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# PUK NINI — A FILMIC INSTRUCTION IN SEDUCTION: EXPLORING CLASS AND SEXUALITY IN GENDER RELATIONS

ANTJE SCHUHMAN AND JYOTI MISTRY

Fanta Régina Nacro is a well-known and highly respected filmmaker from Burkina Faso who made the critically acclaimed feature film *The Night of Truth* (2004). Earlier in her career she also made a short film, *Puk Nini* (1995). Nacro's reflections on the multiple roles that women are expected to perform both professionally (public) and domestically (private) motivated the roundtable discussion that follows, which took place at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. The objective of this roundtable was to address her reflections – the 'creative understanding' of the film – in a South African context and outside of Burkina Faso's immediate local and geographic context. The premise of the discussion was to explore, investigate and engage Nacro's intention (as a filmmaker) with *Puk Nini*. Furthermore, the discussion aimed to engage her intention and interpretation of gender relations as represented in *Puk Nini* with the next generation of artistically and socio-politically conscientised young adults in South Africa, some 20 years since the film's making. In other words, the research intention was twofold: firstly to use the film as a vehicle to gauge how much gender relations might have changed since the making of this film and, secondly, to explore its reception in a different geo-social environment. We wanted

to discover how diverse, young, urban-based audiences in South Africa might interpret *Puk Nini* through the lens of their own experiences and also to understand how they think about contemporary gender relations and sexuality.

In the context of this roundtable, which we as teachers at the university initiated, the point was less the aesthetic considerations and more to allow students to bring their scope of film theory and cinematic representations, in conjunction with their reading of the socio-cultural issues explored in the film *Puk Nini*. It was an invitation to share respective interpretations of the film.

The diversity of audience reception in Africa has been well documented recently in the works of anthropologists Brian Larkin (author of *Signal and Noise: Media, infrastructure, and urban culture in Nigeria* [2008]) and Onokome Okome (author of *Nollywood: Spectatorship, Audience and the Sites of Consumption* [2007]), both of whom have done extensive field research on how video films made in Africa (à la Nollywood style) are consumed and interpreted differently across regional borders, across the continent and in the diaspora. One of the reasons for the success of these films in their home markets can be attributed in part to the fact that the films speak to the immediacy of the experiences of their audiences where local and regional nuances are identifiable to their viewers. The complexity emerges when audience expectations shift and when the immediacy of the issues is less apparent, as the film moves further and further away from its (local) geographic and cultural proximity.

Using an approach similar to the seminal communication model proposed by Stuart Hall in 'Encoding/Decoding' (1980), first published in 1973 as 'Encoding and decoding in the television discourse', the roundtable discussion works within the paradigm of audience reception.

Hall proposed in his model of encoding/decoding that the circuit of communication was made up of discrete communication moments. The encoding takes place through the conditions of the practice. In this case it would be the filmmaker's intention, the socio-cultural context and the institutional framework that informs the message (by implication it is the ideological intent informing the film). The second moment is that of the text. Here the codes are embedded in the form and content of the film. The third moment is the act of decoding, or the reception of

the text (film), and the way in which an audience makes sense of the codes in the text. Hall pressed upon the idea that the social positioning (identification) informed how these codes were interpreted and made meaningful. This social standing ascribes importance to how race, class, gender, ethnicity, education and, in the case of this roundtable, how geo-social and historical contexts determine reception.

Processes of identification within and across gender, class, and/or cultural/ethnic boundaries are key to the reception of films. African film studies also require consideration to national, regional, ethnic and linguistic differences to circumvent African essentialism in considering audience reception. Reflecting on the diversity of audience reception is not only an acknowledgement of the diversity on and across the continent, but is a significant way to address social positioning in Africa.

As with conversation and discussion (in this case with the catalyst of the film *Puk Nini*) collective reflections are sometimes erratic and critical, and at other times circuitous and even prosaic, revealing the many contradictory positions of the speakers, their social positioning and how they reconcile the encoded messages of the text with its decoding based on their identification.

There is a reason that *Puk Nini* was chosen from so many other successful films made by women filmmakers on the African continent. The opportunity emerged from Nacro discussing her film directly, as well as from her engagement with the gender issues and stereotypes of women from different parts of Africa. The film also raises the issue of the solidarity of women. Nacro made a point of suggesting anecdotally that the success of the film was predicated on showing how women should 'act or behave' in order to be more attractive to men, and this also raised an opportunity to further address how gender relations operate and how 'tradition' is a constitutive factor in this relation.

*Puk Nini* tells the story of an urban professional couple living in Ouagadougou. They are (visibly) happily married when the film starts. They have a young daughter who enjoys watching their wedding video and aspires to have a wedding day just like her parents' one. While the husband would like to spend more time with his wife, she is always occupied with domestic responsibilities after work, like helping the daughter with homework, preparing the meals and taking care of the home. The husband, who feels rejected when he makes advances to

his wife, seeks alternative company with men, but in the process is introduced to an attractive woman who turns out to be a sex worker at the local tavern. What unfolds is a comedy of the husband's attempts to deceive his wife about the affair. There are two important narrative turns: the first is that the husband asks a family member to 'talk' to his wife and explain to her that this is what men do (have affairs). The second event is that this family member takes the wife to a traditional spiritual healer to help her with the problem. This family member (herself a victim of domestic abuse) tries to convince the wife that it is best for her to become accustomed to this and to rather seek the advice of a traditional healer to cope with the problem. The wife, however, pursues the commercial sex worker and befriends her in order to understand how she successfully seduced her husband and to learn about the different sexual methods the sex worker uses. By the end of the film, the wife and sex worker are friends and the husband is caught leaving a brothel with another sex worker.

At the first ARTSWork Women's conference at the Goethe-Institut in September 2010 Nacro made the following observations about the impact of her film *Puk Nini* in a local Burkina Faso context:

I went to film school in Burkina Faso and started to make short films in my country. Here the people and the state really appreciate cinema. I received my Master's and Doctorate in Paris. Every time I returned to Burkina Faso, my colleagues talked about the problem of having to share their husbands, who were seeing other women. They would talk about these women as first and second "offices". The question for me was: how is it that these men have beautiful intelligent women [wives] and yet they go to have these other offices [women]? Women from Burkina Faso do not hold back with their opinions, and the women from neighbouring countries like Senegal and Ghana are much more gentle and do not put pressure on the men, and this is why they are considered [less] work. *Puk Nini* means "open your eyes" and so the message is that if you have a problem, open your eyes and see what you can do about it.

This film is about a professional couple where the woman has a double burden: looking after her child and family, and doing her job. When the man wants to go out after work and have fun, after her job

stops she starts her domestic work at home. This film is a comedy, so when she discovers the other woman, she does not react with shouting and fighting in the way women in Burkina Faso would do normally. This wife is more sophisticated and instead gets to know the other woman and asks her how she attracted her husband. The Senegalese woman gives her tips.

It was a very controversial film as it talks about women and seduction; actually, it was seen as pornographic in Burkina Faso and it was critiqued because of the portrayal of Senegalese women as prostitutes. I had a reaction from women in Burkina Faso who said that I portrayed them as not being able to take care of their men. There were also some television panels where questions were raised about how as working women we can make space for our men? These discussions raised questions about how to create a home, a marriage and a good life but also have a happy love life. After *Puk Nini* came out, Burkina Faso women changed: they are more beautiful; they changed their looks. Even though I made the film in 1995, I am still approached by women today who ask me if I will make a sequel (Nacro 2010).

Teaching at the University of the Witwatersrand in the Department of Political Studies and the Centre for Diversity Studies, I (Antje Schuhmann) often have conversations with students about how they experience gender relations. Together with the students I try collectively to theorise their thinking and their experiences about the intersections of gender, sexuality, race and class. Most of these students are so-called 'born frees'. However, many do not feel free at all, although maybe a bit more free from past discriminations. Many issues remain contested, however. For example: Who has the agency to promote change? Do women or men or both need to change? In the sense of Gramsci's notion of cultural hegemony (Gramsci 1982) or Steve Biko's statement that the most powerful weapon of the oppressor is the minds of the oppressed (Biko 1986), students wonder to what extent, as women, they themselves are complicit in their own discrimination and in the upholding of a patriarchal symbolic gender order. What role do new representations play in transformative societal settings, and how do we represent something 'new' without somehow referring to the 'old'? And, in referring to the old, how do we not repeat gender and racial stereotypes?

In spite of being born into a democracy with applauded protection mechanisms for gender equality, young people in South Africa grapple with what might be seen as the intersection of modernity and tradition. When sharing their everyday anecdotes in the classroom these are some of their reflections:

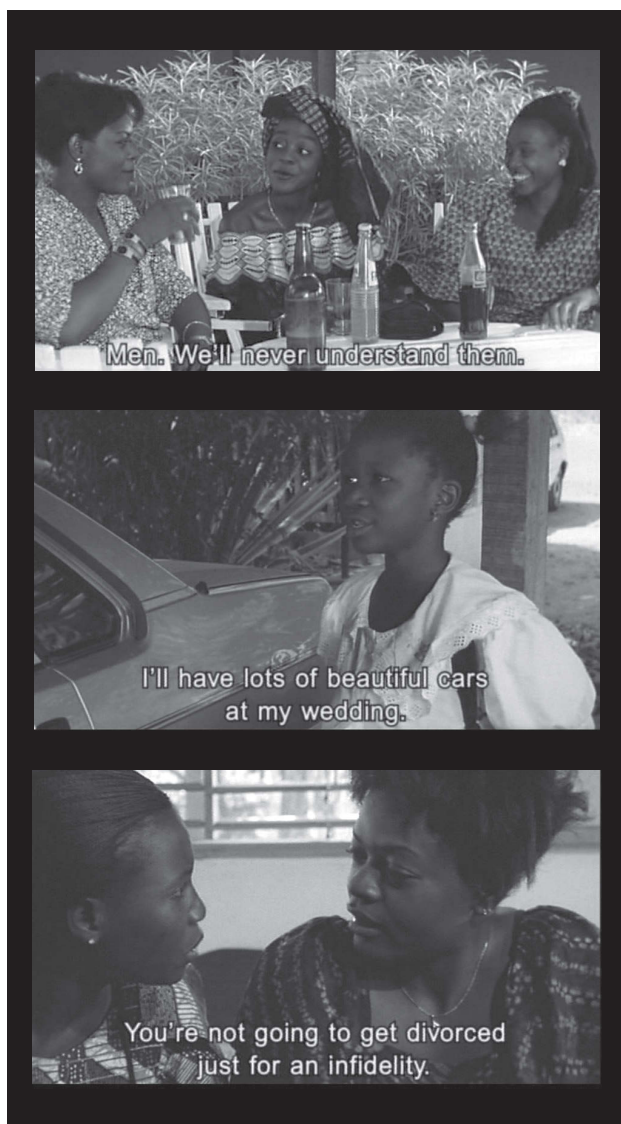
‘If I want to be an emancipated woman ... [and this term seems more acceptable than the often misunderstood term ‘feminist’] ... a woman in an urban environment who has her own career, what do I do about lobola? The whole time I was sure my husband-to-be would negotiate the financial compensation with my family before marriage, but now I do not know anymore. Isn’t this problematic?’

Another student responded to this by saying, ‘Well, I had tea the other day with my girlfriends and one has a new boyfriend and the mother of one friend instructed her: “Good, he is Jewish. Well done, and please make sure he will pay and smooth your everyday life.” I thought, This is one of those blonde, old-fashioned women, but then all my friends agreed with her!’

Another student affirmed this. ‘Yes, at home in Zimbabwe it’s the same. Women instruct women to let the man pay to not undermine his masculinity, as men like to play the role of the provider.’

Then a male student interjected: ‘Hey, girls, how can you all allow this to happen, and then you complain when my pals and I speak of a “sex tax” we have to pay in the form of dinners, handbags, fashion?’

We were interested in how students from Film and Television and Social Sciences today might understand the complexity of gender relations, ideas of power and (in)equality, and the different strategies of surviving and/or challenging the patriarchy as portrayed in *Puk Nini*. The complexities of the film, which was shot at a time when South Africa was transitioning into a supposedly non-racial, non-sexist democracy, are manifold and sometimes contradictory. We wondered how today’s young adults might respond to what we perceived as a tension between a clear ‘feminist’ or, rather, ‘women-identified’ approach and aspects we considered as an uncritical buy-in into hegemonic patriarchal understandings of gender relations. How would they read a film which seems partly still to mirror contemporary gender relations, but which is also different from how young urban Joburgers imagine themselves and their intimate relationships?



Courtesy of Jyoti Mistry

Frame grabs from *Puk Nini*.

*Puk Nini* was therefore an open invitation to address whatever issues the participants felt the film raised as they pertained to the representation of femininity, masculinity, sexuality and class, at the intersection of modernity and tradition, and, of course, the highly gendered politics of belonging that play out in the film.

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The discussion that followed the viewing also touched on aspects that were relevant in post-colonial feminist debates. The group that attended the screening of *Puk Nini* were: Antje Schuhmann, Athinangamso Nkopo, Jyoti Mistry, Komnas Poriazis, Lesiba Maile, Lurdes Laice, Molemo Ramphalile, Nikki Comninos, Nobunye Levin, Vivek Mehta, Welcome Lishivha. The role of facilitator went to Nobunye Levin.

**VIVEK MEHTA:** The beginning was interesting for me: you see all these women hanging up washing on the line in the courtyard and in the next scene there is the main character with her husband, going to select a washing machine in town. Despite the husband's initial concern with brand names he agrees to buy his wife what she wants. He says: 'But for you, my love, I will buy it.'

**ANTJE SCHUHMAN:** In this rather traditional interaction it seems significant that the wife is not only a housewife. She is represented with all the insignia of modernity: she works as a professional with computers in an office; she drives the family car and cares for the child – so she is clearly portrayed as a modern woman who is not necessarily financially dependent on her husband.

**VIVEK:** You are right. And also the husband was set up initially to be a really good husband in the sense of 'I'll take care of my wife'. But then he does these things [having the affair] on the side; it felt like Astou [the sex worker] was presented as the catalyst to his infidelity. He [the husband] is presented as weak throughout the film. In the beginning he says: 'Okay, I will buy the washing machine for you.' He goes home and wants to have sex but he doesn't get it from his wife. Then he meets Astou. I wasn't sure if he knew that she was a prostitute because / wasn't sure if she was a prostitute or not. It is interesting that the film keeps her status ambiguous for a while.

**ANTJE:** This ambiguity enables the narrative to not be judgemental about her trade as a sex worker – Astou is portrayed initially in a way which allows us as an audience to identify with her foremost as a character before it is revealed what she does for a living. She herself says later to the wife: 'I actually don't like your husband. All I want from men is their money.' She is very unashamed about this and I would call her a sex worker because she is without a pimp, working very much on her own terms.

**WELCOME LISHIVHA:** I thought the film portrayed women in a way that didn't victimise them. Particularly with regard to sexuality and the kind of relations they have with men, they are represented as somehow empowered. In many films women are portrayed as passive sexual objects, but in this film they have a voice! I like this.

**ATHINANGAMSO NKOPO:** There was some kind of build up to the husband's infidelity; he kept trying to have sex with his wife, but she kept on turning him down because her focus was on taking care of their daughter. So he does [have] some sort of [reason] for why he is cheating, but then it just spins out of control because he moves from one woman to others. I do think, though, that the depiction of the man is a little problematic. His weakness is his penis and in the end the women are making fun of him.

**LESIBA MAILE:** I felt that the film was overall biased against men because it seemed like every male in the film was a dog, from the *sangoma* [traditional healer] to the husband and the aunt's husband. There was not one positive male role model in the film or a male figure whom you want to identify with.

**NIKKI COMNINOS:** Also, there was no ability for him [the husband] to grow. There is solidarity amongst women, and in the beginning some kind of forgiveness and understanding. You would expect this to be reflected in the male's journey, but this was not the case. The husband is a two-dimensional character with no character arc. He is unable to develop as a character because, unlike the female characters, he is not endowed with the self-awareness that shows their character development and their narrative arcs. Having offered that comparison, I maintain some reservations about the representation of the female characters. The female gender roles are incredibly static as well. There is little complexity to them: there is Astou the sex worker, [and] the wife and mother who helps the child with homework. I don't feel that these gender roles are particularly nuanced. Amongst women a kind of solidarity developed, based on the acceptance that this is what men are like anyway – some kind of 'genetic' makeup – rather than a socio-political construction. In that sense it felt like women pushing the boundaries is useless anyway because no change is possible. I don't think that women were represented as any more empowered than their male counterparts.

Instead it felt like all gender positions were resigned to the constructions that were inherited.

**MOLEMO RAMPHALILE:** I am interested in the complexity of the representation of the domestic space and the role of the woman as a wife. I think in many black movies – broadly speaking – there is always this conflict black women face: just let him [the husband] be; he is a good man because he takes care of you, so just let the other stuff [the infidelities] be. I feel that there should be more in representing a male character, something that makes you think about how contradictory representations are not always separate but how a single character can be conflicted, and I think this speaks to what Nikki said about the two-dimensional-ness of the male character.

**NOBUNYE LEVIN:** The husband is both the provider and ‘the dog’ at the same time, who becomes the fool. I feel those three viewpoints, provider, dog, fool, make him more complex. However, it does reinforce a colonial stereotype around black men and their unbridled sexuality, which includes fantasies about the size of their penis and their insatiable libido. So the way he is represented definitely works on that level of stereotypes and as such the film re-inscribes certain colonial stereotypes of the black male.

**NIKKI:** There is also something compelling about the portrayal of the daughter in the film. She has this love for the idea of marriage and weddings. In the film she is introduced watching her parents’ wedding video and her fascination with the wedding video works throughout the film, eventually until the mother destroys it. It can be read like her dream [of weddings and marriage] is literally pulled apart in front of her when her angry mum breaks the tape after the mother discovers her husband has been cheating on her. The wedding videotape is used quite directly as a metaphor for how the mother feels about the marriage. I wonder if the daughter is simply growing up to become another woman who has to accept ‘Well, marriage is not what I thought it is.’ Is this film offering a warning or expressing something of how gender relations are reproduced across generations?

**MOLEMO:** In a way, the middle-class girl becomes sensitised and made aware of the myth of marriage when compared to its real life experiences. She moves from adoring an idealised fairy-tale wedding to a ‘This is what

I should be expecting of marriage and therefore if my husband would ever cheat or beat me, I will take it'. The film breaks the myth of the 'white wedding' and marriage is demythologised as a glorious thing.

**ANTJE:** The film offers a proposed trajectory for two girl-children. First the daughter of the middle-class family set against the young girl who lives with Astou in her quarters. Can we say that the two futures of each of these girls in the film are already mapped out through the specific socialising they receive? Is this where gender and class intersect?

**WELCOME:** I thought it was interesting that the kids in the courtyard look at Astou when she is talking with the wife. There was an everyday normality to it and at the same time this scene spoke to the Othering of sex workers.

**NIKKI:** I am not sure about this. Was it not more the boy-children watching the girl-child when she is being moulded into the desirable woman she will come to be?

**WELCOME:** Yeah, maybe one could say Astou was 'the pimp' in this scene, pimping the girl to become a future sex object.

**ANTJE:** I would like to come back to the question of class and tradition. On the one hand, you have the middle-class girl with nothing else on her mind but her future wedding in spite of her professional, working mother saying to her 'But you have to get an education first.' On the other hand there is Astou, who is working in the brothel, and the young girl who is already her apprentice, whom we are shown is being groomed by the way in which Astou shows her how to adorn herself and carry her body. She's modelled particularly through a very traditional way of shaping the body in how the stone is weighted down on her buttocks. Body politics, class and questions around tradition and modernity intersect here.

**VIVEK:** I found this part of the film fascinating because it reveals something of how also women participate in the objectification of the female body and how this grooming takes place from a very young age. On the one hand, the one girl is being raised to be a strong, independent woman who is going to have an education and be self-sufficient; on the other hand, the

other girl is being moulded to have control over her sexuality, her body and, consequently, over men. She will get some benefits and money to sustain herself and this is paralleled with the middle-class girl who gets an education to ensure her independence. The one girl goes to school and the other one is told, 'If you work on your body, you will get what you want in life'.

**ATHINANGAMSO:** What do you mean by 'independent'? In fact, the girl who is going to be a sex worker, similar to Astou, seems to be independent as she just gets what she wants from men and [learns from a woman] who probably also did not have an education [referring to Astou]. Similarly, the other girl [from the middle-class family] will also be in the situation like her mother. [She] may have an education, work and be independent in *that* way, so what is the difference?

**JYOTI MISTRY:** The issue of how to define independence or independent is significant as it relates to the historical and socio-political context in which gender relations are examined. The film makes evident a theoretical position that has often been enunciated, which suggests that women are ultimately in contractual relationships with men. Even in a marriage there is the contract of conjugal duty, but what does it actually mean and how does this relate to power? Can power be manipulated through withholding sexual 'favours' or providing sex for 'favours' even within a marriage? In the end the film seems to suggest that men are 'dogs' or only defined by their libido, which is an 'uncontrollable' trait that men must fulfil. But this argument is not specific to an African context. Although Nobunye's point is well taken: that it is made stereotypical in colonial contexts with regard to African men and their sexuality. In that sense this film seems to evoke a tension between surviving patriarchy and/or fighting patriarchy. What would then constitute a feminist film? Is this a feminist film?

**ATHINANGAMSO:** I don't think this is a feminist film. I think a lot of the things that happen in the film are not a challenge to patriarchy. They [the women] are trying to survive patriarchy and they play into it. I am bothered by the sisterhood at the end of the film; that all the women get together and laugh at the man and this is supposed to come across as representing empowered women. I feel it is a sisterhood-happy-end movie and the women are represented as unburdened by their positions: wife, mistress and

the sister who is beaten up by her husband. It doesn't feel real. No one is angry, no one is emotional. I don't see it playing out as authentic to a lived experience.

**LESIBA:** I agree with you. The filmmaker is representing the cycle of patriarchy that is so naturalised that it is in part represented as a cycle of life. The film ends with Salif [the husband] being caught again and I don't see a divorce coming. It will just keep on happening to women again and again across generations. In this sense the film is not breaking the cycle but simply representing it with a comical twist, which perhaps makes the feeling of the cyclic nature of the gender relationships more bearable.

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Generally speaking, the symbolic gender order is essentialised through two main avenues: either we are told that biology is the main factor in generating a fundamental difference between the sexes or it is argued in the name of tradition and culture that static gender order requires preservation: it was always like this and so it must remain as it is. In other words, men are men and women are women. *Puk Nini*, however, mirrors the tradition of the so-called second-wave women's movement's consciousness-raising efforts. Women do change. Maybe they will not step out of a normative heterosexual marriage arrangement or will not seek a different trade; maybe the way they relate to men becomes only a bit more cynical and estranged in the sense of a self-fulfilling prophecy. But what *does* change is how women relate to one another and how they might come to reflect on their positions as opposed to simply inhabiting those positions *sans* a reflectivity.

This is of particular interest because in her film Nacro focused exclusively on a heterosexual framework of female/male gender relations. Within this perspective women were inspired to relate differently to themselves in order to relate differently to men by enhancing their femininity and therefore their desirability. This re-establishes the man as the primary point of reference around which women circle in relation to both their individual and collective self-imagination. One of the complexities of this film is that it also points us in a different direction: female bonding and solidarity are imagined as cause and effect of the de-centring of men. It is a gradual estrangement where

the wife loses all her respect for men. In the course of trying to fix her marriage she aims to learn the tricks of the sex worker, who shares her (the sex worker's) insights on how to play or reduce the simple constitution or make-up of men as biological beings. The loss of respect for men finally enables the wife to reach out to a woman positioned at the symbolic fringes of a patriarchal society, whose centre and value system the wife abandons in the process of seeking female company and solidarity. The utopia offered here is not the changing of men but rather mutual female empowerment across the societal segregation of women in the 'holy wife' or 'whore' binary. This solidarity unfolds in the face of a seemingly simple reality: all that men want is sex and within this framework women are replaceable. This seems to be the context of the so-called 'sugar-daddy' phenomenon and related forms of transactional sex: to hell with romance, it is an illusion anyway, so let's get real and take as long as you can before you are replaced.

Translated, this means women are made to be as materialistic as their male counterparts. Women focus in this scenario on the commodification and the exchange of body, beauty and youth with the intent to accumulate material goods.

*Puk Nini* and the subsequent roundtable conversation that arose after viewing it 20 years after it was made situates the crisis of gender relations within the tensions of tradition and modernity under conditions of late capitalism. One woman, the wife, symbolises the modern woman and her double burden of paid labour and unpaid reproductive labour, household and care work. The other woman, the sex worker, represents an independent businesswoman, who sustains her children back home through the commodification of her body, as she lives and works at the margins of societal exclusion and the precariousness of a migrant labour existence.

What is revealing from the multiple views and observations expressed by the focus group in the roundtable discussion are their own social positions and points of identification (or not), which enable an engagement with the text (film). It is not simply about recognising the codes and revealing their own decoding strategies that suggest an already different understanding of gender relations generationally; it is also the recognition of what is similar and familiar from a previous generation. As a focus group of university students, their exposure to

theoretical concepts and concerns with film aesthetics further addresses their need or desire to see the characters less as types or representative but rather to expose the contradictions. To this end the narrative scenario or context denies them the nuances and experiences that the students feel is authentic to their own immediate lived experiences. These lived experiences are represented through the contradictions expressed previously by students in Antje Schuhmann's classes in, for example: 'As a woman in an urban environment who has her own career, what do I do about lobola?' And 'Hey, girls, you complain when my pals and I speak of a "sex tax" we have to pay in the form of dinners, handbags, fashion?'

The gendered labour division embedded within a heterosexual framework of marriage, sugar-coated with romantic love, is a relatively young invention, whereas the trade of sexuality is a comparatively old tradition. In this reading, modernity and tradition resurface again. Another reading, this time formulated in relation to Western societies, but partly transferable to certain post-colonial societies, is Laurie Penny's description from her book *Meat Market: Female Flesh under Capitalism* (2011:3):

After women gained complete legal rights in many countries, our societies still "cultivate a rigorous, stage managed loathing for female flesh ... We do not look young enough, slim enough, white enough and willing enough" – messages that come to us subtly and not so subtly ... and are manifest in "rituals of self-discipline ...". It is not enough to locate women's oppression in the body only. Oppressive normative body politics, which are reinforcing essential gender difference and hetero-normativity, have to be seen in their intersection with intensifying capitalist modes of consumption, unpaid reproductive labour and so forth.

There are multiple contradictions at play – on the one side within the film's narrative and aesthetics, but on the other side also within Fanta Nacro's own relationship to her film and her interpretation of its reception initially in her own country, and how it is later interpreted in a different historical and geo-social context. These ambiguities are highly productive for our critical analysis of gender relations within a hegemonic symbolic

gender order; within an order intersecting with representations of race and class; and an order which is often upheld by both men and women, and which is passed on to the next generation in all its complexities. What *Puk Nini* enables us to do – precisely because of its often rather slapstick comedic elements and not necessarily because of a conscious direct suggestion – is engage with our own complicities. In addition to this, it allows us to search for possible escape routes, within and beyond normative gendered social relations.

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