

**MA WITS  
WSOA 7034**

**ART & ARCHITECTURE: HERITAGE  
IN THE POSTCOLONIAL WORLD**

**SEMINAR 2**

DATE: 06 OCTOBER 2010

Erica de Greef  
401659

**TITLE: SOUTH AFRICAN HERITAGE SERVED WITH BLACK COFFEE?**

## SIPPING BLACK COFFEE:

In 2004 Charl Blignaut<sup>1</sup> writes about “a streety generation of fashion designers, excited by referencing popular culture, and the symbols of our identity in both the big city and the small town” and asks whether the annual South African Fashion Week<sup>2</sup> is helping to successfully forge a national design identity (2004:20). Blignaut identifies the fashion house **Black Coffee**<sup>3</sup> as “referencing a truly local aesthetic” and suggests the possibilities of fashion to construct new local identities for a new nation. In 2004 the ‘decade of democracy’ theme showed up in a number of the fashion collections (Darkie by Themba Mngonezulu, Palesa Mokubung, Ella Buter and Frances Andrew to name a few), and a small South African fashion audience was momentarily lulled by the promise of a multicultural, rainbow reality.

Focusing on this creative and political intersection of hopes, perceptions, practices and media constructs, this paper aims to assess a complex platform of negotiations in fashion; of what has, or has not transpired in the realm of design, postcolonial identity and the notion of nation building. In this essay I will look at how **Black Coffee** have continually presented innovative responses to a local dressed identity, how the (fashion) media addresses this within a superficial (and often misleading) discourse, and how these signs (or simulations<sup>4</sup>) of traditional identities circulate within a contemporary fashion system.

A postmodern explanation of fashion accommodates notions of both fragmentation and identity in which “dress either glues the false identity together on the surface or lends a theatrical and play-acting aspect to the hallucinatory experience of the contemporary world” (Wilson cited in Craik 1994: 5). In a post-apartheid South Africa, the fashioned body as a surface of identity has exercised roles of distinction and difference<sup>5</sup>, but also negotiated the performance of identity and belonging<sup>6</sup>. Various authors have addressed fashion and the dressed body as the surface or interface that announces or signifies the construction of new South African social identities<sup>7</sup>.

According to Craik, the fashion designer plays the “role of the definer of identity” in Western, elite or high fashion (1994:1). In this essay I will investigate the success of **Black Coffee** as emblematic of the desire for a local design language/identity, where clearly what is ‘coded’ in their fashion collections, are multiple references to various South African dress traditions. Their complex use of influences ranging from Afrikaner, Sotho and Himba references within single collections, or Mozambican cloth, Origami folds and Xhosa beadwork, provides interesting interrogations into the tensions that confront the controversial, ambivalent relationship between fashion and traditional narratives<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> *Freshly Ground* by Charl Blignaut featured in Art SA, Volume 2, Issue 4, Winter 2004: 20-21

<sup>2</sup> South African Fashion Week is the country’s oldest fashion week (established in 1994) and has provided a platform for professional fashion expression and the development of both a local fashion aesthetic

<sup>3</sup> The label **Black Coffee** was founded by Jacques van der Watt in 1998 and debuted in 1999 at South African Fashion Week. Danica Lepen joined the brand in 2004

<sup>4</sup> After Jean Baudrillard, see Paul Hegarty’s *Jean Baudrillard: Live Theory*, Chapter 2

<sup>5</sup> See Bourdieu (1984), Veblen (1899) and Simmel (1895)

<sup>6</sup> See Finckelstein (1997) and Craik (1994) in terms of how individuals clothe the body as an active process or technical means for constructing and presenting a self within social contexts to ensure belonging

<sup>7</sup> For example, Nuttal (2009), Chikeka (2009), Rovine (2001) and Hendrickson (1997)

<sup>8</sup> See Brand & Teunissen (2005), Niessen (2004), Rabine (2003), and Kondo (1997)

## THE MERCEDES-BENZ AWARD 2009:

**Black Coffee** is recognised for “consistently exploring and pushing the boundaries of both modernity and indigenous references over the past decade” writes Adam Levin in their catalogue; where their signature style is “informed by history, welcomes diversity ... and is always a departure from cultural clichés” (2009: 21). In winning the *Mercedes-Benz South Africa Award For Fashion Design 2009*, the work of **Black Coffee** was chosen for its “nuanced unraveling of a contemporary African identity”, the brand’s interpretation of the competition theme: *Modern South Africa* (ibid.). Levin’s description of a deconstruction<sup>9</sup> of identity is countered by Christian Ganzenberg (in the same catalogue accompanying the competition) who, expands on the way in which various traditions are referenced and worked into a cross-cultural fusion, to construct a layered hybridity:

“Inspired by the silhouette created when African mothers wrap their children with blankets and carry them on their backs. The head-to-toe clay colour of the Himba was also inspirational, as were African hairstyles like the cornrows, dreadlocks and braids that are popular and part of SA local street culture” (Ganzenberg 2009: 16).

Describing the same installation in *Wanted*<sup>10</sup> Bobby Shafto describes these *Dramatic Designs* as follows;

“Taking the Himba tribe of neighbouring Namibia as their inspiration, and adding some contemporary flair [to create] an image that is Black Coffee amplified for maximum drama: a group of hooded figures stand artfully draped from head to toe in metres and metres of monochromatic red fabric and adorned with rows of yet more knotted cloth” (Shafto 2009: 18).

Both Ganzenberg’s and Shafto’s reviews reflect a commonly held disbelief that these disparate ‘inspirations’ could work together within a single garment or collection. Embedded within the discourse of fashion and South African identity lies the impossibility of a ‘mix’ or single ‘hybrid’ identity, indicative of the history of a divided past. Distinctions between fashion and traditional dress practices were fundamental to colonial practice in South Africa (Ross 2008: 24-34), but also applied extensively throughout Africa (Rovine 2001: 100-106, 2009: 133-140) and Asia (Niessen 2003: 220-245). The inclusion of exotic elements such as traditional references in fashion continued throughout the twentieth century with examples by Poiret, Yves St Laurent, and Galliano clearly alluding to a desired ‘exotic’ from outside of fashion terms while still remaining fashionably acceptable. The success of this ‘dialogue’ of fashion and traditional dress practices is dependent on the mix of Western and non-Western participation and the positions of power or influence embedded in the relationship (Rovine 2009: 134).

What is evident in Ganzenberg’s description of the **Black Coffee** installation is the combination of influences, all of which reference African inspirations and local aesthetics, thereby excluding any Western reference. Shafto adds “some contemporary flair” (2009: 18) which alludes to a notion of the global (read Western<sup>11</sup>) aesthetic contributing to the fashion ‘balance’ of this

---

<sup>9</sup> Attributed to Jacques Derrida (1930-); in its use in fashion, it most often refers to a ‘non-philosophical’ deconstruction approach of dismantling literally, in order to rebuild with new values or meanings

<sup>10</sup> Supplement to the Business Day Newspaper, March 2009: 18-19, edited Gary Cotterell

<sup>11</sup> Niessen argues that globalisation is in fact Westernisation (2003: 220-223)

collection. These negotiations between fashion and anti-fashion<sup>12</sup> (traditional dress practices) are coded into the garments as signs<sup>13</sup> or 'indicators of reference' on the basis of some kind of visible and recognisable elements (for example, cut, colour, silhouette and detail, as well as references to specific dress items), as Ganzenberg points to:

The key to the Black Coffee aesthetic rests in the juxtaposition of opposites and dualities; often (as with the collections created for the Mercedes-Benz Award) Danica Lepen and Jacques van der Watt reach deep down within the history of traditional South African garb to convey traditional elements within a contemporary aesthetic and search for points of connection with the daily life of contemporary South Africa (Ganzenburg 2009: 49).

Evident in the descriptions by Ganzenberg and Shafto is the way in which this fashion is written into being<sup>14</sup> and how it is written, where garments are converted into language; in this case, no clear garment descriptions are provided, rather a 'coded' rhetoric of creativity and designer 'magic' or illusion is suggested. These written interpretations form an integral part of the fashion system<sup>15</sup> that relies on the ability to interpret the (apparent or not so apparent) meanings of these signs or codes. It is important to consider how Jean Baudrillard used semiology in the analysis of consumer objects (in *The System of Objects*) and how objects are encoded with a system of signs and meanings<sup>16</sup> that constitute contemporary media and consumer societies, of which fashion and its accompanying industry is prime.

The general opinion in fashion is that the function of the 'signs of fashion' is to produce difference<sup>17</sup>. Difference is understood, or interpreted from clothes and the constellation of images and signs that they impose on the body, including sexual, social and political markers (Marchetti & Quinz 2009: 117). Fashion often starts "precisely with the process of erasing known (and recognisable) signs, towards new grounds of distinction" (ibid.) and it is this ability of the sign to shift meanings (and interpretations) that makes fashion such a slippery terrain for determining identity and authenticity. According to Marchetti and Quinz, signs have "become interchangeable symbols in a fluid and unstable game" (2009: 118) and fashion highlights this instability.

### **FASHION AS PRACTICE:**

The ability of fashion to 'negotiate instability' is referred to by Carolyn Evans in her discussion of late twentieth century fashion designers who use "fashion was an appropriate arena in which to investigate the complexities of modern life" and where fashion "can act out instability and loss but can also, and equally, stake out the terrain of 'becoming' – new social and sexual identities" (2003: 6).

---

<sup>12</sup> Polhemus and Proctor (1976) defined anti-fashion as all dress or clothing practices that fell outside of the cyclical changes of the fashion system

<sup>13</sup> Coded into garments themselves are associations and meanings, e.g. aprons as signs of servitude or pregnancy; or smocks as artistic, bohemian dress or signs of conservative Christianity. Roland Barthes (1967) attempted to construct a semiology of fashion, while recently Judith Clark (2009) has introduced a new dictionary of dress that deconstructs the simple interpretations of clothing and fashion

<sup>14</sup> See Barthes (1967) three shifters in fashion semiology; namely the written form, the photographed form, and the actual object

<sup>15</sup> See Kawamura's *Fashionology* for an analysis of the ways in which fashion acts as a complete system

<sup>16</sup> Baudrillard *The System of Objects* (1997) and *The Consumer Society* (1998)

<sup>17</sup> Much fashion writing focuses on the correlation between 'difference' and the construction of social status, although difference in dress also has political and cultural distinctions

South African designers, considered foundational in the development of new social identities (within a new, post-Apartheid South Africa) include Stoned Cherrie, Craig Native, Strangelove, Amanda Laird Cherry, Bongiwe Walasa, Loxion Kulcha and **Black Coffee**. Ganzenberg describes this as:

...the basic values encoded within the rainbow nation [of South Africa] founded in 1994, such as human rights and the rights to free speech, freedom of religion, freedom to gather and freedom of association, are represented spectacularly and intensively within the creative utilizations of Black Coffee (Ganzenburg 2009: 50).

This 'spectacularisation' of the politics of freedom encoded within the collections of **Black Coffee**, perpetuates the myth of fashion to transform, reconcile, and re-create identities in post-Apartheid South Africa, where fashion designers are seen to act as creators of identities, and their fashion products continually construct newness and novelty. Now, if fashion is, according to Lipovetsky "one of the mirrors that allows us to see what constitutes our most remarkable historical destiny: the negation of the age-old power of the traditional past, the frenzied modern passion for novelty, and the celebration of the social present" (1994:5), then it becomes the responsibility of fashion designers to 'celebrate' the social present. In South Africa, this celebration of the present particularly values notions of a 'traditional past' which constitutes a troubled terrain for designers who seek to reference tradition within their work, as Lipovetsky further claims that fashion is "less a sign of class ambition than a way out of the world of tradition" (1994: 4).

These contradictory practices of fashion have led to current research that investigates the role of nationality (and national heritage) in the work of various contemporary fashion designers<sup>18</sup> (for example, Westwood, Chalayan, Yamamoto, Wilhelm and Kokosolaki) who clearly articulate local identities in their work. Ganzenberg similarly situates the work of **Black Coffee** where "both designers are conscious of their own personal backgrounds<sup>19</sup>, their dissonance-rich environment and their cultural traditions, and often reference these as themes and implement them within characteristic details" (2009: 50).

### **FASHION IN/AS POSTCOLONIAL DISCOURSE:**

The current study of clothing practices in relation to identity constructs has marked a significant increase in writings on dress that represented (and continues to represent) the site for the struggle between colonisers and the colonised, the investigation of appropriation and the evidence of acts of resilience, adoption and modification<sup>20</sup>. During colonial occupation, "dress codes were often treated as integral to the process of subjugation, in conjunction with conventional techniques of persuasion and acculturation" (Craik 1994: 26-27). Along with languages, local dress codes were suppressed in favour of the acquisitions of 'new' cultural identities (ibid.). Dress as a site of oppression often turned into an active site of resistance in revolutionary liberation movements,

---

<sup>18</sup> See Brand & Teunissen's *Global Fashion Local Tradition* (2005)

<sup>19</sup> Van der Watt (b. 1971, Eastern Cape) and Lepen (b.1983, Croatia)

<sup>20</sup> See Ross's *Clothing: A Global History* (2008), Rovine's *Bogolan* (2001) and Hendrickson's *Clothing and Difference* (1997) for specific case studies involving appropriation of dress styles and practices as witness to negotiations of power, trade and politics

and so dress activities in many postcolonial contexts evidence these processes of struggle, renewal and revival. Evidence of forms of appropriation, modification or influence, is clearly seen in the traditional Pedi smocks, Xhosa a-line skirts with button and tape trims, and Herero women's dress. Can these garments begin to represent a form of cross-culturalism or multiculturalism<sup>21</sup>, in other words a cultural 'hybridisation'? The notion of hybridity in its most basic sense of a mixture, involves the fusion of two (or more) hitherto relatively distinct forms, styles or identities, and often indicates some form of cross-cultural contact, resulting in the emergence of new cultural forms.

Bhabha's key argument in postcolonial theory is that colonial hybridity, as a cultural form produced ambivalence in colonial masters and as such altered the authorities of power (1994). If hybridity refers to both shifts in power and changes in visible forms, then contemporary South African fashion can be viewed as such; where traces and appropriations evidence as 'mixed' forms of dress, with codes that signify politics, geographies and histories. The work of **Black Coffee** occupies this hybrid space, incorporating beading projects, traditional crafters, and cultural signifiers within a framework of Western fashion constructs. Blignaut describes van der Watt as "born in the Eastern Cape and tapping into the traditional style of the region where he worked with a craft project to utilise the multi-layered buttons found on traditional Xhosa skirts", reinterpreting this iconic detail with Victorian layering and considered asymmetries (2004: 21). Hybridity is often presented as the traces of other cultures that actually exist in all cultures as a result of globalisation.

Traditional dress items, details, accessories and colours are often used as codes or references to other histories and narratives within contemporary Western fashion. Jennifer Craik maintains that we have come to understand 'exotic' fashion, dress and adornment as that which is different from Western practices, and identifies three forms of 'exoticism' in fashion: firstly, techniques of dress and decoration in non-Western cultures; secondly, adaptations of traditional dress combined with elements from Western fashion systems in post-colonial cultures, and thirdly, exotic elements borrowed from other (geographic, historic, or economic) fashion systems (1994: 18). Craik claims exotic elements in fashion are often incorporated into Western fashion in deliberately ambiguous and transgressive ways (ibid.), quite unlike the hybrid dress practices in West Africa (for example, Senegal, and Mali) where Hudita Nura Mustafa describes the lexicon of dress as one that "revolves around the dichotomy of traditional and European, where African dress styles (the *boubou*) and European dress are binary opposites" and the creation of hybrid garments and designs occurs quite notably in womenswear; using cloth to construct new interpretations (1998: 31).

In *The Art of African Fashion* Mustafa discusses post-apartheid South Africa in terms of how new forms of cultural production forced cultural producers (artists, designers, filmmakers, etc) to grapple with the problem of building new identities and a (singular) national culture, claiming that fashion in particular illuminates these struggles "for a place of individual expression, for race and class equity, and for the revival of African sources for a [singular] South African identity" (1998: 40). It is here that **Black Coffee** offers a fresh perspective on

---

<sup>21</sup> One of Homi Bhabha's central ideas in *The Location of Culture* (1994) is that of hybridity which highlights histories and cultures that constantly intrude on the present, demanding a shift in understanding of the colonial encounter and the post-colonial condition

the construction of a postcolonial identity that is simultaneously multicultural and contemporary, local and global. Although Craik claims these (cultural or exotic) references in Western fashion are 'deliberately ambiguous' (1994), the success of **Black Coffee** could be posited in this ambiguity; a deliberate use of signs or codes that reference a 'tradition', that without written descriptions, may be misunderstood, misinterpreted or missed altogether by a viewer. In the case of the New York premiere of South African fashion<sup>22</sup>, Black Coffee showed a collection, which Adam Levin describes as post-African:

"...the Black Coffee coats that emerge show no trace of heritage or reference. Yet speak to Lepen and learn that the voluminous forms were inspired by African masks. The 16 flawless pieces proceed cohesively. There is no major applause, but rather a sense of unsettled surprise: the audience questions, trying to cram an aesthetic into a preconceived stereotype. Alas, it does not fit" (Levin 2010: 9).

### **FASHION AS PERFORMANCE:**

The experience in New York is not the first occasion in which **Black Coffee** actively chose to disturb the expectations of stereotype. Previous occasions have included showing fashion in new, vacant or alternate locations<sup>23</sup> that cross the boundaries of fashion, design, performance and art. As Blignaut already noted in 2004, **Black Coffee** carefully foreground the conceptual elements of their work in the staging of their shows, at times with live performance - amid sticks, sipping coffee, and even as cardboard cut-outs (2004:21). "*This summer you will be saved*" was the title of the Summer 2008 collection, which was presented on the steps of the Constitution Hill: the impressive ensemble of publicly accessible buildings, built on the foundation stones of one of the most well-known apartheid prisons. As Ganzenberg points out:

this explosive location symbolizes not only the preservation of cultural history but also its break-up; and where .... similar to the sculptures and photo collages of Jane Alexander, the Black Coffee models were presented and interpreted within the urban context and the spreading field of social realities in a South African metropolis. Appearing surreal and fantastical, they floated along on the flat steps of Constitution Hill with umbrellas lit from below, staring emotionlessly and anaemically into the dark emptiness of the night-filled Johannesburg streets and all its watching people (Ganzenberg 2009:50).

It is this disturbance of social expectations and rules in the approach of **Black Coffee** that invites further reflection on Baudrillard's notion of differences between individuals and groups imploding in a rapidly mutating, changing dissolution of the social, where previously boundaries and structures existed. Baudrillard maintains that postmodern societies are being organised around *simulation* and the play of images and signs, denote a new social order where codes and signs have become the organising forms (*Simulcra and Simulation*, 1994: 16-19). In a society of simulation, identities are being constructed by the appropriation of images, and codes and models that determine how these individuals perceive themselves and relate to other people. In a post-Apartheid

---

<sup>22</sup> Black Coffee were invited by Arise Africa International to showcase in February 2010, in New York together with Xuly Bet, Tiffany Amber and Stoned Cherrie

<sup>23</sup> Their theatrics are never predictable: venues have varied from a derelict synagogue in downtown Johannesburg, to the Johannesburg Art Gallery, to the steps of the city's Constitutional Court

South Africa, the very notion of a dissolution of previously established social rules has made urgent this need for codes or signs that reference the erasure of the distinctions of gender, race, and class; change and transformation.

It is in the search for this new modern African aesthetic and identity that **Black Coffee** has made taken the potential for fashion to act as social commentary to construct new dialogues meanings the politically polarised histories of a post-apartheid South Africa. The Spring/Summer 2009 collection, which featured geometrical African fabrics found in Mozambique, showed in Sandton, Johannesburg, within weeks of the outbreak of the xenophobic attacks that racked South Africa<sup>24</sup>. Furthermore, **Black Coffee** used models from Senegal, Mali and Nigeria together with South African models to highlight this extreme political discord in the seemingly innocent presentation of fashion.

### CONCLUSION AS ABSTRACTION:

**Black Coffee** present fashion that blurs the experience of boundaries between cultures and traditions, and gender, race and class, by a cultural ambiguity that collapses notions of cultural distinction and difference. The issue of what is coded in the work of **Black Coffee** is less the concern than how it is presented, in terms of a combination of: proportions, complexity, current relevance, location, deconstruction, multiplicities, and ambiguities. As Adam Levin noted:

.... the global market is ultimately just interested in innovative and desirable clothing. The fact that Black Coffee is an African label is almost incidental to their success. I say almost, because the African influences have always been conscious and well considered in their work. But they [these influences] have also been refined and nuanced to the point that the garments stand their own anywhere in the world (2009: 22)

In Baudrillard's idea of simulation we find the key to this (new) world that describes a 'liberation' of the signs from their referents, where Baudrillard describes the vanishing point of meaning, one that could equally be inverted and declared as the explosion of meaning (Hegarty 2004: 49-64). Signs from any place in the world are open to further combination, variation and subversion the moment they become mediated. In this sense **Black Coffee** not only engage with the codes, but; simultaneously combine and subvert these signs into abstraction, as a way of negotiating their ambiguities, complexities and instability in a postcolonial South Africa.

### SOURCES CONSULTED

#### INTERNET SOURCES:

Brians P., (07/08/1998) *"Postcolonial Literature": Problems with the Term.* <http://www.wsu.edu/~brians/anglophone/postcolonial.html> [2010/08/22]

Kellner, D., (22/04/05; revised 07/03/07) *Jean Baudrillard: Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/ baudrillard> [2010/10/07]

Raetzsch C., (02/02/03) *Cultural Hybridity* <http://www2.hu-berlin.de/amerika/asc/multiplecultures> [2010/10/04]

---

<sup>24</sup> In Alexander, Johannesburg (less than 10 kilometers from Sandton) Mozambican Ernesto was set alight at the height of the attacks, recorded in a widely publicised media image

BOOK SOURCES:

- Allman, J (ed), *Fashioning Africa: Power and the Politics of Dress*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 2004
- Baudrillard, J., trans. Benedict J., *The System of Objects*. Verso, London and New York, 1997 [1968]
- Baudrillard, J., trans. Glaser, S. F., *Simulacra and Simulations*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 1994 [1981]
- Bhabha, H., *The Location of Culture*. Routledge, London, 1994
- Blignaut, C., *Freshly Ground*, in *Art South Africa*, Issue No... Volume, 2004: 20-21.
- Brand J. & Teunissen J., (eds.) *Fashion and Imagination: About Clothes and Art*. ArtEZ Press, Arnhem, 2009.
- Craik, J., *The Face of Fashion: Cultural Studies in Fashion*. Routledge, London and New York, 1994
- Evans, C., *Fashion at the Edge: Spectacle, Modernity and Deathliness*. Yale University Press, New Haven and New York, 2003
- Genzenberg, C., Mercedes-Benz South Africa Award for Fashion Design: Black Coffee. Sieppel Verlag, Cologne, 2009: 49-50
- Guffey, E., *Retro: The Culture of Revival*. Reaktion Books, London, 2006
- Hegarty, P., *Jean Baudrillard: Live Theory*. Continuum, London and New York, 2004
- Hendrickson, H., (ed) *Clothing and Difference: Embodied Identities in Colonial and Post-Colonial Africa*. Duke University Press, Durham and London, 1996
- Kondo, D. *About Face: Performing Race in Fashion and Theatre*. Routledge, New York and London, 1997
- Lipovetsky, G., *The Empire of Fashion*, trans. Porter, C. Princetown University Press, Princetown and Oxford, 1994
- Levin, A., *Unfolding Black Coffee* in Mercedes-Benz South Africa Award for Fashion Design: Black Coffee. Sieppel Verlag, Cologne, 2009: 20-23
- Levin, A., *Africa Rising: Let's Take Manhattan* in *Sunday Times Lifestyle Supplement*, February 28, 2010: 8-9
- Marchetti, L. & Quinz, E., *Invisible Fashion: From the Interface to Re-embodiment: Experience beyond Clothes*, in Brand J & Teunissen J (eds.), 'Fashion and Imagination: About Clothes and Art'. ArtEZ Press, Arnhem, 2009
- McRobbie, A., *Post Modernism and Popular Culture*. Routledge, London and New York, 1994.
- Mustafa, H. M., *Sartorial Ecumenes: African Style in a Social and Economic Context* in 'The Art of African Fashion', Prince Claus Fund, The Hague, 1998: 31 & 40-45
- Niessen, Leshkovich & Jones (eds), *Orienting Fashion: The Globalisation of Asian Dress*. Berg, New York, 2003
- Ross, R., *Clothing: A Global History*. Polity Press, Cambridge, 2008
- Rovine, V., *Bogolan: Shaping Culture through Cloth in Contemporary Mali*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington and London, 2001
- Rovine, V., *Viewing Africa through Fashion* in Steele V., (ed) *Fashion Theory Journal*, Volume 13, Issue 2 (2009: 133-140)
- Shafto, B., *Dramatic Designs in Business Day*: *Wanted Magazine*, March 2009, 18-19