TO REPEAT ALSO MEANS GETTING AHEAD

THE ARTISTIC AND CURATORIAL POTENTIAL OF PRE-ENACTMENT

Cassandre Langlois

Abstract

This article questions the potential of preenactment to embody prototypical counterstrategic forms in artistic and curatorial practices, within the European context, in light of a resurgence of authoritarianism, political populism, and the presence of various conflicts, migratory phenomena, and environmental crises. Pre-enactment has been characterized, for example, in certain works of the duo Hofmann & Lindholm, the Public Movement and Interrobang collectives, and the director Milo Rau. According to Friederike Oberkrome and Verena Straub in the introduction to their book (2019), pre-enactment is the invention of hypothetical scenarios, speculations on possible futures, and the experimentation of fictitious times and spaces order in to act on the present. This article approaches pre-enactment from the perspective of performative action-exercises based on three examples: Training for the Future (2019–) by Jonas Staal and Florian Malzacher, la facultad (2021–) by Myriam Lefkowitz and Catalina Insignares, and The Truth Commission (2013-) by Chokri Ben Chikha and his company Action Zoo Humain.

Keywords: counter strategy, exercise, fiction, performance, pre-enactment, prefiguration, re-enactment.

What united the projects Training for the Future (2019-), imagined by artist Jonas Staal and organized by curator-dramatist Florian Malzacher, la facultad (2021–) developed by choreographers Myriam Lefkowitz and Catalina Insignares, and The Truth Commission (2013–) by the performance company Action Zoo Humain? The first, through a series of workshops of various kinds, worked on the possibilities of a self-determined future; the second, based on "exercises of sensory faculties on standby," proposed an alternative to a coercive social reality; the last one staged an event that hadn't yet taken place in reality, revisiting some of the atrocities of Belgium's colonial past. In these three formats, artists and curators responded to various European crises and multidisciplinary debates (the resurgence of authoritarianism and political populism, migratory conflicts and phenomena, the debate on decolonization, environmental crises, etc.), by exploring the potential of training exercises or role-playing as a means for collective reflection, working toward other desirable futures.

On the basis of these initial data, I propose to place these projects in the continuity of initiatives named by their creators as pre-enactment. In the field of contemporary art, and more particularly of performance art practices, pre-enactment can qualify as a general artistic approach, a specific project, and an action within this specific project. Whereas the re-enactment, subject of numerous studies in recent decades, would relate to "phenomena of re-creation, reconstitution, resumption and other forms of live reactiva-







Figure 1: Left to right: A public workshop "Multitudes of Listeners: Action Listen," by Maya Felixbrodt, Germaine Sijstermans & Samuel Vriezen, with the Training for the Future (2018) project created by artist Jonas Staal & curator-dramatist Florian Malzacher Ruhrtriennale, Jahrhunderthalle Bochum (2019) © Photographer Ruben Hamelink / Training for the Future; An activity with migrant participants, lying in the dark, as developed by choreographers Myriam Lefkowitz and Catalina Insignares with la facultad, © Photographer Jean Philippe Derail; Collective performance company Action Zoo Humain in a staging of The Truth Commission (2013) inside the courthouse in Ghent. © Photographer Kurt Van Der Elst.

tion of past performative works, of historical events or cultural phenomena" (Bénichou 2016), the pre-enactment would correspond to its temporal inversion. It can refer to critical speculation, based on contemporary problems, surrounding an image of our future. Friederike Oberkrome and Verena Straub add that it may consist in inventing hypothetical or prospective scenarios, but also in experimenting with fictitious times and spaces in order to act on the present (2019, 9).

This is indeed what is at work in several now canonical examples: in 2011, the artistic duo Hofmann & Lindholm (Hannah Hofmann and Sven Lindholm) undertook the project Archiv der zukünftigen ereignisse, in which they collected wishes for the future from the inhabitants of Cologne, Germany, and disseminated them in the form of a sound installation deployed throughout the city. In 2014, in Preenacting Europe, the Interrobang collective (Nina Tecklenburg, Till Müller-Klug and Lajos Talamonti) invited the public to vote for a new form of European government in response to the socio-political crises the continent was going through. In 2015, shortly after the World Climate Change Conference organized by the Rimini Protokoll theater collective in Hamburg, two hundred students from universities around the world took over the Théâtre des Amandiers (then directed by Philippe Quesne) in Nanterre, France. In their Theatre of Negotiations they simulated desirable and possible international negotiations six months before the Paris Conference (COP)1 took place.

Oliver Marchart's research and writing is based, among other things, on the Israeli collective Public Movement, some of whose works are associated with the performance of a protest that has not yet been made manifest. He defines pre-enactment as "the artistic anticipation of a political event" (Marchart 2019, 177), underlining the potential of its transformative dimension. While it is by no means a real socio-political event, pre-enactment projects can nevertheless be seen as a place for exercises in preparation for a conflict yet to come. Marchart proposes that pre-enactment must not be understood as the rehearsal of a set choreography known in advance. Rather, he compares it to barre exercises in the world of classical ballet. From this point of view, pre-enactment corresponds to the conscious or unconscious setting up of actions and tools that will be activated in an as yet undetermined situation, and will be experienced as antagonistic.

If pre-enactment succeeds in constructing a place where we practice, I also suggest to approach it as a place where we can test, make attempts, possibly backtrack and start again. Following this logic, the speakers at the international conference "P/RE/ENACT!—Performing In Between Times," in 2017 at Berlin's Freie Universität, emphasized "the fundamental interdependence and interconnectedness of pro- and retro-spection," as well as "the instability of each temporal perspective" (Czirak et al. 2019a, 10). In this way, "just as forms of re-enactment always contain a prospective dimension, preenactment scenarios require and include a retrospective dimension" (ibid.). In this sense, it seems pertinent to consider the approaches mentioned in the opening lines of the introduction to this article, those of Jonas Staal and Florian Malzacher, Myriam Lefkowitz and Catalina Insignares, and Action Zoo Humain, from the perspective and temporality of research that involves experimentation through action.

The title says it all: *Training for the Future* is a place where participants are invited to "embody" the construction of alternative futures. The title *la facultad* refers to a space in which to study that which "disturbs" our perceptions and sensations. As for *The Truth Commission*, it "invalidates" forms of European governance by revisiting historic colonial facts. Based on these three examples, developed further in this article, I propose an understanding of the concept of pre-enactment through the verbs embody, disturb, and invalidate. These three verbs enable us to work on and define pre-enactment through actions and effects that are both simultaneous and specific. The aim here is to analyze the three case studies through the prism of action-exercises, and through them, to question the capacity of pre-enactment, in the context of various European crises, to take on counter-strategic forms in situated artistic and curatorial practices.

Embody.

The training camp imagined by artist Jonas Staal and curator-dramatist Florian Malzacher enabled the public to experience concrete participatory exercises with the aim of appropriating the means of production of the future. These kinds of utopian training sessions had been proposed by futurologists, progressive hackers, extraterritorial activists, trans-nationalists, and multidisciplinary artists. Following a first³ iteration in 2018, *Training for the Future* was deployed over three consecutive days in September 2019 as part of the *Ruhrtriennale* event in Bochum, Germany. The surrounding industrial relics

recalled the "history of proletarian consciousness and unionization," that of "predatory class oppressions" and the "extractivist industrial paradigm" (Malzacher and Staal 2022, 8). The *Jahrhunderthalle* congress center metamorphosed into a type of sports field: a black box with a gym-mat-covered floor, divided into specific zones by transparent plastic curtains, housing several sculptural elements designed by Jonas Staal and Paul Kuipers.⁴ The public was present for one day or the entire event and had to choose between two workshops each morning and afternoon. The central part of the venue was able to accommodate full-group exercises in the mornings and at lunchtime, as well as evening debriefings.

Conducted by "trainers" for "trainees," workshops were based on a certain division of roles and power that remained temporary, as determined by its exchangeable dimension. While trainers attended workshops as trainees, trainees could in turn become trainers following a workshop. These working sessions, in which trainees could test their proposals for resolving the problems proposed, were reminiscent of Forum Theater, one of the interactive methods of the "theater of the oppressed" developed beginning in the 1970s by Brazilian playwright Augusto Boal (see for instance Boal 2021). Forum Theater invites actors, professionals, and non-professionals alike to work together on problems arising from situations of oppression. Boal qualifies these spectators as "spect-actors," transformed into actors during the theatrical performance. This Boalien concept is based on a dialectical relationship that calls for both identification and distancing, as seen also in Training for the Future. The "spect-actors" seemed to be training themselves, as if experiencing a new form of apprenticeship. Through heterogeneous proposals, training here meant following possibilities through which critical reflexes took the form of embodied practice (workshops) followed by collective verbal reflection (debriefing).

This embodied practice was particularly evident in the workshop Beyond Welcome: Agitprop for the Future, run by the artist and activist collectives ARRIVATi and Schwabinggrad Ballett. The first one develops various decolonization strategies, while the second is based on anarchist and subversive actions. In their proposal, they invited participants to act as a collective body through song and dance, creating unexpected situations in the public space. In Multitudes of Listeners, the clarinetist Maya Felixbrodt, composer and performer Germaine Sijstermans, and composer and writer Samuel Vriezen proposed a series of three polyphonic performance-trainings mixed with periods for collective listening. As a final example, in Choreographies of Togetherness, Public Movement focused on the creation of a united force through collective body-in-motion exercises. These actions might appear surprising, or even unserious, like the Extraterritorial Zoönomy workshop initiated by curator and moderator Klaas Kuitenbrouwer and researcher and designer Sjef van Gaalen. Through role-playing, these latter prepared the public for the implantation of a "zoöp," a particular kind of cooperative that "actively acknowledges the rights and subjective experiences of nonhumans and is focused on

collaborating with them" (Malzacher and Staal 2022, 285). And so, Training for the Future brought together various activities during which hypothetical or prospective scenarios were developed, sometimes based on the model of role-playing games and fiction, hijacking the problematic and ambiguous figure of the "training camp." Indeed, it's worth recalling that pre-enactment is also used in scripted war game exercises such as those developed by the US Army at the Fort Irwin National Training Center in California's Mojave Desert. Soldiers prepare for their "worst day in combat" in recreations of Iraqi villages created by Hollywood set designers. They meet actors portraying terrorists, the local population, and government representatives. In the same vein, some countries turn to science-fiction authors in order to imagine future threats to the army, so that it can train to anticipate them. This is the case in France, with the Red Team, which is interested in the possible threats that could endanger the country and its interests between 2030 and 2060. These dynamics foster the anticipation of security measures, which often include new limits on public assembly, protest or freedom of expression.

The activities developed in *Training for the Future* actually took the opposite approach and were instead part of the following emancipatory endeavor: to create new processes for social interaction made possible through the very act of embodiment, and so to send what to all appearances seemed absurd back to the objectors themselves. In a study of a non-artistic preenactment of the womens' vote in Argentina in 1920, Cecilia Macón recalled that Aristotle envisioned the ridiculous as that which is out of time and space (2020, 7). Staging it in the public sphere would serve to diminish it. As in Macón's study, *Training for the Future* seemed to succeed in giving a whole new dimension to actions that might otherwise be considered absurd or inconceivable, opening up a wider spectrum of alternatives and embodying them collectively.

Disturb.

The programs developed for the *Training for the Future* project have enabled us to generate forms of social interaction through acts of embodiment, whether through choreographed gestures (*Beyond Welcome: Agitprop for the Future*), body-produced sound and listening (*Multitudes of Listeners*), or role-playing (*Extraterritorial Zoönomy*). As mentioned earlier, these incarnations can jeopardize certain conceptions. This is also the case with *la facultad*, developed by choreographers and dancers Myriam Lefkowitz and Catalina Insignares. In 2021, this project was hosted in a residency with *Le Pacifique*, a national choreographic center in Grenoble, inside an apartment on the outskirts of the city. It was then continued at the Bétonsalon Centre for Art Research in Paris inside a yurt at the Centre d'Hébergement d'Urgence pour familles migrantes de Paris-Ivry—EMMAÜS Solidarité. It was here, three days a week, that the artists, along with the presence of Julie Laporte, offered a temporary shelter to exiled and migrant people as well

as to those who were supporting and accompanying them. In its genesis, la facultad responded to indignation in the face of administrative, judicial and police violence that fostered the exclusion of these people, and gave rise to the desire to work with communities that were previously absent from the field of contemporary art.

Lefkowitz and Insignares are used to taking their work outside the walls of theatrical venues. They favor projects that free them from performing so that they can experiment with other ways of being and doing something together. At the same time, they work to overturn certain habits of perceiving and sensing. For example, Insignares' approach has-given rise to nighttime readings for sleeping bodies (useless land). She has also initiated dialogues with the invisible and the dead based on sensory and fictional practices of dance (ese muerto se lo cargo yo), and a duet that is danced over the period of a few weeks (us as a useless duet). Lefkowitz's work is based in Remote Dances, silent walks for one person who, with eyes closed, is accompanied by their guide (Walk Hands Eyes), and also in sessions during which the public lies in the dark. The performers manipulate different objects that they bring into contact with the bodies of the prone participants. The latter, with their eyes closed, cannot identify the objects or actions of the human agent in contact with them (How Can One Know in Such Darkness?).

In forming la facultad, the two artists have combined their respective practices. In keeping with the people present, the places allocated and the proposed working times, they have initiated exercises or games based on their sensory knowledge of dance, somatic and energetic knowledges. They are sometimes influenced by hypnosis, other times by telepathy or tarot reading. One of them was inspired by a proposal from Chicano artist Guillermo Gómez Peña and his collective La Pocha Nostra. Since Chicanos and other marginalized people rarely become astronauts, they proposed offering them the gift of weightlessness. In la facultad, mats, cushions, and blankets were used to keep participants' bodies off the ground. Without realizing it, they were sometimes very subtly lifted by a group of people who offered them the sensation of weightlessness. The project provided solutions "to imagine together ways of communicating through the body, imagination and memory" and to become the place "where. . .we start to tell other stories about who we are, where we are, and what the future could be."6 Lefkowitz and Insignares propose that we collectively train ourselves to increase our capacity to listen, share, develop, study, and amplify different forms of imaginative activity. Envisaged as a "study space," a "cabinet de pratique," or then again as a place for "exercising sensory faculties on hold," the title la facultad refers not only to an unusual kind of space for learning but also to the faculties that we are capable of possessing and/or acquiring.

This place produces a certain de-hierarchization of positions, as each person is encouraged to share a capacity, to take charge of another's body. In this way, care becomes a material that circulates, while the actual experiences create a specific mode of relation and another way of linking their bodies. At the same time as these experiences serve to link them they call attention to what is between them. The question then arises of being affected by what is not human, existing between the bodies and beyond. The relationship between affect and pre-enactment has been the subject of certain recent studies. In their essay, Adam Czirak and his co-authors use the term "(p)reenactment" to emphasize the entanglement of temporal layers capable of engendering "an affectively charged situation that opens up a realm of possibilities in which the unexpected seems likely to happen and the unfamiliar or unknown might appear" (2019b, 201). This seems to be the case in *la facultad*, where temporalities and spaces manage to intersect during states of altered consciousness (such as sleep).

In this way, both artists' approaches are based on a concrete, physical, unstable, and transformative dynamic. It is here that knowledge is no longer based on reason and the distancing of emotions (which arise only to disturb us), but on our faculties to feel, sense, perceive, and imagine. In their attempt to participate in the construction of a "We," Lefkowitz and Insignares refer in particular to the term "sissala." Originating from within Black American anarchism and invoked by Saidiya Hartman during the "Anarchisms Otherwise" conference in Brooklyn, USA, in 2019, it means literally (suggesting the image of a process) "we who become together." la facultad might therefore be understood as the site of the practice—in progress—of a "we" yet to come. The project looks to the future through exercises, which are specific configurations of a prospective result. In this way, the actions that unfold, always refusing to become fixed because requiring constant readjustment, can be studied through the prism of pre-enactment. By succeeding in modifying our perceptions, sensations and attentions, the latter becomes a tool that disturbs,⁷ and that is able, in certain contexts, to question or deconstruct our positions, habits and knowledge. In this sense, these actions carry with them a rejection of mainstream discourses of coercion, a characteristic that can be echoed in re-enactment.

Invalidate.

The "tool-form" that is contemporary artistic re-enactment (Caillet 2013, 67) offers a distanced and alternative viewpoint on historic legal trials. A case in point is Swiss director Milo Rau's *Moscow Trials* (2013), presented on the grounds of Moscow's Sakharov Museum. Following a series of convictions of Russian dissident artists such as the Pussy Riot, or of the curators of the exhibitions "Caution! Religion" (2003) and "Forbidden Art" (2007), Rau set up a three-day courtroom to stage a "show trial" with (real) artists, politicians, religious figures, lawyers, judges, and journalists. The jury, composed of Moscow citizens, renders its verdict: in this trial the artists and curators are acquitted. The contribution of pre-enactment is already perceptible here. Rau amplifies these kinds of trials in subsequent works, *Tribunal sur le Congo* (2015) and *General Assembly* (2017).

This shift in perspective toward a performance that "trains" for the future is also present in the work of Chokri Ben Chikha, Flemish director of the performance company Action Zoo Humain, who has been interested in the format of the truth and reconciliation commissions. Her project Truth Commission (2013-) is a performance that has been presented in several courtrooms or state institutions in Ghent (2013), Cape Town (2014), Antwerp (2016), Mechelen (2017), and Brussels (2018). By proposing a commission that has not yet occurred, it joins the debates on decolonization. Among other things, it highlights the stereotypical and humiliating discourses related to the phenomenon of human zoos. Locked up in cages during the Universal Exhibitions in Belgium were 144 Congolese in Antwerp (1894), 270 Congolese in Brussels (1897), 128 Senegalese, and 60 Filipinos in Ghent (1913). These events welcomed millions of visitors and echoed the racist mentality widely supported and disseminated at the time not only by the government and the Catholic Church but also by European scholars and artists. This harks back to the "colonial imperialist paradigms of Black identity which represent blackness one-dimensionally in ways that reinforce and sustain white supremacy," as bell hooks has written (1990, 28).

The Truth Commissions are based on extensive archival research combined with consultations with experts. These same experts play their own role alongside victims and professional actors, sometimes taking their place in the audience. These hearings in which the crime is discussed are interrupted by artistic interventions, debates and memorial rituals. In the 2013 commission, for example, Black dancer Chantal Loial performed a solo, choreographed by Koen Augustijnen, in reference to Sawtche's story.8 At the end of this dance, she takes a seat among the spectators. Her intervention precedes a discussion with the choreographer, who is accused by the actress Marijke Pinoye of exploiting the black body of the dancer. Identical reproaches are then addressed to the master of ceremony Chokri Ben Chikha, present during the entire representation, under the amused glance of Loial herself. By intermingling the words of the experts and the actors, by playing with what might be true or false, Action Zoo Humain undertakes the collective exercise of recognizing the limits of dominant Western models in terms of their narrations, representations, and positivist philosophy.

Furthermore, as arts historian Steff Nellis writes, "when imperial abuses, sexual assault, colonialism, and other problems are neglected by the international community, theatre can publicly condemn these shortcomings within the real legal system by assembling public meetings itself, thereby claiming a voice in the debate that can counteract the dominant point of view" (2021, 21). Truth Commissions are ideal grounds not only for practice in looking at and analyzing the consequences of colonialism today but also for thinking about how we might strive to eliminate current forms of racism in the near future. To this extent, pre-enactment allows for the elaboration of new imaginaries beyond the usual rigid, outdated, and systemic paradigms, and also, as Francesca Laura Cavallo tells us, to create "fictionalized scenarios that toy

with real fear, uncertainty, and trust to invalidate strategies of governance and shift the wider population's perceptions of risk" (2019, 193).

Getting ahead?

The Truth Commission has been the subject of extensive archival research and reawakens the memory of historic events previously forgotten through decades of collective and general amnesia. If re-enactment generates a sense of distance from the past, pre-enactment attempts to "get ahead" in anticipation of conflicts, of desirable future. By means of exercises, trainings or (role-playing) games, these three case studies when analyzed give rise to reflection, discussion and experimentation around the particular tools they propose in response to dystopian visions or oppressive strategies. Lying on the border between retrospective and prospective approaches, these preenactment case studies also seem to stand in an in-between space, with the unchanging expectation-of a "yet to come." Wasn't it Antonio Gramsci who once wrote that "the crisis consists in the fact that the old dies and the new cannot be born"? (1996, 283).

There are, of course, limits to pre-enactments. They do not correspond to actual socio-political events and, in this sense, create a feeling of inadequacy associated with the desire to achieve a concrete result. The *Truth Commission* held in Ghent in 2013 preceded an official apology by the mayor, an added value (Tindemans 2016, 142) and a concrete performative result of a theatrical performance. But when the performance was repeated in 2016, the mayor of the city of Antwerp announced his categorical refusal to make an official apology for colonial human zoos.

As Klaas Tindemans argues, such performances should not be taken for granted. While the results of these tests or attempts are not always what we had hoped for, it's worth remembering the importance of the iterative nature of the projects analyzed (2016). Judith Butler envisaged the notion of performativity as the repetition of the norms by which we are constituted, norms which are also "resources from which resistance, subversion and displacement must be forged" (Butler 1993, 22). After Jacques Derrida, she has shown us that human actions are based on the logic of iteration. In this way, there is no coherence in thinking in terms of beginnings or endings. In this same logic, and considering the iterative nature of social interactions, some researchers who favor the concept of "(p)reenactment" have indicated that it highlights the "stability of traditions, rituals and social norms, but can also open up new perspectives on the possibilities of social and political change and their affective circumstances" (Czirak et al. 2019b, 208). Their findings have confirmed the interdependence of the fields of art, politics and the social world.

If Oliver Marchart defines the pre-enactment as "the artistic anticipation of a political event," (the artistic as preparation for the political), he later proposes the reverse of this definition by considering the political event as the prototype for the artistic event, that is to say of the pre-enactment (2019).

He further indicates that this artistic format had been anticipated by the prefigurative politics with links to anarchist thought of the nineteenth century. It was also present in the civil rights movements of the 1960s and in today's political activism. Political prefiguration, in other words organizing in which the means are identical to the ends, consists in embodying and not only in hoping for, the construction of another society within the social movement itself. While political prefiguration does not take place within a socio-political reality, it does seek to transform it.

The pre-enactment projects such as Training for the Future (2019–), la facultad (2021-), and The Truth Commission (2013-) have encouraged other processes of social interaction to call upon different types of knowledge that are often found outside those usually promoted by contemporary European epistemologies, and they have also made visible those histories that had been excluded from collective memory. In line with its prototype, it remains stimulating and relevant to apprehend the artistic pre-enactment in turn (or again) through transformative dynamics because to repeat is also to get ahead. It is here, by way of embodying, disturbing and invalidating—just a short list of the actions that govern the concept discussed in this study—that counter-strategic forms have demonstrated the power to be effective in contemporary situated artistic and curatorial practices.

Cassandre Langlois is a PhD candidate in aesthetics and cultural studies (Université Panthéon-Sorbonne). Her research focuses on the relation between performing arts and curatorial practices, and the way in which they can generate another place for art within a para-institutional dynamic. As independent curator she develops projects at the intersection of the performing arts, discursive proposals and critical pedagogies. She recently curated the exhibition Tout dans le cabinet mental at Crédac (France 2022) as part of the activities of the study office in performances *Together Until_* __(what)? created with Flora Bouteille and, with Marianna De Marzi, imagined the curatorial work format Meeting Points between the Caribbean and Europe.

Notes

- 1. This theater of negotiations was based, in part, on the Model United Nations educational genre invented at Harvard: future elites and diplomats train for their duties by mimicking major international conferences.
- 2. This international conference was organized by the interdisciplinary research group Affective Societies at Freie Universität on October 27 and 28, 2017 in Berlin.
- 3. Other iterations of the Training for the Future project: Collectives, Collectivity, and Collectivizations, March 6-7, 2021, simultaneously between Buenos Aires, Bogotá, Cape Town, Dêrik, Manila, New York, Palermo, Venice, and Zurich. We demand a million more years, 28-30 June 2022, Fondazione Sandretto Re Rebaudengo in Turin.
- 4. Here is the complete list of *Training for the Future* 2019 participants: Public Movement, irrational (Heath Bunting); Institute of Human Obsolescence; New Center

- for Research and Practice; Samuel Vriezen, Maya Felixbrodt and Germaine Sijstermans; Army of Love; Center for Jineology Studies; ISD—Initiative Schwarzer Menschen in Deutschland and glokal e.V.; Women on Waves, Klaas Kuitenbrouwer and Sjef van Gaalen; Not An Alternative; School of Transnational Activism and European Alternatives; Arrivati and Schwabinggrad Ballett; Laboratory of Insurgent Imagination.
- 5. *la facultad* followed workshops held in 2017 by choreographers and dancers Myriam Lefkowitz and Catalina Insignares, in collaboration with the La Galerie contemporary art center and ASE (Aides Sociales à l'Enfance) in Noisy-le-Sec, France.
- 6. The project is detailed on the website of the Parisian art and research center Bétonsalon.
- 7. The use of the verb "to disturb" refers to comments made to Myriam Lefkowitz. During one of the iterations of her project *How Can One Know in Such Darkness?*, a woman told the artist that she had never been so disturbed about her sensations. The tools used in this work are also used in *la facultad*.
- 8. Known as Saartjie (or Sarah) Baartman, nicknamed "The Black Venus," Sawtche was born around 1789 in South Africa within the Khoisan community. She was enslaved and then exhibited and sexually exploited in Europe until her death in 1815 in France.

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