkeit und den Mainstream-Medien verborgen.

Seite 58 Imagine/Nation. Xenophobie: Vermittlung durch visuelle und Perforrmance-Kunst (Gerald Ralph Tawanda Machona)

Der Autor erläutert Kontext, Hintergrund und theoretische Basis seines Multimediawerks *Vabvakure*: *Menschen von weit her*. Die Arbeit stellt sowohl die xenophobischen Einstellungen im Allgemeinen als auch die afrophobischen Einstellungen im Besonderen in Frage, welche in den vergangenen Jahren die Gewalt gegen Ausländer_innen in Südafrika angeheizt haben. Der Einsatz von visueller und Performance-Kunst als Ort öffentlicher Intervention und Mittel zur Mediation, argumentiert der Autor, könnte zu Einsichten führen und unter Umständen sogar Lösungen hervorbringen, wie mit xenophobischen und afrophobischen Gefühlen umzugehen sei. *Vabvakure* besteht aus Film und Video, Performance und Skulptur und wurde erstmals 2013 im Guy Butler Theatre in Südafrika präsentiert. *Vabvakure* geht zurück auf *Nyau* oder *Gule Wamkulu*, maskierten Gesellschaften und Vorführungen, einer wichtigen kulturellen Praxis des Chewa Volkes aus Malawi. Beide Formen waren und sind Sinnbilder des Chewa-Seins und bieten eine Plattform um bei Spannungen, inklusive der aus Fremdheit resultierenden zu vermitteln. *Nyau* wurde benutzt um Identitätsformen zu konstruieren und zu imaginieren, die der stereotypisierenden und herabsetzenden Etikettierung der nicht einheimischen Chewa entgegenwirken konnten. Im 20. Jahrhundert entwickelte es sich zu einer sowohl in Simbabwe als auch Südafrika bekannten migrationskulturellen Praxis. Der Autor stellt die Verbindung her zwischen dem ‚Anderssein‘ in der historischen Chewa Diaspora im kolonialen Simbabwe und Sambia und der Situation des ‚Fremdseins‘ in der heutigen südafrikanischen Diaspora. *Vabvakure* verbindet Elemente transformierter traditioneller Kultur mit der Ästhetik des Afrofuturismus wie etwa in Gestalt des Afronauten.

Seite 80 Körbe, Ballons, Boote und Grenzlinien. Ein künstlerischer *migrational turn* (Raphael Chikukwa, Ingmar Lähnemann, Katrin Peters-Klaphake)

Die Ausstellung *Kabbo ka Muwala – The Girl's Basket* betrachtet Migration aus der Perspektive der zeitgenössischen Künstler_innen der Region. In der Vergangenheit wurden die drei Länder, die nun Gastgeber der Ausstellung sind, durch Migrationsbewegungen beeinflusst – Zimbabwe, Uganda und Deutschland. Dies gilt auch heute noch auf unterschiedlichste Weise. Die *National Gallary of Zimbabwe in Harare* und die *Makerere Art Gallery in Kampala* wurden während der Kolonialherrschaft etabliert, während die *Städtische Galerie Bremen* die Galerie jener deutschen Hansestadt ist, die in der kolonialen Vergangenheit Deutschlands eine signifikante Rolle spielte. Die Bremer Hafenstadt Bremerhaven war darüber hinaus der wichtigste Auswandererhafen für Millionen deutscher Emigrant_innen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Die Ausstellung ist entlang der thematischen Bereiche Migrationskontinuum, Diasporaerfahrungen und Grenzländer strukturiert – sich überschneidende Themen mit zahlreichen offensichtlichen Vernetzungen. Das Projekt ist als Wanderausstellung konzipiert, jeweils angepasst an lokale Kontexte. Migrationsbewegungen und -erfahrungen resultieren in neuen, transkulturellen oder Hybridformen von Subjektformation und Konstruktion kultureller Identitäten. Aufgrund der multidirektionalen Prozesse von Migration beeinflusst dies Migrant_innen ebenso sehr, wie die aufnehmenden Gemeinschaften oder Gesellschaften. Die ausgestellten Arbeiten zeigen, dass Migrationsfragen sich nicht nur als Gegenstand künstlerischer Praxis manifestieren, sondern ebenso im Rahmen einer Migrationsästhetik.

IMPRINT

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KABBO KA MUWALA – THE GIRL'S BASKET.
Migration and Mobility in Contemporary Art in Southern and Eastern Africa

National Gallery of Zimbabwe in Harare
Zimbabwe, February 4 – April 4, 2016
Director: Doreen Sibanda

Makerere Art Gallery in Kampala
Uganda, April 14 – June 12, 2016
Director: Assoc. Prof. Dr. George Kyeyune

Städtische Galerie Bremen, Germany
September 24 – December 11, 2016
Director: Rose Pfister

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kabbo ka mu

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kabbo ka muwala

This kind of in-between place is where I'm most content. It's not just a physical space, but a place in the mind where I can appreciate migration as the creative act that it is. – Wanja Kimani

The itinerant exhibition *Kabbo ka Muwala* explores the multitude of migration processes in and from southern and eastern Africa primarily through the work of artists from these regions: photo works, videos, mixed media, sculpture, performance and installations. The 20 artists address dimensions of migrants' agency and identity, the emergence of transnational spaces as modes of cohabitation in local, regional and global contexts as well as experiences of violence and xenophobia.

Kabbo ka Muwala translates as "the girl's basket". The expression is understood across eastern Africa and refers to a traditional practice: in a basket, the bride transports presents to her new family and her parents in turn. Metaphorically, the basket represents expectations and hopes, but also disappointments and setbacks, which come with marriage as well as with processes of migration. In the exhibition title, it also serves as a hint that migrations are gendered processes. The exhibition catalogue combines artistic and curatorial perspectives with essays on contemporary African migration from cultural studies and social sciences.

Artists

Berry Bickle, Jodi Bieber, The Border Farm Project, Rehema Chachage, Mimi Cherono Ng'ok, Kudzanai Chiurai, Anawana Haloba, Kiluanji Kia Henda, Wanja Kimani, Miriam Syowia Kyambi, Gerald Ralph Tawanda Machona, Immy Mali, Nástio Mosquito, Victor Mutelekesha, Mwangi Hutter, NakivArt/Anke Fischer, Emma Wolukau-Wanambwa, Xenson, Helen Zeru, Rut Karin Zettergren.

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