

https://dspace.org/

Representations of blackness in post-1994 black-centred films: an analysis of Conversations on a Sunday afternoon (2005), When we were black (2007) and State violence (2011)

Shabangu, Lorraine

2016-01-28
http://hdl.handle.net/10539/19384

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

REPRESENTATIONS OF BLACKNESS IN POST-1994 BLACK-CENTRED FILMS: AN ANALYSIS OF *CONVERSATIONS ON A SUNDAY AFTERNOON* (2005), *WHEN WE WERE BLACK* (2007) AND *STATE OF VIOLENCE* (2011)

Lorraine Shabangu

0716908N

Supervisor: Prof. I. J. Mhlambi
Co-Supervisor: Dr L. Modisane

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in African Languages.

Wits University, Johannesburg, 2015

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.

Lorraine Shabangu

10th day of September 2015

ABSTRACT

This report interrogates the representation of blackness in post-1994 black-centred films in South Africa. With a particular focus on Khalo Matabane's films, I analyse *Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon* (2005), *When We Were Black* (2007) and *State of Violence* (2011) across a spectrum of themes. I also interrogate and introduce several critical concepts such as 'blackness', 'the image of blackness', 'black identity', 'masculinity', 'femininity', 'the Gaze' and 'Otherness'. These concepts are interlinked in ways that bring about an understanding of the concept of black-centred films, which is central to the research report. Amidst the different interpretations of black-centred films, the vantage point from which the concept is used is interested in black-centred films as films that are made by a black filmmaker, whose content addresses issues of blackness and is targeted at a black audience. However, these three factors need not always resonate in a single film in order for it to be considered and analysed as a black-centred film. The lens through which Matabane holds the camera questions his representation of the black image and whether it is from an insider or outsider's perspective. The view from which Matabane holds the camera is important in establishing whether he has purported to represent historically stereotypical images of blackness, or whether his endeavours in filmmaking are occupied by the relentless pursuit to present new images of blackness.

To my family, your unconditional love and endless support has carried me in pursuing my dreams.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are so many people with whom I have shared this journey, and I am forever grateful for them. To my supervisors, you have always seen more in me and now I understand that the extra push was for the benefit of my growth and the quality of good work. You have both gone the extra mile to support me and develop my thinking, and I am thankful for all that you have put in. The constant support I have received from the School of Literature, Language and Media does not go unnoticed.

My dear friends, a special thank you for always being there and lending an ear. To my family, there will never be enough words to express the gratitude for all that you continue to do. I hope this is one way through which I make you proud. Thank you to my brother, my aunt and cousins – the long hours of sitting with me while I work have finally paid off. My loving grandparents, Paul and Evelyn Sibinda, the dream is finally being realised. To my mother, Sbongile Shabangu, you are my pillar of strength and it is truly a blessing to be born of a woman of your character.

Table of Contents

Declaration **ii**

Abstract **iii**

Dedication **iv**

Acknowledgements **v**

Chapter 1: Setting the Scene

1. Introduction **1**

1.1 Background **2**

1.1.1 The History of South African Films 3

I. 1940s – 1950s 3

II. 1960s 4

III. 1970s – 1980s 4

IV. Post-apartheid South Africa: 1990s to present 6

1.2 Presenting the Problem **7**

1.3 Rationale **8**

1.4 Research Questions **9**

1.5 Literature Review **9**

1.5.1 Developments in the South African Film Industry 9

1.5.2 Black-centred Films 10

1.5.3 Representations of the black image 11

1.5.4 The Gaze 11

1.6 Theoretical Framework **12**

1.6.1 Third Cinema 13

1.6.2 The Gaze 15

1.7 Research Methodology **17**

1.7.1 An Historical Account of the South African Film Industry 17

1.7.2 Textual Analyses of the Films 18

1.7.3 Structure of the Rest of the Research Report 18

Chapter 2: "In Every Man is a Woman and in Every Woman is a Man": Black Masculinities and Femininities in *When We Were Black* (2007)

2. Introduction **20**

2.1 Parallels in *Once Upon A Time When We Were Colored* (1996) **21**

2.2 Synopsis of *When We Were Black* (2007) **22**

2.3 Shifting Identities of Black Masculinities **24**

2.4 Analysis of *When We Were Black* (2007) **26**
2.4.1 Fistos vs Casper and Fanga Man 27
2.4.2 Fistos vs His Father (Ndebele) 32
2.4.3 Fistos vs His Mother and Sister (Nozipho) 35

2.5 Conclusion **37**

Chapter 3: *State of Violence* (2011) and its Formal Autonomy as a Black-centred Film

3. Introduction **39**

3.1 Synopsis of *State of Violence* (2011) **42**

3.2 Analysis of *State of Violence* (2011) **43**
3.2.1 State of Violence or State of Violence? 43
3.2.2 The Township Space 43
3.2.3 Language Usage 47
3.2.4 Symbolisms of the Red Hat 50
3.2.5 Memory/Flashbacks 51

3.3 Conclusion **55**

Chapter 4: Representations of the Image of Blackness, Otherness and Double Otherness in *Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon* (2005)

4. Introduction **57**

4.1 Synopsis of *Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon* (2005) **59**

4.2 Analysis of *Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon* (2005) **60**
4.2.1 Theoretical Interplays of Fictional and Documentary Conventions in Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon (2005) 61
4.2.2 The Recorder: Preserver or Effacer? 63
4.2.3 Conquering the City Space 65

4.3 The Assertion of Power through the Gaze **69**

4.4 The Concept of Otherness **72**

4.5 Conclusion **76**

Chapter 5: The Closing Scene

5. Conclusions **79**

Bibliography **83**

Filmography **88**

CHAPTER 1

SETTING THE SCENE

1. Introduction

Aim

This research report investigates representations of blackness in post-1994 South Africa, in what Litheko Modisane (2013) calls 'black-centred films'. This is achieved through a textual analysis of South African filmmaker Khalo Matabane's black-centred films, *When We Were Black* (2007), *State of Violence* (2011) and *Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon* (2005), respectively. The report investigates the differences and similarities of black identities conceived within each film, that span across issues of masculinity, femininity, space and Othering.

In light of the historical imbalances and associated ideological implications pertaining to their making and showing in South Africa, black-centred films are of particular interest in this research report. Black-centred films are films that are concerned with black social issues and political experiences. However, Modisane (2013) maintains that such films' agendas are not homogenous in their form and conditions of production such as funding and political circumstances; which is the case with *Jim Comes to Jo'burg/African Jim* (1949), *Come Back, Africa* (1959), *uDeliwe* (1975) and *Mapantsula* (1988). Although these films are black-centred, their conditions of production are different; and the restrictions imposed by the apartheid government impacted the films differently. *Jim Comes to Jo'burg/African Jim* (1949) and *Come Back, Africa* (1959) did not receive funding from South Africa. *uDeliwe* (1975) was funded by the B-scheme, which is the apartheid government film subsidy scheme; while *Mapantsula* (1987), which was co-written by a black person, focused on the stereotypes of black resistance and crime, and was funded locally.

Each chapter in the research report raises questions about aspects of similarity and difference in the way the black image has been represented cinematically. This is achieved by exploring Matabane's films and how different forms of representation are presented in three different genres: a television series; a feature film and a film that includes fictional and documentary aspects. *When We Were Black* (2007) focuses on shifting identities of black males/men

during apartheid. *State of Violence* (2011) explores history, memory and identity. This is realised in part through the relationship between the township and suburban area. Conversely, Otherness and foreignness are central themes in *Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon* (2005). By Otherness I mean the demeaning manner in which marginalised groups are treated by people in a position of power. The film foregrounds themes of black identity and being foreign in South Africa; and how black people from outside South Africa are treated by black South Africans. As such, all these areas of focus make blackness problematic across a number of variables.

Furthermore, the research report seeks to examine ways in which the films represent blackness in South Africa. The themes and construction of blackness have a particular significance, especially with regard to their resonance with social conditions of black people in South Africa. A thorough look at these elements will therefore be helpful in understanding how Matabane formulates his own interpretation of blackness and the black image across different genres of film. Such interest is in light of the great difficulty in locating the concept of 'blackness' as a conceptual category that is often limited in its definition. As such, 'blackness' can be characterised as "…essentially a politically and culturally constructed category, which cannot be based on a fixed set of transcultural or transcendental racial categories" (Zegeye, 2003: 88).

1.1 Background

The laws that were passed to regulate the making of film during the apartheid regime such as The National Censorship Act (1931) and The Publications Control Board (1963) have influenced the South African film industry (Maingard, 1994; Paleker, 2011). Although Khalo Matabane is a post-1994 filmmaker, a lot of his work depicts past legacies that often express the experiences of black people as impoverished, ill-treated and marginalised during apartheid. As such, the apartheid regime would not have allowed such images to be documented on film. Films which addressed the harshness of the apartheid regime and the marginalization of black people stood a great chance of being banned and not receiving any funding as a result (Maingard, 1994: 236).

South African history and politics has played a significant role in the way the filmmakers have attempted to re-construct black identity, thereby shaping perceptions of black people as a marginalised majority group (Maingard, 2007, Paleker, 2010). Historically, the apartheid state has kept black people away from participating in mainstream cultural and economic sectors. Barred from participating in the production of film, black people could only watch helplessly as white filmmakers, who had financial backing and also benefited from the colonial and apartheid status quo, made films about them. Such films were necessarily made from white perspectives such that white filmmakers dictated the Gaze of those films. It is important for African filmmakers to see, feel and understand themselves through the mirror of film (Pfaff, 2004: 2), as it allows them to use film in presenting societies that can identify with the images of themselves.

1.1.1 The History of South African Films

For the purpose of the research report I delineate the history of the South African film industry insofar as it relates to black-centred films and their representations of the black image. I focus on two periods in the South African film industry respectively: the apartheid era (1940s-1994), surfacing the manner in which history and politics shaped blackness in film; and the post-apartheid era (1994-to date). The historical account serves as a précis that begins with the apartheid era because of the first black-centred film in South Africa; *Jim Comes to Jo'burg/African Jim* by Donald Swanson (1949). This historical background seeks to locate the conditions that have shaped the current landscape in representing black images.

I. 1940s – 1950s

When the National Party came into power in 1948, it introduced the policy of apartheid which was based on racial separation of blacks and whites. The policy of apartheid regulated the movements of black people. Apartheid "means apartness or a state of separation in Afrikaans, and the essence of the policy of apartheid is the social and spatial separation of the race groups" (Smith, 1990: 4). The apartheid laws governed the everyday lives of black people in several ways, including but not restricted to the Pass Laws that effectively disenfranchised black people and restricted their movement. As a central principle to the apartheid system, separate development advocated for black and white people to exist and develop in separate social and economic milieu. Under this law, whites lived in the suburban

areas and the blacks lived in the township. The policing of the black body and its subjection to the colonial Gaze are legacies of colonialism and apartheid, and these practices were transplanted onto film (Mtuze, 1994). Moreover, the role of the medium of film has been significantly influential in the manner in which it "…offers a historical lens into South African society generally, but more specifically also into how the apartheid state imagined and articulated various aspects of separateness" (Paleker, 2011: 127).

In 1956 a regulated subsidy system, referred to as the A-scheme subsidy, was introduced by the state, as an "…intervention in developing the South African film industry…" (Maingard, 2007: 125). The films produced within the A-scheme subsidy were English and Afrikaans language films.

> The state was able to effect stringent control over the film industry largely through the deployment of subsidies (Tomaselli, 1989: 46). This ensured that feature films made within South Africa were generally apolitical or supported the Nationalists' position (Prinsloo, 1996: 32)

II. 1960s

The introduction of the Publications Control Board in 1963 served to regulate the types of films produced and distributed in the Republic. This was essentially a censorship board, which not long after its establishment, barred black people from watching Cyril Endfield's *Zulu* (1964). This film was barred from black people because it depicted the battle of *Isandlwana* between the British army and the Zulus in January 1879 during the Anglo-Zulu War. In the war, the Zulus triumphed over the British army. As a result of this, the censorship boards did not find it suitable for viewing by black South Africans (Botha, 2003).

III. 1970s – 1980s

After the introduction of the general A-scheme subsidy, a 'black film industry' found its inception with the introduction of a differential B-scheme subsidy in 1972 (Paleker, 2011). The so-called Bantu film industry led to a fragmentation in the South African film industry. These films were of poor quality, made in African languages and screened in churches, schools and beer halls. The circulation of 'Bantu films' in such makeshift venues resurfaced the policy of separate development. Black and white audiences were treated differently;

audiences were separated, watching different films in different spaces. These kinds of restrictions made it difficult for black people to see films in cinemas because of the racialised censorship that was imposed onto them (Maingard, 2007). "Viewers were offered particular and restricted representations and constructions of the "world" as most films were imported from the United States and England and offered a determinedly Eurocentric view of the world" (Prinsloo, 1996: 31, 32).

Alongside the subsidy system, "black films" were also funded through the Bantu Investment Corporation (BIC, 1959) to promote separate development (Paleker 2011). "Through financial assistance to approved individuals, the BIC aimed to promote not only the economic development…of the homelands but also to stimulate a Bantu film industry of their own" (Paleker, 2011: 130). With the introduction of the subsidy schemes, the state implemented other systems that would now keep the races separate through film. "The B-scheme film subsidy initially had a ceiling of R45 000, which was increased to R77 000 in 1977 and R80 000 in 1981" (Paleker, 2011: 128). Conversely, the A-scheme could earn up to R1.2 million in subsidy funding in 1981. This is a clear indication that the support of Afrikaner films by the state was much higher than that of "black films".

Films that were produced in the B-scheme subsidy were intended for black audiences, and the subsidy would be granted on the basis that 75 percent of the actors were African and three-quarters of the dialogue was in an African language. Seemingly, Heyns Film Productions received substantial financial support from the B-scheme subsidy. The nature of this support influenced the types of films produced, and is manifest in the way they were "…reflective of official apartheid ideology to varying degrees" (Tomaselli 1989: 59), which is also evident in the films' themes. The B-scheme subsidy films showed genres and themes including action, adventure, martial arts, slapstick comedy, and drama that addressed the modern versus traditional binary (Paleker, 2010, 2011). However, the B-scheme propagated "gaps, or structuring absences within many of the films that were made for black audiences" (Paleker, 2011: 134, citing Gavshon, 1990); to the extent that several other themes were not addressed. These excluded many social, economic and political issues that affected black people under apartheid rule.

With the exception of independent films[1], a lot of B-scheme films had conformed to "…apartheid imaginaries of African societies and cultures, but also to what was deemed suitable entertainment for Africans" (Paleker, 2010: 95). Despite the B-scheme's significant role as one of the major provisions for "black film" funding, it was phased out in 1990 because its development was not adequately sustainable, but mostly because there were several irregularities within both the A-scheme and B-scheme subsidies respectively. Furthermore, the 1980s witnessed a burgeoning of anti-apartheid independent films, including *Place of Weeping* (1986) by Darrell Roodt and *Mapantsula* (1988) by Oliver Schmitz. These films became landmark films for the anti-apartheid movement for the way their resistance against apartheid conscientised the local and international society about the conditions within which black South Africans lived.

IV. Post-apartheid South Africa: 1990s to present

Parallel to the political changes of the 1990s, which ushered in democracy in South Africa, the film industry also entered a new era. For the first time, the SABC (South African Broadcasting Corporation) showed previously banned anti-apartheid documentary films (Modisane, 2010). Significantly, the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST), which is now the Department of Arts and Culture, was established in 1994 and started off by supporting film directly and later through the National Film and Video Foundation (NFVF). The NFVF was established to serve as a special statutory body for local film funding and was mandated to develop the South African film industry (Modisane, 2010); as well as "encourage the development and distribution of local film and video products and to redress the historical imbalances of the past especially in relation to disadvantaged communities" (Maingard 2007: 7).

The film scene in post-1994 South Africa is marked by increased participation of black people in cinema and television (Modisane, 2010). This period has seen mounting presence of several black filmmakers such as Khalo Matabane as well as Ntshavheni wa Luruli (*Chikin Biznis…The Whole Story!*, 1999), Dumisani Phakathi (*Christmas with Granny*, 2000; *Waiting for Valdez*, 2002), and Akin Omotoso (*God is African*, 2003; *Man on Ground*, 2011). Despite the increase in black participation, Lucia Saks (2003) maintains that "the first way in which

[1]These are films that are produced outside mainstream film studios, and are often funded by the filmmaker. Independent films usually have a lower film budget and often tackle social, economic and political issues.

South African filmmakers will remain progressive, innovative, and independent within institutional and market control is to avoid giving in to either the dictates of political correctness or the hegemony of the market" (Saks, 2003: 73, 74). However, this poses a great threat to many filmmakers because of the level of dependency for their films to be produced; therefore staying completely autonomous would be difficult. Even so, this makes it difficult for filmmakers to bring about social realities on screen and to challenge the portrayal of the nation. Moreover, films can be the catalyst for change that interrogates the status quo with the view of raising national consciousness.

1.2 Presenting the Problem

Black-centred films have historically been subjected to a myriad of factors that are political in nature, such as racism and censorship. As a result, black images were represented in ways that were not favourable to black people. Whilst it is important to foreground the condition of black-centred films historically, the central focus of this research report explores the development of black-centred films post-1994. This democratic era has seen the proliferation of black filmmakers who are constructing a myriad of black images. Moreover, post-1994 South Africa has shown varied ways in which blackness has come to be appreciated in cinema and even television. This has been the case with *Yizo Yizo* (2001), an SABC Education television programme which introduced multiplicities of gendered images of blackness.

Yizo Yizo (2001) was unflinching in the way it asserted the black image in a democratic South Africa, and it can be credited for paving the way of seeing blackness differently. As such, the emergence of varied images of blackness explores continuity in keeping with the past constructions of blackness. However, the development of new conditions brings about problems of their own. These include the burgeoning cosmopolitan face of South Africa, which has seen a particular influx of African foreigners post-1994. Moreover, it is important to extrapolate some of the discourses of black-centred films in the South African film industry through the representation of themes; construction of the images of blackness; the setting and language choice; as well as the form and content.

1.3 Rationale

The research report seeks to answer several questions in relation to black representations, particularly in black-centred films. Historically, the camera has been held by white people, who showed their own understanding and interpretation of the black image. However, the post-1994 period has seen the growth of black filmmaking. This report enquires into the ways in which the black filmmaker positions the black image. This will be done in the quest to explore how differently Matabane has represented the black image cinematically, or whether he has perpetuated the stereotype of black people as poor, marginalised and ill-treated. The question of black representation is of particular interest because I will be analysing Matabane's interpretation of the black image across three different genres of film that address a range of issues through the television series; the feature film; and the film that is part fiction and part documentary. Some of the major questions that are to be answered delve into how each film has represented the black image, whilst interrogating the major themes respectively.

Furthermore, the discourses of films that are black-centred allow the research report to delve into the problem of films in post-1994 South Africa, and for Matabane's films to become an illustration of the challenges. Black-centred films are centred on blackness and are reflective of the concerns of black people who were historically marginalised and were later given access to images and stories about themselves. Though the meanings of blackness are concerns of on-going construction and contestation in and of themselves, films that are black-centred aim at addressing issues that are reflective of the lives of black people, and have attempted to make those issues part of a black and African reality.

The three films that form part of the analysis in this research report are of particular interest because of their illustrations of the kinds of black-centred films made. Also, these films allow the research report to show some of the ways in which black images are dealt with in film, whilst also hinting at ways in which such representations can be dealt with in the future. This research report focuses on the first series of *When We Were Black* (2007) which is shot in black and white, against the backdrop of the apartheid era. This mini-series addresses representation in relation to identity and masculinity; which also have strong ties with race and gender. In *State of Violence* (2011), Matabane locates the political turmoil and highly politicised violent crimes of the apartheid struggle in conjunction with the major theme in the

film, which is forgiveness. With *Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon* (2005), he explores the challenges faced by refugees in South Africa.

1.4 Research Questions

The research questions seek to address the conditions within which black-centred films represent the black image. The following key questions will be addressed:

1. How does post-apartheid cinema reflect differently on the kinds of representations in black-centred films that have been produced during the apartheid era?
2. What are the implications for black masculinities post-1994?
3. Does formal autonomy in film maintain the filmmaker's independence from mainstream film practices?
4. In what ways is the concept of Othering used to highlight differences in nationality, race and gender?
5. How has Matabane represented the black image across the three genres of film?

1.5 Literature Review

The literature that covers the scope of this research report will focus on the following: Developments in the South African Film Industry; Black-centred Films; Representations of the black image; and The Gaze.

1.5.1 Developments in the South African Film Industry

Nicholas Archer (2005) pays particular attention to the production of short-films in South Africa, by looking into the recent developments that have been made within the film industry. His assessment of South African filmmaking as a whole traces the historical landscape of the South African film history. From his assessment, we are able to develop insight into the factors that have shaped its form and content, and that of black-centred films. Archer's (2005) treatise helps in making certain observations which suggest that the history of the South African film industry has led to the current scope of filmmaking post-1994. In this way, Archer's (2005) contribution becomes indicative of the conditions of filmmaking in the past that have shaped the current landscape of the film industry. Archer's (2005) work is

significantly influential in the further development of this research report, in an attempt to provide insight into the factors that have contributed to the current conditions of the South African film industry.

1.5.2 Black-centred Films

As already highlighted, the literature that covers the scope of South African films has not particularly explored the discourse of black-centred films prior to 2005 (Archer, 2005). This is partly attributed to the general approach in addressing the landscape of the South African film industry. In an attempt to delineate black-centred films, Modisane (2010) points out that it is important to be cognisant of black-centred films being varied in their approach and the use of the medium of film in representing black identity. This suggests that films like *Tsotsi* (2005), *Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon* (2005) and *Man on Ground* (2011) are black-centred to the extent that their lenses fall on the black social experiences and at times social and political experiences, whilst others like *White Wedding* (2009) tackles less sombre issues. In light of this, the literature review explores insights into the development of black-centred films, through some of the challenges they have been faced with; as well as advance the assertions made in relation to the South African film industry as a whole.

Black-centred films are concerned with issues that are related to social and political issues affecting black people (Modisane, 2010). As such, there are three areas of concern that are linked to that of being black-centred, and that is 'black people', the 'image of blackness' and 'black experience'. Films that have been categorised as black-centred raise similar concerns and characteristics. Blackness is an ideological construct; and although Tommie Shelby (2005) uses the concept in the context of African American social and cultural experiences, it also resonates within the South African context. According to the collective identity theory, "…black people must embrace and preserve their distinctive black identity… and the cultivation of thick blackness" (Shelby, 2005: 207) which is founded upon the dichotomy between the thin and thick conceptions of black identity. Following Shelby (2005), a *thin* conception of black identity treats blackness as "…a vague and socially imposed category of "racial" difference that serves to distinguish groups on the basis of their members having certain visible, inherited physical characteristics and a particular biological ancestry" (Shelby, 2005: 207); whereas a *thick* conception of black identity

> …usually includes a thin component, always requires something more, or something other than a common physical appearance and African ancestry. Here, the social category "black" has a narrower social meaning, with specific and sometimes quite austere criteria for who qualifies as black. Unlike thin blackness, thick blackness can be adopted, altered, or lost through individual action (Shelby, 2005: 209)

Likewise, the black experience can be understood to be a habitual state of being that is part of a group of people who share a culture that bounds them through common experiences (Hall, 1997), such that black people share commonalities with regards to racial politics, cultural politics, aesthetics, identity and class politics. The black experience is an entity that governs and regulates the behaviour of people with a common purpose; wherein "…a shared black identity is essential for an effective black solidarity…" (Shelby, 2005: 203).

1.5.3 Representations of the black image

Stuart Hall (1997) discusses representation in terms of the way we see things and the meaning we add to them. This is such that representation serves as "…an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture. It does involve the use of language, of signs and images which stand for or represent things" (Hall, 1997: 15). Hall (1997) stresses that this is not a simple process because the context of representation is important. There are factors to consider in establishing the premise on which the black image is represented and treated by the filmmaker, as this is paramount in the way a particular film is seen. Insofar as the films in this research report are concerned, some of the factors to consider include the period that the film is cast, the film's background, setting, as well as the central themes.

1.5.4 The Gaze

The use of the Gaze in film is concerned with the filmmaker's Gaze through the camera, as well as the Gaze amongst the characters in the film. In light of South Africa's political history, it is important to establish whether the Gaze of blackness has changed post-1994. The

concept of 'the Gaze' is important in the research report for the purposes of establishing the perceptions of the image of blackness in films, through representations at different levels. Essentially, the Gaze is

> the position a filmmaker employs when casting his lens on his characters. The 'Gaze' of the filmmaker either refers to an 'insiders' or 'outsiders' position. It is important to consider what position the filmmaker assumes when filming as...this can influence the type of images constructed and the manner in which images are stereotyped (Ellapen, 2006: 4)

Historically, white South Africans had the power to colonise the camera and the Gaze because the apartheid system enabled them to control the image (Ellapen, 2006). However, "…the power to control the image in post-apartheid South Africa has become an ideological battle over the control of black identity" (Ellapen, 2006: 112). Conversely, Ngugi Wa Thiong'o (2000) maintains that filmmakers are mindful of the relation between the construction of images and the type of images that they produce. Furthermore, Wa Thiong'o (2000) argues that the political position assumed by a filmmaker when constructing images or casting their Gaze upon the characters, is a far more important aspect to consider.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

In an attempt to locate theories that relate to the South African film industry and discourses on black-centred films, none has been found that is specific to the context of the South African film industry. This means that "not only are new cinema practices needed but also new cinema theories" (Maingard, 1994: 243), as it will be useful in providing clear contextualization of the South African film scene. Following further investigations, the research report identifies Third Cinema as the theory that will be applied to shed more insight into the functionality of South African film. However, "…the notion of Third Cinema which was formulated in response to developments in Latin America was extended and utilised to provide analytical tools for advancing a critical debate on African cinema" (Bakari, 2000: 4). As a disclaimer, it is important for the reader to be made aware that although Khalo Matabane is not a filmmaker of Third Cinema, his filmmaking practices adopt and adapt some of the principles of Third Cinema which are interlinked with other theoretical concepts

of black identity and the Gaze. These are explicated in the discourses of his films particularly issues about black people who have felt the full brunt of marginalisation.

1.6.1 Third Cinema

While Third Cinema helps to locate the dissertation within the critical practice of filmmaking that is anti-Hollywood, its approach should not be taken at face value because it does not adequately address the complexities of South Africa (Prinsloo, 1996: 35) and those of South African film. Third Cinema is "a politically charged cinematic theory…" (Modisane, 2013: 13) that found its inception in Latin America in the 1960s, and was first used by Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino (2000). Solanas and Getino were concerned with the plight of the marginalised and the use of film in addressing social issues, which is also part of the cause of some black-centred films. Their major concerns are twofold: they reject Hollywood, and implore the need for film to serve an end that is ideological and revolutionary (Gabriel, 1979: 2). Essentially, 'Third Cinema' is

> a set of political strategies developed…to articulate the experiences and hopes of the colonially oppressed… Third Cinema deals with emancipation, its aesthetics inform and explain the specific ready-to-hand nature of the world encompassed and encountered by the predominantly oral context (Tomaselli, 2006: 78-79)

The rise of Third Cinema was "…associated with the struggle for national independence" (Harrow, 2007: 25), and was based on a particular kind of Latin American film. It was established to name cinema of the Third World that was "born of, or sought to promote political struggle for socialism" (Maingard, 1998: 60). Seemingly, the term Third World is also referred to as Less Economically Developed Countries (LEDC). This cinema has very strong ties with 'the Gaze' as well as the social life, ideologies and conflicts of the times. Filmmakers of Less Economically Developed Countries maintain that "…the film must necessarily reflect a certain class point of view", and "…advocate a cinema which corresponds to the cultural tastes and political needs of the society it represents" (Gabriel, 1979: 1-2).

The characteristics of Third Cinema, such as "...the ideology it espouses and the consciousness it displays" (Gabriel, 1979: 2, 3), are exemplified in Matabane's films. Third Cinema is concerned with addressing issues that affect the people at the grassroots level and in turn raising political awareness. The way in which Matabane uses film as a tool that allows for the emancipation of the image of blackness affords him and other filmmakers the platform to voice the concerns of a group of people who have been historically marginalised and made voiceless. This endeavour by filmmakers of LEDC, including Matabane, has given masses of people access to images of and stories about themselves, "…who had previously been cut off from experiencing this new art form in a positive way" (Gabriel, 1979: 1).

Since Third Cinema is founded upon the rejection of the concepts and propositions of Hollywood, Third Cinema aims to submerge itself in the lives and struggles of the people of the Third World. This it hopes to achieve in the way it embodies social and political relevance, so that it is able to "...politicize cinema to such an extent that a new cinematic code appropriate to its needs is established" (Gabriel, 1979: xi). Its primary functions are "…to make the relationship between cinematic representation and social context accessible to viewers" (Maingard, 1998: 64); as well as to structure and represent the evolving social and traditional consciousness of developing nations (Gabriel, 1979: 6). However, despite its origins from Latin America, Martin Botha & Adri van Aswegen (1992) and Jacqueline Maingard (1998) maintain that it has stretched to encompass all films whose aim is both social and political.

This is to the extent that some of the practices and principles of Third Cinema can indeed be used within a South African context. The relevance of Third Cinema in the research report draws from the types of black-centred films that have been produced. Moreover, Third Cinema focuses on whether such films have been able to emancipate the image of blackness. This is particularly evident in *State of Violence* (2011), which gives a glimpse of the history of the political struggles faced by black people during apartheid.

Seemingly, a great part of African cinema is considered to be Third World in nature (Tomaselli, 2006). This is largely due to the common struggles that Africans have gone through historically as a marginalized group, which can also be related to Latin America; therefore capturing these histories in film continues to govern Third Cinema. Some of the qualities of Third Cinema are its capacity to relate the experience of oppression by shifting

the aesthetics of dominant cinema, without completely refusing its form (Tomaselli, 2006), like *State of Violence* (2011). Third Cinema constantly makes reference to past events in order to comprehend and critically examine social and political processes (Botha & van Aswegen, 1992). In this way, Third Cinema advances interest in the research report by showing the challenges in the film industry that often frustrate the making of black-centred films in post-1994 South Africa.

1.6.2 The Gaze

Laura Mulvey (1986) and Jordache Ellapen (2006) make interesting observations with regards to the ways in which audiences perceive cinematic images. Whilst Mulvey (1986) speaks of 'the look', Ellapen (2006) refers to it as 'the Gaze'. The concept of the Gaze was coined by Frantz Fanon (1967), who was mostly concerned with the blacks' subjection to the gaze of the white colonialist. 'The Gaze' is a cinematic concept that focuses on the view of the camera from the perspective of a dominant group, in relation to a marginalised group onto whom it falls. Both concepts address the audiences' perceptions in similar ways, wherein "…the spectator is subject of the Gaze" (Hayward, 1996: 149). Following Kaplan (1978), there are three types of the 'Gaze' that can be identified in film analysis:

> (1) the camera's original Gaze; (2) the viewer made to identify with the Gaze of the proponent of the dominant textual ideology; and (3) the Gaze within the film (Kaplan, 1978). The camera's Gaze can be best understood as the overall socio-political and economic context which motivates the making of the film. The film-maker directs the viewer's Gaze so that she/he identifies with the ideology that is inherent in the film (Tomaselli, Williams, Steenveld and Tomaselli, 1986: 58)

Fanon (1967) addresses issues centred on anti-colonialism and the importance for black people to forge new ways of being seen on film. Fanon (1967) believed that "decolonisation involved both cultural contestation and transformation" (Bakari, 2000: 6). Conversely, Olivier Barlet (2000) speaks of decolonising the Gaze and the significance therein, because "in order to decolonize the screen, the African audience has to be offered a new vision of its own space" (Barlet, 2000: 39). Although Fanon was not a filmmaker, he spoke of the Gaze within the context of decolonisation. As such, Fanon's (1967) understanding of the Gaze is

founded upon the unequal racial divide between whiteness and blackness. The Gaze can therefore be understood to include any unequal relation of power which includes gender relations in which man is dominant and is dominated. Here the power of the Gaze falls on the man.

The Gaze is a central part in the analysis of *Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon* (2005), which particularly focuses on the representation of the image of blackness and Otherness. This chapter interrogates the male Gaze in the film as well as the filmmaker's Gaze in relation to representation. Following Ellapen (2006), 'the Gaze' is important in the "cinematic representation and construction of blackness" (Ellapen, 2006: 4), because "it is the place of the look that defines cinema" (Mulvey, 1986: 208). Mulvey (1986) addresses the concept of the Gaze from a feminist perspective and speaks of the way the Gaze has a lot to do with positions of power over the marginalised. Mulvey (1986) and other feminist critics "developed a theory to describe the pleasure derived from the Gaze (usually male) of the character whose point of view it is within the film" (Hayward, 1996: 306).

According to the feminist approach of the Gaze, the manner in which societies are constructed in privileging patriarchal and masculine behaviours positions males as the superior gender, and women an inferior one. Mulvey (1986) considers the fact that the film industry is patriarchal and male-dominated. This is a similar experience for black people who were marginalised by the apartheid government in South Africa, because "historically, white South Africans have been in control of the image which has often been refracted through a colonising camera (or Gaze)" (Ellapen, 2006: 112). Under these cinematic conditions, the government dictated a particular Gaze that transplanted to film and instilled the perpetual marginalisation and inequality of black people.

The issues accompanying 'the Gaze', such as the dichotomy between the inferiority and superiority of different groups that are distinguishable by racial, social, economic, political and gendered factors warrant counter approaches. Although these scholars have written in different periods that were influenced by several factors, both challenge existing ways of looking at black cinematic constructions. Through their endeavours, the reversal of the characteristic manner in which 'the Gaze' is deployed diverges from the negative connotations of the inferior and marginalised Gaze of the image of blackness. Wa Thiong'o's (2000) observation of filmmakers concurs with the contestations highlighted between the

'insiders' and the 'outsiders'; and stresses that we "need to hold the camera so that we are both behind the camera looking in, but we are also inside the very society at which the eye of the camera is gazing" (Wa Thiong'o, 2000: 94). Seemingly, there is a strong link between black-centred films and blackness that is intertwined to the extent that one cannot be discussed without addressing the other, however inadvertent it may be.

1.7 Research Methodology

The research methodology takes on different forms that expound some of the realities and conditions of the South African film industry. Herein, particular attention is on films that are categorised as black-centred, as well as the ways in which they address issues of representation post-1994. The research report is qualitative, and "…involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world" by studying "things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005: 3).

The research report will in part give an historical account of the South African film industry in order to locate the conditions within which films have been produced, and how such factors may influence the types of representations depicting black images. This will be approached in a timeline of the South African film industry, which dates from the 1940s. The other methodology that is central in the further development of the dissertation includes a textual analysis of Khalo Matabane's films, which take an analytical approach. Insofar as the textual analysis is concerned, I will draw on the central themes of each film, from which particular arguments that are centred on the representation of the black image are addressed. Lastly, I will provide an in-depth summary of each chapter.

1.7.1 An Historical Account of the South African Film Industry

An understanding of South Africa's history is critical to fully conceptualise the black image in post-1994 films that are black-centred. Such history makes particular reference to the emergence of black-centred films, by drawing on two periods: the apartheid era (1940s-1994) and the post-apartheid era (1994-to date) respectively. This task interrogates the challenges in

the South African film industry over time, and looks at the possible trends governing the making of film, that may continue to exist in post-1994 South Africa.

1.7.2 Textual Analyses of the Films

The reading of the films is a narrative analysis that is addressed in separate chapters. The analysis serves to explore the perspectives from which the films are shown, in the way the black image is represented, and the importance of those perspectives through interpretations of 'the Gaze'. By analysing these films, the research report seeks to explore the manner in which Matabane may have represented the black image similarly or differently from the films that were produced in the apartheid era. In this way, Matabane's films are part of the research for reasons that are centred on the purview of the several ways that the black identity, as well as the black image and the image of blackness are treated on film. Other aspects that are aesthetic and non-aesthetic are gauged in extrapolating some of the discourses of black-centred films in the South African film industry. These films also address concerns of belonging and Othering at different levels.

1.7.3 Structure of the Rest of the Research Report

Chapter 1 explores the representation of the black image in black-centred films post-1994. This is achieved by locating the historical background of the South African film industry in order to have a sense of the historical factors that have influenced the making of black-centred films. I interrogate and introduce several critical concepts such as 'blackness', 'the image of blackness', 'black identity' and 'the Gaze'. These concepts are interlinked in ways that bring about an understanding of black-centred films, which are the focus of the report. Amidst the different interpretations of black-centred films, the vantage point from which I use the concept of black-centred films is interested in black-centred films as films that are made by a black filmmaker, whose content addresses issues of blackness and is targeted at a black audience. However, these three factors need not always resonate in a single film in order for it to be considered and analysed as a black-centred film.

I analyse Matabane's films in Chapter 2, Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 respectively. The analysis takes the form of a close-reading, wherein Chapter 2 is an analysis of *When We Were Black*

(2007); Chapter 3 focusses on *State of Violence* (2011), and Chapter 4 is an analysis of *Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon* (2005). In analysing these films, I pay particular attention to the representations between race, gender, identity, masculinity and femininity in *When We Were Black* (2007). I also focus on the formal autonomy of *State of Violence* (2011), whilst drawing on its independence from mainstream films; as well as draw attention to the particular representations of blackness in *Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon* (2005). The analyses of these films intimate and question the types of representations about the black image and the stereotypes that may come about as a result of those representations. Finally, Chapter 5 reflects on the premise of the dissertation, which is to investigate the ways in which Matabane has represented the black image in three modes of film – a television series; a feature film; and a film that is part fiction and part documentary.

CHAPTER 2

"IN EVERY MAN IS A WOMAN AND IN EVERY WOMAN IS A MAN"[2]*:*
BLACK MASCULINITIES & FEMININITIES IN
WHEN WE WERE BLACK (2007)

2. Introduction

Black cinema and television in South Africa have introduced sediments of problematic constructions of black males. This view holds for both mainstream and alternative filmic practices. These problematic constructions began with the first construction of black images in the film *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), and thus laid the foundation for the prototype vocabulary for black image constructions in films thereafter. By and large, these film forms have been aided by white filmmakers both in the international spaces, particularly in the United States and in South Africa who recycled stereotypes about the black image and created new images, leading to cinematic and television practices which established normatively negative images. However, films such as *Come Back, Africa* (1959) created a counter movement of a new black image that would introduce a multiplicity of black masculinities. With the emerging discursive practices, there is a clear indication of a plurality of black masculinities that can co-exist and are constantly shifting.

The development of new images of black people began to see a change in the types of images produced by the South African film industry. This development led to the emergence of filmmakers such as Khalo Matabane, who presented different images of blackness post-1994 South Africa. Matabane's work stands out in that he presents images of blackness that go against the grain of what has been previously presented by black and white filmmakers. Moreover, Matabane has been able to closely navigate realities that white filmmakers were not privy to, thereby creating convincing constructions of the black image. What also sets Matabane apart from other filmmakers is that he has deployed filmic traditions in other filmic works that enable him to be sensitive and accustomed to debates about black constructions. In light of this, the chapter aims to discuss black feminine masculinities and masculine femininities in *When We Were Black* (2007).

[2]This is a Malian proverb that means that men can have feminine qualities, and woman can have masculine qualities.

This is done in light of the address of multiple masculinities that seek to explore some of the challenges embodied by black male bodies. In order to understand the complex identities of black masculinities, it is particularly important to consider (feminine) masculinities and (masculine) femininities as layers of personal and societal roles that come about at different times. Masculinity is "...a specific attempt to construct a particular kind of manhood...", "...an enactment of boy-like or man-like behaviour by either an individual or a group at a particular place and time due to specific influences" (Chabari, 2009: 18-19, 25). Although masculinity becomes present in the absence of femininity, the discussion of masculinity cannot take place without discussing femininity, and vice versa. Also, the discussion about masculinities is largely influenced by the concept of the Other. Herein, Raewyn Connell's (1995) theory of masculinities will be used to draw on Matabane's characterisation in light of the types of masculinities advocated by Connell (1995).

The focus on different types of masculinities draws attention to notions of Othering, which becomes apparent amongst the characters in *When We Were Black* (2007). The issues that will be discussed in this chapter are to a large extent concerned with questioning the role of film in introducing tools to deconstruct some of the racialised and gendered politics that govern black film in post-1994 South Africa.

2.1 Parallels in *Once Upon A Time When We Were Colored* (1996)

Once Upon a Time When We Were Colored (1996) is a biographical screenplay by Tim Reid, which was developed from Clifton Taulbert's (1989) non-fiction book with the same title. The book and film draw on Taulbert's childhood experiences of growing up in Mississippi in the mid-1900s. This was a time when racial segregation was rife and many black people were farm labourers. This racial segregation resembles the apartheid era in South Africa, particularly in 1976, when several protests ensued because the black people wanted to see the apartheid system dismantled. This is shown in the build-up to the protests in *When We Were Black* (2007), when Modise and his group organise themselves to march the streets of Soweto. Other parallels that are drawn between *When We Were Colored* (1996) and *When We Were Black* (2007) are that both films reflect on the poor standard of education for black children, the church is a space that members of the community can go to, that camouflages

their reality outside the church. Moreover, both films interrogate gendered roles and the effectiveness of change against the government of the time.

2.2 Synopsis of *When We Were Black* (2007)

When We Were Black (2007) is set in the South African township of Soweto in June 1976, during the most political zenith of the anti-apartheid movement. This political unrest was filled with resistance by black students in their endeavours to reject being taught in Afrikaans, where several protests were held to show their disapproval of the new education system. Fistos is the main character in the series. He is a young and meek teenager, who is constantly consumed in his interest in the planets and Mangi, the Reverend's daughter. Fistos is completely unaware of the political unrest in his township and elsewhere in the country. Here, one sees how the different male and female characters respond to the apartheid government's impositions on the black population. The opening scene of the first episode problematizes contentions about masculinities. This scene shows Fistos' inability to capture and slaughter a chicken, which is an African traditional practice that is expected of males. Nozipho slaughters the chicken and they all pretend that Fistos did it. This is done in order to protect his sense of masculinity. Later when Fistos is at Casper's party, Fanga Man (Thomas) and his friends terrorise the guests. In this instance as well, Fistos displays his meekness. Fanga Man is a juvenile delinquent who goes out of his way to bring terror upon his peers and to belittle their masculinities.

In the second episode, Fistos and Casper are on their way to school. Fistos returns Casper's poster of a girl wearing a bikini because he is scared that his mother, who is a teacher at their school, will find it. Casper frightens Fistos by telling him that Fanga Man is coming. He also tells Fistos that he is going to beat Thomas as if he were Bruce Lee. When the two boys finally arrive at the school gates, Casper is left behind because he is found with a poster of a girl. As punishment, Casper is given several lashes by one of the male teachers. When he gets to class, he tells Fistos that he did not get a hiding, despite being in great pain.

Fistos' father works in the Rustenburg mines as a clerk, and sees his family occasionally. Fistos is excited to see his father, who brings everyone a gift. Fistos' mother receives a bed spread, Nozipho a skirt, and Fistos receives a tape recorder. Fistos uses his gift to record

Mangi singing during choir practice. Unfortunately, Fanga Man confiscates the recorder and orders Fistos to walk away.

In the third episode, Fistos' family take a trip to town. The mood suddenly changes when they are apprehended by two white policemen who instruct Fistos' father to step out of the car and dance like a baboon. This is humiliating for the family to watch because he is being ridiculed. This incident drives Fistos' father to a state of drunkenness and self-pity. As a result of this, he decides to burn his pass to show his hatred toward the apartheid system, because it has belittled his masculinity. The family is devastated to see the head of the household in this state. When Fistos accompanies Mangi home, they are confronted by the police, who arrest Fistos for a mistaken identity. Fistos' arrest inadvertently forces his father to stop drinking, but he remains a broken man. Mangi is upset with Modise for allowing Fistos to get arrested. Modise is the leader of a group of youth who are engaged in political activities against the apartheid government. As the leader of this group, Modise maintains that he could not afford to get arrested because he had the list that contained the names of the Comrades. Modise warns that there would be dire repercussions for the Comrades if the police had found the list. Seemingly,

> politics provided students with a new sense of common purpose; high school students were no longer united purely by their educational aspirations but also by liberatory camaraderie. Young activists emerged as powerful new role models. There was growing participation in school-based political and cultural activities that continued well after class hours (Glaser, 2000: 163)

In the final episode, Fistos is tortured while in police custody and this forces him to develop an awareness of the inequalities imposed by the apartheid government. Following his arrest for a mistaken identity in his attempt to protect Mangi, Fistos' psyche is strategically severed by the police. This is an experience that leads to his long-awaited awakening about the realities faced by black men and black people alike. After he is released, the students of Soweto take to the streets and protest against being taught in Afrikaans. This incident is the most pivotal point at which Fistos comes to a heightened realisation and awakening of what was really happening at the time. Nozipho decides to leave the country, while Modise feels that it is important to continue with the protest. On the day of the uprising, Fistos and Mangi consummate their love for each other. After hearing the commotion that came from outside,

they both decide to see what is happening. Unfortunately, Mangi is shot at and dies. This incident becomes the culmination to Fistos' awakening to the politics of the country, as he picks up a stone and throws it at the police van.

2.3 Shifting Identities of Black Masculinities

Masculinity is purported to be a gender identity category that is socially, historically and politically constructed and interpreted from a cultural purview (Crous, 2007), as it articulates implicit and explicit prospects of how men should behave and represent themselves to others (Miescher and Lindsay, 2003). The biggest contention, however, is not with the masculinities of other men, but masculinities within the self, which is one of the key struggles that any individual can endure. Unfortunately, due to the liminality of (black) masculinity, black men fail to completely embody one type of masculinity at a time, particularly because each space that men occupy expects from them a particular masculinity that is befitting to that space.

Raewyn Connell (1995) postulates the theory of masculinity. She is an Australian Sociologist who used psychological insights and social forces, in an attempt to fuse personal agency with social structure. Connell (1995) provides a great account that exemplifies the complexities of masculinities. Moreover, she developed the theory of masculinity to focus on the theme of different masculinities, which brought more insight into other issues that influence masculinities. Connell (1995) postulates two types of masculinities: the hegemonic and the non-hegemonic masculinities, with sub-categories of the latter being, subordinate, complicit and marginalised masculinities. This theory further elucidates the complexities of multiple masculinities, and suggests that although masculinities occur under contentious conditions, a single male body is able to occupy several masculinities at a time.

The former type of masculinity, argues Connell (1995), dominates other masculinities, succeeds in establishing prescriptions of masculinity, and generates cultural images of what it means to be a 'real man'. The latter, however, consists of three non-hegemonic categories which are subordinate, complicit and marginalised, and are masculinities that developed outside the contours of power. Subordinate masculinities refer to "a particular behaviour that resonates with the dominant hegemonic masculinity but lacks the ability to control other boys' behaviour" (Chabari, 2009: 20). On the other hand, marginal masculinities refer to "a

particular behaviour that is different from dominant hegemonic masculinity and is not popular among the majority of the boy characters" (Chabari, 2009: 21). Men who embody non-hegemonic masculinities are regarded as minorities who are defined in terms of their race, class, ethnicity or sexual orientation, as well as their understanding of being a man, which is different from members of the ruling class or elite and from each other (Morrell, 2001).

It is important for masculinities to be accepted for their fluidity, as they "should not be considered as belonging in a fixed way to any one group of men" (Morrell, 2001: 7). This is because "masculinities are constantly being protected and defended, constantly breaking down and being recreated..." (Morrell, 2001: 7), and because "they are socially and historically constructed in a process which involves contestation between rival understandings of what being a man should involve" (Morrell, 2001: 7), which is why the chief task of scholars whose work is focused on gender should be the recognition of the elements whose purpose is "...to effect change in masculinities, when, where and how such change occur, and what their effects are" (Morrell, 2001: 7).

Essentially, then, black masculinity in itself is a type of masculinity, that deals with the struggles that are faced by black males. This type of masculinity brings to our conceptions, features that are characteristic of a masculinity that is black, such as the types of behaviours that need to be enacted in order to ascertain that black masculinity has been exhibited, and whether this sense of black masculinity can be embodied and performed by males from other races too. Following Connell's (1995) assertions, the multiplicity of masculinities suggests that "...while men oppressed women, some men also dominated and subordinated other men" (Morrell, 2001: 7). This brings light to the concept of feminine masculinities and masculine femininities. While the majority of men occupy hegemonic masculinity with distinct behavioural traits of being aggressive, brave and assertive; there are other masculinities with more feminine traits. Seemingly, feminine masculinities are in the minority, and they occupy behavioural traits that are commonly associated with being female, that is emotional, submissive and womanlike. Conversely, masculine femininities, which are also in the minority, have a lot to do with femininities that occupy a lot of masculine traits. As such, feminine masculinities and masculine femininities can be classified as non-hegemonic, in terms of Connell's (1995) description, and can be viewed by hegemonic masculinity as Other. This is because "…masculinity in males, requires the feminine as its Other" (Paechter,

2006:10). Moreover, it is with great importance that these masculinities are further demonstrated in the film's analysis, as this will elevate Matabane's characterisation of the array of masculinities in *When We Were Black* (2007).

Insofar as shifting identities of black masculinities are concerned, Lisa Lindsay and Stephan Miescher (2003) have made postulations that are pivotal in highlighting some of the issues concerned with identity, and how such issues aid in one's own understanding of masculinity, which will in turn inscribe a particular identity. Also, while "...notions of masculinity are reflected in individual experience, identity, and subjectivity" (Miescher and Lindsay, 2003: 8), it is equally important to understand the nature in which men embody different masculinities, and how such embodiments help them to understand their own gendered identities. Also, the processes involved in identity formation as a result of masculinity elucidate the importance of age, class and generation in interpreting black men's respective identities; as well as the manner in which gendered practices are able to become intricate parts of their self-presentation and self-conception (Miescher and Lindsay, 2003).

Lindsay and Miescher (2003) maintain that it is imperative to explore understandings of masculinity. This provides a particular outlook from which to identify the interconnectedness between changes and continuities, which are equally important in the ideologies of masculinity, because they are "...culturally and historically constructed, their meanings continually contested and always in the process of being renegotiated in the context of existing power relations" (Miescher and Lindsay, 2003: 4). This shows that "definitions of what it means to be a man are constantly negotiated and are different for different men" (Khunou, 2006: 193) at different times.

2.4 Analysis of *When We Were Black* (2007)

The analysis of the main characters in *When We Were Black* (2007) serves to demonstrate different masculinities and femininities in a particular period, and how Matabane's representations of black masculinities and femininities forge new ways of seeing the black image. Space and power play a vital role in the gendered and racialised representations of Africans on film. Space is related to power and powerlessness, insofar as those who occupy the centre of the screen are usually more powerful than those situated in the background or

completely absent from the screen (Diawara, 1993). This is the same with masculinities because "...masculinities are dependent upon access to power" and "…the social location creates the conditions for relations of power" (Bhana, 2005: 207).

The complexities of masculinity and femininity are partly as a result of the apartheid government's discriminatory laws which thwarted the daily existence of the black people and their everyday experience. As such, the multiplicity of masculinities that are explored in Matabane's characterisation of the key characters in the series, seeks to highlight the manner in which some of the male characters exhibit feminine masculinities at certain times, whilst some of the female characters exhibit more masculine femininities under particular conditions.

The discussion of the characters in *When We Were Black* (2007) will be grouped into three clusters that draw on Fistos' masculinity in relation to the generation of boys, men, as well as the women in the film. The first cluster discusses Fistos' feminine masculinity in relation to Casper and Fanga Man's masculinity. The second cluster draws on Fistos' masculinity in relation to his father. Lastly, Fistos' masculinity will be discussed in relation to his mother and sister's femininities. This will be done as a way to show how Matabane has used this film form to address ongoing debates about black masculinities and femininities in creating new images of blackness on and off the screen.

2.4.1 Fistos vs Casper and Fanga Man

Fistos' meek demeanour often compromises his 'normative' masculinity, such that it is undermined and contested by his peers, despite his attempts to show a strong sense of masculinity. One of the opening scenes in the film that highlights Fistos' meek character and feminine masculinity is when his mother asks him to slaughter a chicken, but he is scared to do so. Although he is the youngest, he is expected to slaughter the chicken because he is a boy. This signifies the gendered act and stereotype of slaughtering animals. However, his failure to slaughter the chicken questions his role and abilities as a male (see Fig. 1). In order to protect his sense of masculinity, his older sister Nozipho steps in and slaughters the chicken for him. This is done to the extent where their mother is made to believe that Fistos

slaughtered the chicken, even though she looks at him in a way that suggests that she knows who really slaughtered it.



Fig. 1: Picture courtesy of Matabane Filmworks.

The second example where Fistos' meek disposition is shown is in a scene where he tries to show his physical strength. A spontaneous act of machismo shows Fistos taking a bath in preparation for his best friend's party. In so doing, he uses the foam to create an illusion of being big-chested and having big muscles, which suggests that there is an underlying desire to have more masculine features (see Fig. 2).



Fig. 2: Picture courtesy of Matabane Filmworks.

Casper

Casper is Fistos' best friend and he constantly reasserts his masculinity, which is often by undermining Fistos' masculinity deemed weak. For instance, Casper hosts a party, where he teases Fistos about wearing a pink shirt because he does not believe that men should wear

pink clothing. He also shows Fistos how to dance with a girl. Seemingly, Casper has a false sense of masculinity. This is evident in several instances: the first is when he brags to Fistos about his plans to be like Bruce Lee and to beat up Thomas[3]. This happens on their way to school.

Another instance is when Casper is given several lashes for having an inappropriate image of a girl. When he gets to class, however, he tells Fistos that he did not get a hiding and that he was able to get away with it. Furthermore, there is an argument that ensues between Fistos and Casper, about Casper not knowing about girls – Casper reasserts his masculinity by swearing at Fistos and tells him not to visit anymore because their friendship had ended. Of course, Casper says all this to ensure that he has the last word, but most importantly, that he is not going to be made a fool of, especially not by Fistos.

One night when Casper makes his way home, Fanga Man (Thomas) and his friends beat him very badly. When Fistos comes to visit, he tells him that he beat them up. This suggests that he does not want to seem weak in front of Fistos because he wants to be admired by him at all times. Even the clever Casper succumbs to the police when they tell them to leave the police station when he accompanies Mangi to look for Fistos; and he also refers to them as 'baas'. This shows the extent to which particular masculinities will be 'performed' when one wants to receive approval from their peers or society. Ordinarily, Casper portrays hegemonic masculinity when he is with Fistos, but this is often compromised when his masculinity clashes with other hegemonic masculinities. These instances include the confrontation with the male teacher who gave him lashes, his constant fallouts with Fanga Man, and when he is reprimanded by the police. These incidents highlight the male characters' deprivation of virility and vigour because they are constantly confronted by situations that emasculate them.

Fanga Man (Thomas)

Fanga Man is the leader of a group of juvenile delinquents who are outcasts in the community because of their deviant demeanour. It is evident that the youth try to assert themselves and their false sense of masculinity by causing trouble and hurting others. The first encounter that we have with Fanga Man is when he is angered by the fact that Casper did not invite him to

[3] Thomas is commonly known as Fanga Man. He is a bully who constantly terrorises Fistos and Casper.

his party. There is another incident where he ties Fistos and Casper's school ties together and tells them that they are having a 'man-to-man' marriage, and that they must parade the streets together, which humiliates these two boys even further, much to Fanga Man's pleasure (see Fig. 3).



Fig. 3: Picture courtesy of Matabane Filmworks.

Several instances in the film show polarities between Fanga Man, Fistos and Casper. As young boys whose individual identities and masculinities are developing, space is often contested. This is because various masculinities are conflicted by confined spaces that are often shared amongst other masculinities. In light of this contention,

> …school and gang sharpened as two opposite poles in a continuum of possible identities. At one end were committed and increasingly politicized high school students whose aspirations were based on education and professional achievement. At the other end were members of large and distinctive gangs…, who understood social prestige in terms of territory, physical prowess, street wisdom, and style. Probably the majority of Sowetan male youths floated between these two poles. Identities were still often blurred and ambiguous, and they shifted through time (Glaser, 2000: 163)

There is an incident where Fistos walks Mangi home, and they run into Modise, which is when they are confronted by the police, who want to know who amongst them, is Modise. The police threaten to take Mangi and Fistos gives them a false identity, saying that he is Modise. During the time that he spends in the police cells, Fistos is blindfolded and tortured by the police because they are under the impression that they are interrogating the real Modise. Since the police are under the impression that the person in custody is indeed Modise, they believe that he has the list of names of the comrades.

This is a very tormenting experience for Fistos, particularly when the policeman tells him that he is going to 'break him', and indeed, a part of Fistos does break, because the police were gradually encroaching his psyche (see Fig. 4). When the police realise that they are interrogating the wrong person, they finally release Fistos, and he tells Casper about how he fought for himself when he was interrogated. Fistos' narration of his ordeal is shared with a soft and gentle voice associated with feminine masculinity, which is categorised by Connell (1995) as marginalised masculinity. However, it is at this point that Fistos slowly shows behavioural traits of hegemonic masculinity.



Fig. 4: Picture courtesy of Matabane Filmworks.

The experience he endures in prison gives him a glimpse of some of the terrible things that the apartheid government was capable of. However, the killing of Mangi by the police is another event that truly awakens Fistos to the politics of the country. This is when he takes a stone and throws it at the police van (see Fig. 5), as an indication that he is finally fighting back and standing up for himself.


Fig. 5: Picture courtesy of Matabane Filmworks.

Seemingly, the time Fistos spent in interrogation became his rite of passage from being a boy to being a man, such that his masculinity shifted from being marginalised and feminine to being hegemonic. Herein, Matabane suggests that such torture accorded young boys a rite of

passage to manhood. Matabane also shows this in his appropriation of Casper's exposition of machismo, especially when he gives false claims about fighting for himself against Fanga Man. These transitions to manhood are similar to those in *Sarafina* (1992), with particular parallels about police interrogation, wherein the torture did not discriminate between young boys and girls. However, the torture they endured made them stronger and became their rite of passage into manhood and womanhood respectively. Insofar as Fistos is concerned, his embodiment of hegemonic masculinity is seen in the way he possesses power and anger when he throws the stone at the police van, which is in itself a symbol of power. Moreover, this meant that he was finally taking ownership of and reasserting his masculinity as he understood it.

2.4.2 Fistos vs His Father (Ndebele)

The third instance which illustrates Fistos' senses of masculinity is in the relationship he has with his father. Fistos holds his father with great reverence and he is extremely excited when his father, who is a migrant worker in Rustenburg, comes home. However, several incidents occur, that question his perception of his father as his hero. This happens when Fistos finally sees the extent to which the apartheid government caused his father's downfall, especially when he gives in to high levels of alcohol consumption. This reconfigures Fistos' masculinity, as well as his father's sense of masculinity. The significance herein is that Fistos tells his sister about his hatred towards white people. This awakening for Fistos helps him to assess his own masculinity.

The first encounter we have of Fistos' father is with the car that is parked outside, as Fistos hurriedly makes his way in the house. Ndebele works in the Rustenburg mines as a clerk and only comes back home occasionally. When Fistos finally settles down, his father gives them each a gift. During his stay, Ndebele tells Nozipho to make him tea, and reminds her that he likes it with warm milk. These kinds of assertions suggest that Ndebele's possible inability to completely portray his desired masculinity in his workplace is overcompensated for onto his family. This is further exemplified in the ways he exerts hegemonic masculinity as the head of the family. However, things take a turn for the worse when the family goes to town and Ndebele is humiliated by two white policemen, who are much younger than him, in the view of his wife and children. As he comes out of the car, Ndebele inadvertently primes his psyche

for what is going to follow, and his identity begins to shift as he gradually embodies a more submissive masculinity, thereby succumbing to the policemen's hegemonic masculinity.

One of the policemen calls him "seuntjie", which refers to a little boy in Afrikaans, and he tells him to get out of the car. Subsequent to that are questions about what a little boy like him is doing in a place like this, and how he could possibly afford to have such a nice car. They then ask for his pass and laugh at his name – Ignatius – which is when they tell him that his pass has expired and that he is in town illegally. Ndebele becomes childlike and is nothing like the man whom Fistos was rushing home to see. He calls the policemen 'baas' – boss, and this breaks him even further. Adding to that, the two policemen command Fistos' father to dance like a baboon, which he does, and he makes several gestures that typify a baboon's deportments (see Fig. 6). Unfortunately, the implications of dancing like a baboon are dehumanizing and belittle his masculinity.

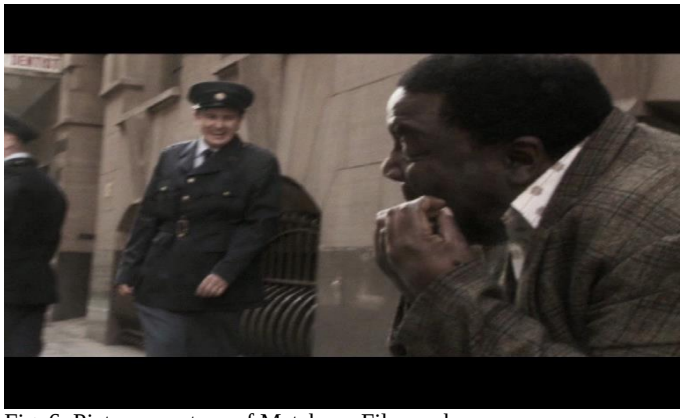


Fig. 6: Picture courtesy of Matabane Filmworks.

Throughout this encounter, Ndebele refers to these policemen as "baas", which further exemplifies the master-servant relationship between people who are of authority (the policemen) and those who are not during apartheid times. This is humiliating for him, especially because it is happening in his family's presence, but he continues to play into the submissive masculinity that has been inflicted onto him by the policemen. One of Ndebele's most overarching contentions is whether being made to dance like a baboon is more embarrassing than all of this happening in full view of his wife and children; because he had always attempted to maintain a strong sense of manhood and masculinity at home. The problem, however, is not with the actual word "boy", but the demeaning connotation that is added to it, as it belittles old men who are of a particular stature, and reduces them to little

boys, upon which new conceptualisations of their identities and respective masculinities are formed. Adding to that, the dualities of what it means to be a "boy" in relation to what it means to be a "man" are some of the other factors that influence masculinity and the contentious and shifting masculinities, in that the concept

> "boy" has been an important social category in many African texts, implying biological maleness, social (but not necessarily physical) immaturity, and, in colonial situations, racialised inferiority in relation to "men" (Miescher and Lindsay, 2003: 4-5)

This shows that the conditions under which one is referred to as a "boy" prove to be significantly contentious. This is particularly because certain males are "boys" in one context, but "men" in another (Miescher and Lindsay, 2003), which is precisely the case with Fistos' father, whose sense of masculinity is continuously negotiated and reconfigured to suit the space that he occupies at a particular time. When one considers the thin margin between what it means to be a "boy" and a "man" to oneself in relation to how others, particularly those who are in authority, perceive one's sense of manhood, one begins to see how certain jobs such as those in the mines,

> ...had an ambivalent impact on men's perceptions of themselves. On the one hand industrial authorities deprecated miners as childlike "boys", but the work itself, with its requisite skill and physical strength, produced important elements of masculinity. The workplace was a site of a masculine work culture, in which solidarity with one's work mates challenged colonial industrial despotism. Additionally, this masculinity was further validated in the communities... where these men used their incomes to become "modern", and progressive..." (Brown, 2003: 157)

Indeed, this is the case with Ndebele, who also works in the mines. This reflects on the incident where he comes home drunk and tells his wife that "*someone can call you a monkey, and treat you like a monkey, but you know you're not a monkey, so who is the monkey? They are..., I'm not a monkey*". He then asks his wife how they can treat such an educated man like him in that manner, because he does not understand how all of this could be possible when he speaks good English, and can do justice to the Queen's language. This brings about a sense of inferiority complex through admission of mental subjugation, which has been instilled by the apartheid regime.

Also, the events that have led up to Ndebele's current state of drunkenness addresses the mammoth of complexities that are concerned with his own contentions about how he could have allowed the policemen's masculinity to reconfigure his own masculinity – a masculinity that is self-defined – a masculinity that he has worked so hard to maintain, with no ambiguities. When Fistos arrives, he tells him that people can say and do anything to him, but what matters is that he knows who he is. This shows that "the state is the most important single agent of change" and that "the state creates gender categories and shapes them" (Morrell, 2001: 20-21). Even more so, "race and class are of major importance in determining how men understand their masculinity, how they deploy it, and in what form the patriarchal dividend comes to them..." (Morrell, 2001: 10). As a result of Ndebele's ordeal with the police, his own conceptualisations of his masculinity become blurred, so much so that he begins to question his masculinity and sense of place as a man.

2.4.3 Fistos vs His Mother and Sister (Nozipho)

The relationship between Fistos and his mother is much like any typical relationship between a mother and his son. Although she treats him like a child, they have a loving relationship and she seems to find comfort in the fact that Fistos is not involved in politics, unlike his sister. Fistos' mother is a teacher at her children's school (see Fig. 7), and she prefers to maintain the status quo.



Fig. 7: Picture courtesy of Matabane Filmworks.

Although Fistos' mother understands the plight of the black people and does not seem to be disgruntled by the government's impositions, she does, however, understand the full grunt of

the system and how oppressive it can be. This is particularly because her younger sister was killed during a protest, and she blames herself for not being able to protect her, which is what she also fears for her own daughter. Since her husband is based in Rustenburg because of his work, Fistos' mother is forced to take-up the role of being the father and being rather authoritative and assertive, whilst simultaneously being the nurturing mother who always has her children's best interests at heart. Just like her husband, she is often conflicted by the multiplicity of masculinities and femininities.

When her husband is away at work, she attempts at striking a balance between exhibiting traits of hegemonic masculinity, whilst also showing feminine and motherly traits. When her husband is home, however, he returns to take the role of a hegemonic masculinity as she becomes more submissive. However, her sense of feminine masculinity in the household is largely determined by the type of masculinity portrayed by her husband. This is such that when he began to drink, she needed to take control and take-up the role of being the dominant and assertive partner. Likewise, the contention in her workplace is not any different. Although she remains assertive amongst her students, she is not able to defy the power that the apartheid government and school system had put in place.

Nozipho

Nozipho, like many of her peers, is a covert political activist, and she tries to alert Fistos of the political plight that is faced by the black students in particular. Nozipho tells Fistos about how she wishes he would not allow himself to be consumed by his love for the planets, even if it is only momentarily, so that he could understand the South African black experience. Seemingly, Nozipho exhibits a masculine femininity. This is seen in the way she carries herself; when she slaughters the chicken, her assertiveness at the meetings with her fellow comrades, and the way she speaks to her father when he begins to drink alcohol.

Nozipho tells Modise how 'they' have destroyed her father. By 'they', she not only refers to the policemen who assaulted her father, but to the apartheid system as a whole – as she places the ill-treatment that was inflicted onto her father by those policemen in the hands of the system. In one of the classes, which were now taught in Afrikaans, Nozipho is the first student to walk out when the lesson begins, and the other students follow suit (see Fig. 7).



Fig. 7: Picture courtesy of Matabane Filmworks.

This is done as a form of resistance against the oppressive system that had been implemented in the schools. This is also a great display of Nozipho's sense of leadership in that she is prepared to sacrifice herself in many ways that will ensure that her message against being taught in Afrikaans comes out strong and clear. Over time, however, the apartheid government instilled harsher teaching conditions where teaching was to be conducted in Afrikaans. When the students decide to have an official protest against this, Nozipho decides to leave the country.

Nozipho portrays a lot of feminine qualities, which can be seen in her powerful character trait that is depicted by her dressing, as well as in the way she cares for her father. However, her femininity is coupled with an overwhelming presence of masculine traits. This is exemplified when slaughtering the chicken, which is a practice that is common amongst men. Her political activism and worldview sets her apart from her peers and other women in the way she asserts herself and detests the education system.

2.5 Conclusion

While Matabane has endeavoured to capture some of the black experiences that are characteristic of black men and women in the film's articulation and embodiment of such experiences, this gauges the multiplicity of black masculinities and femininities that existed during apartheid. These are also significations of the black experience, and the different spaces that black men and women occupy, and whether such spaces and masculinities still exist within the milieu of black people in post-1994 South Africa.

Various institutions such as the school, family and workplace each play their role in creating masculinities and the contentions that arise because of the co-existence between different masculinities. Such masculine contentions become apparent with characters such as Fanga Man, Casper and Fistos' father. Furthermore, Connell's (1995) categorisation of the two main types of masculinity – hegemonic and non-hegemonic – is informative and elaborate, which has been critical in the categorisation of the characters in *When We Were Black* (2006). The analysis of the characterisation in light of masculinities and femininities shows that these traits are often overlapping. As such, Matabane has presented other ways of seeing the masculine and the feminine, in which space, time and circumstance brings about various feminine masculinities in males and masculine femininities in females. Moreover,

> once we understand that not all masculinities are entirely masculine, or femininities feminine, we may be able to think of ourselves as humans who construct our identities in various ways, some of which are related to ideal typical forms of masculinity and femininity, and some of which are not (Paechter, 2006: 21)

Indeed, Matabane has presented alternative images of blackness, which are different from images that had been previously presented by white filmmakers. By doing so, he has been able to open the dialogue about how men and women, who embody different masculinities and femininities, understand their gendered identities. This also opens up the debate about how men deal with different notions of masculinity in the course of their life cycles.

CHAPTER 3

STATE OF VIOLENCE (2011) AND ITS FORMAL AUTONOMY AS A BLACK-CENTRED FILM

3. Introduction

The production of *State of Violence* (2011) provides another example through which Matabane addresses the complexities of black representation in South Africa. In this film, contradictions and struggles between the post-1994 state interests and the ordinary citizens recreate classic polarities that Marxist analyses of the political economy are concerned with. Post-1994 South Africa saw the emergence of a class of new black bourgeoisie at the helm of state governance and key corporate sector structures, and the marginalised that have become increasingly heterogeneous in terms of race, with the majority being black Africans. Even within this set-up, however, former polarities in terms of capital repositories and resources continue to be structured along old lines of racialised allegiance and struggles. The persistence of such intransigencies allows Matabane's film productions continued relevance in the new social order that has since restructured class divides. His interest in human plight and the fascinating ways through which he presents this, has seen him navigate economics of South Africa's film industry with such adeptness, in that he is able to narrate experiences that refract the contradictions and struggles of the marginalised black majority who are not active in the mainstream economy.

Drawing from *State of Violence* (2011) as a black-centred film, I pay particular attention to its formal autonomy and its representations. I also examine the implications of the film's cinematic formal autonomy. I look at *State of Violence's* (2011) formal autonomy as a film that is "…outside the constraints of the major studios" (Diawara, 1993: 7), and does not follow its prescribed aesthetics. Formal autonomy can be defined as practices that are not common and may diverge from standard practices, wherein independence is at the forefront. In the context of film, formal autonomy has to do with film practices that are divergent from mainstream film. Films that are mainstream follow a particular structure that is often driven by Hollywood practices, wherein the films are in English and follow the structure of order/disorder/order-restored. Conversely, films with formal autonomy are alternative films that are on the opposite end of the film spectrum and are considered to be more liberal in their

film production. As such, Matabane's film practice presents him as an alternative filmmaker because he does not necessarily follow the mainstream and Hollywood way of making film, and always brings new and alternative ways of addressing concerns of black representations in film. As an alternative filmmaker, it is important to consider how Matabane has appropriated mainstream filmmaking techniques to fit into alternative film sensibilities.

Matabane uses formal autonomy to narrate issues that are overwhelmingly marginal, in that they are not a conventional focus and interest of mainstream film. To a smaller extent, Matabane adopted formal autonomy because of factors such as the storyline, setting and language usage, that have contributed to making the film fit into mainstream film practices. However, Matabane's alternative film practice has allowed him to marry a mainstream structure and alternative content. Moreover, it is important to establish that the formal autonomy in black-centred films has also been in response to the financial and ideological difficulties involved in the mainstream film industry. In this way, independent films become a great platform in providing alternative ways of knowing black people who are different from the stereotypes of the black people in mainstream (Hollywood) films. What is also important is how the film is formally and aesthetically organised, and the manner in which it is independent of mainstream film strategies. As such, it is crucial to focus on the independence of *State of Violence* (2011) and how it is able to establish its own aesthetics, narrative style, and use of space in conveying a particular creative non-dependence on such ideologically inspired formulae.

Whereas "the dominant filmic text in western society revolves around the standardized plot of order/disorder/order-restored" (Hayward, 1996: 75) and the action is focused on characters that are central, thus making the plot character-driven (Hayward, 1996), the structure of *State of Violence* (2011) is disorder and order-restored and the plot is driven by a central event. Matabane has used mostly local actors in cinema and television, which is classic Hollywood style. However, his close-up on the township life with scenes that are not cleaned up, but having his actors traversed and mingle with people in the township is different from the Hollywood style of film. Also, the film has no particular soundtrack; instead, the township talk and sounds are part of the camera's composition. This locates the film deeply into the everyday life of township people and brings closer the film's reality to the social reality from which the content was drawn.

Although the film has elements that are characteristic to Hollywood film, it is important to consider that Matabane is not a mainstream filmmaker in that his film practice does not necessarily prescribe to Hollywood film structures. In light of this, however, I interrogate the film's stylistics that could be used to maintain its formal autonomy. This is done through a cursory comparison between First Cinema and Third Cinema as discussed in the first chapter. The purpose of this is to determine the level at which the film operates autonomously. It is also important to see how the film is able to do so in relation to First Cinema which, unlike Third Cinema, is mainstream. I also foreground the conditions within which the film's formal strategies are racialised or not.

Through the use of central themes the film depicts the prevalence of violence in its various forms. These themes are the delineation of the film's title; the township space; the use of language; the symbolisms of the red hat; as well as the impact of trauma in memory. Although Matabane constructs black masculinities that are stereotypically violent, I argue that these black masculinities are able to regenerate and repair themselves from within. I also draw attention to the possibility of Matabane successfully breaking the stereotype that black men are violent and cannot overcome it, especially when considering a range of contrasting male identities that he explores through the characters.

Furthermore, I question the film's stylistics and the extent to which Matabane's adoption of certain formal strategies has helped him with issues of black representation. How does the film challenge the technique of realism and the conditions of violence, where violence is explained through complexities of the relations of black people post-1994? With Matabane turning the camera inward, what kinds of images does this produce? Also, it is important to look at how *State of Violence* (2005) is not confined by Hollywood cinema aesthetics, and the styles that are used to show an alternative film model. I trace the images of blackness through two generations; Bobedi's (older) generation and his brother's (younger) generation. The latter generation is caught up in the cycle of violence initiated by the older generation, but there is a move towards redeeming the black male image.

3.1 Synopsis of *State of Violence* (2011)

The opening scene in *State of Violence* (2011) depicts the political unrest in the township of Alexandra in Johannesburg in the 1980s in the apartheid era.[4] The screen is engulfed in screams and shouting amidst gun shots preceding the first image. The first image is of a young boy wearing a red hat, who witnesses a massacre by the police and recognises one of them. When the police have left the room, there is a close-up shot of the men who have been killed, which makes as though the audience is vicariously walking into the room through the young boy's eyes. Shortly thereafter, Marumo, one of the policemen who appear in the first scene, is captured by a mob and killed by being "necklaced", by having a burning tyre placed around his neck and subsequently burnt alive. The subsequent scene juxtaposes the violent attack which is shown in a series of flashbacks, as the audience is presented with a scenic view of Bobedi's house. Bobedi is the protagonist in the film, who lives in Sandton, an affluent suburb North of Johannesburg. Following a celebratory dinner, Bobedi and his wife Joy are confronted by a violent attack upon arrival in their home, when Joy is shot and killed by an intruder who knows Bobedi personally.

Seemingly, Bobedi's quest to avenge Joy's death inadvertently takes him back to his former life as a political activist in Alexandra Township, when he is accompanied by his brother, Boy-Boy, to search for Joy's killer. Throughout the film, Bobedi has memories in the form of flashbacks about a particular incident when he was young. After some time, Bobedi finds out that the person who killed his wife was OJ, who is the son of the man he had set alight when he was a boy. When OJ and Bobedi confront each other, emotions rise and Boy-Boy is accidently shot dead when they wrestle for a gun. After the shooting Bobedi goes to his mother's house, and the audience is confronted by an elongated silence between the two, when his mother tells him that he has killed his own brother. Following his mother's words, Bobedi tries to deal with the loss of his brother, and the role he played in his brother's untimely death.

[4] Alexandra township was established in 1912. It is one of South Africa's poorest townships. It is situated close to Sandton, one of South Africa's wealthiest areas.

3.2 Analysis of *State of Violence* (2011)

This subsection is a demonstration of how Matabane's interweaving of two major film practices; Hollywood and alternative filmmaking, has been able to introduce concerns about post-1994 black images in ways that are innovative. This is going to be shown through a discussion of the title, the township space, the language use, the symbolisms of the red hat and memory.

3.2.1 State of Violence or State of Violence?

The title of the film poses a challenge about the condition of violence in the country, and questions South Africa as a possible State of violence. Not only that, the film's title also addresses the different levels or conditions of violence that South Africans endure, but also imperative to understand are the individual characters' states of violence.

To begin with, the film's title warrants an analysis, and questions relating to the title are brought forward much earlier in the film in the first scene with the shooting. The title brings to the fore two linked, yet overlapping meanings. At one level, the title refers to *the* state of violence, in which case the film refers to the condition of violence in South Africa, which is reflective of the apartheid and post-apartheid eras respectively. Following this explanation, the first scene exemplifies the condition of violence, as well as the black body and the black image, in that we are able to place these images of violence within a politically historical framework. At another level, however, reference is made to *a* State of violence, which addresses some of the perceptions of South Africa as a State – as a government that unreservedly typifies violence, reflective of a post-1994 society. The latter is demonstrated in the way Matabane represents the image of the township and the violence therein as Bobedi roams the streets of Alexandra in search of OJ. Here, the audience sees Bobedi with a gun that is visible for everyone to see, which further addresses the issues concerned with black males who are stereotyped as violent.

3.2.2 The Township Space

Notwithstanding the acculturation of one culture into a particular dominant culture, it is important to be cognisant of the manner in which Bobedi assimilates the township culture

into the suburban culture, and the implications thereof. At this juncture, I draw from Ellapen (2006), who focuses on locating blackness in contemporary South African cinema within the township aesthetic and the representations of black identity. Herein the 'township space' is understood to be recognisable as

> a visible space that has recognisable codes and conventions that have remained resilient in post-apartheid South Africa. This space was envisioned as a space of containment, a space that housed undifferentiated black bodies that were supposedly a threat to the hegemony of Afrikaner Nationalism … a space characterised and associated with poverty, the underclass, overpopulation … violence, criminality and decay (Ellapen, 2006: 3)

Ellapen (2006) argues that the township space has grown into a cinematic trope of blackness in contemporary South African cinema. As such, the manner in which the township space is represented shows "…poverty, the underclass, violence and criminality" (Ellapen, 2006: 4), all of which is exemplified through Bobedi's own interaction with the township space. Ellapen (2006) also maintains that such representations of the township space bring about re-inscribed notions of 'Otherness', in particular an 'Otherness' of *black subjectivity*. As such, "cinematic representations of the 'township space' appear to celebrate the commodification of poverty" (Ellapen, 2006: 4). This is such that "poverty associated with the township space also articulates the type of black identity that is largely imagined to occupy this space" (Ellapen, 2006: 4).

Individuals like Bobedi, who are granted the opportunity "…to move out of their ethnically, economically and geographically defined ghettos" (Lucas, 1995: 27) are able to successfully assimilate into the dominant (suburban) culture. For such assimilation to suffice, however, there needs to be an improvement in the individuals' socio-economic status, which they themselves instigate, so they will be better able to compete (Lucas, 1995). Several inferences can be extrapolated which suggest that Bobedi is not always conscious of immersing himself spatially between the suburb and the township. At this point, focus should be drawn on the burden that the township space puts on Bobedi. Despite having made a new life for himself and showing signs of economic and social mobility, however, there is always something binding Bobedi to his past and the life he once lived in the township. For instance, the man who sells Bobedi a gun refers to him as Terror. This is a name Bobedi used when he was a political activist, which has very strong ties to his past in Alexandra as a township space. He

is also in turmoil with himself because of the events that occurred, that have led to the conflict between his past and present; as well as between Alexandra township and Sandton respectively.

After many years of being away from the township, Bobedi drives to Alexandra and disembarks from his car. Through the juxtaposing of Alexandra and Sandton, the audience are shown the divergence between Bobedi's past and present, as well as that between the realities embedded in each space. Also important is the way Matabane makes these spaces co-exist through Bobedi's interaction with them even though it is not a harmonious co-existence. Through Bobedi's Gaze, which reiterates his dislike for the township, the audience see the poverty and overpopulation of this township space as Bobedi continues to drive into Alexandra. In light of the conflict of the representations between Bobedi's past and present, contesting the past also poses questions about the present, as well as the meaning of the past in the present. This spatial conflict is further redirected towards other realities because "the question of what it means to contest the past…reveals certain presuppositions about the relationship between the present and the past, which have both historical and political purchase…" (Hodgkin and Radstone, 2009: 1).

The result of the conflict between the township and suburb means that the occupation of these spaces places Bobedi in a position of liminality, of in-betweenness, where "…the black subject travels between and through the rural, urban and township spaces, assuming different identities at different times…" (Ellapen, 2006: 6). As such, Bobedi negotiates the township space with the people he speaks to, because he is not able to fully embody the 'suburban life' per se, nor can he do the same about only embodying the life in the township because he is invariably torn between the two. Although cinematically, the black body appears to have become fixed in its representations, it is actually a hybrid body. What also becomes evident is that

> the 'township space' reflects the unique experiences of the black body within a post-apartheid city. This space represents the potential for recreating a post-apartheid modernity, and the manner people negotiate and reimagine spaces that were once racially divided and constructed through an otherness of the black body. This space represents the potential for recreating a post-apartheid modernity by renegotiating and re-imagining a space that was once racially divided and constructed through an otherness of the black identity (Ellapen, 2006: 42-43)

It is important to understand that with all the different representations shown on film, there is an "inaccurate and often exaggerated portrayal of the 'township space' and the people who inhabit it" (Ellapen, 2006: 12), where there is a constant re-inscription of caricature. This is particularly the case when Bobedi walks around with a gun in his hand, which is portrayed as a normalised behaviour because of the high prevalence of violence. As such, Matabane presents an image of the township space that is occupied by unlawful behaviour, and a lacking presence from the police. The constant re-inscriptions of caricature in the 'township space' are a clear indication of the fluidity of this space because "the space of the township is a liminal and ambivalent space, a space that constantly negotiates the changing identities of the black body" (Ellapen, 2006: 14).

The issue of economic divide is very central. A good example is when Bobedi offers money to people who do not want his money and yet he so depends on them for clues as to who killed his wife. There is a reading of the film that the economic divide between the new black elite and poor, cannot be done away with because the former are intricately linked to the violence of the apartheid past. It will come back to haunt them all the time, and giving them money will not help them because the black elite had completely failed to overturn areas linking them to the crime. In this instance both Chappies[5] and OJ are angry that their fathers died due to violence. There is also great concern about their bitterness because there has not been an overhauling of the past relations with violence which would have placed them on a different level in life. It is unfortunate that life in the township has not changed, the streets are still dirty, the condition of Alexandra is appalling, and there is overcrowding. Both Chappies and OJ claim that their lives were destroyed by Bobedi and his violent behaviour. It is important to note that Bobedi is rejected because of his past and current wealth, where all attempts of being part of the in-group are diminished. Although the township space has not changed much, it is not easy for Bobedi to fit in. His friends who have not become successful like him, claim that he has changed and yet his mother rejects him because he has lost his humanity and failed to regain it in her eyes.

[5] Chappies is the son of Bobedi's friend, who was also a political activist.

3.2.3 Language Usage

The manner in which Bobedi interacts with the different characters linguistically is characteristic of the space he is in. Bobedi's suburban life and language usage come across as rigid and formally structured. Conversely, the township space is very different and its language usage is less formal. Since Bobedi grew up in an environment that was less formal in its language usage, the way he uses language is as a result of the way he relates to the characters. This suggests that there is another level through which he is compromised because of the way he becomes engrossed in the space he is in at a particular time. In turn, language allows Bobedi to communicate beyond the boundaries of his space. Bobedi projects an identity that is reflective and characteristic of the language he uses in relation to the space he is in. Under such conditions, he switches between Sesotho, English and *Tsotsitaal*, which becomes more evident in his interactions with the different characters.

Drawing from Bobedi's interaction with the other characters, it becomes clear that he relates to them in different ways that seem to be largely predetermined by societal norms. This is particularly because of how differently he speaks to the female characters and the male characters, irrespective of the space he is in. Bobedi speaks to the female characters in Sesotho and employs a more formal use of language and some colloquial words/*Tsotsitaal*, since the female characters use language more formally. Let us consider Bobedi's conversation with Mumsy[6] (see translation below):

Bobedi: *Mumsy!*
Mumsy: *O tjhentjhile yoh! O ja tjhelete neh?*
Bobedi: *Sheba, ho na le motho ya batlang ho nkhawata mo kasi. And ke motho wa ka nako tsela.*
Mumsy: *Ke mang eo?*
Bobedi: *Ha ke itse, mara ba bolaile mosadi wa ka.*
Mumsy: *Boy-Boy o mpolelletse. I'm sorry about that. So, le pata neng?*
Bobedi: *Nka se mo pate ke so thole motho ya mo bolaileng.*
Mumsy: *Ha o so tjhentjhe. Le yanong o sa ntsane o mathisa revenge.*
Bobedi: *Mumsy, it's easy for you to say.*
Mumsy: *Ha o tsebe niks ka bophelo ba ka.*
Bobedi: *So, if o utlwa anything, o tla mpolella akere.*

[translation]

Bobedi: *Mumsy!*
Mumsy: *You look different. You're living the large life now.*
Bobedi: *Look, someone from the township is trying to hurt me. It's someone from the past.*
Mumsy: *Who would do that?*
Bobedi: *I don't know, but they've killed my wife.*

[6] Mumsy is Bobedi's ex-girlfriend, who lives in Alexandra.

Mumsy: *Boy-Boy told me. I'm sorry about that. So, when is the funeral?*
Bobedi: *I can't bury her until I know who killed her.*
Mumsy: *You haven't changed. You're still seeking revenge.*
Bobedi: *Mumsy, it's easy for you to say.*
Mumsy: *You know nothing about my life.*
Bobedi: *If you hear anything, you will let me know.*

[*Cited from State of Violence* (2011)]

On the other hand, Bobedi speaks to the male characters in *Tsotsitaal*, which is a hybrid vernacular associated with black males in the township. *Tsotsitaal* is largely an urban male phenomenon whose speakers are predominantly African males between 15 and 54 years (Makhudu, 1995). From this description, urban languages can be deduced as age-graded and gender-specific (Ntshangase, 1995). *Tsotsitaal* is mainly used by the in-group and developed in black urban areas in and around Johannesburg, drawing mainly on Sotho and Nguni languages and Afrikaans (McCormick, 2009). Concurringly, Makhudu (1995) explains *Tsotsitaal* as a "…more spontaneous in-group outcome of social and linguistic interaction among equals or those sharing similar socio-cultural values and perspectives." This is further exemplified in the conversation between Bobedi and Strike (see translation below):

Bobedi: *Strike, tsoha!*
Strike: *Heyi, vokof!*
Bobedi: *Ke Bobedi, maan.*
Strike: *Heh?*
Bobedi: *Ke Bobedi.*
Strike: *Bobedi? Bobedi?*
Bobedi: *Tsoha. Zwakala. Why o gidla kareng?*
Strike: *Moya, ntate. Moya. O a bona seo ke se batlelang sona ke moya. O a bona bophelo – bophelo Bobedi, bo botle. Ke a tseba hore o nahanang – o nahana hore ke a hlanya. Empa ha ke hlanye Bobedi. Ke wena ya hlanyang. Njwetse, o bewa ke eng mo?*
Bobedi: *Ntate, ba cishitse meidi ya ka.*
Strike: *Ke nnete ntho ba e buang: "Ha o ka bolaya, o tla pheta o bolaya hape". Itjhebe. mamela, ha o ka pheta o a tsholla madi hape, seo o setseng ka sona moyeng wa hao – ho fedile ka sona. Why? Why Bobedi? Why o batla ho phita o tsholla madi hape? Ho na le seemo sa Setjhaena se re "ha o epa mokoti wa lebitla la sera sa hao, epa e mebedi", Bobedi. Le leng ke la hao.*

[translation]

Bobedi: *Strike, wake up!*
Strike: *Hey, leave me alone!*
Bobedi: *It's Bobedi.*
Strike: *What?*
Bobedi: *It's Bobedi.*
Strike: *Bobedi? Bobedi?*
Bobedi: *Get up. Come. Why are you living in a car?*
Strike: *Air, my brother. Air. The only thing I need is air. You see, life is beautiful. I know what you're thinking - that I'm crazy. I'm not the one who's crazy, you are. Tell me, what are you doing here?*

Bobedi: *Someone killed my wife.*

Strike: *It's true what they say: "Once you've killed, you are going to kill again". Look at yourself. Listen here, if you kill again, it will be the end of whatever is left in your soul. Why, Bobedi? Why do you want to kill again? There's a Chinese proverb that says "when you dig a grave for your enemy, dig two graves". The other grave is yours.*

[*Cited from State of Violence* (2011)]

The conversation between Bobedi and Strike shows the extent to which language can be used successfully to be part of an in-group. Also key is that language and dress are important characteristics of identity formation, particularly in the formation of group identity which is evident through Bobedi's dress code when he is in the township. Although Bobedi wears formal pants and shoes, he keeps his shirt untucked, which suggests that he wants to look like the people of Alexandra. In light of this dress code, Matabane emphasises the stereotypical demeanour of black masculinities in the township (see fig. 1).



Fig. 1: Picture courtesy of Matabane Filmworks.

Furthermore, language has the ability to manifest as a distinct identity that brings rise to the us-and-them effect, where people who are not part of the in-group are ostracized through language. It can be argued that *Tsotsitaal* has served as a pivotal tool for social interaction, primarily amongst black youth in Johannesburg and surrounding townships. As a lingua franca, *Tsotsitaal* also constitutes an essential part of a distinct subculture. It is an attempt to overcome the obstacles of communication experienced collectively by young people in the segregated communities of urban South Africa. Furthermore, *Tsotsitaal* serves as a vital marker of identity and group membership, providing one of the principal foundations for the relatively distinct and somewhat exclusive group of youths (Molamu, 2003). In the light of Matabane's autonomy, he has remained true to an alternative film practice by having this film in different African languages which goes against formal structures of mainstream film, which is also conveyed in the audience he addresses and the sensibilities conveyed.

Seemingly, Bobedi is alienated by the standard forms of language, such that he is unable to regenerate himself. Moreover, his interlocution with his ex-girlfriend is strained and his mother has alienated him from a psychological perspective because she has failed to forgive him for what happened in the past. On the other hand, Bobedi is able to become himself and reflect on his life when he is with his younger brother and his friend Strike. This sense of freedom is largely informed by their use of *Tsotsitaal*, as an informal in-group community that enables Bobedi to connect with his past, his environment, and to make sense of losing his wife.

3.2.4 Symbolisms of the Red Hat

One of the important aspects about Bobedi's character is the symbolisms with his red hat, which insidiously links him to his past. This is a hat that is referred to as a 'spotty' and is popular with *tsotsis*. What becomes evident is that Bobedi only wears the hat when he is in Alexandra and when he is with people linking him to the township space. The symbolism of the hat is a reminder of his past life. The hat epitomises blood and a thug life. It is important to consider carefully that the first time the audience see the hat is when Bobedi is abruptly woken by a nightmare about his wife's shooting, and the hat is visibly seen on the bed, thus emphasising the connection between the hat and violence. When he meets with Boy-Boy in his house the following morning, however, he wears the hat, but this is only because they are on their way to Alexandra. When in Alexandra, Bobedi's hat is always in sight, whether it is in his hand while driving and walking up the street, or he wears it when he goes to see his mother and Strike. Strike is Bobedi's friend and former political activist, whose voice is heard shouting in the opening of the film. At this juncture, it is important to pay particular attention to the significance of Bobedi wearing the hat when he is in the township space (see fig. 2).



Fig. 2: Picture courtesy of Matabane Filmworks.

At a symbolic level, the hat is representative of four critical aspects of Bobedi's character. Firstly, Bobedi uses the hat as a tool to identify with the people of Alexandra and to show them that he is still in some ways connected to them. This is despite how hard he tries to remove himself from them. Secondly, we can deduce that the hat is representative of a sense of imagined and internalised bravado which helps Bobedi gain the confidence he needs to execute his plans of vengeance. Interestingly, Bobedi takes on a different persona when he wears the hat, which further suggests that he primes his psyche in his endeavours to find Joy's killer, as he also portrays elements of danger.

Thirdly, and perhaps most significant is the hat as representative of Marumo, Joy and Boy-Boy's blood. Seemingly, Bobedi is responsible for their death. Moreover, there is a constant presence of the colour red throughout the film, which becomes an incessant representation of the blood. Lastly, not wearing the hat when he is in his home is an attempt to remove himself from his past and from what the hat represents. Furthermore, not only does Joy's death take him back to his past physically, so too does wearing the hat, though this is at a more psychological level, which also becomes evident in his memory.

3.2.5 Memory/Flashbacks

James Fentress & Chris Wickham (1992) maintain that forgetting past events is a great part of what constitutes memory, and has a lot to do with what we allow ourselves to remember, and the mechanisms we use to suppress memories that are particularly traumatic. This is evident in the way Bobedi's mother speaks to him, which suggests that they share a common past experience. When Bobedi arrives at his mother's house for the first time in years, she is

angry and hurt by his presence. She asks if he has forgotten what happened in the past, but is very discreet about the details. This discreteness leaves the audience with unanswered questions about the estranged relationship between mother and son, and the memory of the event that took place, which Bobedi suppresses. According to Luisa Passerini (2009)

> all our memories are screens, but not in the traditional sense, as traces of something they reveal and hide at the same time. What is registered on the screen is not directly the sign of a piece of memory, but a sign of absence, and what is repressed is neither the event nor the memory nor even single traces, but the very connection between memories and traces (Passerini, 2009: 240)

A chain of flashbacks appear, and are signalled by a dissolve or fade. The former refers to a transition between two sequences or scenes, where a first image slowly dissolves and is replaced by another, and has a longer passage of time, often beckoning a forthcoming flashback (Hayward, 1996). Conversely, the fade constitutes a transition between sequences or scenes, where an image fades out and another one fades in, thus implying a pause of time and a possible change of space (Hayward, 1996).

Joshua Hirsch (2004, cited in Maingard, 2009) discusses flashbacks in Holocaust films and postulates two types of flashbacks, which he refers to as ‘classical flashbacks’ and ‘posttraumatic flashbacks’. The first type of flashbacks has strong ties with classical realist films, which is formally modernist and difficult to trace the memory of the trauma experienced. Herein the audience are able to assimilate the ‘classical flashback’ with ease, particularly because the film tends to provide cues of an oncoming flashback. Time is not interrupted when using ‘classical flashbacks’ and there is often a seamless transition from the primary narrative into the flashback and out of it again, and back into the narrative (Maingard, 2009). Conversely, the audience tend to be destabilised by ‘posttraumatic flashbacks’. This classification of flashbacks ties the audience into the character’s subjectivity by formally mirroring his/her experience of the traumatic event. “They are thus experiential, recreating the character’s experience and, at the same time, also making possible the viewer’s experiential witnessing of the event” (Maingard, 2009: 9).

Bearing in mind the distinction between ‘classical’ and ‘posttraumatic flashbacks’, what seems to be common is that “…flashbacks, or ‘interludes’, as the writer, Bhekizizwe Peterson

prefers to describe them, partially interrupt the narrative flow" (cited in Maingard, 2009: 8). As cinematic representation of memory, history and subjective truth, flashbacks are narrative devices that are used in film to go back in time to earlier moments, and to narrate those moments in a character's life and or history. Since flashbacks "…almost always serve to resolve an enigma (a murder, a state of mental disorder, etc.) they are by nature investigative or confessional narrative codes…" (Hayward, 1996: 122). In essence, the past is seen as an object of reminiscence and the flashbacks reveal how memories are stored and repressed (Hayward, 1996).

Let us consider Bobedi's flashbacks and the links therein, as we gauge from a vantage point that is characteristic of Hirsch's (2004) 'posttraumatic flashbacks'. To begin with, the film opens with Bobedi's first flashback as a young boy who witnesses a massacre by the police during the apartheid era. In another scene, he joins the mob gathering outside and there is a long stare between him and Marumo, who is about to be necklaced. As the young Bobedi's heart beats faster, the scene cuts to the older Bobedi in Sandton. The second flashback occurs when Bobedi is with Strike, who advises Bobedi not to kill again. Bobedi keeps quiet and the long pause signals a forthcoming flashback. This flashback continues from the first one, where Marumo is about to be killed, and ends after Bobedi aggressively pours petrol on him. As he does this, there is an immediate cut to the present, where Bobedi is driving in his car, while wearing his red hat.

In the scene where Bobedi chases after OJ, they end up at Bobedi's mother's house, and Bobedi stops at the gate because of the shame of being seen with a gun by his mother. Hereafter, Bobedi turns back and comes across his brother and OJ's mother in the street, pleading with him not to hurt OJ. Her voice fades when speaking to Bobedi, which is another code that he is about to have a flashback. This time, the young Bobedi sets Marumo alight. Soon thereafter, the next shot is of a scenic view of the juxtaposition between Sandton (the suburban space) and Alexandra (the township space).

After listening to Boy-Boys' ultimatum, Bobedi decides to throw away the gun. He then sits in his car for a while, until OJ comes and forces him out of his car at gunpoint, and lures him to the same spot where he witnessed Bobedi kill his father. Just like OJ's father, Bobedi is forced to put a tyre round his neck, which is in many ways a cathartic experience for both of them. When Boy-Boy finally arrives, they all wrestle for the gun and Boy-Boy is shot.

Bobedi rushes his brother to the hospital and goes back to the spot, where he finds OJ kneeling down and crying. Bobedi then pulls out the gun, puts the tyre on OJ and immerses his body in petrol, just like he did with Marumo. He has another flashback as he is about to set OJ alight. In his final flashback, Bobedi sets Marumo alight and the crowd cheer him on and call him Terror, which is the name that OJ referred to him before shooting Joy. The flashback ends and Bobedi decides to walk away. While making his way to his mother's house, the sound in the background echoes. When he arrives at the house, there is silence between Bobedi and his mother. She then tells him he has killed his brother and walks into the house. Bobedi remains outside and is motionless for some time, as though time has stood still, and then he moves again as the film ends. At this point, it becomes clear that Bobedi had consciously forgotten the event that took place several years ago by suppressing the trauma and memory of killing Marumo when he was younger (see fig. 3).



Fig. 3: Picture courtesy of Matabane Filmworks.

Moreover, the killing of Marumo proves to be a traumatic experience in Bobedi's adult life, which is further exemplified in his flashbacks at different points throughout the film. There is also a clear link between the symbolisms of the red hat and Bobedi's flashbacks, wherein the hat becomes a recurring symbol of Bobedi's past. The significance of Bobedi's final flashback becomes a summation of the events leading up to OJ's attempt to kill him, which is in turn the premise of flashbacks, in that they are hermeneutically determined because of the way they provide a resolution to the enigma in the end; and they "…come to a 'natural' end when the past has either caught up with the present or has explained the present state of affairs" (Hayward, 1996: 123). Bobedi's final flashback is informed by an event that occurred several years ago when people who were believed to be spies and traitors were killed by their communities. The manner in which the past and present amalgamate through Bobedi's

character brings the audience into a glimpse of his past, which is influenced by the conditions of the history and politics in the country. This also suggests that engrossing oneself in an economically mobile life can never successfully and completely rid them of their pasts.

Bobedi's flashbacks are very important in the film, particularly because they help the audience to bring together the main concepts in the film's themes. Matabane also uses flashbacks to create suspense in the build-up to Bobedi's final flashback, which is a culmination of unresolved differences in his past. Likewise, Matabane uses flashbacks to incorporate modern technology in filmmaking, which is seen in the bridging of time and the construction of Bobedi's character. Following Hayward (1996), flashbacks embody moments in time and provide the viewer with codes that are visual and auditory. These codes also signify the beginning and ending of a flashback, which the viewer pieces together to make sense of the film's present context. What is significant about the timing of the flashbacks is that they are aesthetic and their purpose is for Bobedi to relive his past and recreate himself. These flashbacks also serve as an inward lens, through which a sense of order is restored.

3.3 Conclusion

In the light of the representations in *State of Violence* (2011), the chapter questions how Matabane's independence has influenced representations of the black image that may be similar or different to his other films; as well as the endeavour to introduce new cinematic aesthetics. In many ways, the film does not follow Hollywood or mainstream cinema's formula since it is not a classical narrative. While this is the case, Matabane has adopted some practices that are characteristic of mainstream cinema, but has stayed true to his content.

Through the use of township space, the language usage, the symbolisms of the red hat as well as memory and flashbacks, the chapter has attempted to look at the film's formal autonomy in the light of the representations of the black image. This can also be seen through minimalistic representations, wherein different elements are used in their stylistic representations. As such, the minimalism in the film, which is seen in the use of long shots and less glamour, is able to help Matabane achieve particular aesthetics, without necessarily subscribing to mainstream cinema.

State of Violence's (2011) independence from mainstream film has allowed Matabane to create a structure that is different from Hollywood. By following the sequence of disorder and order-restored, Matabane successfully breaks away from the dictates of mainstream film. While the title of the film remains ambiguous, it raises a lot of questions about the condition of violence in South Africa. Insofar as the township space is concerned, Matabane has shown the difficulties that come with the negotiation of space because the community of Alexandra does not recognise Bobedi as its member. However, the use of language, particularly *Tsotsitaal*, is one way that Bobedi attempts to be part of the in-group. Not only is this important for Bobedi to show that he is still part of Alexandra, but it helps him in finding his wife's killer.

In many ways, the red hat is linked to space, in that Bobedi only wears it in the township. This shows that there is a correlation between the spaces we occupy and the clothes we wear, which also has a lot to do with aspects of belonging. At another symbolic level, however, the hat is representative of blood, and it re-emphasises the prevalence of violence. Finally, the flashbacks serve different purposes that bring about change in Bobedi's life. These flashbacks allow Bobedi to reflect on and relive past experiences that were filled with a lot of violence. Over time, this brings Bobedi to the realisation that violence should not be the answer in times of conflict. Most importantly, this is an indication that it is possible to see black males who do not resort to violent acts, because Matabane shows that it is possible to see the image of a black male who does not fit into the stereotype of being violent.

CHAPTER 4

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE IMAGE OF BLACKNESS, OTHERNESS AND DOUBLE OTHERNESS IN *CONVERSATIONS ON A SUNDAY AFTERNOON* (2005)

4. Introduction

This chapter examines *Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon* (2005), in light of the film's form and representations of black identity. Herein, the address of the politics of representations forms part of a case study that shows how Matabane creatively played with filmic stylistics that bring out representations of the black images. Nduka Mntambo (2009) has done research on *Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon* (2005), with a focus on the city space, foreignness and issues of belonging. Though these are some of the issues I focus on in my own analysis of the film, I go on to further interrogate these aspects within broader debates about the Gaze and Otherness, thus contributing to film scholarship.

A focus on the film's form and representations of identity draws attention to the development of documentary and fiction film strategies in *Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon* (2005). Attention is also drawn on the stylistic use of the recorder, and the structuring of space in the film. The chapter also interrogates politics of representing blackness, Otherness and double Otherness in this film. It draws on the theoretical precepts of Third Cinema and the documentary. Furthermore, I interrogate how the film represents black identities and the identities of African and non-African foreigners who may not identify themselves as black.

Cognisant of the imposed Otherness on black identities within the dominant colonial and apartheid ideologies, I extend the metaphor of Otherness to non-black foreigners who are resident in South Africa. I find it important to consider the representation of foreigners in the film as they bring into perspective particular experiences that are evocative of power relations between themselves and black South Africans. How these power relations play out in the film will be made clear in the discussion on how the filmmaker interacts with foreigners in the streets of Hillbrow, Johannesburg[7]. These factors make *Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon*

[7] Hillbrow is a residential area in Johannesburg's inner city. With an influx of people from different nationalities, Hillbrow is overwhelmed by high levels of crime, poverty and unemployment.

(2005) a fascinating basis from which to explore how Matabane worked around issues affecting politics of black representation on film. The stylistic constructions in this film simultaneously draw from two filmic genres: fiction and documentary. The fictional aspect of the film's construction allows Matabane space to offer creative representations of blackness, while the documentary aspect foregrounds the archiving of South Africa's social, economic and political realities of black experiences in South Africa. The latter focalisations in this film speak directly to politics of film production. Keneiloe, who is the protagonist in the film, reads a novel in the park and starts acting out, thus portraying part of the fictional narrative. When he leaves the park, however, he goes into the documentary part of the film. This is done in such a way that the fiction introduces the documentary.

The chapter pays particular attention to how Matabane interprets the image of blackness through documentary and fictional filmic narratives. Blackness "can be, and has been, given multiple meanings, which vary with the interpreters, their motives for using the notion, and the social circumstances" (Shelby, 2005: 235); all of which serve as a constant reminder that "...blackness is an ideological construct…" (Shelby, 2005: 234) that helps to regulate one's sense of being and meaning in the society within which one exists. For Michelle Wright (2004) (citing Paul Gilroy) on the other hand, blackness is "…something produced by and in opposition to a Western discourse that locates the Black man as Other to the Western nation…" (Wright, 2004: 6). A cursory overview will also focus on the manner in which some representations and conceptions of blackness and Otherness are portrayed. It is therefore important to consider the role taken by Matabane in his projections of particular images. I examine Matabane's creative autonomy, and how it has impacted his use of the medium of the film's form and the way it cuts across fiction and documentary.

Matabane's treatment and representation of blackness in *Conversations* (2005) raises a number of issues, whose examination forms the focus of this chapter. The questions that arise focus on how the film portrays the various African and non-African nationals. These questions also focus on the manner in which Matabane constructs images that represent conditions of black identities and blackness. Also, how does Matabane through his stylistics help in challenging dominant apartheid constructions of blackness? Or does he get caught up in the very politics he has aimed to challenge in the first place? I raise questions that are particularly related to the stylistics used in the film: What are the implications of merging the two genres; as well as the stylistic constructions in the fictional and documentary elements?

Likewise, how have the film's stylistics been helpful in depicting the immigrants and in articulating their views? Lastly, to what extent do the chosen stylistics confine the immigrants' challenges within the realm of documentary as an archiving of experience that is inaccessible? These issues and others which include spatial, social, economic and political marginalization experienced by black people, as well as the difficulties of being liberated from such marginalization will form part of the discussion in this chapter.

As the key points of focus in the analysis, the chapter will discuss the manner in which the film aesthetically blurs the boundaries between fiction and documentary by focusing on the following themes: the theoretical interplay of fictional and documentary conventions in the film; the interrogation of the recorder as a stylistic device that preserves or effaces the foreign nationals' stories; and the assertion of power through space. These aspects will assist in highlighting several observations in the interrogation of the Gaze and Otherness.

4.1 Synopsis of *Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon* (2005)

The film explores the lives of migrants/immigrants/refugees in Johannesburg through a young writer, Keneiloe. Keneiloe's interaction with them is occasioned by his search for Fatima, a refugee Somali woman whom he encounters one Sunday afternoon in the park. Keneiloe is the protagonist in the film, and our first encounter with him is when he is seeking refuge in an inner Johannesburg city park, as he tries to find and place himself within the city space. As a writer, he endeavours to achieve this by making sense of the spaces he occupies within the city. He does this through the self-dramatized tale that he is writing, which takes an ethnographic approach, appropriating thematic directions from the novel *Links* (2003) by the Somali writer Nuruddin Farah.[8] The novel shows the conditions within which citizens of the Third World are marginalised on the basis of their social, racial, political, gendered and economic backgrounds. Keneiloe is a fictional character who at the same time occupies the non-fictional time and space of these foreign nationals, thereby helping to explain the blurred lines between the fictional and non-fictional elements. This gives an indication that *Conversations* (2005) is more of a documentary that uses fictional and non-fictional elements. Moreover, Keneiloe's search for Fatima takes him to another space, where he is

[8] Keneiloe is writing about the war in Somalia and he wants to include Fatima's story because she is experiencing the effects of being in a war-torn country and having to seek refuge in South Africa as a result.

deterred by encounters with immigrants/migrants/refugees in the streets. After some time, he begins to interview them about the events leading up to their immigration to South Africa, as well as their sense of place, identity and belonging as asylum seekers/refugees/immigrants/migrants in the country. In his interviews, Keneiloe carries a recorder and collects the foreign nationals' narratives.

While looking for Fatima, he also goes to the Lindela Repatriation Centre[9], where he is inundated by pleas made by immigrants and refugees, in an attempt to reach out to the world through the camera. At Lindela, the immigrants express that they are also Africans, not criminals, and that they are just like the officials who are detaining them. Seemingly, these interactions with Keneiloe afford the immigrants and refugees the opportunity to contribute personal encounters and experiences of displacement from across Africa and the world. Their experiences are characterised by displacement in a space that does not tolerate people who are not black and South African. Quite prophetically, the stories of displacement that are shared by the refugees and immigrants in *Conversations* (2005) are in many ways reflective of the incidents that took place in the 2008 so-called xenophobic attacks in South Africa. This depiction seems to have forecast the treatment of people who are not Africans from South Africa, non-Black Africans and non-Africans as outsiders who are treated as different and Other. Finally, Keneiloe finds Fatima, but she refuses to speak to him, particularly about her experience. The film ends with Keneiloe's flashback about the detained immigrants, singing "it's useless, it's useless, we'll be back", as a sign of protesting deportation and an emphasis on the on-going cycle of deportation and returning to South Africa.

4.2 Analysis of *Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon* (2005)

There are two levels of analysis, the first focuses on the interface between fictional and documentary conventions, as well as the aesthetic use of the recorder and space. Herein attention is on the interviews and on the critical cinematic components that include the film's aesthetics. This level of analysis also focuses on the representation of blackness and Otherness, and interrogates the manner in which blacks and other foreign nationals are represented. This will be achieved by examining the use of space and by looking at blackness

[9] The Lindela Repatriation Centre is a place in South Africa where illegal and undocumented migrants are detained prior to deporting them to their respective home countries.

and identity in relation to space. The second level of analysis pays close attention to concepts that are interpretive at a meta-critical level. This level of analysis is discursive and draws on the implications of the Gaze and concepts of Otherness, respectively.

As far as the Gaze is concerned, the following key questions are presented: how does the film represent blacks and others, and what observations can be made about those representations? Also, what other observations can be made about the question of the Gaze in relation to whether it is stressed as male, overbearing and therefore disempowering? Moreover, it is important to determine whether the Gaze is indeed reversed? The other pivotal question insofar as the Gaze is concerned is what all these other questions say about the filmmaker's autonomy, as well as the film's aesthetic autonomy? The last point of focus is the concept of Otherness, wherein various ways of Othering are interrogated through the central points of focus. Concepts of Otherness explore the way non-South Africans are treated as different and as outsiders. This is important in establishing the relationship between the Gaze and Otherness, wherein elements of Otherness are brought about through the camera framing.

4.2.1 Theoretical Interplay of Fictional and Documentary Conventions in Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon (2005)

John Grierson (1920) understands documentary to be a "creative treatment of actuality" (cited in Rabiger, 1997: 11). This alludes to documentary as an inherently constructed entity which deals with concrete facts. In turn, the suggested elements of 'creativity' generate an environment within which elements of actuality are themselves constructed and consequently compromised because they still need to fit into structures germane to film. Film scholars such as Alan Rosenthal (1990), Susan Hayward (1996), Joyce Hawkins (1996), Bill Nichols (2001), Stella Bruzzi (2006) and Michael Rabiger (1997), have since developed advanced conceptualisations of documentary and have propagated new definitions. Their conceptualizations bring forth nuanced approaches to the theory of documentary, as well as to documentary film as a cinematic genre.

At the most basic level, documentary is understood to be "a film giving an account of something, often real events" (Hawkins, 1996: 135). It remains "…a negotiation between reality on the one hand and image, interpretation and bias on the other" (Bruzzi, 2006: 6). Not

only that, "…documentaries are a negotiation between filmmaker and reality and, at heart, a performance" (Bruzzi, 2006: 186). According to Rosenthal (1990), a documentary usually has a strong social drive that informs, draws attention to awaken interest in order for some social or political problem to be fully understood and ameliorated. Notwithstanding some of the varied definitions of documentary, there is consensus on some of its basic tenets. This is especially with regard to documentary serving as an archive of a collective of issues that are meant to serve several purposes. These include enlightening the audience about particular conditions and experiences endured by the interviewees. Documentary films also:

> investigate, analyse, warn, indict, explore, observe, announce, report, explain, educate, promote, posit, advocate, celebrate, experiment, expound, propagandize, satirize, shock, protest, remember, revise, prophesy, chronicle, conclude, conserve, liberate, revolutionize (Rabiger, 2007: 14)

Furthermore, Rabiger (1997) proposes three central elements that set documentary apart from other nonfiction forms such as nature, science, travelogue, industrial, educational, social and even factually based promotional films. Firstly, documentary displays a range of human values because of its interest in the values and choices that people make and their subsequent consequences. Secondly, documentary is concerned with its role in raising the audience's level of awareness. Thirdly, it is important that documentary denotes social criticism.

In recent years, film critics and several film scholars, including Nichols (2001), have argued against conceptualisations of documentary as reality. Their work has shown that documentary is as much of a construct as fiction film and that documentary is more of a representation of reality than reality itself. What is meant is that "…just like any 'fiction' film, the documentary is *constructed* and may be seen not as a recording of 'reality', but as another kind of representation of 'reality'" (Wells, 1996: 169). To this, Nichols (2001) explicates two kinds of films in relation to how they encode reality. First is the fictional film which he refers to as "documentaries of wish-fulfilment" (Nichols, 2001: 1). These films satisfy our wishes and dreams and are normally known as fictions. The second is the non-fictional film, which he terms "documentaries of social representation" (Nichols, 2001: 1). The latter is typically known as non-fiction and attempts to encode accurate representation of the world we share. Further, "…a closer scrutiny reveals that both documentary and fictional film share many aspects of their means of representation of the perceived real world" (Derrick, 2012: 9). At

this point, it is important to stress the fact that "…even though fiction and non-fiction films conceive reality differently, any represented reality is a construct…" (Derrick, 2012: 12).

Inasmuch as documentary has good intentions and several advantages in using its subjects to carry particular messages across, it does not fall short of problems and challenges that affect its use as a cinematic device. Rosenthal (1990) proposes ethical concerns as some of the dominant challenges for the director of documentary. In turn "ethics becomes a measure of the ways in which negotiations about the nature of the relationship between filmmaker and subject have consequences for subjects and viewers alike" (Nichols, 2001: 9). This is why it is important for the interviewees to "know what is really going on, and what the possible implications and consequences are of being portrayed on the screen" (Rosenthal, 1990: 390). While most people are willing to speak to Keneiloe, a small group of women at the deportation centre seem to understand some of the consequences of being on camera and are not willing to speak to Keneiloe. Instead, they run into a room and cover their faces because they do not wish to be captured on camera. Responding in this manner could be influenced by the fact that these women are in a strange country and are therefore likely to be suspicious of Keneiloe and the camera. What we also see happening from this behaviour is that the women are in control of their own agency, and the filmmaker is not necessarily empowered at this point.

Following the theoretical discussion of fiction and documentary film genres, the remainder of the chapter will demonstrate the arguments raised through the recorder, the use of space, the Gaze and Otherness; and how these elements impact the problems of black representation.

4.2.2 The Recorder: Preserver or Effacer?

The reading of the recorder as a stylistic device forms a crucial part in the analysis. The aesthetics employed by Matabane and his use of the recorder as a stylistic device is important in interrogating it as a representational tool. To this, it is stressed that the recorder does not have a standard function for its use in and of itself, but that Matabane imposes the roles it will assume, thereby adding to its aesthetic value. The recorder also does this by archiving the immigrants' living voices and lived experiences, thereby creating a space for their stories to be referred to at any point. The benefits of archiving the immigrants' stories are that they are

able to share their life stories and multiple voices of different nationalities, with commonalities that echo similar experiences. Glynis Clacherty (2006) writes about *The Suitcase Stories*, which is a compilation of stories and experiences of refugee children in South Africa. These life stories are told through artwork on their suitcases, which is in many ways similar to the way the recorder is used in the conversations to store the life stories of the immigrants in the film.

The way in which Keneiloe interacts with his interviewees precipitates notions of Otherness and the immigrants are perceived and treated as outsiders, which becomes clearer when he speaks to the male detainees at the deportation centre. Of importance are the angles and composition of the shots when Keneiloe conducts his interviews which are mostly close-up shots. However, these filmic devices do not necessarily make him part of this particular black experience because he becomes removed from his interviewees. In the light of the informal nature of the interviews, Keneiloe often apologises to his interviewees because the background is too noisy, making the recorded data inaudible. As a result, he re-records parts of the conversations that are fragmented by the noise. On one hand, such incidences speak to the experimental undertones of the film. On the other hand, the re-recording is questionable, therefore suggesting that the noise allows Keneiloe to reconstruct the interview by excluding some details from the narratives. This is also directed to concerns of power dynamics that become apparent in the way the recorder preserves, while at the same time effacing the immigrants' life stories. It is also evident that the storing of voices that are without faces, and the re-recording of certain parts of interviews hints at Keneiloe's power over his interviewees. Moreover, the pain of the discourses of the marginalised is not shown, thereby emphasising the power that lies within people with access to the means of production. Therefore, while the recording is innovative and experimental to the identities and stories of the immigrants, it is also problematic to the extent that Keneiloe has the power to construct the interviews in a way that projects South Africa with a misplaced view of being an easily accessible haven for refugees. The perception of South Africa as an easily accessible space is substantiated by the detainees' song about coming back into the country, despite being deported, which makes it an arduous task for the officials to control the borders.

4.2.3 Conquering the City Space

The film setting is a crucial "part of the total concept of mise-en-scène" (Hayward, 1996: 313). As such, Matabane uses the park to launch the film, as well as the streets and some abandoned spaces, thereby distancing the film from a more controlled environment. The discussion of the limitations that prompted Matabane to do a documentary by walkabout suggests that the strategy fell on conversations with interviewees by adopting an approach that is more dialogue-driven. The result is that the audience is presented with life-like reality on the screen. Moreover, the film's strategy does not rely on arranging its composition in a manner that would be well put together, like in a studio or well-funded films. The result is that the film's verisimilitude is enhanced at the same time as it includes divergent and arguably unnecessary Gazes of passers-by. Furthermore, one should caution whether the limitations of shooting the images and the construction of the images is a blessing or a curse. This is why it is important to ask whether the lack of tidy images of the spatial grid that the camera captures is desirable in the narrational space of the film? The second question to ask is whether space serves the question of the representation? Thirdly, has the camera itself become conquered by the space it seeks to construct and control? This is particularly because of Matabane's inability to own the space he uses.

Prior to asking these questions, however, it is crucial first to look at space as an ordinary space, as this will bring more informed conceptualisation of the different ways that particular spaces have been used in the film. Insofar as the possession of space is concerned, the conquered space goes far beyond the narrational relationship between the camera and the space it occupies. This raises questions about the construction of space for particular ends in the film. This relationship is also concerned with the manner in which power is negotiated, especially between Keneiloe and his interviewees. Through the stylistic use of superimposition, focus should be drawn on the way Keneiloe places himself in relation to the other characters. This is in light of the power relations between Keneiloe and the spaces he occupies, as well as that between him and the other characters. Moreover, special attention should be drawn to narrational space in documentary and narration of the camera.

Whilst superimposition is the placing of an object over something else (Hawkins, 1996), simulation is the reproduction of the appearance or condition of something (Hawkins, 1996). In this instance, the relationship between these stylistic devices suggests that simulation

occurs as the result of superimposition. However, the use of simulation and superimposition affects the representation of the black body in the film. Herein Jean Baudrillard's treatise on simulation in *Simulacra and Simulation* (1994) is reflected upon to further explicate Matabane's stylistic choices, since Baudrillard's (1994) work and particular focus on the image raises interesting points of inquiry about the filmmakers' use of the image. Furthermore, I demonstrate the use of superimposition by looking at three examples.

Keneiloe serves as a construct that is representative of the 'real world' as envisaged by the audience. While this may be the case, "simulation threatens the difference between the "true" and the "false", the "real" and the "imaginary" (Baudrillard, 1994: 3). In the first example of superimposition, the third Sunday shows Keneiloe standing in the middle of the soccer field during a soccer game in the park, as he recites passages from Farah's (2003) novel in his mind (see figure 1).



Figure 1: Picture courtesy of Matabane Filmworks.

In the frame shown above, Keneiloe's image is superimposed against those of the players on the field; and the shot focuses on him as he remains stationary while the soccer game proceeds.

In the first example of superimposition where Keneiloe is in the park, Matabane's stylistic use of superimposition alongside that of simulation inadvertently re-emphasises the idea that Keneiloe uses space to exert power, and comes across as a figure of superiority and authority with access to all spaces. The relationship between space and power also suggests that the use of superimposition enables Keneiloe to assume more power over the interviewees. This is why the use and access to space becomes important for the immigrants, vis-à-vis the

contentions between space and power because they have to find ways of asserting, and often reasserting their sense of place and belonging. It is important to note that the occupants' symbolisms of the city bring other nuances about notions of belonging within the city space; therefore focus should also be drawn on the way the film addresses questions of belonging in this urban space. The stylistic device of superimposition also recurs in some of the interviews throughout the film, such as when interviewing the former soldier from the Democratic Republic of Congo (see figure 2).

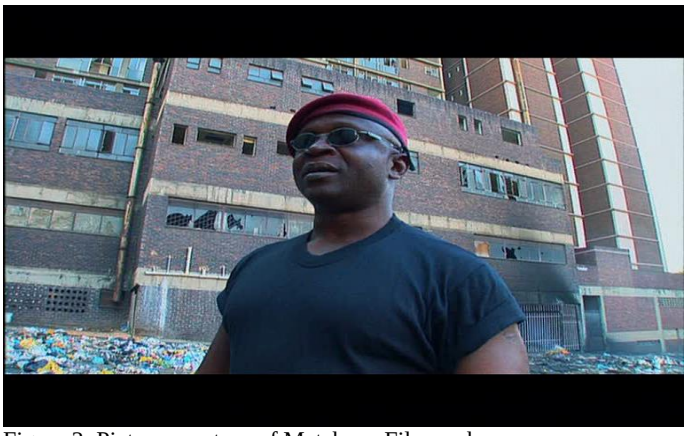


Figure 2: Picture courtesy of Matabane Filmworks.

Here, the former soldier relates his story about his time in Congo and how the wars led him to South Africa. However, his story seems to be falsified, and is told in a constructed space that seems to be as much of a construct as his story. This is because he is standing in front of a derelict building and he seems to be as big as the building, and his head goes up to the third floor of the building. This is a clear indication that superimposition has been used because there is no connection between him and the space he is in.

The film's portrayal of a particular kind of subjectivity in Johannesburg is equally important; wherein the post-apartheid era has also brought about the idea of the city as a cosmopolitan space. This shows that cities are pluralities that are also about searching personal identities, personal narratives; as well as the particular narrative in Keneiloe's journey. Cities are not made by their homogeneity, but by the idea that there are different people from different backgrounds who bring diversity to it; just like the migrants and refugees who are trying to find a sense of place within the city space. In addition, the city's diversity alludes to a bi-directional relationship between itself and its inhabitants, such that the city is responsible for

the formation of its inhabitants' diverse identities. In the same vein, the inhabitants are responsible for their own formation of the city's identities. This way each occupant brings with them their own meaning to the city, which depends on their sense of place within the city space. However, in order for them to do so, they have to be integrated in the community within which they exist, and within which their sense of place is confirmed. As a process of change that occurs in a plural society,

> integration is a phenomenon which unfolds stage by stage and progressively in order to make a durable change. The integration process can succeed only if African immigrants can freely express their cultural identity and interact with the cultures and people of their new society; in other words, cultural exchange is very important for the integration and identity of African immigrants and migrants (Kuzituka, 2007: 10)

The second example of the problematic use of superimposition has to do with the portrayal of refugees, other than black foreign African nationals. Matabane uses the technique of superimposition by repeating certain sequences when Keneiloe interviews the family from Palestine. In this sequence a Palestinian woman together with her youngest child are seen walking around so that the child does not disrupt the interview. The scene uses stylistic superimposition in a manner that creates the impression that the woman has been walking for a long period. In actual fact, the sequence is repeated, and the images are removed and reinserted at different points in the scene. This stylistic mode is used to cut on the time it would have actually taken Keneiloe to interview the family.

The third example has to do with the detainees' space at the Lindela Repatriation Centre, which is under constant surveillance from officials (see figure 3). Spatially, this kind of surveillance reinforces some restrictions the detainees are subjected to, which is similar to Michel Foucault's (1977) panoptic. The panoptic is a system where prisoners are under constant surveillance without seeing the guards; to the extent that they begin to police themselves in the way they behave. This is in the same way that the detainees at the deportation centre take the role of the police and monitor themselves; because they have come to understand the bounds of their space and the behaviour that is considered permissible.



Figure 3: Pictures courtesy of Matabane Filmworks.

A close-up shot is used to put emphasis on the men who are confined in the overcrowded cells. These men are shown peering through the bars, which speaks to the contained black male body. Such treatment of the black male body is characteristic of the demeaning manner in which black men were treated under apartheid rule. During this period, black men were confined in spaces that were regulated by the police. This was to the extent that the police monitored the time and space occupied by black male bodies. Again, the representation of the black male body is re-emphasised, especially in establishing black identities within particular spaces. Although the detainees at the deportation centre sing "it's useless, it's useless, we'll be back" as a sign of protesting deportation, there is an underlying and menacing meaning to it, such that they have established a sense of place in the city space, despite the space being contested by other individuals and constantly threatened by the officials. Matabane highlights the post-1994 racialised deportation system and how the deportation centre reinforces black male identities in a confined space.

4.3 The Assertion of Power through the Gaze

The Gaze is the second order of interpretation that has been considered to be a reflection of the negation of blackness. In addition to this historical fact in filmmaking practices, *Conversations* (2005) instils a particular male Gaze that privileges Keneiloe, thereby positioning him as a dominant character in the film. This is achieved in the way the camera shots put Keneiloe in a privileged position as the interviewer. While the analysis of the Gaze touches on the male Gaze as objectifying the female subject, a greater part of this discussion focuses more on Keneiloe's overbearing male Gaze that seems to objectify both the female and male interviewees. Such overbearing brings in elements of Otherness because of the particular way the camera looks at a person as what I would like to propose to be the "other

Other". The concept of the "other *Other*" has to do with the second type of Othering. Under such conditions, people who are marginalised as the minority group are perceived as the Other. Those who are seen as the Other (Africans) are further Othered by people in the same group (Keneiloe), who are more privileged and hold a higher position of power to the extent that they also treat the minority group in a more demeaning manner, as the "other *Other*" (African nationals from outside South Africa).

It is important to emphasize that the Gaze is linked to dynamics of power, as this will bring insight to the overbearing and objectification of black people by the camera. Further interrogation of the Gaze in the film explores the question of empowerment and disempowerment between Keneiloe and the foreign nationals. Equally important is the empowerment and disempowerment of the women in the film, and how it all speaks to the film's independence. The Gaze is also useful as a tool that locates the film within its closeness or distance to popular film practices that possibly objectify people.

The Gaze holds great significance because a great part of the film is informed by the position held by Matabane as a filmmaker. The Gaze is also helpful in deciphering the choice of shots used to emphasise particular points that Matabane wishes to put across. Seeing Matabane's use of the Gaze in this manner allows us to formulate a better understanding of the relationship between himself, the Gaze and Otherness.

In establishing the dynamics between the Gaze and Otherness, I address the relationship between Keneiloe and Fatima. I also draw on Keneiloe's Gaze of the immigrants/migrants/refugees in the subsequent section about Otherness. Ellapen (2006) pays particular attention to the import of 'the Gaze' of the Other, because 'the Gaze' influences the cinematic representation and construction of blackness. Also, special attention should be given to how the Gaze perpetuates certain stereotypes and notions of Otherness. The opening scenes show a sequence in the park where Keneiloe walks around until he finds Fatima. He then sits close to her but still maintains some distance, as he quietly observes her while she is writing (see figure 4). After some time, Fatima realises that there is someone nearby.



Figure 4: Picture courtesy of Matabane Filmworks.

Despite the fact that Fatima is seated high up, and facing down at Keneiloe, she cannot return his Gaze; and becomes objectified because of the way she is being looked at. What is also noteworthy is the manner in which Keneiloe looks at Fatima, which is reflective of the way cinema uses the Gaze, and the female characters fall on the Gaze of their male counterparts. Consequently, Fatima serves as the object of the male Gaze, which is considered to be dominant.

When Keneiloe stares at Fatima in the park she attempts to return the Gaze, but this is not enough to establish a position that portrays her as a dominant character, especially in relation to her interaction with Keneiloe because "…to own and activate the Gaze is to be in the 'masculine' position, that is to be dominant" (Hayward, 1996: 152). Furthermore, "…in most Mulvey-influenced criticism, characters' Gazes and glances establish the power relations that the camera's "look" will reinforce, qualify, or contradict" (Bordwell, 1989: 200). Other dynamics come into play between Keneiloe and Fatima, especially when considering that Fatima disappears from Keneiloe's Gaze. When he eventually finds her, she refuses to grant him an interview (see figure 5).



Figure 5: Picture courtesy of Matabane Filmworks.

While Fatima establishes her sense of power towards the end of the film, she assumes part of it by not adding her story to the recorder and by controlling her space. In light of this, we should also consider cultural differences that may not necessarily allow Fatima to interact with other males so freely in the public space. This shows the importance of establishing a sense of cultural familiarity, particularly when interacting with foreign nationals who have different cultural practices. Such differences further question the identities of womanhood and seek to understand whether Fatima is empowered or disempowered to speak to a stranger in a foreign country.

Seemingly, Fatima's disappearance in the earlier parts of the film allows Keneiloe to Gaze at a number of other female characters, who are more forthcoming with their personal testimonies. Conversely, Fatima and some of the women at the deportation centre refuse to be part of the overbearing male Gaze. Although Fatima is able to get her power back by refusing to be part of this Gaze, this is still not enough to return the Gaze because returning the Gaze has a lot to do with the assertion of power, which Fatima has not been able to achieve.

4.4 The Concept of Otherness

Matabane's interpretation of blackness suggests that there is an impact in the manner in which some representations and conceptions of Otherness are portrayed. In as far as Otherness is concerned; Third Cinema's focus on the emancipation of black people is largely motivated by the West's unjust treatment of marginalised groups. Such treatment has

disenfranchised scores of people socially, racially, politically, economically, as well as on the basis of their gender. Moreover, the West portrayed Africans as different and 'Other'; thus creating and perpetuating spaces of Otherness. Under such circumstances, "difference becomes the means by which a dominant group can assert its identity by exterminating, oppressing, marginalizing, or simply ignoring those it wishes to exclude" (Wright, 2004: 133).

The concept of the Other also highlights the manner in which black people are marginalised and how notions of difference are imposed onto them by white people. Insofar as Ngugi Wa Thiong'o's (2000) observations are concerned, however, it is particularly important for the African filmmaker to become conscious of the perspective from which their camera is held, as this informs the stance they undertake. Moreover, the position undertaken by Matabane as an outsider or insider has direct bearing on the perspective from which the audience view the film; where the Gaze of the Other, as postulated by Ellapen (2006), is emphasised in the position employed by Matabane. Essentially,

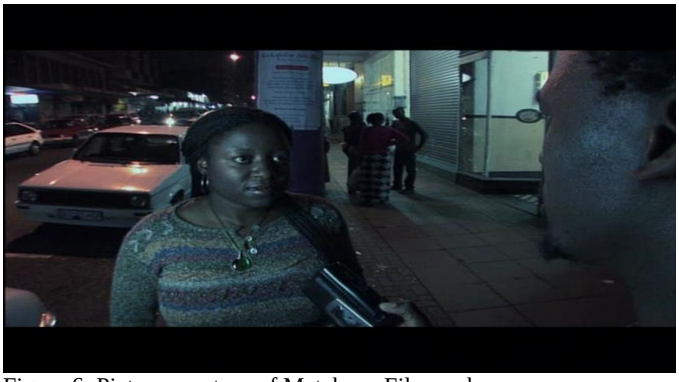
> the construction of images is a conscious choice by filmmakers in relation to the type of images they create…the political position a filmmaker assumes when constructing images or casting his Gaze upon his characters is an important aspect to consider. The position South African filmmakers assume when casting the eye of their cameras on South African subjects is an important one… (Ellapen, 2006: 113-114)

In emphasising the relationship between the Gaze and Otherness, however, I postulate that the manner in which the Gaze is used in *Conversations* (2005) leads to a chain of Othering that is interlinked in two ways. Firstly, Keneiloe is the Other as a black person in South Africa, who "others" the Other. This way, Matabane's representation of Keneiloe as the Other from within further reinforces Keneiloe's treatment of the immigrants and refugees as the "other *Other*". This comes about through his interactions with and search for Fatima as the black Other. As a result, Keneiloe's search for Fatima becomes the gateway into more nuanced perceptions and conceptualisations of Otherness in the film. At this juncture, it is important to be cognisant of the position employed by Matabane. As a filmmaker in Africa, and existing within one's studied society, it is important to ask oneself whether "…once you stand behind the camera pointed at Africa, do you stand there as an outsider watching the

other (i.e. an African filmmaker watching Africa from the outside) or do you do so as an insider?" (Wa Thiong'o, 2000: 94).

Secondly, the notion of the other *Other* posits that the immigrants in South Africa, irrespective of their race, ethnicity, background or country of origin, constitute the other *Other*, where notions of difference are more pronounced amongst them. These concepts allow the analysis to delve into the different types of identities in the film: the insider Africans in South Africa who constitute the Other; and the outsider Africans, non-Black Africans and non-Africans, all of whom constitute the other *Other*. Moreover, the marginalisation of immigrants in South Africa is occasioned by being primarily excluded on the basis of race, ethnicity, nationality, gender and religious affiliation (Kuzituka, 2007).

The manner in which Keneiloe uses space to exert power enables him to treat the interviewees as the other *Other*. Another instance of double Otherness occurs when Keneiloe meets two Kenyan women, one of whom likens him to being Somalian. Such labelling due to one's facial features brings about notions of stereotyping. This is problematic in itself because the women use phenotyping by likening Keneiloe to a particular nationality, based on what he looks like. Unfortunately, Othering each other as a form of black self-phenotyping on the screen impacts the way black people distinguish each other through facial features. This is particularly the case when Keneiloe randomly approaches people in the street, because they apparently look as though they are not South African. As such, this unofficial marker that is used to identify non-South Africans from South Africans questions one's own prejudiced and stereotypical markers of the characteristics used to determine when someone is not South African. Moreover, this point of inquiry seeks to establish the measures used by Keneiloe in identifying non-South Africans because the people he speaks to, including those who are not interviewed, happen to be non-South African. Seemingly, when he approaches the people he speaks to, he does this with a preconceived stance that they are refugees/migrants/immigrants. Another instance of these prejudiced markers surfaces when he interviews the woman from Uganda. In this interview, both make a joke about each other's dark complexion, and the woman intimates that although they are both dark-skinned, Keneiloe cannot possibly be Ugandan because he does not have distinguishable Ugandan features. The woman goes on to explain her sense of blackness to Keneiloe, who then asks if she feels South African (see figure 6).


Figure 6: Picture courtesy of Matabane Filmworks.

Woman: You know what, it's weird. When I was younger, I didn't miss home so much, right. I didn't miss Uganda so much because I grew up in South Africa. But in the last, say six years or something, when I have been going back a lot, when I'm not there - you know when you get that feeling that you miss it? It's either the smell of it or just hearing everybody speak what you speak, or the food, or like cheesy things like that, you know what I mean. As I've gotten older I've become more drawn to Uganda. I'm not saying that I don't love South Africa, I've just become more drawn to it, because I recognise why it is that I do certain things the way that I do and why I look the way that I do; because I look like people back home, in a sense. Do you know what I mean?

Keneiloe: You look like me.

Woman: No, I don't look like you!

Keneiloe: You do.

Woman: You wish I looked like you.

Keneiloe: You look like me.

Woman: No I don't. Just because we're both dark, don't get it twisted.

Keneiloe: Look at our smile.

Woman: No, I've got a nicer smile.

Keneiloe: We've got the same smile.

Woman: No we don't. Then I'll speak to my father and I'll find out what's going on.

Keneiloe: I need to speak to my dad because he used to go to Uganda.

Woman: Really?

Keneiloe: Yeah.

Woman: You're lying.

Keneiloe: I'm telling you.

Woman: What was he doing there?

Keneiloe: I don't know.

Woman: Was your dad part of the MK[10] or the ANC[11]?

Keneiloe: Yes, he was.

Woman: Because there were a lot of MK camps there; and it's weird – in Uganda for a while, you would bump into people who would speak Zulu. It was the funniest thing.

Keneiloe: Do you feel South African?

Woman: (a long pause) You see…

Keneiloe: Come now.

Woman: It's a very hard question to answer.

Keneiloe: Why?

[10] Mkhonto we Sizwe.
[11] African National Congress.

Woman: Because, I mean, I'm obviously South African, I've been here for like twenty-one years.
Keneiloe: So you do feel South African?
Woman: Not all the time. Not really. South Africa is the country that's given me opportunities; that's raised me up to be who I am. Do you know what I mean? And I've met amazing people here. It's the country that's allowed me to express myself the most, and it's the country that I've grown to love, but I think it's that whole thing of like, I don't know. I don't think I could be buried in South Africa. It's Leslie Nabunya Kasumba, I'm Ugandan, and it's something I must always remember. It's like; I can't forget who it is that I am. I never get that opportunity to forget, whether it's because I'm reminded by people; or when I look into my dad's face; or I speak to my sister; or I go to Uganda – I just never forget the fact that I am Ugandan. And that doesn't mean that I'm in any way not proud of being South African; because I am.

[*Cited from Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon (2005)]*

Despite having difficulty in answering, she reaffirms her black identity and sense of belonging through time, space and memory in the way she explains her sense of place to be firmly rooted in Uganda. Seemingly, one of the questions Keneiloe frequently asks the foreign nationals is whether South Africa feels like home to them. Although they give him different responses, the two most heartfelt are from the young woman from Ethiopia and Ronald from Trinidad, respectively. When asked if South Africa is home she maintains that "home is where you are from, where your family is from, where your identity is". For Ronald on the other hand, "home is a notion that has to do with where you feel that what you are doing matters… it is another way of belonging that does not have much to do with the old-fashioned idea of roots". Such difference in notions of belonging reiterate the idea that whilst the foreign occupants in Johannesburg establish a sense of place, they do so first by establishing their identity in relation to the space they are in, which Ronald and the Ethiopian woman have done. Though both have lived in various parts of the world, their experiences of the idea of home is different.

4.5 Conclusion

The focus of this chapter has been the representation of the image of blackness and double Otherness through an analysis of *Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon* (2005). The analysis of the recorder and space as stylistic devices shows how Matabane uses these devices to assert certain power relations between Keneiloe and the interviewees. These power relations hint at the notion of Otherness, wherein Keneiloe becomes distanced from his interviewees. While the use of the recorder addresses the experimental undertones in the film, it is not

without any shortfalls. This is in light of some incidences where it seems as though Keneiloe decided on the kind of information to be stored because of the re-recording of some parts in the interviews. This is such that the recorder becomes an element that preserves the voices of the immigrants, while at the same time effacing the faces behind those contained voices. Furthermore, there are some unnecessary Gazes of passers-by that fall into the camera, thus compromising tidy images and composition of shots in the film.

As a stylistic device, the superimposition of Keneiloe as a fictional character introduces other elements that question the way the film has represented the image of the black male body in particular. In this way, Matabane opens a door to very germane and interesting moments that bring in very strong elements to the analysis of the film. However, while there is a need to tell the immigrants' story, there is great concern with the aesthetic use of superimposition, which brings doubt to the stories told. In turn, the narrative brings doubt because there is lack of consistency in the connection between the story that is told and the space within which the interviews are held.

Granting that the stylistic use of superimposition and simulation is an effective way to circumvent some of the film costs, it ended up perpetuating notions of Othering the immigrants. What is also critical about space in this regard is the question of a conquered space. While the camera exerts power over the space it occupies, it is not always able to conquer the space it wishes to construct. This becomes very clear with the women hiding their faces at the deportation centre in their refusal to speak to Keneiloe, which is also the case when Fatima refuses to speak to him. In both incidences, the camera becomes conquered because the women have refused to be part of its Gaze. As the interviewer, however, the Gaze of the camera puts Keneiloe in a privileged position as an objectifying and overbearing male Gaze that perceives the migrants/immigrants/refugees as the other *Other*. This is to the extent that the film fails to transcend the Gaze.

While drawing attention on gender sensibilities, as well as issues of race and complexities of class structures, the film is cast against a backdrop of the ordinary lives and daily experiences of the inner-city's inhabitants. Furthermore, the immigrants/migrants/refugees' attempt to belong and define their identity brings about various subjectivities. These subjectivities provide fundamental insights in constructing images of African realities within the film's formulation of fiction and documentary. However, the aesthetic use of superimposition in

constructing images has failed to acknowledge the city and its plurality. On the other hand, the focus on representations of blackness; and the black image as the Other and the other *Other* is crucial in exploring the representations of black people in post-apartheid cinema, such that the chapter is guided by what Matabane was able to do with his representations of black and other foreign nationals' identities.

In the light of the two main areas of analysis, the concepts that are analytically critical and interpretive focus on the relationship between fictional and documentary elements, as well as the aesthetic use of the recorder and space in the film. The other main point of analysis is meta-critical and focuses on the Gaze and Otherness. These areas of analysis draw on the questions that are raised, which are used to arrive at the arguments and findings in the chapter. Furthermore, it is equally important to consider the reversal of the Gaze which is crucial in changing the image of blackness, in the ways that its use at an ideological level, can bring about new ways of looking at and perceiving that image. This is expounded by the Gaze's relation to Third Cinema in its attempts to liberate black people through cinematic representations that illuminate multiple black experiences embodied by black people.

CHAPTER 5

THE CLOSING SCENE

5. Conclusions

In this study, I have explored how black images or images of blackness are cinematically represented in post-1994 black-centred films. Though there are various interpretations of what constitutes black-centred films, my understanding is that these are films that are produced by a black filmmaker, whose content is focused on issues of blackness and is targeted at a black audience. However, these are not the only factors to consider when classifying a black-centred film, which is the case with films such as *Jim Comes to Jo'burg/African Jim* (1949), *Come Back, Africa* (1959), *uDeliwe* (1975) and *Mapantsula* (1987).

Historically in South Africa, the camera has been regulated by white people, whose understanding and interpretation of the black image was not favourable to black people. As the South African screens were filled with distorted and stereotyped images of blackness, the burgeoning of black filmmakers introduced new images of blackness that would be relatable to them. By foregrounding the condition of black-centred films in South Africa historically, I have been able to explore the development of black-centred films post-1994, and how Khalo Matabane has represented the black image in three modes of film – a television series; a feature film; and a film that is part fiction and part documentary. I have also focused on the manner in which Matabane's positioning of the camera interrogates representations of the black image for a post-apartheid audience. The key arguments raised in the research report have delved into the history of the South African film industry and the change that has occurred post-1994.

With a key focus on issues of identity, masculinity, femininity, space and Othering, the textual analysis of Matabane's films brings insight to various representations of blackness, through the qualitative approach I have undertaken. This is particularly because the films encompass three different genres respectively. Prior to the film analysis, however, I provide a summary of the history of the South African film industry from the 1940s - present. Moreover, the historical background of the South African film industry is helpful in tracing the current film culture. That being said, the current film landscape needs to be observed

with great scrutiny, as a way of determining whether elements of newness have been introduced, or whether older forms of filmmaking have been repackaged to suit and reflect the current film landscape of South Africa post-1994.

Through the myriad of images that have been presented by post-1994 black filmmakers, I interrogated the types of images they are constructing, and whether their Gaze is from an insider or outsider's perspective. Though the theory of Third Cinema originates from Latin America, its principles are used within the South African film context in order to gauge the lens from which Matabane casts his Gaze. I have also drawn on the manner in which Matabane has been able to appropriate the theory of Third Cinema into his own film practice. By doing so, I questioned Matabane's ability to internalise or challenge the concept of Othering, in the way particular representations of blackness are presented in each film.

The blurred boundaries between black masculinities and femininities in *When We Were Black* (2007) draw attention to the role of institutions such as the school, family, society and workplace, and how they facilitate shifting identities of multiple masculinities and femininities. The analysis of this film shows that there is a plurality of black masculinities that co-exist and are constantly shifting, which addresses the fluidity of masculinities and identity formation. After delving into Raewyn Connell's (1995) theory of masculinities, the concept of feminine masculinities and masculine femininities is discussed to further explore gendered issues in the film.

Connell's (1995) classification of masculinities is that there are two types of masculinities: hegemonic and non-hegemonic. Hegemonic masculinities are strong, assertive and dominate other masculinities. Non-hegemonic masculinities have sub-categories: subordinate, complicit and marginalised masculinities. In light of the characterisation in the film, I have added feminine masculinities and masculine femininities to the categorisation of non-hegemonic masculinities. The addition of these sub-categories as non-hegemonic is in light of the fact that they are both in the minority. This is because males who embody feminine masculinities are considered to be submissive and womanlike, while females who embody masculine femininities portray several masculine traits. Men who embody non-hegemonic masculinities are often the minority, whose sense of power is constantly negotiated. As such, the idea that there are feminine masculinities and masculine femininities shows that men and women can have similar personality and behavioural traits. This is evident in Fistos

and Nozipho's characters, which have shown that feminine and masculine traits are not fixed by gender.

In order to demonstrate this, the characters are grouped into three clusters of masculinities/femininities. The first cluster explores Fistos' feminine masculinity in relation to Casper and Fanga Man's masculinity. The second cluster pays particular attention to Fistos and his father's masculinities; while the third cluster focuses on Fistos' masculinity in relation to his mother and sister's femininities. In turn, the analysis of the characterisation in relation to masculinities and femininities shows the extent to which these traits overlap. Matabane's emphasis on the contentions between masculinities and femininities draws on different ways of seeing the masculine and feminine, and paves the way for presenting alternative images of blackness.

Focus on the formal autonomy of *State of Violence* (2011) in Chapter 3 draws attention to Matabane's non-dependence on mainstream film practices. Matabane does this by establishing his own aesthetics, narrative style and use of space. I have drawn on the cursory comparison between First Cinema and Third Cinema in order to question the film's stylistics in maintaining its formal autonomy. What is of particular interest in this chapter is the way Matabane has been able to stay true to his own film practice whilst using some elements of mainstream Hollywood cinema. Matabane's vigour in marrying Hollywood and alternative filmmaking, which are two major film practices, presents concerns about the representation of post-1994 black images and finding ways of being innovative in doing so. In light of this, I have considered Matabane's appropriation of mainstream filmmaking techniques in order to fit into alternative film sensibilities. Mainstream (Hollywood) films are typically in English and prescribe to confined structures of order/disorder/order-restored. Matabane's approach is very different in that he uses Tsotsitaal and formulates the film's structure on the premise of disorder and order-restored. On another level, Matabane's formulae show his adeptness to organise the film's formal autonomy and to remain independent of mainstream film strategies.

Juxtaposing the township and suburban area shows a backdrop of history, violence, memory and identity. This backdrop forms the analysis of the film, thereby focusing on the film's formal autonomy and central themes: the title of the film, the township space, the language

usage, symbolisms of the red hat and memory. The analysis of these themes gives an indication that Matabane's work is strongly focused on restoring the black male image.

Chapter 4 has addressed representations of the image of blackness, Otherness and double Otherness in *Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon* (2005). Matabane's stylistic use of two filmic genres has enabled the film to introduce different aesthetics in the film. The use of fiction brings imaginative representations of blackness, while the documentary aspect shows some of the realities experienced by African and non-African foreigners in South Africa. The key points of focus in the film have been the use of fiction and documentary, the stylistic use of the recorder, the use of space, the Gaze and Otherness. These key points are based on the contentious concerns of Otherness and foreignness in light of the immigrants/migrants/refugees' treatment by South Africans.

To a large extent, the relationship between Keneiloe and the foreigners has a lot to do with issues of power and powerlessness, wherein concepts of Othering and Otherness are exemplified. The challenges faced by the foreign nationals in accessing space is one way that has shown how the exertion of power over minority groups brings about a sense of entitlement by majority groups whose social, economic and political status are not compromised. Moreover, the exertion of power over the foreign nationals suggests that it is often misplaced, and Othering reinforces notions of power and powerlessness. Such contention has drawn particular attention to the film's portrayal of the various African and non-African nationals, as well as how Matabane has constructed images representing conditions of black identities and blackness. This is in light of Matabane's stylistics such as superimposition, which has proven to challenge orthodox constructions, particularly in the merging of fiction and documentary. While this may be the case, Matabane gets caught up in the politics that may perpetuate Othering foreign nationals, to the extent that double Othering occurs. In order to avert such challenges, new black-centred films need to pose the critical challenge for scholars as they are in the new period which brings in new challenges that black-centred films might be confronted by.

Bibliography

Andrew, D. (1984). *Concepts in Film Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Archer, N. P. (2005). *The Recent Development of South African Short Film-Making*. Wits University Press, Johannesburg.

Bakari, I. (2000). Introduction: African Cinema and the Emergent Africa. (pp3-24). **In** Givanni, J. (ed.). *Symbolic Narrative/African Cinema: Audiences, Theory and the Moving Image.* London: British Film Institute.

Barlet, O. (2000). *African Cinemas: Decolonizing the Gaze*. Zed Books Ltd: London & New York.

Baudrillard, J. (1994). *Simulacra and Simulation* (trans. S. Faria Glaser). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Bhana, D. (2005). Violence and the Gendered Negotiation of Masculinity Among Young Black School Boys in South Africa. **In** Ouzgange, L. & Morrell, R. (2005). *African Masculinities: Men in Africa from the Late Nineteenth Century to the Present*. University of KwaZulu Natal Press: KZN.

Bordwell, D. (1989). *Making Meaning: Inference and Rhetoric in the Interpretation of Cinema*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Botha, M. and van Aswegen, A. (1992). *Images of South Africa: The Rise of the Alternative Film.* Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.

Brown, C. A. (2003). A "Man" in the Village is a "Boy" in the Workplace: Colonial Racism, Worker Militance, and Igbo Notions of Masculinity in the Nigerian Coal Industry, 1930-1945 (pp156-174). **In** Lindsay, L. A. & Miescher, S. F. (2003). *Men and Masculinities in Modern Africa*. Heinemann, Portsmouth.

Bruzzi, S. (2006). *New Documentary*, 2nd ed. London & New York: Routledge.

Chabari, K. E. (2009). *There are Many Ways of Being A Boy: Barbara Kimenye's Imagination of Boyhood Masculinities in Selected Storybooks from The Moses Series*. Wits University: Johannesburg.

Clacherty, G. (2006). *The Suitcase Stories: Refugee Children Reclaim their Identities*. Cape Town: Double Storey Books – Juta & Co. Ltd.

Connell, R W. (1995). *Masculinities*. University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles, California.

Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Derrick, C. R. O. (2012). *The Zulu Mask: The Role of Creative Imagination in Documentary Film*. MA Dissertation. University of the Witwatersrand: Johannesburg.

Diawara, M. (1993). *Black American Cinema*. New York: Routledge.

Ellapen, J. A. (2006). *Locating Blackness: The 'Township Aesthetic' and Representations of Black Identity in Contemporary South African Cinema*. MA-Thesis. Wits University Press: Johannesburg.

Fanon, F. (1967). *Black Skin, White Masks*. Grove Press, Inc: New York.

Farah, N. (2003). *Links.* Cape Town: Kwela Books.

Fentress, J. and Wickham, C. (1992). *Social Memory*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* London: Allen Lane.

Gabriel, T. H. (1979). *Third Cinema In The Third World: The Aesthetics Of Liberation*. Umi Research Press: Michigan.

Glaser, C. (2000). *Bo-tsotsi: the youth gangs of Soweto, 1935-1976*. Heinemann: Portsmouth.

Hall, S. (1996). *Modernity: An Introduction To Modern Societies*. Blackwell: Cambridge.

— (1997). *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage Publications.

Harrow, K. W. (2007). *Postcolonial African Cinema: From Political Engagement to Postmodernism*. Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Hawkins, J. M. (1996). *The South African Oxford English Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hayward, S. (1996). *Key Concepts in Cinema Studies*. London & New York: Routledge.

Hodgkin, K. and Radstone, S. (2009). Introduction: Contested Pasts (pp1-21). **In** Hodgkin, K. and Radstone, S. (2009). *Memory, History, Nation*. New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers.

Khunou, G. (2006). *Maintenance and Changing Masculinities as Sources of Gender Conflict in Contemporary Johannesburg*. Wits University Press: Johannesburg.

Kuzituka, D. J. (2007). *National Identity and Immigration from Africa: Relationships between Black South Africans and African Immigrants in Yeoville, Johannesburg*. MA Dissertation. University of the Witwatersrand: Johannesburg.

Lindsay, L. A. & Miescher, S. F. (2003). Introduction (p1-29). **In** Miescher, S. F. & Lindsay, L. A. *Men and Masculinities in Modern Africa*. Heinemann: Portsmouth.

Lucas, J. C. (1995). *Space, Society and Culture: Housing and Local-level Politics in a Section of Alexandra Township, 1991-1992*. MA Dissertation. University of the Witwatersrand: Johannesburg.

Maingard, J. (1998). *Strategies of Representation In South African Anti-Apartheid Documentary Film And Video From 1976 To 1995*. Ph.D. Thesis. Wits University Press: Johannesburg.

— (2007). *South African National Cinema*. Routledge: London and New York.

— (2009). Love, Loss, Memory and Truth. **In** Peterson, B. and Suleman, R. (2009). *Zulu Love Letter: A Screenplay* (pp5-17). Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Makhudu, K. D. P. (1995). An Introduction to Flaaitaal. **In** Mesthrie, R. (Ed.). *Language and Social History: Studies in South African Sociolinguistics* (pp298-305). Claremont: David Phillip Publishers (Pty) Ltd

McCormick, K. (2009). Polarizing and Blending: Compatible Practices in a Bilingual Urban Community in Cape Town. **In** McLaughlin, F. (Ed.). *The Languages of Urban Africa* (pp191-209). London: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Mntambo, N. (2009). *If this be a City*. Thesis (MA). University of the Witwatersrand. Johannesburg.

Modisane, L. (2010). '*Suddenly The Film Scene Is Becoming Our Scene'! The Making And Public Lives Of Black-Centred Films In South Africa (1959-2001)*. Ph.D. Thesis. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

— (2013). *South Africa's Renegade Reels: The Making and Public Lives of Black-Centered Films*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Molamu, L. (2003). *Tsotsi-taal: a dictionary of the language of Sophiatown*. Pretoria: Unisa Press.

Morrell, R. (2001). The Times of Change: Men and Masculinity in South Africa. **In** Morrell, R. *Changing Men in Southern Africa*. London: Zed Books.

Mulvey, L. (1986). Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema (1975) (pp198-209). **In** Rosen, P. *Narrative, Apparatus, Ideology*. Columbia University Press: New York.

Nichols, B. (2001). *Introduction to Documentary*. Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Ntshangase, D. K. (1995). Indaba yami-i straight: language and language practices in Soweto. **In** Mesthrie, R. (Ed.). *Language and Social History: Studies in South African Sociolinguistics* (pp291-297). Claremont: David Phillip Publishers (Pty) Ltd.

Passerini, L. (2009). Memories Between Silence and Oblivion (pp238-254). **In** Hodgkin, K. and Radstone, S. (2009). *Memory, History, Nation*. New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers.

Pfaff, (2004). *Focus on African Films*. Indiana University Press: Bloomington.

Rabiger, M. (1997). *Directing the Documentary*, (5th ed.). New York & London: Focal Press.

Rosenthal, A. (1990). *Writing, Directing, and Producing Documentary Films and Videos,* (4th ed.). Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Saks, L (2003). The Race for Representation: New Viewsites for Change in South African Cinema. **In** Balseiro, I and Masilela, N. (ed). *To Change Reels: Film and Culture in South Africa*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Shelby, T. (2005). *We Who Are Dark: The philosophical Foundations of Black Solidarity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Smith, D. M. (1990). *Update: Apartheid in South Africa*, 3rd Ed. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Solanas, F. and Getino, O. (2000). Towards A Third Cinema (pp265-286). **In** (Ed.) Stam R., and Miller T., *Film and Theory: An Anthology*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Taulbert, C. (1989). *Once Upon a Time When We Were Colored*. Penguin Books: New Jersey.

Tomaselli, K. G. (1989). *The Cinema Of Apartheid: Race and Class In South African Film*. London & New York: Routledge.

— (2006). *Encountering Modernity: Twentieth Century South African Cinemas*. UNISA Press: Rozenburg.

Wa Thiong'o, N. (2000). Is the Decolonisation of the Mind a Prerequisite for the Independence of Thought and the Creative Practice of African Cinema? (pp93-96). **In** Givanni, J. (ed.*). Symbolic Narrative/African Cinema: Audiences, Theory and the Moving Image*. London: British Film Institute.

Wells, P. (1996). The Documentary Form: Personal and Social 'Realities', (pp167-191). **In** Nelmes, J. (1996). *An Introduction to Film Studies*. London: Routledge.

Wright, M. M. (2004). *Becoming Black: Creating Identity in the African Diaspora*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Zegeye, A. (2003). A Matter of Colour, (pp85-110). In Zegeye, A. and Harris, R. L. (ed.), (2003). International Studies in Sociology and Social Anthropology. Brill: Boston.

Journals

Botha, M. P. (2003). Current film policy in South Africa: the establishment of the National Film and Video Foundation of South Africa and its role in the development of a post-apartheid film industry. **In** *Communicatio: South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research*, 29:1-2, 182-198. London: Routledge.

Crous, M. (2007). On Men and Masculinity in Phaswane Mpe's *Welcome to Our Hillbrow* and K. Sello Duiker's *The Quiet Violence of Dreams*. **In** *Journal of Literary Studies*, 23:1, 16-40.

Maingard, J. (1994). New South African Cinema: Mapantsula and Sarafina. **In** *Arts and Humanities – Screen*, 35:3, 235-243.

Mtuze, P. T. (1994). Tasks and challenges facing the indigenous literatures in South Africa. **In** *South African Journal Languages*. 14, 3, 128-132.

Paechter, C. F. (2006). Masculine femininities/feminine masculinities: power, identities and gender (pp. 253-263). **In** *Gender and Education* (18) 3, Goldsmiths Research Online, University of London.

Paleker, G. (2010). *The B-Scheme subsidy and the 'black film industry' in apartheid South Africa, 1972–1990*. **In** *Journal of African Cultural Studies*. 22:1, 91-104.

— (2011). 'Ethnic Films' for Ethnic Homelands: 'Black Films' and Separate Development in Apartheid South Africa, 1972–1979. **In** S*outh African Historical Journal*, 63:1, 127-147.

Prinsloo, J. (1996). South African films in flux: Thoughts on changes in the politics of identity in recent film productions. **In** Hauptfleisch, T. and Steadman, I. *South African Theatre Journal: Special Issue – South African Film and Television*, 10:2, 31-50.

Tomaselli, K., Williams, A., Steenveld, L., Tomaselli, R. (1986). Myth, Race and Power: South Africans Imaged on Film and TV. **In** *Critical Studies in African Anthropology* (1). Belville: Anthropos Publishers.

Filmography

Chikin Biznis…The Whole Story! (1999, SA). Wa Luruli N.

Christmas with Granny (2000, SA). Phakathi D.

Come Back, Africa (1959, US). Rogosin L.

Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon (2005, SA). Matabane K.

God is African (2003, SA). Omotoso A.

Jim Comes to Jo'burg/African Jim (1949, SA). Swanson D.

Man on Ground (2011, SA). Omotoso A.

Mapantsula (1988, SA). Schmitz O.

Once Upon A Time When We Were Colored (1996, USA). Taulbert C.

Place of Weeping (1986, SA). Roodt D.

Sarafina (1992, SA). Roodt D.

State of Violence (2011, SA). Matabane K.

The Birth of a Nation (1915, US). Griffith D. W.

Tsotsi (2005, UK, SA). Hood G.

uDeliwe (1975, SA). Sabela S.

Waiting for Valdez (2002, SA). Phakathi D.

When We Were Black (TV Series) (2007, SA). Matabane K.

White Wedding (2009, SA). Turner J.

Yizo Yizo (TV Series) (2001, SA). Mahlatsi T., Berk B.

Zulu (1964, US). Endfield C.