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SCARIFICATION AS A FORM OF VISUAL IDENTITY: ADORNMENT USING THE BODY AS A CANVAS FOR CULTURAL AND VISUAL IDENTIFICATION

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ABSTRACT

This study sought to explore the utilization of the body for cultural and visual identity through scarification. It explored the historical and contemporary practices of scarification in Africa and South African tribes. This research was an effort to document and understand the cultural visual identity of South African tribes through the use of the skin. To reach the study objectives, the study employed a qualitative method using secondary sources and a qualitative content analysis. The artworks which form part of this study are a practical depiction of the different designs of the scarification.

Keywords: Scarification, Identity, Cultural significance, Body/Skin, Tribal markings.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This study aims to explore the utilization of the body for cultural identification through scarification. This study explores the historical and contemporary practices of scarification within South African tribes. Felsenstein (2017), defined scarification as the act of covering, concealing and remodelling the body by creating wounds in one's own flesh so as to cause markings. It is perhaps one of the foremost misunderstood body modification procedures done today, largely perceived in Western society as a taboo and harmful cultural practice. The interest in body modification particularly in scarification has increased recently. However, the body has always been used in Africa as a canvas for cultural and visual identification according to Goniwe, Pissarra, and Majavu (2007), the body has always played a central role within the quest human beings have undertaken to know themselves and also the world they inhabit. Whether this quest is conducted literally or symbolically the body is usually viable as a discursive tool for generating meaning in society. The above-mentioned authors support that scarification is not a new concept.

This study discusses different purposes of scarification that are practised by people in Africa and South African tribes. Binreuner (2017) noted that history taught us that body modification are not new. Archaeologists have found evidence of tattoos, piercings, and scarification as far back as 2000 BC, after they were largely used as a style of art or to spot group membership, like a spiritual group or tribe. I will further discuss the scarification techniques used to adorn the body and refer to the decline in the practice of scarification in contemporary South Africa. According to Herle (2002: 94), "the stunning body art,

particularly tattooing and scarification, adorned the bodies and faces of the local inhabitants". Herle (2002) further notes, several styles and modes of body art roughly corresponded with language and dialect differences and served in some respects as markers of identity. This study employs a qualitative approach and technical methods through art using a printmaking technique. In printmaking, images are developed by making scars on a flat surface. The scars will then trap ink which will be transferred and printed on clean paper. The flat surface can be a flat wood block, zinc, linoleum, and more these are referred to as plates. The printmaking process is similar to the scarification process. In scarification, wounds are created in one's own flesh in order to cause permanent markings on the body and create textured raised marks on the body. The researcher begun this study about scarification and identity so as to search out the knowledge and supporting literature needed to answer the research questions. This study uses Schildkrout's theory (2004) to prove that adornment uses the body as a way to show cultural and visual identity.

1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

As a cultural practice, the practice of scarification can be traced back to a tribal primitivism that has been present in a wide variety of civilizations for centuries (Felstenstein, 2017). The Pitt Rivers Museum (2011), stated that through the body of art, in Southern Sudan, Nuba girls traditionally receive cuts on their forehead, chest, and abdomen at the onset of puberty. Firstly, they receive a set of cuts at menstruation, they receive the second set of cuts under the breasts. These are amplified by a final, extensive phase of scarring after the birth of the first child, leading to designs stretching across the sternum back, buttock, neck, and legs. Suri men of Ethiopia scar their bodies to point out that they have killed someone from the enemy tribe. One group for instance cut a horseshoe shape on their right arm to point out they've killed a person and on their left for female victim. In contrast neighbours of the Suri in Ethiopia's Omo valley, the main purpose of scarification is basically aesthetic reasons (The Pitt Rivers Museum, 2011).

The Pitt Rivers Museum (2011), discusses the tribes in Africa that practice scarification. They mention the tribes that practices scarification and they also mention the specific location Suri men of Ethiopia they also discuss the 'Southern Sudan, Nuba. However, they do not discuss the South African tribes that practice scarification yet the Eastern Cape where the researcher is from has identified people who have visible facial scars. Scarification is practiced in the South African tribes, by the Xhosa tribe of the Eastern Cape. Mighty African History (2020) stated that Xhosa tribe, scarification is known as *Umvambo*. Up until the 60's to early 60s *Umvambo* was so most in fashion. In the Xhosa culture it was done by young women down their chest to the stomach. Young men did it on their arms. *Umvambo* was a brag for teenagers who went to *Umtshotsho* their form of partying. We could say it absolutely was body tattooing of their time'.

According to The Pitt Rivers Museum (2011), the main point of scarification is to prettify, although scars of a specific type, size and position on the body often shows group identity or stages during a person's life. Among the Dinka tribe of Sudan facial scarification, usually around the temple area, is employed for clan identification.

1.3 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

The researcher has chosen to focus on scarification as a form of visual identity exploring the use of the body as a canvas for cultural and visual identity as a study topic. The researcher was particularly interested in learning how the body is used culturally as a form of visual identification. The lack of research on the chosen topic allows this study to fill the gap and add to the body of knowledge relating to the scarification and cultural identity within the South African Tribes.

After reviewing some introductory materials from previous experts on the subject, have decided to focus on three main areas. The first sub-question looked at the different cultural purposes of scarification practiced by African people. While the second looked at the factors that have led to the decline in the practice of scarification in modern Africa. Therefore, the researcher looked at the scarification techniques used in order to adorn the body and for visual cultural identity. The researcher investigated what modern academics have to say about scarification and identity. Schildkrout's name would crop up as the study's theorist in the researcher's background of this study. As a result, the researcher used the readings of other scholars to locate more primary and secondary sources that will aid in the completion of this investigation.

1.4 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The practise is an ancient one amongst Southern African tribes. This study has identified that scarification traces its roots to Africa, however there is absence of written documentation about the scarification practise in the South African tribes. We live with people in South Africa who have visible scars and tribal markings on their faces. The researcher has identified my grandmother who has markings on her chest, markings that she did as a young woman, she refers to these markings as *umvambo*. The researcher also identified people who also have visible scarification marks on their bodies, more so on their faces. Accessing written information about *umvambo* is not as easy as a typing scarification on the search engines.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1.4.1 Main research question

The main research question explored by this study is: How is the body used as a canvas for cultural and visual identification?

1.5 Sub-Research questions

- What are the different cultural purposes of scarification practised by African people?
- What has led to the decline in the practice of scarification in modern Africa?
- What are the scarification techniques used?

1.6 Research objectives

- To discover the different cultural purposes of scarification practiced by African people;
- To investigate and discuss what has led to the decline in the practice of scarification in modern Africa;
- To determine the scarification techniques used;

1.7 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to explore the use of the body for cultural and visual identification. This study will further explore the historical and cultural practices of scarification and reveal the contemporary practices of scarification.

1.8 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

There is limited written information that is relevant to the practice of scarification within South African Cultures. This limited information that is not documented is a result of colonialism. Owusu-Ansah and Mji, (2013) stated that there is a need and, necessity for an emancipatory and participatory type of research that values and includes indigenous knowledge and people. In the predominantly Western-oriented academic circles and investigations, the African voice is either side-lined or suppressed because indigenous knowledge and methods are often ignored or not taken seriously. However, we cannot entirely blame the colonialists as it is in the Xhosa nature to communicate orally and pass on knowledge. Accessing written and documented information about scarification practices in the South African tribes is not as easy as accessing information about scarification generally on search engines this is the result of the oral communication and method of passing on knowledge.

1.9 DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The envisioned limitations of this study have been eminent. This study used secondary data collected from the University of Fort Hare online library and through Google scholar. A substantial part of this study was guided by this study theorist (Schildkrout, 2004). The researcher relied on observations to visually narrate the tribal and cultural marks that are seen in my artworks.

2.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.2 Introduction

This chapter discusses the theoretical framework adopted for this study. Additionally, the chapter reviews preliminary documentation literature. The purpose of the literature review is manifold. Among other purposes, it provides an understanding of how the body is used as a canvas for cultural and visual identification.

2.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

According to Kendra (2020), theories are formulated to explain, predict and understand phenomena and, in many cases, to challenge and extend existing knowledge, within the limits of the critical bounding assumptions. In addition, the theoretical framework is the structure that can hold or support a theory of a research study. The theoretical framework introduces and describes the theory which explains why the research problem under study exists.

A theoretical framework is used to limit the scope of the relevant data by focusing on specific variables and discussing the specific viewpoint (framework) that the researcher will take in analysing and interpreting the data to be gathered, understanding concepts and variables according to the given definitions, and building knowledge by validating or challenging theoretical assumptions (Kendra, 2020).

2.3.1 Theories and reasons for scarification

Schildkrout's (2004) theory for scarification is that the body is a boundary phenomenon that has a long historical transformation often involving scarification as a visual interpretation of culture on the skin to also stamp onto the mind all the traditions and philosophy of the group meditating relations between persons, the sacred, the present and the past. The skin negotiates between the individual and society and between different social groups but also mediates relations between persons and spirits, the human and the divine.

2.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

The body has always been used in the Southern African tribes as a canvas for cultural and visual identification. Adeyemi, (2015) notes that African tribes have defined patterns which carry certain tribal meaning. In Sub-Saharan Africa, fixed designs are used not only for beautification but also for identification, and as such, it is rare to find the uncontrolled proliferation of patterns. Because scarification is mostly for identification, beautification, and or ritual, they are generally consistent and unique to groups. Therefore, pattern designs are absolute directories for tracing the origin, or association of the wearer be it a tribesman or a piece of art.

Schildkrout, (2004:331) argues that, "even though government's prohibitions and missionary interventions all over Africa generally caused scarification and tattooing to cease, diminish, or become a style of subversion (Gengenbach 2003), evidence of past practices is preserved in artworks that represent bodies or share the aesthetic of body art." Furthermore Schildkrout, (2004:331) explains "these markings are not simply for decoration but give the objects culturally appropriate meanings". Furthermore, Schildkrout explains the cultural purpose of scarification (2004:332), "in eastern Nigeria, Igbo scarification denoted age, gender, and political authority. As permanent body marking decreased, women continued painting designs, known as Uli on the walls of their houses, on pottery, and on their bodies as temporary decoration during coming of age ceremonies".

In addition, Schildkrout, (2022), a new bride's home is built with architectural embellishments consisting of raised geometric designs covered in red ochre. These designs refer to the body of young female initiates. Here too body art was protective. However, funeral ceremonies include ritual pottery incised with scarification marks. As a result, at the end of the ceremony the pots are, smashed to permit the ancestral spirit to safely pass on to the afterlife. Some of the leading factors to the decline in the practice of scarification in modern Africa according to "government prohibitions and missionary interventions all over Africa which generally caused scarification and tattooing to cease, diminish, or become a form of subversion, (Schildkrout, 2022:331).

3.1 Methodology

3.2 Introduction

This study has adopted a qualitative approach. Qualitative research begins with assumptions and the use of interpretative theoretical frameworks that inform the study of research problems addressing the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem.

To study this problem, qualitative research uses an emerging qualitative approach to inquiry, the collection of data in a natural setting sensitive to the people and places under study and analysis that is both inductive and deductive and establishes patterns or themes (Creswell, 2013)

Ethical Considerations: The University of Fort Hare, Faculty of Social Science and Humanities has granted the Ethical clearance. Mbabe, Ajayi, Bagula, Leenen, L. and Schoeman (2021) noted that Ethical clearance for research projects ensures that intended studies conform to international or national ethical guidelines and requirements. Furthermore, the above authors stated, an approved ethical clearance for a proposed study legitimizes eventual research findings because it implies that the work has been cleared to be carried out in an acceptable and responsible manner.

Data Collection: The scope of this study has been limited to secondary sources and has adopted a qualitative approach. According to Potelwa (2016:53), “qualitative study endeavours to give a rich description of the people, artefacts, ceremonies, conversations, and places. Qualitative research also involves the use of a variety of materials, case studies, personal experience, observation, and visual texts that describe experience and meaning in the lives of individuals”. This study uses secondary data collected from the University of Fort Hare online library. A substantial part of this study was guided by this study theorist (Schildkrout, 2004). The researcher has relied on observation to visually narrate the tribal and cultural marks that are on my artworks.

Data Analysis: This study employed the qualitative content analysis method. According to Crosley (2021), content analysis is a method that focuses on recoded human artefacts such as manuscripts, voice recordings and journals. The content analysis investigates written, spoken and visual artefacts without explicitly extracting data from participants. The response to study content analysis results is that scarification is ancient, and it is performed, by indigenous dark-skinned ethnicities in Africa, to achieve an irreversible visual change in the skin surface for instant visual identification.

The different purposes of scarification practised by African People

Body modification has been performed for a variety of reasons in many societies throughout history and current forms of modifications still exist. The large variety of artificial body modifications includes, among others, female genital mutilation, male circumcision, removal or enlargement of body parts, scarification and tattooing, but also modern plastic and aesthetic surgery (Garve R, Garve M, Turp, Fobil and Meyr, 2017).

Magwa (2006:8) states “scarification is a long and painful process and a permanent modification of the body which transmits complex messages about identity and social status”. Scarification has traditionally been used for many different purposes, such as the rite of passage, tribal/clan identity, civilizing, beauty, and sexual attraction, healing and medicinal. Further discussing the purposes of scarification Magwa (2006) noted that in many African societies people decorate themselves with striking scars, ornamenting their bodies with a wide variety of patterns. The purpose and function of these body markings can only be understood in the context of the social background. In many cases, scarification denotes a particular age group, but elsewhere it might signify membership in a particular local group or

kinship. **Figure 3** below is a depiction of a middle-aged woman adorned with facial linear scars from scars native to African tribes including the South African Xhosa and Zulu tribes. Amongst the many purposes of scarification, rite of passage is also one purposes for scaring in African societies a person is able to enter the social stages of the community through scarification (Magwa, 2006).

Magwa (2006:18), further noted scarification serves as a spiritual link and connection with the ancestors “body marks serve as a link with ancestors, deities or spirits and mediate the relationship between people and the supernatural”. Further discusses that “Zulu people’s scars are sometimes used as a protective shield against evil” (Magwa, 2006:18).

Identity

There are numerous ethnic groups that exist on the African continent. One of the best-documented reasons for scarification in Africa was the purpose of identifying people (Magwa, 2006). According to Garve R, Garve M, Turp, Fobil, and Meyr (2017:708), “The skin is a clear and definite boundary between the self and the environment. Any modification of a sentient being’s outer physical appearance may well, in a non-verbal way, convey indications, signals and messages to those who understand their meaning. In fact, scarification and tattooing in indigenous groups may be cultural imprints and autographs of an individual”. Garve et al (2017:708), further noted that scarification “frequently indicates closeness to or even identify with ancestors and totem animals or plants”.

In further discussion on the purpose of scarification (Keffer, 2013:42) that, “the canvas of the human skin was one of the earliest means of expressing identity, and life experiences in both a permanent and a temporary form”

Scarification links the individual to a social group as an insider, by setting a shared scarification language. Scarification or body marks can also distinguish outsiders, by proclaiming a separate identity. In a complex and diverse society, when someone shuns certain types of body marks, they can become the norm, they lose their power to define group membership and instead express individual choices and life experiences (Magwa, 2006).

Physical and Spiritual Healing

Garve et al (2017) scarification is performed to find relief from distinct medical conditions and to improve physiological functionality. Punctual branding can be applied for cleansing and disinfection of locally infected lesions or to distract from a source of severe pain, such as toothache and cephalgia and other neuropathies.

Magwa (2006) noted that among the most ancient culture that has somewhat survived into the twentieth century, a person uses pain as a means of transcending ordinary consciousness, of opening the heart and mind to realities beyond everyday life.

According to Magwa (2002) marks of burns are deliberately administered to particular parts of a sick person's body to stimulate the immune system. Garve et al (2017:26) noted that in “Togo, scarification for epilepsy treatment is mostly applied on the forehead, clearly

identifying individuals scarred in such a way as epileptic” see figure 4 below which gives a visual narrative of this scarification.

“Prevention of diseases through scarification is also sought frequently in South Africa” Garve et al (2017:711). Although Garve et al (2017:709) note and indicate that scarification is practiced in South Africa, they do not discuss the medical reasons that South Africans would do scarification.

Scarification was also used for letting out dirty blood from a child for health purposes (Magwa, 2006). Magwa (2006:46) statements have unlocked a childhood memory. The researcher remembered the elders doing some incisions on the family and relatives in order to let out blood. The reason for this was to let blood out of the injured area from a soccer player and injured horses that was swollen. The elders used a razor blade to let out the blood, they made two small incisions on the injured area. The incisions must have been about 5mm in length. After letting the blood out the elders used an ointment known in Xhosa as *umhlabelo*.

What has led to the decline in the practice of scarification in the modern world?

According to Lichtenstein and Faris (2021), the traditional scarification practice began to disappear. As the practice became less common, those who had received scarring began to face judgment for their choices, rather than having it be seen as a symbol of identity. Due to pressure from state and religious authorities to modernize, along with clothing being introduced in tribes, scarification began to decline in practice.

Agreeing with the above statement Magwa (2006:7) noted that, "scarification, like tattooing, is disappearing, having been highly disapproved of by missionaries and banned by colonial governments. In contemporary Africa tribal marks have been outlawed by governments". Magwa (2006) further adds that, customs do not expire out. For those who refuse to continue the practice to scarify their children, there's not much we can do.

Traditional scarification has declined in Africa, due to health concerns and political and cultural changes. Modern African governments have banned the practice as anti-patriotic tribalism. On the other hand, since the 1980s, scarification has achieved growing cult status among certain groups especially Modern Primitives in Europe and the USA, Pitt Rivers (2011).

The Scarification techniques

Before discussing the different techniques of scarification, it is important to discuss who does the scarification. A person entrusted with the role of scarifying is usually an elderly person from within the family, either male or female. The person needs to be brave and must not shake, as the number and the size of the scars have to be consistent for all family members Magwa (2006:54) In the South African Zulu tribe the person who does the scarifying is normally an elderly person who is chosen by elders within the family. The person is chosen because he/she has certain qualities. However, Magwa (2006) does not discuss those certain qualities. The chosen person will later choose a successor, due to old age and or illness to take over the practice. The responsibility is then handed over. There are different scarification techniques. Magwa (2006) discusses a technique that results in having scars that are raised

scars, or keloids (see **figures 4 and 7** below). Scars such as these are made using the cicatrisation technique. This is a form of scarification in which a cut is made in the skin with a sharp instrument, and irritation of the skin is caused by applying caustic juices to form permanent blisters. These cuts, when healed, form raised scars, known as keloids.

According to Garve et al, (2017:709) a small part of the skin to be treated is upraised by a wooden hook or an edged thorn to subsequently be sliced or removed with a razor blade. This is performed repeatedly for hours regardless of continuous bleeding, to achieve a pattern of lesions. Clotted blood is occasionally removed with water, and the cuts are filled with ash and mud. Wound healing is purposely delayed by inserting unsterile materials, among others crocodile dung, into the lesions and by repeated removal of scabs; in fact, inflammatory processes are intended to occur and favour keloid formation for an extended period of time.

The formation of keloids is strongly desired, as they are aesthetic assets that emphasize femininity and increase social prestige. Broken glass bottles, wooden hooks, razors, and reeds split in half for easy cutting are among the used tools to make the scars. Modern methods include laser branding and cold branding, which uses extremely cold liquid nitrogen rather than heat to mark the skin.

REFLECTION ON ARTWORKS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyses and interprets the visual narratives. Critical theory has been used as a method, which is the production and analysis of a body of visual artworks, generated as an outcome process-focused used studio practice.

We have chosen the printmaking medium to create and develop the artworks. Printmaking is an artistic process based on the transfer of images from a matrix onto another surface, most often paper or fabric. A matrix is essentially a template and can be made of wood, metal or glass. The matrix is then inked in order to transfer it onto the desired surface. Printing from a matrix requires the application of controlled pressure, most often achieved by using a printing press, which creates an even impression of the design when printed onto the paper. Traditional printmaking techniques include woodcut, linocut, etching, engraving, and lithograph (Spira and Zanis, 2020).

The chosen printmaking methods were engraving and relief woodcut printing methods. In relief printing the artist draws the desired design on a smooth block and uses tools to carefully cut away the areas that are not to be printed, leaving behind a raised surface of lines and shapes of the desired design.

Our work focuses on human figures, predominantly portraiture. My work generally focuses on realism, with an attempt to represent the subjects truthfully, avoiding speculative or unnatural elements. We have developed the artworks using the printmaking technique, which is a technique where images are developed by making scars on a flat surface. Printmaking is the selected art method as the technique of developing images is quite similar and it is the closest medium of choice that allows me to imitate the scarification technique. With scarification sharp tools are used to cut the skin similarly to printmaking, sharp tools are used

to cut the super wood in order to create the intended designs. Printmaking is the best technique that allows me to express my creativity.

As noted by Garve et al (2017) that Kenyan and Tanzanian Maasai communities, circular and semi-circular scars on the cheeks may be observed. Even young boys are decorated with circular brandings as a tribal identification marker and as a sign of the desire to become brave men in the future. **Figure 1** below is a depiction of such scars. The female has facial circular scars.

Figure 4 below shows the huntsman's decorative scars on the shoulder, back and upper arm. Successful hunting or even killing an enemy allowed the fortunate huntsman to decorate himself with keloid scars on the forehead, cheeks, shoulders and upper arms (Garve et al, 2017).

Figure 7 below depicts the typical Bantu tribal scars. The keloid scars on the face are artistically arranged to achieve the appearance of a buffalo and to demonstrate resolute acerbity and decisiveness.

Figure 8 below depicts the decorative scars on the face. Such scars are typical adornment by the Xhosa tribe. Since the decline of scarification, the Xhosa women have opted to use white clay or calamine to adorn their faces. The type of facial adornment is usually reserved for married women. While young women usually opt for smaller circular dots to adorn their faces. Ornamentation is intended to express courageousness, perseverance and resolution but also feelings such as mourning, grief, sorrow see figure 6 below. The scars on the forehead in figure 6 below, are marks that also link one to their ancestors.

ARTWORKS

Figure 1



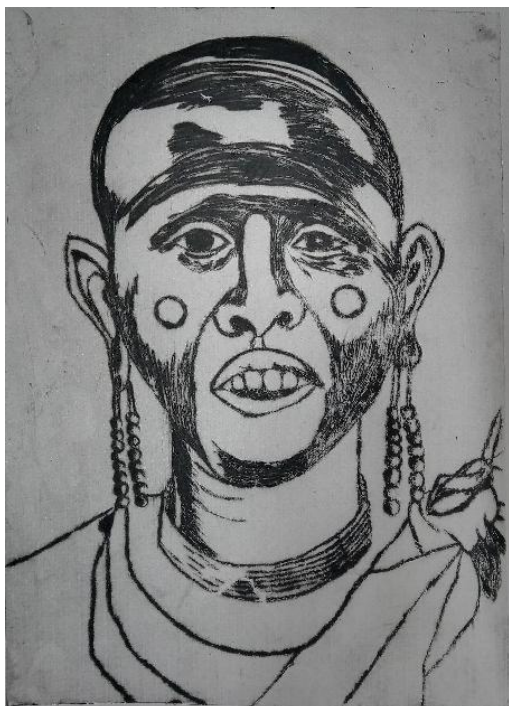
Title: Masai Woman

Size: 32cm x 23 cm

Medium: Zinc

Year: 2022

Figure 2



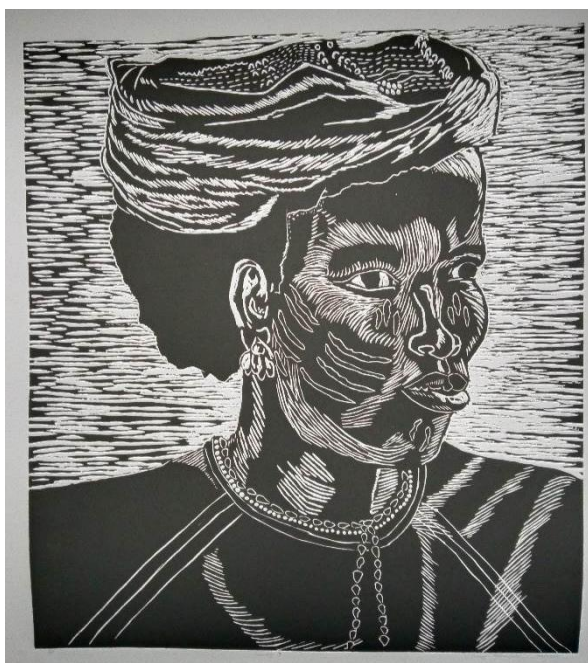
Title: Mursai Woman

Size: 39 cm x 30,5 cm

Medium: Zinc

Year: 2022

Figure 3



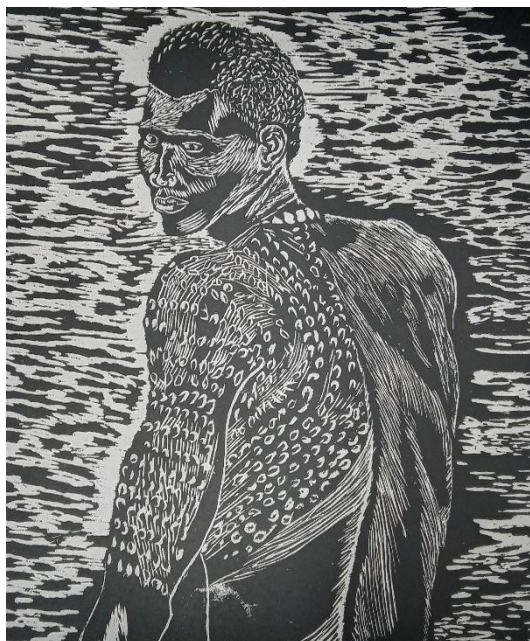
Title: Identity 1 (Linear Scars)

Size: 70 cm x 50 cm

Medium: Woodcut

Year: 2022

Figure 4



Title: Mursi Man (keloid scars)

Medium: Woodcut

Size: 40 cm x 40 cm.

Year: 2022

Figure 5



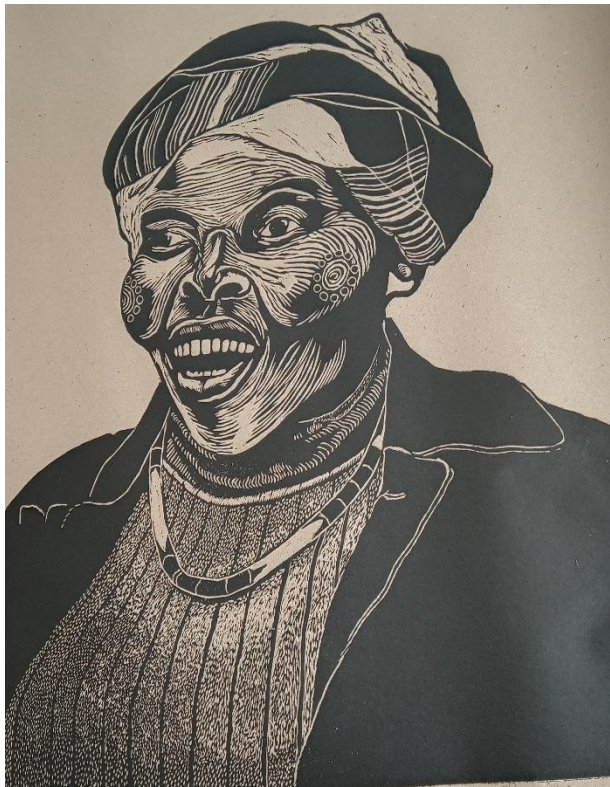
Title: Xhosa Woman (Keloid Scars)

Medium: Woodcut

Size: 50cm x 40 cm

Year: 2022

Figure 6



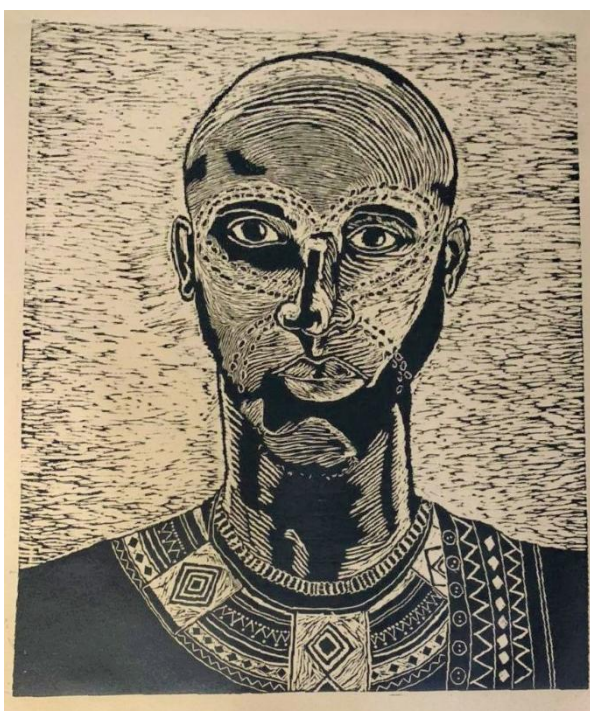
Title: Identity IV

Medium: Woodcut

Size: 70cm x 50 cm

Year: 2022

Figure 7



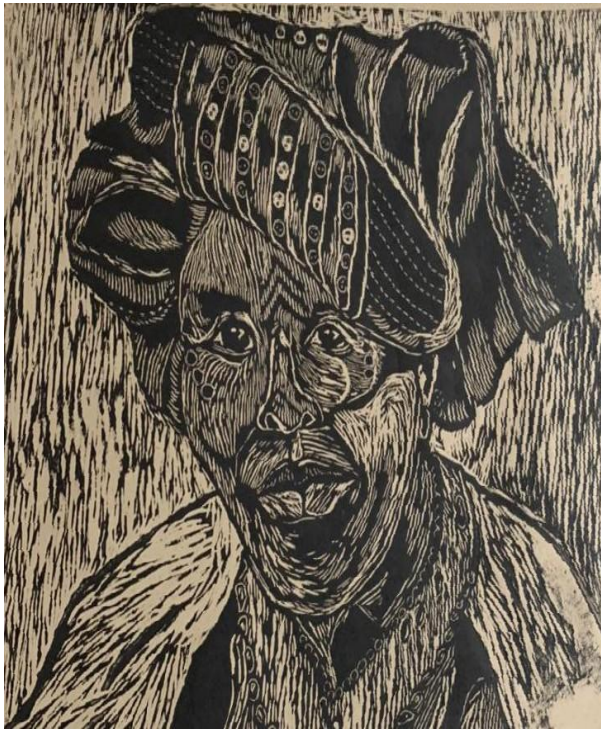
Title: Identity V (keloid and linear scars)

Medium: Woodcut

Size: 70 cm x 50 cm

Year: 2022

Figure 8



Title: Identity VI

Medium: Woodcut

Size: 70 cm x 50 cm

Year: 2022

We are inspired by El Anatsui. El Anatsui is a Ghanaian artist that fabric-likes his metal fabric like installations on walls. Anatsui works on themes inspired by the diverse indigenous African culture referencing the Igbo and Akan traditions of scarification patterns etched into the wooden panels.

Inserted below are Anatsui artworks.

Images to Anatsui's artworks were sourced at: <http://www.artnet.com/artists/el-anatsui/4>



Artist: El Anatsui
Title: Human Wall



Artist: El Anatsui
Title: Migration

Medium: Carved and painted wood
wood

Size: 184.5 x 95 x 35 cm.

Medium: Carved and painted

Size: 76 x 75 cm.

CONCLUSION

In Africa, scarification is a continued common identifier used by South Africans. The usage varies from provinces, cultures and tribes. Though scarification is a continent-wide phenomenon, there is a considerable density of groups employing this practice within West and West-Central Africa. While groups in Africa and Southern Africa do practise body modifications such as skin painting which only last a short time, scarification is the permanent form of body modification that informs this study. Scarification is one of five broad categories of body modification practiced on the African continent. Scarification is practiced as a form of beautification, in which an individual would not be seen as less attractive. It is also used to identify a person's cultural association according to the pattern in which a person has.

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