



**TITLE:** Blackening the silver screen: A cinema of Black  
Consciousness in South Africa?

**Masters of Arts Research**

**Submitted by**

**Kealeboga Aiseng (671253)**

**Submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand,  
in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts**

**University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2017**

**Supervisor: Dr. Haseenah Ebrahim**

**Declaration:**

This dissertation is my original work except as indicated in the references and acknowledgements. This work has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

.....

Kealeboga Aiseng.

Signed at.....

On the..... Day of.....2017

## **Dedication**

To my son, Abdul al-Hasan Lesedi and my beautiful girlfriend, Keletso Maine, this one is yours, I dedicate it you. Mookodi wa pula o beelediwa 'ntlheng tsotlhe, mmatlakhomo kodumela, o etse mhata sediba.

## **Acknowledgement**

To my mother, Oarabile Aiseng, who has always been with me from the day I was born until this day, I thank you for your support, encouragement and understanding even though until this day you have no idea what I am studying (laughing). Ke go lebogile Molehe wa khiba ya ga Mmaditlhong, o e tswere kha mogatleng jaaka mosadi wa mmolaya tlhware banna ba entshaba. Tshwara ka thata mme motsadi e se re goutlwa sebedu wa kgaoga, morupotso o tla o bona ka lengwe la matsatsi, leeto e sa le le leelee mo go nna.

My supervisor, Dr. Haseenah Ebrahim, I lack the greatest gratitude to thank you enough for the enormous work you have done on me. Montsamaisa bosigo ke mo leboga bosele. Ompontshitse gore Mmualebe o a bo a bua la gagwe gore monalentle a le tswe. O dirile tiro e masisi mo go maswe thata mo gonna, ke tla be ke se fa ke teng fa, ga e ka bo e se ka matsogo a gago. Ga nkabe ke kgona nka be go boka. Ke go lebogile Profisori, titshere-nthute-ke-tshwane-le-wena.

To everyone else who supported me in this journey, keep doing exactly that. Your reward will be indeed great. Ke lo lebogile bagaetsho, tau disenang seboka di siwa ke none e tlhota, fiding go tshwaranwa ka dikobo, ke lebogela tshegetso ya lona, lontemositse gore metse go sha e mabapi. A badimo ba lo robaletse ditlhokwa.

## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

|                                                                   |           |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Title Page.....                                                   | 1         |
| Plagiarism Declaration.....                                       | 2         |
| Dedication.....                                                   | 3         |
| Acknowledgement.....                                              | 4         |
| Table of Contents.....                                            | 5         |
| <b>Chapter One: Background, Aims, Rationale.....</b>              | <b>7</b>  |
| Background of Study.....                                          | 7         |
| History of a South African cinema.....                            | 12        |
| Post-apartheid cinema.....                                        | 15        |
| Research Aims.....                                                | 23        |
| Research Questions.....                                           | 24        |
| Rationale.....                                                    | 25        |
| Terminology.....                                                  | 27        |
| <b>Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Concepts.....</b> | <b>30</b> |
| Literature Review.....                                            | 30        |
| Black Consciousness Philosophy.....                               | 30        |
| Afrocentrism.....                                                 | 32        |
| African Renaissance.....                                          | 33        |
| African Cinema (s).....                                           | 35        |
| Post-apartheid South African Cinema.....                          | 37        |
| Theoretical Concepts.....                                         | 41        |
| A Cinema of Black Consciousness: Critical Framework.....          | 45        |
| <b>Chapter 3: <i>Life, Above All</i>.....</b>                     | <b>52</b> |
| Africanism and Black Pride.....                                   | 53        |
| Self-Realization and Self-Sufficiency.....                        | 57        |
| <b>Chapter 4: <i>Elelwani</i>.....</b>                            | <b>63</b> |
| Self-Realization.....                                             | 63        |
| Self-Sufficiency.....                                             | 69        |

|                                   |           |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|
| Africanism and Black Pride.....   | 73        |
| <b>Chapter 5: Conclusion.....</b> | <b>76</b> |
| <b>Bibliography.....</b>          | <b>83</b> |
| <b>Filmography.....</b>           | <b>91</b> |

## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

### **1. Background of study**

The year 1994 became one of the most important years in the history of South Africa. The country held its first democratic elections after 46 years of Afrikaner imperialism under the National Party, the apartheid-government ruling party which governed the country from 1948. The new government, under the African National Congress (ANC), came with political, economic and social transformation policies and a constitution that made South Africa one of the most respected democratic countries in the world. These transformations supposedly resulted in a number of positive developments in various sectors in the country. A positive development emerged from the early 1990s in the South African film industry, the government saw cinema as one of the institutions to forge social cohesion in the processes of democratization and development (Botha, 2005). Post-apartheid cinema gave birth to filmmakers such as Khalo Matabane with his films such as *Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon* (2005) *State of Violence* (2010) and documentaries such as *Story of a Beautiful Country* (2005) and *Nelson Mandela: The Myth and Me* (2014), as well as television series, *Imagine Afrika* (2007). There is also Rehad Desai with his documentaries, *Born into Struggle* (2004), *Miners Shot Down* (2014) and *The Giant is Falling* (2016), Oliver Hermanus with his films, *Shirley Adams* (2009) and *Skoonheid* (2011). There are also female filmmakers that have used their craft to speak back to the black struggle of post-apartheid. They include Xoliswa Sithole and Renee Rosen, *Shouting Silent* (2002), and Palesa Letlake, *Mamlambo* (1997). These filmmakers have explored socio-political themes of post-apartheid South Africa. However, despite a number of filmmakers using their craft to represent the socio-economic instabilities that many black people find themselves subjected to, more still needs to be done. The country's industry is still struggling with problems such as establishing and developing the local audiences for its products, domination of international films in both cinemas and television, insufficient film-funding development and international film standards still dominate the local film practice. Above all these challenges, the interesting one that this paper traces is that there is no framework of studying post-apartheid South African films on the basis of whether it features stories that reflect the everyday lives of black people, not only the struggles they are going through but also the achievements they make.

I begin this study by exploring possible factors that could be contributing to the problems faced by post-apartheid cinema, such as the apartheid regime film policies, insufficient funding for local films and dominance of international films in local cinemas. The apartheid legacy gave birth to a segregated film industry, which served white audiences only and gave little, if any access to black audiences. For example, it was only from the 1920s to the 1940s that cinema started to arrive in the urban black communities (Peterson, 2003). Maingard (2007) asserts that from the 1950s to the 1960s the government introduced the subsidy schemes which were initially meant to promote Afrikaans films. In the 1970s, the subsidy scheme started to fund black films, even though white directors were at the forefront of making this films (*African Jim*, 1949 by Donald Swanson, *Dingaka*, 1965 by Jamie Uys, *Inkunzi*, 1976 by Sam Williams). Some were made by black filmmakers such Simon Sabela (*uDeliwe*, 1975, *The Advocate*, 1978). These films were only meant to escalate the racial

division of the country. Hence, more than 40 years ago, Thelma Gutsche (1972) predicted South Africa cannot have a “national cinema” because of the history of apartheid. A historical influence of a South African cinema dominated by white oppression, white supremacy, and white nationalism has had a great impact on the lack of a national cinema in South Africa (Masilela, 2000).

In this study, I propose and argue for what I have termed a “cinema of Black Consciousness”. This is an analytical framework of analysing the extent to which post-apartheid cinema features ideas and themes from Black Consciousness. The framework will, among other things, analyse the structural censorship - subtle exclusionary strategies – that continue to deny the representation of issues pertaining to blackness as well as black stories that seek to experiment with storytelling techniques in post-apartheid cinema. The framework is not a manifesto for what filmmakers ought to do to represent blackness in cinema, or how they must represent blackness, but rather a framework that film scholars can consider using for analysing and studying the role of post-apartheid cinema in representing issues of black sensibility in post-apartheid South Africa. Applying the critical framework will help scholars and critics to elicit valuable insights about (a) which films engage with black issues and (b) in what ways they draw from what I have termed black sensibility. Black sensibility will include, but not limited to, the socio-political as well as economic challenges that facing black people in South Africa, examples will include: unemployment, lack of social services from the government, illegal drug operations in townships and even villages, corruption from government officials, white monopoly capital, the failure of the government to transform the economic sectors from white domination to black people after 23 years of democracy. Black sensibility includes does not only refer to downfalls facing by black people but also the achievements that black people. It also extends to ways in which black people have used long-established African principles such as Ubuntu and communalism. This will feature a lot in the analysis of *Life, Above all* by Oliver Schmitz (2010). This is the reason the title of the paper is in question form. It is interesting to find out whether we can use this framework to study black centred films based on the above argument.

With the above said, this dissertation proposes (a) a critical framework for what I call a cinema of a Black Consciousness in South Africa to study what filmmakers have done to represent and address black issues in South Africa and what film funding institutions had done to promote films that address black issues, (b) an analysis of two post-apartheid films using this framework. These are *Life, Above All* and *Elelwani* (2012) by Ntshaveni Wa Luruli. Both these films are chosen because all characteristics of a cinema of Black Consciousness can be used to study them, they both have female characters in central roles and they deal with issues celebrating and challenging issues affecting black people. I have fashioned this critical framework from the philosophies and ideologies of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). Tuner (cited in Alexander, Gibson, and Mngxitama, 2008) explains that Steve Biko defined Black Consciousness (BC) as the cultural and political revival of the oppressed people. BC was an attitude of the mind and way of life. One of the core principles of BC was to enable blacks to fight defeatism, develop hope and rebuild their humanity (Woods, 1987). Drawing on this literature, I offer a cinema of Black Consciousness. Such a framework draws on several concepts shared by the literature and philosophies of black political and cultural movements, including Africanism, Black Pride, Self-realization and Self-sufficiency to analyse black-centred films.

A historical influence of South African cinema dominated by white oppression, white supremacy, and white nationalism has had a great impact on the lack of a national cinema in South Africa (Masilela, 2000). This has resulted in problems such as insufficient funding and lack of local audiences for local films. Such a catastrophe dates back to the role that the government played in using cinema as a propaganda tool during the apartheid era. Ever since that time international films have managed to get access to the local audiences because of their qualities, and the technical value that audiences saw in them. The result of this has been local films aspiring to imitate aesthetics of international films, both in form and content. The problem with this is that we start to see no relationship and/or connection between the local audiences and the local films. Local audiences cannot relate to most local films because they are always expecting them to meet the technical standards of international films.

In finding a possible solution to the above-mentioned concerns, I will consider what is necessary in analysing Western domination in the local cinema, which ultimately hinders the implementation of a distinctive South African film culture. And this is where a cinema of Black Consciousness comes in. We need to study, for example, whether South African cinema, particularly, post-apartheid cinema, has established its own breakage of white supremacy over local film production through re-acquiring the process of “consciousness of precedence”. This implies existing in a particular culture and ultimately acquiring the characteristics of that culture and end up rejecting yours. This ideology came through the intellectual and cultural heritage of the New African Movement (Masilela, 2000). The New African Movement was a field of African philosophy that wanted the African continent to denounce and reject Europeanism, white hegemony and white domination (Masilela, 2000). A cinema of Black Consciousness examines whether a South African cinema has started this rejection in order to exist as an independent institution outside the borders of the West. The reason for this is that due to colonialism and globalization, the West has managed to spread its cultures and practices throughout the world and this has had tremendous consequences for some parts of the world, especially the Global South. The Global South has thus been denied an opportunity to exist on their own terms, terms not defined by the West. Hence, in the context of this paper, there is a link between The New African Movement and Black Consciousness Movement. Both movements focus on rejecting white hegemony, white supremacy, and Europeanism.

Some of the critical scholars of The New African Movement included the likes of Tiyo Soga, Pixley ka Isaka Seme and Ezekiel Mphahlele. It was Pixley ka Isaka who invented the idea and concept of New African Movement (Masilela, 2013). The movement consisted of writers, political and religious leaders, artists, teachers and scientists who referred to themselves as New Africans, specifically New African intellectuals. All these intellectuals had a solemn purpose in mind, formulating and creating political and cultural practices. Unlike the BCM which saw itself as a political practice interested in emancipating the black people, the New African Movement saw itself as an intellectual and cultural expression movement, but with the same intention of black emancipation (Masilela, 2013).

Media culture in South Africa coupled with a growing community of filmmakers no longer confined by race still has serious questions to answer: “what is the responsibility of the filmmakers to history, to a nation and to individual artistic calling? Is there a national cinema or even a desire for one? Do the dictates of global market force such questions to moot?” (McCluskey, 2009:2). In addition, McCluskey (2009:13) stresses that “filmmakers must be diligent about telling stories though sizable segments of their fellow citizens are turning a deaf ear”. It is important to understand how filmmakers deal with the past and understand audiences’ reaction to films about our historical legacy as McCluskey argues. From this argument the question that this study will propose concerns how post-apartheid cinema has addressed the issue of the past and history in an era where discourses on “forgiveness”, “moving on” and “rainbow nation” are so prevalent. In relation to a cinema of Black Consciousness, McCluskey’s argument links to films such as *Zulu Love Letter* (2004, Ramadan Suleman). This film received condemnation over its critique for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) as a project that failed black South Africans in terms of dealing with the atrocities of apartheid. The TRC was a court-like body created in South Africa after the end of apartheid. The hearings were created as a platform for anyone that felt that they had been a victim of violence during the apartheid. Perpetrators of violence could also give testimony and ask for amnesty from prosecution. In relation to *Zulu Love Letter*, Jacqueline Maingard (2009:1) states that

*Zulu Love Letter* is an extraordinary film for a number of reasons. It creates a local narrative with national resonances; centralizing women and their experiences; engages an African aesthetics rooted in an African spirituality while sustaining an identifiable contemporary look and feel...it strives to expose truth and reveal the impossibility of ever fully knowing it. Yet, there have been terrible abuses towards humanity exacted under apartheid that the film is in a position to visualise on behalf of those who survived them. *Zulu Love Letter* has bravely created a new cinematic space for representing historical truths.

*Zulu Love Letter* was able to introduce new cinematic practices that accommodate African stories is exactly what a cinema of Black Consciousness seeks to study. Suleman creatively and subtly incorporates themes of the past and moving on and the psychological shackles of the apartheid era into the story, all the while still going against established Hollywood storytelling techniques. At the level of content, Suleman manages to develop a story that is relevant and identifiable to the South African audiences, and still manage to hold their attentions through new forms. A cinema of Black Consciousness seeks to study, among other things, the responsibilities that filmmakers take to develop a distinctive South African cinema, to tell South African stories in ways that will be appealing and relevant to their target audiences as it is the case with *Zulu Love Letter*.

The discourse of the “rainbow nation” – an inclusive human community as proliferated by Desmond Tutu (a South African social rights activist and a retired Anglican bishop) after the fall of apartheid - is crucial to the context of this paper. I seek to study whether the rainbow nation is advancing, or rather contributing to, the slow-motion of post-apartheid cinema with its rhetoric of “forgiveness” and “nation building”. Kgafela oa Magogodi (interview with McCluskey, 2009:98-99) highlights that “when you look into the arts, the voices that are

promoted are those that buy into this paradigm of a rainbow nation...if your art has rough edges to it or...operates outside of special containers, there is a problem". In this paper I analyse whether the concepts of rainbow nation and rainbowism as Gqola (2001) uses it - the silencing of dissenting voices in the state of the nation – police voices with strong messages to tell, or be rejected as they do not add to the principles of the “rainbow nation”, the most famous descriptor of the new South Africa. In post-apartheid cinema there is a clear correlation between BC, cinema and the principles of rainbowism. This is because as Gqola (2001) argues, this rainbowism silences dissenting voices for the sake of a nation building, it polices these voices. And this is not what BC stood for, it stood for defeating white supremacy so that blackness can no longer be viewed as inferior. But in post-apartheid society, voices that are not satisfied with how blackness is still marginalised do not matter. This is where the framework that this paper proposes comes in, analysing the extent to which cinema is going against this form of oppression and embracing BC as one of the core pillars that should continue to define and guide black people in South Africa.

From the arguments made by Magogodi and Gqola, this paper also investigates the extent to which rainbowism has manifested itself to post-apartheid cinema, whether it controls cinema through structural censorship using institutions such as National Film and Video Foundation (NFVF) and Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) as I will argue later. Richard Burt (cited in Cohen, 2001) explains structural censorship as censorship that is subtle, systemic with discursive processes that shape the boundaries of what can be said. Structural censorship in cinema extends, but is not limited to, funding mechanism, storytelling techniques and cinematic techniques to be deployed when making a film. As a result, rainbowism compels filmmakers to comply with the rainbow nation principles; this is one of the issues a cinema of Black Consciousness seeks to probe. A cinema of Black Consciousness aims to analyse whether post-apartheid cinema rejects or allows issues of rainbowism by allowing filmmakers an opportunity to freely represent post-apartheid issues without fear or favour. In a democratic space that the South African constitution provides for, no artist should be controlled, in terms of what their art says and/or does.

One of the problems facing South African cinema, as stated earlier, is that international films dominate local screens (Oberholzer, 2006). On the other hand, South Africa prides itself on cultural and ethnic diversity. Therefore we must ask ourselves if, it is not the time to consider using this diversity to compete with this international dominance. Should South African filmmakers not consider locating their stories within this diversity and tell stories that reflect the demographics of the country? These questions are crucial points that will buttress my analysis of the effectiveness that the indigenous and other local cultural aspects of South Africa can add to the local film industry in competing against the industry that is predominantly modelled on templates of international filmmaking. *Elelwani* is one example that follows this tradition. This is where Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) features, the movement intended to liberate the black people from white supremacy which denied them, among other things, their identity and sense of belonging. The framework I propose, informs scholars to study the power of cinema in reinstating the lost identity of black people. I will cement this analysis by looking at funding institutions such as the NFVF and DTI and their roles in advancing local cultural aspects in South African films. I have used scholars such as Treffry-Goatley (2010), Botha (2012) and Saks (2012) to discuss the neo-liberal economic

model of the NFVF and DTI and how it has benefited or failed the South Africa film industry.

The term “blackness” forms the central pillar of this dissertation. However, I do not use “blackness” to refer to “Non-Europeans” as it was the case of apartheid, carrying the colonial connotations: backwardness, savage and vile. Unlike the use of Blackness (with capital B) which specifically refers to black in terms of skin colour, I define “blackness” (with small ‘b’) in political terms, which means, anyone who was politically, economically and socially oppressed by slavery, colonialism, and apartheid and who embraced blackness as a strategy of solidarity to defeat the colonial connotations of blackness. In this case, blackness in the South African context includes Blacks, Indians, and Coloureds. In the African-American context, according to Lott (1991), when defining black cinema, ‘blackness’ - as a concept - is always a burden because it is often defined based on biological or cultural criteria. Moving on, Thomas Cripps (cited in Lott, 1991:40) defines ‘black cinema’ as a “cinematic experience that is produced, written and performed by black people primarily for black audiences”. On the contrary, a cinema of Black Consciousness is not a cinema of black filmmakers, but an inclusive framework of film scholars to study and critique post-apartheid cinema on the basis of whether it features issues about blackness, either thematically or technically, technically on the basis that filmmakers are able to experiment with storytelling techniques, inventing techniques that will suit stories they want to tell.

## **THE SOUTH AFRICAN FILM INDUSTRY: FILM CULTURE AND FILM CRITICISM**

This subsection lays out essential issues and debates that are prevailing over South African cinema. I will do this through providing a broad historical overview of film production and film criticism in South Africa. This section is in two parts; the first part will give a broad historical overview of South African cinema, tracing it from its arrival in the 1800s to the early 1990s. The second part will focus on post-apartheid cinema, offering a close analysis of the film-funding model and policies which aim to develop and fund filmmaking in the country.

### **History of South African cinema**

South African cinema is very old. According to Martin Botha (2012), it dates as back as 1800s, the years of the Anglo-Boer War or South African War. The Anglo-Boer War lasted from 1899 to 1902 in South Africa. This war marked the end of the long processes of the British conquest of South African societies, both Black and White. The war came as a result of the interrelated factors, conflicting political ideologies of imperialism and republicanism, gold discovery on the Witwatersrand, conflicts between political leaders, the Jameson Raid and the Uitlander franchise (Giliomee and Mbenga, 2007). During the Anglo-Boer War, the British government fuelled the colonies to give them war images; this led to the development of the motion picture industry in South Africa (McCluskey, 2009).

Britain demanded war images to propel its propaganda and power in the West. According to Ukadike (1994) the West has always relied on the media to perpetuate power and bureaucratic propaganda instead of political empowerment. This period influenced the release of *De Voortrekkers* (1916, Shaw) – a story which focuses on the Boers' Great Trek at the end of the 1830s and the defeat of several thousand Zulus - which in part, owes its tribute to D.W Griffith's racist propaganda masterpiece, *Birth of a Nation* (1915). *Birth of a Nation* was aimed at positioning White supremacy over the centre of curing black savagery. *De Voortrekkers*, just like *Birth of a Nation* purifies White supremacy and portrays it as innocent and only protecting itself from black savages. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century the government's desire to use film as a vehicle for control and propaganda over the black nation escalated. Hollywood descended to South Africa at this period to implant White supremacy through Western films using Zulus to replace Native Americans to make sure that blacks continue to see themselves as Negroes everywhere in the world. During this period the government agreed with Hollywood to continue producing propaganda films to international audiences about apartheid (McCluskey, 2009).

Between 1916 when *De Voortrekkers* was released, to 1922 South African cinema grew rapidly. One of the biggest film companies to exist in the history of South African cinema was I.W. Schlesinger's company, African Film Productions (AFP), Ltd. Between 1916 and 1922, Schlesinger's company managed to produce 43 films of good quality (Botha, 2012). Schlesinger was an USA-born entrepreneur. He established AFP in 1915 and it grew swiftly from then until the 1970s. AFP's first productions were films made between 1915 and 1916, *African Mirror* (1915) and *De Voortrekkers* (Maingard, 2007). As a result of this AFP had a great success in the history of South Africa cinema.

The period from 1920 to 1940 was very crucial for South Africa cinema. According to Bhekizizwe Peterson (2003), this period marked the arrival of cinema for urban blacks. Previously cinema had only been reserved for white communities. The purpose of bringing cinema to black people, especially the ones in urban areas were to moralise the leisure times for blacks from drinking, gambling, and crime. The leaders of the projects were white philanthropists and missionaries under the leadership of Reverend Ray Phillips and the American Mission Board (AMB). The arrival of cinema for urban blacks was aimed at laying down the ground work for the behaviour of black audiences using film culture (Peterson, 2003).

Urban black townships started to enjoy cinema between 1949 and 1959. Maingard (2007) identifies the period between 1949 and 1959 as the period in which South African cinema decentralised to urban black townships: Soweto, Ivory Park, Meadowlands and so forth. The government only provided urban black townships with cinemas so that they could watch films that they could understand, that they could relate to and they could see themselves in. The 1950s and 1960s brought a great fragmentation to the South African film industry, the government introduced the Film Scheme. During the 1960s, state control became massive through its repressive legislation, during this period the state started to control and shape cinemas ideologically. This was achieved through the same subsidy scheme (Maingard, 2007). The subsidy scheme was initially targeted at producing films for white audiences in English and Afrikaans. However, films for black audiences were later included, but they were

mainly made by white filmmakers (Maingard, 2007). As a result, the scheme led to the white national cinema; a cinema for the whites. Some of the black filmmakers that got the opportunity to direct films during the 1960s were Simon Sabela, Gibson Kente and Lionel Ngakane (Maingard, 2007).

The subsidy scheme did nothing but influenced racial differences in the country. Botha (2012:51) states that “ideology and capital came together to create a national cinema that would reflect South Africa during the Verwoerdian regime of the 1960s”. Between 1956 and 1962, the industry produced 60 films, and 43 were in Afrikaans. Films’ rewards were based on their box-office success and the reward was always higher for Afrikaans films than English films. The result of this was more government investment in the Afrikaans films for spreading the Afrikaans culture. According to Botha (2012:51) “between 1930 and 2008 as many as 275 Afrikaans-language features were made and the majority of these films were shot in the 1960s and 1970s thanks to the subsidy scheme”. The subsidy scheme played a significant role in conserving the idealistic apartheid ideologies. In order for films to get funding they had to adhere to the conservative ideas of apartheid. The films hardly attempted to explore issues of national interests, such as the effect of apartheid on the black population (Botha, 2012), political detentions, political murders. These were just films by Afrikaner filmmakers for Afrikaner audiences. The films painted a one-sided stereotypical view of Afrikaners and apartheid. Tomaselli (1989) states that Afrikaner filmmakers during the apartheid era felt that their films were apolitical, that they were mere entertainment. However, he reminds us that

Their class position, their underlying social and cinematic assumptions, their emphasis on commerciality, their Hollywood-inspired models, their working ‘within the rules’ and their displacement of actual conditions by imaginary relations which delineate an apartheid view of the world, make their films susceptible to the propagandistic intentions of the state (Tomaselli, 1989:81).

During the 1950s, South Africa produced around 35 features. This period produced two prominent filmmakers for the apartheid government, Pierre de Wet and Jamie Uys. Both Pierre de Wet; *Kom Saam Vanaand* (1949), *Altyd in My Drome* (1952), *Fratse in die Vloot* (1958), *Piet se Tante* (1959) and Jamie Uys; *Fifty/Vyfit* (1953), *Daar droer in die Stad* (1954), *Geld soos Bossies* (1955) and *The Gods must be Crazy* (1980) used cinema as a propaganda tool for the government (Botha, 2012). They used cinema to formulate a better picture of the Verwoerdian government. Tomaselli (1992) emphasises that Uys’ films were meant to celebrate the cultural perspectives of the Afrikaner ideologies of the 1960s to the 1970s. Uys used his films to cleanse the South African political landscape by ignoring the atrocities of apartheid on black people. Uys’s films never reflected the true socio-political issues of apartheid, instead, he opted for paternalistic films which represented black people as idiots and uncivilised. In this period, Jamie Uys became an instrument for the National Party government in the making of local (Afrikaans) films (Botha, 2012).

The 1970s saw another fragmentation in the film industry; the Bantu film production, called the “Bantu Film Scheme”. This led to 250 features produced between 1974 and 1990 (Armes, 2008). The purpose of this scheme was to boost filmmaking for black South Africans. The

shocking result of this was screening of a number of poor quality films in vernacular languages in churches, schools and community halls. This film scheme did not change anything for the black population as the government remained convinced that only urban white areas were eligible to have cinemas (Botha, 2012). The reason for this was that the government was against citizenship of urban blacks. Botha (2012:13) writes that “the urbanization of blacks was portrayed as uniformly negative and homeland life as more fitting”. This was in line with the Group Areas Act (GAA) of 1950. The GAA was passed to impose control over interracial property transactions and property occupation throughout South Africa (Horrel, 1978). The result of the GAA was a legal framework that ensured that government was able to establish particular neighbourhoods as ‘group areas’ where only people of a particular race were able to reside. The law made provisions for the government to demolish all houses which were found in a declared ‘group area’ illegally. The Act was passed to make sure that different racial groups of the country live and practice business in different racial sections, the whites would live in the suburbs and the Africans, Indians and Coloureds would stay in the townships.

The Bantu film scheme did not revolutionize the country’s film industry; no national cinema emerged out of it. The films produced did not reflect the socio-political reality of South Africa. They were inferior paternalistic films for blacks, even worse; they were mainly made by white filmmakers. The state banned films that truly reflected the turmoil of South Africa or denied them any state subsidy or state distribution (Botha, 2012). In the late 1970s towards the early 1980s, there were some changes; independent film producers started making films reflecting the true realities of South Africa, *My Country My Hat* (1983, David Bensusan), *Place of Weeping* (1986, Darrel Roodt), *Cry Freedom* (1987, Richard Attenborough), *Mapantsula* (1988, Oliver Schmitz), and a documentary piece, *Have You Seen Drum Recently?* (1989, Jurgen Schadeberg). However most of these films got censored during the State of Emergency (Tomaselli, 1989). In the mid-1980s South Africa was under the turmoil of various protests and violence throughout the country. During this period the government declared a State Emergency. A State of Emergency is only declared when the welfare of a state is under a threat of war, invasion, disorder or natural disasters. The state declared a first State of Emergency in South Africa on 20 July 1985, it initially covered the Eastern Cape and the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal (PWV) area.

Despite the political upheaval of the 1980s, South Africa experienced the arrival of short-filmmaking in the 1980s. Since the 1980s hundreds of short fiction and non-fiction films have been shot in South Africa. All these films shared the common theme of anti-apartheid struggle. However, Botha (2012) reminds us that the anti-apartheid struggle was not the only theme that these films experimented with; they also explored themes of, for example, equal rights for homosexuals. 1994 revolutionised the themes of short-filmmaking, short films started to experiment with other narrative techniques and forms of aesthetics such as oral storytelling (Botha, 2012). Some of the best short-films to experiment with narrative techniques and oral storytelling in South Africa are: *Umkhongo* (2007, Mathew Jankes), *Stone Cars* (2014, Reinaldo Marcus Green), *Nothing about Nothing* (2012, Daniel Levi).

In 1991 the Film and Broadcasting Forum (FBF) was established. The purpose of FBF was to address the challenges of the film industry, censorship, subsidy and distribution. As a result,

FBF became responsible for developing a South African film culture that will address the political imbalances of apartheid and to make sure that there is an equal access to film structures for all South Africans (Botha, 2012). Later on, the FBF led to the creation and establishment of the Film and Broadcasting Steering Committee (FBSC). The role of FBSC was to work on proposals for a South African Film Foundation (SAFF), (Botha, 2012).

### **Post-apartheid cinema**

In this section I focus on post-apartheid film industry's funding model. I provide an overview analysis of key issues that are involved in the rise and development of a post-apartheid cinema. My attention is on the national policies that led to the establishment of the NFVF and other policies that are still prevalent to the financing and funding of film development in South Africa.

In the year 1994, South Africa held its first democratic elections. The new government under the ANC leadership emphasised issues such as transformation and rainbow nation. As a result, after 1994 cinema started to be valued as a powerful tool for both cultural and economic/industrial development (Treffry-Goatley, 2010). It was during the mid-1990s, that cinema was mandated by the post-apartheid government to forge social cohesion in the processes of democratization and development (Botha, 2005).

In the year 1996 the recommendations to have a new statutory body in the development and funding of filmmaking in South Africa emerged. This happened through the White Paper on Film Industry, issued by the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST). This statutory body was known as the National Film and Video Foundation (NFVF). The NFVF was replacing the Interim Film Fund (IFF) which came in 1996 through DACST as a temporary governmental source of film funding. However, IFF had lots of criticism due to its lack of transparency, lack of infrastructure and complicated application processes (Saks, 2003). Parliament established The NFVF under the Act. 73 of 1997 with the following aims, to:

- 1) Develop and promote the film and video industry;
- 2) Provide and encourage the provision of, opportunities for persons, especially from disadvantaged communities to get involved in the film and video industry;
- 3) Encourage the development and distribution of local film and video products;
- 4) Support the nurturing and development of and access to the film and video industry; and
- 5) In respect of the film and video industry, to address historical imbalances in the infrastructure and distribution of skills and resources.

In 2004 the NFVF implemented the new vision plan which aimed at building a “quality South African film industry that represents the nation, sustains commercial viability, encourages development and provides a medium through which creative and technical talents of South Africans are able to reach the world” (NFVF, 2005:3). In November 2005 the NFVF updated

this vision when the new The Value Chapter was launched (Treffry-Goatley 2010). As it stands, the NFVF envisions South African Electronic Content Industries (SAEICI) that

- Mirror and represent the diverse national identities, particularly marginalised.
- Promote the creative and technical talents of South Africans to find support in the pursuit of freedom of expression.
- Sustain viable livelihoods for those South Africans who choose this domain as their area of occupation.
- Entertain, educate and inform South Africans, the regions, the continent and the world (NFVF, 2008:8).

There is a very thin line between the NFVF's founding objectives, its 2004 and 2008 visions. They all aim to develop a distinctive South African film culture, but with few contradictions which make it impossible to meet that. For example, the three documents state that the foundation aims to develop the creative aspects of South African cinema, develop filmmaking as an employment industry and entertain as well as to educate. But the contradiction that they all have is that they both emphasis on capital benefits and "the world". These two factors are some of the challenges that delay the NFVF from achieving its visions because the moment you use filmmaking to generate capital you are implying that the industry should focus on making profits, instead of existing as a social, educational and entertainment tool for the people, it now exists as a profit-making tool. The second problem is that the foundation pays too much attention to "the world". Global audiences keep taking a centre stage in how the foundation distributes its funding to filmmakers. This means that films must also cater for the international market, stories must not only appeal to South African audience. This denies the local audiences and the local filmmakers an opportunity to freely express their storytelling ideas, because cultural differences between the local and international audiences differ. Hence, the saying that two bulls cannot stay in one kraal becomes obvious. Both these measures also re-emphasize the argument I made earlier about structural censorship. These measures exist as exclusionary mechanisms denying certain filmmakers an opportunity to experiment with their craft. As a result of the emphasis on capital returns that films must make and always accommodating global audiences in local films, certain films cannot get funding if they do not meet to those requirements.

The NFVF has done a lot for promoting and growing the film industry in South Africa. That cannot be contested. But nonetheless, there are few challenges that the foundation still needs to pay attention to. Saks (2003:141) contends that the White Paper on Film Industry – which led to the NFVF - does not make any distinction between the concept of national cinema that "will enable South African audiences to see their own interpretations of their experiences...reflected on local screens" and the processes of creating films based "on a sound commercial footing in order to enable it to become internationally competitive". This argument prompts one to think about the kind of cinema that post-apartheid South Africa envisions and envisages: "is it one that reflects the 'petty bourgeois nationalism' that Fanon warned led to a false decolonization" or perhaps a "combative cinema, a kind of cinema that speaks to its own people in a language that its people can understand and does not care whether anyone else understands that language (Saks, 2003:141). This is very relevant to my

call for a cinema of Black Consciousness as a framework that defines itself within Fanon's argument: a framework that intends to study whether post-apartheid cinema is a combative platform for the people, is for representing black people's everyday lives, instead of being used by institutions of power that seek to exclude dissenting voices that do not conform to the political motives interested in empowering a few people and leaving the rest impoverished. A framework that seeks to study if post-apartheid cinema speaks a language (both verbal or spoken and cinematic language) that its own people can understand and care less about the outsiders or the non-speakers of that language.

It becomes clear from the arguments made after the analysis of the founding statements and the vision statements of NFVF on funding that the foundation has good intentions for developing the film industry in the country. However, on a deeper level, the foundation's statements contradict each other on more than one occasion. This is as a result of the ideological standpoints that the foundation has not clarified for itself, about whether it wants to develop the film industry of the country or the film culture. The distinction I make about the two is that the former refers to the general practices of making specific films meeting certain requirements. The latter on the other hand, is the process through which the country's industry aims to grow a distinctive film practice for the local audience consumption. And that is the case with Nollywood. As a result of this ideological confusion, the NFVF is found wanting, hence even the founding statements have relied more on the international demands than local demands.

The other part of NFVF that needs scrutiny with regards to developing the film industry in the country is the SEDIBA programme. The SEDIBA programme came in 2005 with the aim of teaching filmmakers how to write and edit scripts. The programme has sub-programmes for offering training to experienced and emerging filmmakers, particularly in the areas of screenwriting and production. The sub-programmes are as follows: SEDIBA Spark Programme, SEDIBA Masters Scriptwriting Training Programme, and SEDIBA International Financing Programme for Producers as well as a SEDIBA Spark Document programme (NFVF, 2014). This programme fits well into the context of this paper because it shows the institutional structures that the NFVF uses to develop screenwriting in the country. The programme, just like the funding system of the NFVF, emphasises on the need to cater for the international market, following international standards and being competitive in the global market. This leads to lack of black-centeredness films. And this is because SEDIBA programme comes from the Classical Hollywood model. Classical Hollywood model is characterised by a set of norms or styles in film production mode and managerial system (Bordwell, Staiger and Thomson, 1985). According to Bordwell et al (1985), Classical Hollywood Cinema is observed by some of the following characteristics: the goal orientated protagonist, psychologically motivated characters, stories with closure, stories with cause and effect events, climax in the story and many more. It is true that the model has endured the test of time within the medium of cinema. And it has become very influential in the entire world. However, this model cannot be said to fully accommodate stories that are outside Western world. For example, African stories are mostly influenced by oral traditions. And oral traditions are not always told through the above characteristics endorsed by Classical Hollywood model. As a result, it becomes too difficult for SEDIBA programme to fund films that aim to experiment with storytelling techniques because SEDIBA programme follows the Classical Hollywood model. Hence, SEDIBA programme does not cater for films that aim to

portray blackness explicitly and unapologetically, its model is not meant for black-centred stories. SEDIBA programme itself becomes another part of structural censorship that the NFVF continues to administer because it denies black-centred stories accessibility to funding.

It is important to note that, for example, African oral narratives rely on direct and indirect narration as well as dialogue that reflect the oral emphasis of African culture (Tomaselli, 1995). Considering the above characteristics that Bordwell et al (1985) discuss, it is obvious that African oral narratives cannot be accommodated under the SEDIBA programme, because, as Tomaselli (1995) states, African orality is emphasised by a storyline that is narrated through a variety of different characters – as opposed to the single meta-narrator of Classical Hollywood cinema. In oral narratives, music, for example, is sometimes heavily foregrounded, operating as a narrative voice in its own right. Some of these features can be seen in *Elelwani*. This shows that it is difficult, if not impossible, to tell an African story relying on the Classical Hollywood model because African orality has its own ways in which it is narrated. That is why SEDIBA programme falls short in meeting its vision of promoting South African stories.

Former NFVF CEO, Eddie Mbalo (cited in Treffry-Goatley, 2010:81), under the need to introducing the SEDIBA programmes stated that

It (SEDIBA programme) is good for the filmmakers to pursue their aspirations; we need to find stories that can travel. The best way is through script development and this is why we have SEDIBA script development programme.

Mbalo's statement, "stories that can travel", has two implications, positive and negative. The former implies that the SEDIBA programme intends to produce stories that appeal to both the local and international audiences. It seeks to make stories that will not only be appealing to South African audiences. The other implication is that the programme intends to grow the industry at the cost of the local audiences. The NFVF through SEDIBA programme compromises the tastes and needs of local audiences to satisfy those of the international market. This goes back to what I have elsewhere in this paper termed cinematic assimilation, one nation having to let go of its cinematic culture for the sake of adopting another nation's. Ideologically this process does not differ at all to the colonial assimilation that black people found themselves subjected to.

Mbalo (cited in Treffry-Goatley, 2010) also highlighted that SEDIBA script development encourages filmmakers to adhere more closely to the classical narrative structure to enhance audience engagement in the story. SEDIBA's obsession with the classical narrative structure is also supported by the founder and creator of the programme, Alby James. According to James (cited in Treffry-Goatley, 2010:81) "our purpose is to reinforce the participants' understanding of the role that classical story structure and genre plays in storytelling. But it is also an aim to challenge and encourage participants to take risks with genre structure, tone, voice and character". James' statement suggests a degree of experimentation in the SEDIBA programme, that the programme gives filmmakers a chance to experiment with rules of

genre, structure, tone and voice as well as character. However, his statement still resonates with Mbalo's argument about the scriptwriting programme that expects filmmakers to write using the three-act classical Hollywood structure, the narrative that provides a resolution at the end, linear chains of cause and effect, and the characters that have goals which are usually psychologically and not socially motivated. It is possible to note a few contradictions in what the NFVF intends to do among its policies. Some part of the policies allows for free artistic abilities, some aims to develop the film industry in the country, while some intends to make sure that filmmakers produce films that will make good returns. These three cannot be in one paragraph because they aim to achieve different things which are against each other.

Treffry-Goatley (2010:81) argues that the SEDIBA programmes aim to teach filmmakers to write screenplays that "can appeal to a wide audience and relate to the emphasis on commercial sustainability" which is one of the things that are clear in the NFVF's vision for the film industry. According to Treffry-Goatley (2010), SEDIBA has become a prerequisite for NFVF funding. An example she gives is of an interview with Mbalo and former Head of Production, Ryan Hairdarian (2010:82). In the interview

It was explained that the fundamental point of judgement for the review panellists is whether the stories submitted 'work on a structural level' and whether a person is entertained when reading the script. If a story has potential but 'does not work' then SEDIBA attendance is required.

Again, it is clear that the NFVF is responsible for the type of stories that filmmakers can tell and how they tell them. This goes back to what I have termed 'structural censorship' earlier on. Whoever does not follow these requirements cannot get funding. The NFVF uses these requirements as exclusionary techniques. This obsession with economic sustainability and international standards sets South Africa apart from countries like Senegal, Ethiopia, Congo and Cameroon where the purpose of the film industry is to develop a local film culture.

Emphasis on economic value over social value in post-apartheid cinema is also one of the biggest challenges. In 2008, the then Head of MNet's African Film Library, Mike Dearham, argued against the economic emphasis versus the cultural emphasis in the film industry (Falicov, 2006). In his presentation, Dearham argued that the state prioritises economic value over the cultural value of the film industry. Dearham notes that the division between these two values is clearly apparent in the division between the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) and DTI. The former is responsible for the cultural processes of production and the latter is responsible for the economic processes of the distribution (Treffry-Goatly, 2010). Furthermore, Falicov (2006:6) problematizes the conflict between culture and commerce in film industries to result in "national versus global markets, high art versus mass culture, broad versus niche/ segmented audiences, national versus local representation and urban versus rural representation". Falicov (2006) argues against the economic and social responsibility burdened on the South African film industry. According to Falicov, cultural and economic development cannot always be complementary. One will compromise the other. Falicov (2006) as a result, maintains that this is the reason film-funding policies in South Africa seem to emphasize one of these (economic and social) over the other, depending on the politico-economic place of the government.

In 2009, the South African Screen Federation (SASFED) wrote to the then minister of Arts and Culture, Lulu Xingwana, about their concerns with the commercialization and emphasis of the film industry with economic value. SASFED argued that they acknowledge the value that various government departments have realised in the film industry and its economic potential, however, the focus on its economic potential affects the industry's performance and success as emphasis on economic revenues will lower the artists' freedom of speech and artistic skills. SASFED

Also pointed to the work of the NFVF, arguing that that organization's commercial criteria (and equity structures) for production funding replicates other commercial financing mechanisms and undermines the social, cultural and artistic responsibility of the NFVF in the development of South African film industry (Treffry-Goatly 2010:89).

As Treffry-Goatly (2010) contends, the fascination and emphasis on, commerce over the cultural potential of cinema in South Africa is as a result of the neoliberal vision of Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), as an economic policy that emphasises production that focuses directly on the market. The government introduced this economic policy in 1996 to stimulate economic growth, which was essential to meeting social investment needs in South Africa. The GEAR policy came as a result of neo-liberalism. Neoliberalism is a policy model that transfers the economic control from the state or the public to the private sector. In this model, the government has to limit subsidies, make reforms to tax laws so that expansion of tax base is implemented, reduce deficit spending, and limit protectionism and open markets to trade. Cinematically, the GEAR policy seeks to identify "who is the audience, what they want to watch and the mechanisms through which this can be efficiently delivered by filmmakers" (Gills cited in Treffry-Goatley, 2010). This method is different from a content-led strategy. In the latter the emphasis is on subsidy schemes and individual artistic expression of the filmmaker. Saks (2003) maintains that the neo-liberal economic model is central to the existing South African film-funding model. This model is restrictive to black filmmakers who rely on the government as a major source of funding for their films. They are left with no other option but to consider private funders for their projects, funders that might restrict them on which stories they can tell and how they can tell them.

Another program which aims to promote the film industry in South Africa is the DTI film Incentive. This is a government programme which offers incentive packages to promote film production and the post-production industry. The incentive consists of three programs; first, Foreign Film and Television Production and Post-Production (the aim of this program is to attract foreign-based film productions to shoot in South African locations and conduct some post-production activities), second; South African Film and Television Production and Co-Production (this program aims to support local film producers to produce local content), third; South African Emerging Black Filmmakers (this is the sub-program of the second program, it aims to help emerging black filmmakers to take in big productions and hence contribute to towards creating employment (DTI, 2015). My focus on the DTI Film Incentive schemes is on the second programme. The scheme's secondary interest is funding films with international market interest. The DTI website states that films are only eligible for funding if 50% of its shooting is in South Africa and the project also caters for the international market.

This is the goal they call “globalizing from both ends”. Saks (2010) and Treffry-Goatley (2010) problematize this approach as the DTI creating films as a commodity and not art, and this proves that The Media and Motion Picture Division of the Industrial Development Corporation (found under the DTI) is only concerned with providing financing for productions that intend to cater to an international market. The other concern I have for the DTI funding is on the third programme. This program limits and denies emerging local filmmakers an opportunity to flourish. This is because they have to work in projects with big production companies that some of them are probably only interested in making money. This affects the growth of the emerging producers. It leaves them with no voice in how they want to tell their stories simply because they are still “emerging”.

The IDC’s (2016) website states that the corporation aims to develop a sustainable motion picture chain in South Africa through funding feature films, television shows, animation and documentaries. The expected outcomes of the corporation are to promote sustainable production of motion pictures, develop the local audience, encourage the local consumption of local films and build township cinemas, develop a competitive animation sector and develop black industrialists within the broadcast sector. The most thought-provoking section which carries a heavy potential to either develop or deter the South African film industry are the funding criteria. Every application must meet the IDC’s minimum requirements which include:

- Security: the form and nature of which will relate to your specific circumstance;
- Compliance with the international environmental standards;
- Shareholders/owners are expected to make some financial contribution:
  - The contribution [of] historically disadvantaged people under the special circumstances may be lowered, in which case the IDC will be prepared to extend finance in excess of the owner’s contribution;
- The project/business must exhibit economic merit in terms of profitability and sustainability; and
- The IDC does not refinance fixed assets, since our aim is to expand the industrial base. (IDC, 2016:2).

The IDC is also another valuable form of state assistance to the film industry. However, as it is the case with the NFVF and DTI, IDC is also making it, highly difficult, if not impossible, for filmmakers to reach funding because of its overemphasis on the commercial requirements. What makes it very difficult could be because the IDC funding exists as a loan. Treffry-Goatley (2010:87) concludes that

The emphasis on commercial investment and the accession of wider markets through ‘high-profile’ distributors has made IDC finance virtually inaccessible to local filmmakers, who encounter high entry barriers to the foreign market due to increased levels of merger activity and a concentration of ownership in the global film industry.

According to Silinda (2008:25), financial help from the IDC is through loans, “by means of equity, quasi-equity, commercial loans, wholesome finance, share warehousing,

export/import finance, short-term trade finance and guarantees”. As a result of this, the IDC usually funds co-productions, instead of individual productions. The purpose of co-production is to assist filmmakers in dealing with the industry that Hollywood continues to dominate. In this method, the budget will be split between two or more international partners (Treffry-Goatley, 2010). This gives the IDC the privilege to receive more funding than the NFVF, but they spend most of this money on funding foreign films and not more local films (Treffry-Goatley, 2010 and Saks, 2010). The reason for this is to get international directors and actors with a good track-record to get involved in South African films. But this poses more problems than solutions for the local industry. Unemployment is one of the biggest problems in South Africa. When film jobs emerge and can create employment for the people of this country they get taken by international stars. This does not only affect the country’s economic growth, but also the filmmaking development and growth because investments are not made for the local stars, but mainly for international stars.

The problem that Treffry-Goatley identifies with the IDC funding is its ability to disadvantage local filmmaking, and it does that through its funding mechanism. Filmmakers have to rely on funding to make films, but the problem arises when they have to apply for funding that comes in a form of a loan, this means that they have to repay that money. This shows that the IDC treats filmmaking like a business transaction where the borrower has to use the borrowed money as effective as possible to maximize profit to repay the loan. Filmmaking is art; it cannot be treated like a business loan. The purpose of art is to inform, entertain and to educate. Art cannot do those things if it is working under the terms and conditions of profit maximization.

South Africa, in the past years, has received criticism for having too much Hollywood content on its screens, in both cinema and television. According to Pillay and Ntuli (cited in Treffry-Goatly, 2010), the international dominance of Hollywood came in the 1920s as a result of the United States (US) government identifying the film industry as a primary tool for international trade. This dominance has been maintained through the World Trade Organization and US-dominated multi-lateral trade. As a result of this, Hollywood has monopolized South African screens because approximately 96%-98% of films distributed or exhibited in South Africa come from Hollywood’s studios (Treffry-Goatly, 2010). This dominance is due to “(1) long-standing contractual agreements between local companies and major US studios, (2) the proven track-record of Hollywood products and (3) the fact that those foreign imports are often ironically cheaper to buy than local films due to the secondary price system of Hollywood” (Treffry-Goatly, 2010:). This American cultural imperialism has expanded beyond cinema into the local DVD market. Treffry-Goatly (2010) explains that South African cinemas such as Ster kinekor , Nu Metro and United International Pictures (UIP) also distribute Hollywood films through local DVD retail and rental outlets.

As a result of Hollywood’s domination and other contributing factors that I have listed before, South Africa struggles to claim its own cinematic practice. Hollywood’s supremacy and dominance in South African screens has left the country with little chance to have its own cinematic practice. This dominance has affected South Africa’s products and its performance against other African cinemas such as Nollywood, because South Africa’s films are left with 2% screen time, which in reality they must still share with films from Europe, India and

China. Botha (2007) takes note of the economic and social repercussions of Hollywood's supremacy in other nations. Botha explains that audiences grow up exposed to high-budget productions with expensive marketing campaigns of Hollywood films. This kills off the local products as they do not have the means to compete with Hollywood. Pillay and Ntuli (2004) conclude by stating that the result of this is that the bulk of South Africa's total box office revenues get taken by US studios.

## **Research Aims**

This dissertation aims to construct a critical framework called a cinema of Black Consciousness. This framework will analyse and study the extent, if any, to which a post-apartheid South African mainstream cinema is, or is not, speaking to and raising issues of black sensibility and Black Consciousness in a country with a majority of black people. To do this, I will explore two (2) South African films released between 2010 and 2015 – *Life, Above All* and *Elelwani*. I will also reference other films - that thematise black lives to determine whether some filmmakers in post-apartheid South Africa have started to merge Black Consciousness philosophies in their narratives.

The above films will form the main case studies for this study. The reasons I chose these films are that; first, *Elelwani*; a story of a young female graduate from university who returns to her village to introduce her boyfriend to her family. She finds out that there are cultural obligations that do not allow her a relationship with any other man except to marry the Chief from another village. The distinctive usage of camera and music to tell the story in this film is very poetic and resembles the communal and cultural behaviours of the Venda people. This is the distinctive film language that I will analyse how it speaks back to the ideologies propagated by the BCM. Second, in *Life, Above All*, a 12-year-old girl is forced to take care of her family when both her parents get infected with HIV/AIDS and the community ostracize them. This film features one of the most notable issues of South Africa, HIV/AIDS. I will analyse the state and the effects of HIV/AIDS in the black community in the film and how this issue has been one of the core social factors looked into by post-apartheid cinema. South Africa is 23 years old into democracy, hence I seek to analyse what filmmakers, film development, and film funding institutions have started doing to incorporate themes of Black Consciousness (Africanism, Black Pride, Self-realization and Self-sufficiency) as I develop them in this study, into their films. I am focusing on the last 5 years of South African democracy.

I will investigate the industry practices (film funding requirements, storytelling techniques, shooting requirements, internationalization of local stories) that currently inform a South African mainstream filmmaking practice. Bhekizizwe Peterson (2014) has argued that following the Western modes of filmmaking influences cinemas of the South to replicate Eurocentric features and paradigms which perpetuate African films' challenges and failures. It is out of this interest that I seek to construct a critical framework of what I call "a cinema of Black Consciousness".

By a cinema of Black Consciousness, I refer to a framework that will, among other things, analyse the structural censorship - subtle exclusionary strategies – that continues to marginalize stories of issues pertaining to blackness. I will analyse whether post-apartheid financing and development institutions use structural censorship towards South African films, labelling them as too cultural (not have international appeal). A cinema of Black Consciousness is also framework that seeks to study the process of decoloniality in the filmmakers, whether filmmakers dismantle Western domination (the idea that the West is more powerful than any other region) and whether they destabilize the Eurocentric hegemony (the practice of placing European concerns and/or culture and values at the expense of other cultures). This will be possible through research, dialogues and deliberations on issues pertaining to blackness in post-apartheid South Africa and the role that cinema can play in representing those issues. Such a framework will analyse the African Renaissance – the reinvention and reconstruction of Africa – in the filmmakers. It will also study if they have started to use filmmaking to teach the African continent that Africa can only be conquered if there is an African ideology at the centre, distinct from a Eurocentric ideology – European myth that Europe is superior to Africa - which allows African/black agency, that is, a sense of self-realization based upon the interests of black people (audiences, filmmakers, and film critics). In terms of filmmaking, for example, this framework study the distinctive production and technical requirements that go into producing films, within institutional spaces, cultures, and protocols that go into what is written and produced for cinema.

This framework will assist scholars in assessing the role of cinema in post-apartheid South Africa to discuss issues that are of great concern to the black population in the country. The gap that I have identified is that in 23 years after the birth of democracy there still no framework in South African that can be used to deliberate on the role of cinema in dealing with issues of black sensibility, issues such as crime, drug syndicates, government officials' corruption in villages and township. I aim to demonstrate that there is a need for such a framework in South Africa by posing the following research questions:

### **Research questions**

- 1) Africanism: To what extent do South Africa films portray a new world characterised by the solidarity of Africans to achieve economic, political, and social emancipation of Africa?
- 2) Black pride: To what extent do funding institutions allow the filmmaker to reject the psychological shackles of the “slave mentality” and overcome the sense of inferiority and self-alienation through their artistic work?
- 3) Self-realization and Self-sufficiency: To what extent are films and filmmakers given a space for expression, either at the level of the form or content and not worry about international film standards and the international market?

I will apply the critical framework offered here to discuss the research questions posed above. The aim is not to dictate filmmakers to how they must make films, but on the contrary, to build a framework for scholars to interpret and analyse post-apartheid cinema in terms of representing issues of black sensibility. Hence the argument I make is that that the country needs a framework to know what filmmakers are doing about the status of black lives in post-apartheid South Africa.

## **Rationale**

20 years ago Tomaselli (1996) noted that there were few existing film scholars on South African cinema. However, recently we have seen increasing scholarships on post-apartheid cinema, Botha (2006), McCluskey (2009), Pichaske (2009), Saks (2010), Botha (2012), Modisane (2013). Barber (2000) notes that South Africa is a rapidly growing country; thus, post-apartheid cinematic texts are very significant sites of study that will always be in demand of fresh scholarly analysis. This research relates to this past scholarship to an extent. First, this research's focus on black sensibility emerges from the writing of Modisane (2013) by asking if whether there is enough representation of "blackness" – issues that concern black people - in South African mainstream cinema and if there is, whether such representation invokes public debates and discussions. This framework assists in providing new ways of interpreting and discussing films. I have used Modisane's argument to question the role that a cinema of Black Consciousness can play in South Africa; can it lead to discussions that will raise awareness about blackness in post-apartheid? The work of Botha (2006), Tomaselli (2006) Maingard (2007) and Saks (2010) is also very crucial for this paper. These scholars will help me in my analysis of what a post-apartheid cinema is and how it can be develop further characterised by Black Consciousness philosophies. I will investigate whether the white cultural nationalism of eurocentrism and apartheid discussed at length by Tomaselli (1996), Maingard (2007) and Botha (2012) requires a cinema of Black Consciousness to help scholars study what filmmakers have done to survive the oppressive and self-destructive consciousness that colonialism as well as the legacy of apartheid, left behind and still seek to perpetuate in South African cinema.

Second, this research will add to the existing literature on the South African cinema in this way: I will look at how a cinema of Black Consciousness can study whether post-apartheid cinema have granted black-centred films a distinctive identity; whether post-apartheid cinema is interested in revitalizing and restoring black identities. The framework will study if post-apartheid cinema has realized that identity, coupled with pride, will enable the black people of South Africa to assert, along with Frantz Fanon, that they are not a potentiality of someone else; they are whole as they are (Fanon, 1968) and they can still prosper to determine their own destiny that is not derived from Western characteristics. This is where ideas of decolonization (Mbembe, 2015) and decoloniality (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013) feature. The notions of decolonization (a direct removal of colonization) and decolinaility (correcting the shackles of colonialism and coloniality, constructing a new humanity that is free from racial hierarchization and asymmetrical power relations) open up challenges for Africa, not just in the present, but also in the future, they situate Africa into questions of where Africa will be in the future. This is where a cinema of Black Consciousness will be strong. The framework will unequivocally analyse the level of liberation of South African mainstream cinema, not only in the present era but also in the years to come to see if cinema in South Africa will remain a central tool representing issues pertaining to black sensibility. The importance of this framework will lead towards understanding the role of cinema in one's history, culture, and humanity (human relationships that are not determined by one group feeling superior at the expense of the other).

Third, a last reason that makes this paper distinctive from the existing literature in South Africa is the emphasis on the ideas of Steve Biko, South African's most known proponent of the philosophies of BC. I will also focus on finding their relevance in the "new" South Africa, as well as how cinema can help us achieve that. Moreover, I propose that it is the time we revisited a South African cinema through Black Consciousness ideologies and determine to what extent blackness can re-establish itself after losing its dignity to slavery, colonization, and apartheid. After careful analysis and scrutiny drawn from the scholarly analysis, this paper will propose a cinema of Black Consciousness in South Africa, a framework that will analyse whether post-apartheid cinema represents issues and debates around blackness unapologetically.

The other important factor to consider is that I chose these films based on their central themes and their approaches to blackness. These films feature social themes that continue to terrorize black communities, but they do not only put black lives under attack, they represent these issues in such a way that blackness is celebrated as it is the case with *Elelwani* and raise awareness in the case of *Life, Above All*. The other interesting element to take a note of in these two films is that they are both directed by male filmmakers, but they both feature female characters in central roles and unlike other case studies, they meet all characteristics that a cinema of Black Consciousness aims to study in films and they feature issues of black sensibility. The other important factor is on their funding, as I will argue later, funding determines which stories can be told and how they can be told. *Life, Above All* was funded by the Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media (BKM), Filmstiftung NRW and Medieboard Berlin-Brandenburg, German Federal Film Board (FFA) and German Federal Film Fund (DFFF) and DTI. *Elelwani* is funded with grant from the National Lottery Distribution Trust Fund, and additional funding from the Department of Trade and Industry, The Department of Arts and Culture (DAC), NFVF and The Gauteng Film Commission (GFC) (Chennel24, 2014).

I draw my critical framework from three political ideologies described in this paper, Black Consciousness, Afrocentricity and African Renaissance, as these movements influence and feed each other. However, this does not mean that they are the same. As I will argue in due course, these movements have similarities and differences. It would not be a wise decision to discuss a cinema of Black Consciousness using the BCM in isolation from the other two movements. Black Consciousness was an international movement with influences from the rest of the world. Hence, I also situate a cinema of Black Consciousness into the paradigm of influences from other movements so that its arguments and ideologies can stand firm.

### **Terminology:**

blackness – As opposed to the upper case 'Black' which scholars, politicians and government officials use to define the cultural and ideological parameters of racial classifications (Gqola, 2010 and Krabil, 2010), I use 'black' with the lowercase to refer to the groups that were politically, socially and economically deprived of their human dignity under slavery, colonization, and apartheid.

African – I will use the word African to refer to black people, black in terms of skin colour, instead of referring to people ‘of an African continent’.

Mainstream cinema - For the purpose of this study, “mainstream cinema” will refer to films that are widely released in cinemas for commercial purposes. These are films that will be commercialised to attract viewers and then released for home use and sold, usually in popular retail stores. Furthermore, these are films which use marketing strategies, such as trailers on television, advertise on the internet, magazines, billboards and posters and sometimes on the radio. Another distinctive feature of mainstream cinema in the context of this research is the exhibition of films, i.e. mainstream cinema films here will refer to films that are released widely in different cinemas locally and/or internationally.

black centred-films – This term will refer to films that were made with the interests of black audiences (politics, oral African narratives, religious activities) in mind and ask whether these films can generate debates about socio-political issues that are specifically relevant to black people (Modisane, 2013).

African Cinemas - I will use “African cinemas” with an “s” at the end and not the dominant usage of “African cinema” in singular form. My argument is that there is no single “African cinema”. Africa is a relatively big continent; hence narrowing down its cinematic practice to a singular label will be an injustice. Additionally, every country in Africa has its own cinemas that within in each other are distinct from other countries’ on the basis of aesthetics, languages, themes, cultures, and ideologies (Ebrahim, 2016).

Film’s public life – This term draws on from Jurgen Habermas’ term of the public sphere – a discursive social space, separated from the state and its official policy, where people congregate for identifying and critiquing societal problems (Habermas, 1962) - to analyse the extent to which South African films are platforms of deliberative activities for the benefit of nation-building.

Cinema of Black Consciousness - This refers to an analytical framework understanding= the role that filmmakers have played to incorporate issues of black sensibility in South African cinema since the end of apartheid. A cinema of Black Consciousness is part of the decolonial project which seeks to decolonise the African mind, dismantle Western domination and destabilize the Eurocentric hegemony in the African audiences. This framework will assist in accepting that African Renaissance is only possible if there is an African ideology, distinct from a Eurocentric ideology, which allows African/Black agency; that is a sense of self-actualization based upon the interests of Black people.

Global South – This term emerged from the transnational and postcolonial studies and it refers to countries that used to be called The Third World, developing countries, and less developed regions such as Africa, Asia and Latin America (Tappe, Schwarz, Salverda and Wolvers, 2007).

Decoloniality - Decolonization is a direct removal of colonization. It is limited. It does not go on to remove the effects of colonization. As a result of this, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015:488) states that decolonization “did not produce a genuine ‘postcolonial’ dispensation marked by the birth of a new humanity as demanded by Fanon, for instance. What was produced is a complex situation that Achille Mbembe termed the ‘postcolony’ – a former colony that is faced with the challenges of colonialism (Mbembe, 1992). On the other, decoloniality was aimed at correcting the shackles of colonialism and coloniality; constructing a new humanity that is free from racial hierarchization and asymmetrical power relations (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). Maldonado-Torres (2011:117) contextualizes and defines decoloniality in a way that will be suitable to the context of this paper, “by decoloniality it means here the dismantling of relations of power and conceptions of knowledge that foment the reproduction of racial, gender, and geo-political hierarchies that came into being or found new and more powerful forms of expression in the modern/colonial world”.

## **CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

In this chapter I discuss my literature review and construct a theoretical framework. The first section focuses on the literature review, and the second section outlines key concepts which stood out from the literature review and construct a theoretical framework.

### **Literature Review**

The literature review made up of core theories which underpin this research paper; including Black Consciousness, Afrocentricity, African Renaissance, and the theorization of Black/African Diaspora Cinema(s) and post-apartheid cinema.

### **Black Consciousness Philosophy**

In the mid-1960s after the Sharpeville Massacre in South Africa, the apartheid government banned the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and imprisoned a majority of the prominent anti-apartheid political leaders. This political context led to the founding of the BCM. The BCM became an anti-apartheid activist movement (AZAPO, 2014), with a special focus on the political, social and economic revival of black people and their self-realization.

Black Consciousness as a key political movement of the 1960s and 1970s was introduced to the political landscape of South Africa by the South African Students Organization (SASO). The leading exponent of Black Consciousness was Bantu Stephen Biko (AZAPO, 2014:1). Alexander, Gibson and Mngxitama (2008:69) quote Biko affirming that

By Black Consciousness, I mean the cultural and political revival of an oppressed people. This must be related to the emancipation of the entire continent of Africa since the Second World War...I feel that the black people of the world, in choosing to reject the legacy of colonialism and white domination and to build around themselves their own values, standards, and outlook to life, have at least established a solid base for meaningful cooperation amongst themselves in the larger battle of the Third World against the rich nations.

Alexander, Gibson and Mngxitama (2008:69) explain that Black Consciousness was “an attitude of the mind and way of life”. Black Consciousness intended to decolonize the black mind. As Woods (1987) Biko (1996), Rambally (1997) and Kentworthy (2007) explain, Africans have been indoctrinated to accept themselves as inferior to whites and to discard their own humanity, and as a result ascribe anything that is good to whiteness; thus a clear vision of Black Consciousness was the cultural and political revival of oppressed people. This was to combat the African people’s acceptance of the myth that black is an alienation from the “norm”, which is white, and that Africans should continue to judge themselves against

white standards. It is worth connecting the above arguments with films such as *Elelwani*. As I will argue in the subsequent chapters, *Elelwani* rejects the established Hollywood techniques and this situates it within the borders of Black Consciousness. *Elelwani* rejects the West's standardization of film techniques; examples include the use of long takes, few close-up shots and oral narratives. Teshome Gabriel (1988) argued for these alternative film techniques. Gabriel extensively argued that the Third World cinema is far different from the First World cinema in a sense that its form and sometimes content tends to draw from the socio-political conditions in which it is found. However, it is worth acknowledging that this trajectory has changed; First World cinema can now be found in the former Third World countries, for example, the influence of Hollywood can be seen all over the world, also, Third World cinema can be found in First World countries. What this leads us to is realizing that both First and Third World cinematic practices are currently involved in re-working cinema from how Hollywood has introduced and maintained it.

Black Consciousness was a movement without borders and influenced the diaspora. The likes of Julius Nyerere of Tanzania (then Tanganyika) influenced the emergence of Black Consciousness. Nyerere's ideas of African Socialism and self-reliance which were similar to Black Communalism - the state owning the land, village cooperatives, state involvement as well as private initiatives and ownership of a communitarian basis in industry and commerce, rejecting foreign investments - and Ubuntu are some of the principles from which Black Consciousness drew (Rambally cited in Kenworthy, 2007:57 and Pityana cited Kenworthy, 2007). Frantz Fanon also played a significant role in the advent of Black Consciousness. Fanon's "desire to break the psychological shackles of colonial discourse, his Universalist and humanist rejection of Africanist Negritude, his rejection of 'gradualist solutions', his 'mistrust of the bourgeois black to anxiously step into the shoes of the exploiter' and his rejection of the influence of white liberalism" all influenced BCM through how the latter emphasised on rejecting white domination and white supremacy (Gerhard and Halisi in Kenworthy, 2007).

The Negritude Movement was a political-cultural ideology enforced and redefined in Paris in 1934 by black intellectuals as a response to racial dispossession (Dash, 1974). Leopold Sedar Senghor (1974) adds that the word "Negritude" was coined by Aime Cesaire, a Martiniquais poet, then followed by himself, Senghor (who went to become president of Senegal), and Leon Damas of French Guiana. This movement focused on breaking down and rejecting the established stereotypical boundaries that had been set down for black people due to colonialism. One of the similarities between the BCM and the Negritude Movement is how both placed emphasis on the celebration and uniqueness of being black, of being African, and on African cultures and traditions. The most powerful thing colonialism did was to strip of Africans their uniqueness and their ways of expressing it. Hence BCM drew a great stance on black issues from the Negritude Movement based on how the latter focused on celebrating black African identity. However, Pal Ahluwalia (2006) indicates that the Negritude Movement had criticisms, contradictions and ambivalences. Ahluwalia (2006:230) argues that the Negritude Movement "was by no means a movement that could be regarded simply as relativist and one which merely reaffirmed the racial binaries which it sought to dismantle". This was because the Negritude Movement was criticised for merely seeking to dismantle white domination by replacing it with black domination, something that was viewed as wrong. BCM never intended to replace white domination with black domination,

the movement merely intended to reclaim the lost dignity of black people and fight issues and fight the mere assimilation that black people were always expected to perform.

BCM is still relevant in post-apartheid South Africa. My point of emphasis is that Black Consciousness in the 1960s, and leading to the 1970s and early 1980s established conceivable and concrete strategies to address the cultural and psychological effects of colonialism and apartheid and to eradicate the legacy of these periods. My argument is that this can lead to an integrated approach to solving South Africa's problems that include non-economic psychological solutions. Ndikho Mtshiselwa (cited in Maserumule, 2015) argues that the fundamentals of the apartheid colonial social orders are still in place, and the democratic regime is unwittingly administering them, instead of changing or providing leadership towards their destruction. Maserumule states that this is the irony of South Africa's transition from apartheid and colonialism, which gave the colonial matrices of power space to, in Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni's words, continue to exist in the minds, lives, language, dreams, imaginations and epistemologies of modern subjects (cited in Maserumule, 2015). I contend that for as long as this situation exists, Biko's philosophies of Black pride through Black Consciousness will continue to be relevant. Biko (1996:20) said that Black Consciousness "seeks to infuse the black community with a new-found pride in themselves, their effort, their value systems, their culture, their religion and their outlook on life". This argument is exactly what still makes Black Consciousness relevant in today's society.

In order to determine the extent to which Black Consciousness is relevant to post-apartheid cinema, an analysis of the ways South African cinema has fared under the new government will be necessary. Additionally, I seek to analyse some overarching areas of post-apartheid cinema that Black Consciousness can still inform or develop, for example, decentralizing and opening up access to cinema to every filmmaker, embracing cultural ideas and storylines in cinema without having to cater to the international market only and portraying black pride and Africanism with strong financial support from local funding and distribution institutions. Biko (1996) argued that if there is a change in colour of the occupier that does not mean that there will be a change in the system, thus true liberation requires social change. This is the point through which I am willing to analyse the level of social change in post-apartheid cinema using Black Consciousness.

I do acknowledge that BCM does not directly relate to cinema, especially post-apartheid cinema because Black Consciousness was a movement of the 1970s leading to the end of the 1980s. However, cinema cannot exist in a vacuum. Cinema cannot exist in isolation from social forms and social debates that take place around it. During the 1970s South Africa faced oppression issues such as racism, white dominance, and racial segregation, against all of which Black Consciousness fought. In post-apartheid South Africa, we face issues such as corruption, xenophobia, economic power in the hands of white minority. From the 1950s to the late 1980s writing and cultural expression (poetry, music, and theatre) played a role in fighting apartheid, I seek to find the relevance of Black Consciousness to the prevalent issues faced in post-apartheid South Africa and propose a framework to examine whether post-apartheid cinema takes note of them and represents them. Such a framework is a discursive platform for issues that are facing black communities in post-apartheid South Africa and the role that cinema plays in representing those issues.

## **Afrocentrism**

In the late 1970s, Molefi Asante started to write critically about the concept of Afrocentricity in the context of African-American. However, this concept is not new. The term Afrocentricity was used by W.E.B Du Bois in the 1900s, Kwame Nkrumah in the 1960s, Asante followed in the 1970s (Asante, 2009). Tsehloane Keto (2001) notes that his work *The African-Centered Perspective of History* is one of the continuations of the endeavours by Cheik Anta Diop, Tsenay Serequeberhan, Kwasi Wiredu, Kwame Gyekye, D.A Masolo, Okondo Okolo and E. Wamba-Dia-Wama about how they studied African history, culture, and philosophy, which in essence constitute Afrocentricity. The basis of Afrocentricity when it was first used was to ask: “What would African people be if there were no white people?” In other words, how would Africans be if there was never colonialism or slavery? Afrocentricity answers these questions by centralising the African subject and/subjectivity within African history (Asante, 2009). In chapters 4, 5 and 6 this concept will feature predominantly to decode whether the films feature elements of centralising African subjectivity within their storylines or not, either aesthetically or technically.

Asante (2003) writes about Afrocentricity as a mode of placing African people in the centre of analysis of African phenomena. He theorizes Afrocentricity as “a mode of thought and action in which the centrality of African interests, values and perspectives predominate” (Asante, 2003:3). As I have mentioned, this is exactly what the subheading of Africanism will be focusing on in the analysis of the films. According to Baker (1991) and Mazama (2001), Afrocentricity is not about claiming Africa back; it is about empowering counter-hegemonic philosophies of Europe. Furthermore, Keto (2001:6) explains that “African history must possess a fruitful theoretical relation and linkage to the history of Africans in the Nile Valley and ancient Kamet”. Asante (2003: vii) also affirms that “I wrote Afrocentricity because I was convinced, and I remain convinced, that the best road to all health, economic, political, cultural and psychological in the African community is through a centred position of ourselves [Africans] within our story”. Asante, Baker, and Mazama affirm how Afrocentrism introduced a very important reference to the African community; it has become a formidable Pan-African force that must be reckoned with. According to Asante (2003:3)

No longer are Africans looking whitely through a tunnel lit with the artificial beams of Europe, we are now able to experience the Afrocentricity that the great prophets Garvey, Du Bois, Fanon, Bethune, Nkrumah, Muhamad, Malcolm X and Karenga had predicted for us.

At a time when the term “Afrocentrism” was still finding its feet in Diaspora Studies, it became inevitable that the challenge for Africans was monumental: African liberation. The solution is that true African liberation rests upon whether Africans can systematically displace European ways of thinking. Out of this view, Kwame Nantabu (1996:74) affirms that the Afrocentric idea is a powerful one; it represents the “most challenge to the Eurocentric power structure in the last 100 years”. Afrocentrism is a powerful tool against Eurocentric rationalism and empiricism. Asante argues that Afrocentricity rejects viewing the world from a “white perspective”. Mazama supports this argument by stating that the unconscious adoption of the West’s worldview and perspectives and their conceptual framework is one of the concerns to which Afrocentricity should oppose. The problem here is

that if Africans do not reject Eurocentric values, they find themselves relegated to the periphery, the margins of European experience. Africans find themselves as “spectators of a show that defines us from outside” (Mazama, 2001:387). This suggests that Africans do not exist in their own terms, but in European terms.

In *Life, Above All* the director represents HIV/AIDS from the African perspective; the director uses what I will refer to as a “black sensibility” to tell the story. The film features HIV/AIDS from a South African cultural perspective. The socio-economic effects of HIV/AIDS in South Africa are unique to this context and different to the effects in places like Australia or New Zealand or any other place. Thus, the framework seeks to analyse the extent to which post-apartheid films deal with the cultural lives of local people and social issues such as HIV/AIDS which can be given priority when making local films, as I will argue for in *Life, Above All*. What also needs to be examined in post-apartheid cinema is the use of African oral narratives. I seek to study the effect of using African oral narratives in post-apartheid cinema. Some African countries have already started incorporating African oral narratives in their films, Mali (*Fantan Fanga*, 2009 by Ladjali Diakate and Adama Drabo, *Timbuktu*, 2014 by Abderrahmane Sissako), Zimbabwe has also been at the forefront of centralizing oral narratives in its cinema (*Neria*, 1993 by Godwin Mawuru, *Forbidden Fruit*, (2000 by Sue Maluwa-Bruce, Yvonne Zuckermantel and Beate Kunath), and of course, not to leave behind the great African evolution, Nollywood. Nollywood has grown rapidly to the even influence other African cinemas such as Cameroonian cinema and the Ghanaian cinema. Nollywood makes stories from ordinary and everyday narratives. What a cinema of Black Consciousness seeks to question is does post-apartheid cinema do that, and if not, then what could be the reasons. These are elements which will reflect the Afrocentric nature of our creative works.

## **African Renaissance**

On May 8<sup>th</sup>, 1996 at the South African Constitutional Assembly, the former president of the Republic of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, established the genesis of the African Renaissance ideology. In 1999 Mbeki gave his famous speech *I am an African*, in that speech he set a tone for the Renaissance project. Mbeki, without necessarily mentioning the African Renaissance in his speech, nonetheless, “did make the emotional, ideological, and political connections necessary for his call for an African Renaissance” (Bongmba, 2004:291). Mbeki conceptualised a programmatic vision for what African Renaissance is and promoted it as a social imperative, “making it a critical component of change” (Bongmba, 2004:292).

Bongmba (2004:291) states that Mbeki’s call for an African Renaissance is a call for “the liberation of African states, and their economies; their institutions of values that must replace corruption and incompetence; as well as seeking the peaceful resolution of conflicts”. African Renaissance calls for a post-nationalist agenda that will revitalize Africa’s cultural ideals that will promote a new political culture on the continent (Bongmba, 2004). Filmmaking that has the interest of the people at heart can promote the new political culture of the continent. Films such as *Four Corners* (2014) by Ian Gabriel, which looks at the everyday lives of the Coloured people at Cape Flats, promote the new political culture in which artists are using their craft to represent social-economic upheavals. *Elelwani* also consolidates female’s lives

with cultural obligations in a modern world, here the filmmaker is using art to as a cultural ideal, like it was the case with the New African Movement to promote the conflict that erupts when modernity encounters black people's cultures.

The African Renaissance envisioned by Mbeki promotes new and viable political as well as economic frameworks for Africa both at a local and an international level. Mahmood Mamdani (1999) and John Stremlau (1999) show that an African Renaissance lies in its capacity to go beyond the history of Africa that colonisers have distorted, it digs deep into the African past in order to redefine Africa. As a result, I will sum up the analogy of an African Renaissance into two concepts – decolonization and de-racialization, the demise of racial segregation. This discussion calls for a robust conversation on decolonization in cinema. Decolonization in cinema must not only be in content, but also in form. Here I will look at *Elelwani* and *Life, Above All* to indicate how decolonization of the silver screen is already in motion in South Africa.

Seleiti (1999:53) adds that “the general definition [of African Renaissance], however, avoids the danger of objectifying Africa, for example, in the context of South Africa; it distances itself from the objectification of white superiority, male superiority, Europeanism, or even Africanism”. However, this does not mean that the concept distances itself from colour differences in Africa and the challenges imposed by that. On the contrary, in these films, I am not looking for elements that aim to shy away from white superiority, Europeanism or Africanism as is the case with African Renaissance. I defy African Renaissance in this respect by specifically looking for elements that portray Africanism as a symbol of pride over Europeanism. This will not result in creating hierarchies, like it was the case with the Negritude Movement. This is for unlearning certain “truths” in order to give African stories an opportunity of analysis from African perspectives because they never got that opportunity in South Africa for a long time, whether they portray Africanism in form or content. Mamdani (1984), Fanon (1968), Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1994) and Herbert Vilakazi (1997) have all sung the chorus of the call for decolonization and de-racialization of Africa so that there can be a new and non-objectified notion of Africa. This is what this study will be looking for in these films.

The question that arises in the call for an African Renaissance is: why do we think our Renaissance will succeed? The answer that Makgoba (1999) gives is that this renaissance is conceived and led by Africans; Africa is today a relatively ‘free continent’ and that allows Africans for the first time to address African issues. Furthermore, this concept is not new to Africa, it has always been there. One cannot talk about an African Renaissance, its past, future and its significance without mentioning Queen Regent Lebotsibeni of Swaziland, Mahomed V of Morocco, the influence of Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, the role played by Murtala Mahomed of Nigeria, and Patrice Lumumba of Zaire. It will be impossible to talk about the sustainable ideas of an African Renaissance to the future of Africa without speaking about Amilcar Cabral of Guinea-Bissau, Agostinho Neto from Angola, Eduardo Mondle and Samora Machel of Mozambique and Seretse Khama of Botswana, and Africans in the diaspora in United States of America, W.E.B Du Bois and Martin Luther King jr. the Jamaican, Marcus Garvey and South Africa's own, Albert Luthuli and Oliver Tambo (Magubane, 1999).

## **African Cinema(s)**

African cinemas today owe their legacy to legendary African filmmakers of anticolonial struggle in cinema; the likes of Ousmane Sembene, Med Hondo, Sarah Maldoror, and Haile Gerima (Stefanson, 2009). These filmmakers formed part of the anticolonial project of cinema with a mission to challenge the Western representation of Africa. The role played by filmmakers such as Sembene and Hondo led to the realization that the role of a filmmaker in a society is a philosopher, educator and a historian (Tcheuyap and Nkunzimana cited in Stefanson, 2009). An example of this is the Cameroonian cinema as a promoter of political awareness and democracy (*Afrique, je te plumerai*, 1992 by Jean Marie Teno) and documentary filmmaking in Congo (*Kafka au Congo*, 2010 by Marlene Rabaud and Arnaud Zajtman) and a Rwandan film (*Hotel Rwanda*, 2004 by Terry George). This indicates that cinema can be a platform for African self-confidence as an antidote to the African misery and inferiority promoted by Western cinemas (Tcheuyap and Nkunzimana cited in Stefanson (2009).

According to Matthias Krings and Onookome Okome (2013), Nollywood has become the most visible form of cultural identification through cinema on the African continent. Nollywood is a pan-African affair. Krings and Okome (2013) argue that Nollywood has greatly influenced filmmaking in Africa (Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and even South Africa). As a result of Nollywood, many African filmmaking practices stir the imagination of the audience, and provoke them to compare their daily lives to the ones they see on the screens, making cinema relatable to the indigenous population.

In some parts of Africa cinema is an old practice. Francoise Pfaff (2004) acknowledges that the northern and southern parts of Africa have had cinema longer than other parts. However, the use of cinema as an expressive tool is a new experience. However, it is always important to note that cinema came to Africa at the expense of the distortion of African identities at the hands of European colonisers. The Senegalese film director, Ousmane Sembene (cited in Pfaff, 2004:1) argued that

Before we started to make films, Europeans had shot films about the African continent. Most of the Africans we saw in those films were unable to set one foot in front of another by themselves. African landscapes were used as settings. Those films were based on European stories.

The Ethiopian filmmaker, Haile Gerima (cited in Pfaff, 2004) supports Sembene's argument by also criticising the white colonial representation of Africa. Since its invention, cinema has been used to spectacle Africans' sufferings and way of living. According to Gerima (cited in Pfaff, 2004:1)

Africa is generally a very good place for films and they undermine our misery by putting us in the background, which is where we are in Western history. Africans are betrayed on the screen but this is also true of Asians, Arabs,

Indians and Mexicans. Usually Third World people are backgrounds for Tarzan, John Wayne and other Western heroes. They are part of the landscape and they are used for a function – like to bring an orange to the master – and they walk out of the scene. We are never human beings. We are underdeveloped characters. Our sex life, our feelings of love and hatred are not explored because they don't see us as part of a society.

Gerima questions the ways in which Western cinemas ignore and reject Africans as human beings. The perpetual use of Western actors in telling African stories is one of the big concerns in African cinemas, particularly in South Africa, with Denzel Washington as Steve Biko in *Cry Freedom* (1987), Morgan Freeman as Nelson Mandela in *Invictus* (2009) Idris Elba as Nelson Mandela and Naomi Harris as Winnie Mandela in *Mandela: The Long Walk to Freedom* (2013), Forest Whitaker as Ali Sokhela and Orlando Bloom as Brian Epkeen in *Zulu* (2013). This does not end here. South Africa has recently become appealing to the international film industry; the use of South African locations continues to flourish in films from Hollywood and Bollywood. Two examples of these are *Avengers: Age of Ultron* (2014), shot in Johannesburg and *Giver* (2014), shot in Cape Town. Some of Bollywood films shot in Cape Town include: *Andaaz* (2003, Raj Kanwar), *Welcome* (2007, Anees Bezmee), *Cocktail* (2012, Homi Adajania) and *Aashiqui 2* (2013, Mohit Suri). This resonates with Gerima's argument about the use of Africans and Africa to tell Western stories. Both the NFVF and DTI promote the use of South African locations by international film production companies; South African locations are now commodities sold to the international market for consumption. However, this is not a problem, as long as it also benefits the local filmmakers as much as it benefits their international counterparts.

Ukadike (1994:2) argues that “since its inception, black African cinema has been struggling to reverse the demeaning portrayals by the dominant colonial and commercial cinemas which blatantly distorted African life and culture”. Likewise, according to Daniel (1993) and Nkunzimana (2009), the biggest challenge for African filmmakers is the decolonization of the African screens. In the context of a cinema of Black Consciousness I do acknowledge that African cinemas have made enough progress to sufficiently deal with African problems, and to speak to African issues, thus the framework seeks to analyse how far South African cinema is in that process. Unfortunately there are still a number of issues facing African cinemas: lack of sufficient funding, being foremost among them. Ukadike (1994) indicates that, this is partly due to the colonial past and exacerbated by a very obvious neo-colonial presence through post-apartheid ideologies and the government. This reality has prevented any real national cinematic cultures in Africa to emerge. But there are few exceptions, as I have indicated; Nollywood and the Ghanaian cinema are two examples of cinematic experiences that have evolved to the level of social tools for their own people, to speak the language of the people, to tell the stories of the people, and to care less with international film techniques but just tell African stories for everyone, and not just Africans. This is evident with the rise of Nollywood films in America and Britain. Furthermore, as a result of colonialism and neo-colonialism came neo-liberalism which resulted in the commodification and commercialization of products. This is one of the issues faced in South Africa; films are funded for the mere purpose of making enough revenue at the box office.

Commodification of cinema means that filmmakers will need a lot of money to make films, because they have to make profit. Even ticket prices will continue to rise. However, with the continuous lack of funding, the emergence of a national cinema also continues to decline. This is because filmmakers need money to make films, and should filmmakers make films that celebrate national identity it means more funding is needed. However, when they get funding that is not sufficient, as it is the case with the South African context, they will resort to making films that appeal to the broader global market, films that will attract investors, films that counter the national identity celebration discourses. They will find appeal in making films that will generate them income. Hence I argue that in South African context, lack of funding has led to the slow death of the rise of the national cinema. However, it is not only lack of funding that denies us a true national cinema as more funding will not do anything for as long as structural mechanism mentioned above are still in place. For example, for as long as funding institutions continue to micromanage filmmakers by expecting them to follow Western modes of filmmaking, no national cinema will emerge, because as I have argued before, African stories need their own storytelling techniques, Western techniques cannot always accommodate them. This means more intervention is needed to make sure that national cinema emerges, we need to minimize the influence of Western storytelling techniques, decentralize film distributions because they also contribute to which stories can be seen, establish quotas for how many South African films need to be played in cinemas nationally. All these are structural forms that continue to influence post-apartheid South Africa, and they need to be addressed.

Due to Western technological and financial support for African cinemas, aesthetic principles originating in African cultures have not found sufficient relevance in films and as a result, indigenization of cinema becomes impossible (Papaioannou. 2009). However, this is questionable, to an extent. Nollywood has done the best it can to centralize storylines within the oral narratives and folk tales, creating stories that are rich in proverbs and idioms (*Angel of Darkness*, 2002 by Samuel Opeoluwa), *Daskin Da Ridi* (2012, Aminu Muhamed Sabo). But financial interests are always at the peak. A Cameroonian filmmaker Jean-Marie Teno (1996:71) suggests that “our cinema must choose between immediate profitability, which condemns it to participate in the organised brutalization of the continent, or making a contribution to the necessary reflection about freedom, at the risk of becoming unpopular”. To an extent, Teno is correct, however that was 20 years ago, and things have changed in Africa. In Botswana, for example, you have filmmakers who make straight to DVD movies such as *Chobolo* (2016 by Gaone Tshegonetso), *Maikgethelo* (2012, by Natasha Chamarisinghe), *O bone o ja Sereto* (2012 by Joel Keitumetse). These are stories that care less about profit, and more about getting the story and message across to the audience. But majority of these filmmakers have given up on their craft after 2-4 years of operation due to lack of support from local audiences and the government.

One of the scholars who wrote critically about cinema, especially Third World Cinema is Teshome Gabriel. Gabriel’s work on Third World Cinema is going to form part of my critical framework. According to Gabriel, Third World filmmakers do not bother themselves with the technical and artistic perfection of filmmaking. The films concentrate on the lives and struggles of Third World people. Here, the film is employed as an ideological tool and the filmmaker focuses on the concerns of the mass audience. This is one of the approaches that my framework uses in the study of post-apartheid films.

## **Post-apartheid South African cinema**

McCluskey (2009) reminds us that media culture in some parts of Africa has done the best it can to be independent. In this, coupled with a growing community of filmmakers no longer confined by race, the questions grow sharper: “what is the responsibility of the filmmakers to history, to the nation and to individual artistic calling? Is there a national cinema or even a desire for one? Do the dictates of global market force such questions to moot”? McCluskey (2009:2). These questions will inform my analysis of the state of post-apartheid South African cinema. This will advance my investigation of to what extent, if any, have filmmakers in South Africa been given the platform to address issues of blackness freely, especially with the country’s history and with the influence of the “rainbow nation” paradigm prevailing.

South African cinema has always been excluded from discussions of African cinemas, with little note, if any, made to it. Even in the new South Africa, no serious consideration for a South African cinema has emerged in scholarship on African cinemas to make up for the silence and erasure of black life that came with apartheid (Balseiro and Masilela, 2003). This is a very serious setback for the South African film industry because it does not get enough recognition in debates around African cinemas. South Africa needs scholarship that will pay a special attention to how the country’s film culture is evolving. The country’s film culture must match up to those of their counterparts in the continent if it needs to get an aesthetic recognition that countries such as Mali, Tanzania, Ghana and Ethiopia receives. South Africa is a racially diverse country and should perhaps pride itself on using its indigenous cultural aspects to compete against this dominance. Tswana people must tell stories about Lowe, Venda people must write films about Musango, we need to see Pedi stories that talk about the Modimolle Mountain. I will examine whether this strategy is helpful when considering approaches that can help a South African cinema in dealing with the insufficient uniqueness that can make it distinctive.

Kgafela oa Magogodi (interview with McCluskey, 2009: 98-99) critiques the state of the arts industry in South African for silencing dissenting voices that do not conform to the rainbow nation principles of “forgiveness” and “moving on”

We are told that this is a country of miracles – the miracle of the birth of a rainbow nation. I wonder. Perhaps the greatest miracle in this country is how we have made silence an industry...people see things, they don’t talk about them, and they get rewarded for their silence. When you look in the arts, the voices that are promoted are those that buy into this paradigm of a rainbow nation, which is really incarcerating because you cannot go in there with everything. You have to leave some things behind and be nice. That’s what the rainbow nation thing is about. It’s about making pleasant gestures. If your art has rough edges to it or recalls things that people want to drop off the national agenda, if your art operates outside of special containers, there is a problem.

Magogodi argues critically about the state of the arts in South Africa. He critiques the silencing of the dissenting voices, simply because they do not conform to the “nation-building” principles. According to Oberholzer, South African cinema has much focus on international goals, aspirations and audiences, and this makes it neglect its own local audience and development. The two are questioning the technical and structural mechanisms put into place to censor stories that go into the local cinemas. This unpleasant artistic environment, to an extent, makes Saks (2010) less optimistic about the future of a South African cinema by explaining that it is characterised by failure, dependency, and abjection. Saks blames this on too much reliance and obsession with the global market by the South African film industry. This critique is very useful, especially in examining the growth of cinema in South Africa post-1994 and how it is always catering to international audiences before the local market.

Martin Botha (2012) offers an approach to the South African film history and the past. Botha focuses on the many highly creative uses of cinematic forms, styles, and genres as set against South Africa’s cinematic experience. This reflects my concern about our industry’s obsession with Hollywood cinematic techniques (three act structure, a clear protagonist, and antagonist, clear turning points, causal-chain effect and appeal to international audiences) that Hollywood has normalised. This is depriving our film industry a chance for growth and success and as argued earlier film funding institutions like NFVF and DTI are perpetuating this deprivation by expecting South African filmmakers to adhere to international cinematic techniques if they need funding.

One other scholar of post-apartheid cinema whose work is central to this paper is Litheko Modisane (2013). Modisane pays special attention to black-centred films and their socio-political themes such as gender, identity, sexuality and violence and examines whether they invoke public critical engagements. By public critical engagements, Modisane means “public critical reflections – direct or indirect – that come into being in the wake of films or in anticipation of a film” (Modisane, 2013:2). Treffry-Goatley (2010) and Botha (2006) expand on Modisane’s argument. They explain that cinema as a cultural industry, was at the dawn of democratic South Africa, given the opportunity, by the post-apartheid government, just like the rest of other political, economic and cultural institutions, to take forward and place emphasis on issues of equality, multiculturalism, reconciliation and freedom.

One of the problems that have arisen out of post-apartheid cinema is the use of international actors to tell South African-based stories. A French director, Jerome Salle (*Zulu*, 2013) in an interview with Young (2014:1) stated that:

I think South Africans have to understand that we have to release this movie (*Zulu*) all over the world. So it helps to have Hollywood leads. I think it’s a good deal because the Hollywood leads will also help South African industry to develop and learn by working with people like Forest or Orlando.

There are a lot of connotative messages in Salle’s statement. One can interpret him as literally saying that South African actors cannot succeed without the help of Hollywood actors. The

mistake that Salle makes is assuming that Hollywood determines and declares “a good talent”. *Zulu* had South African stars which included “Conrad Kemp, Brendon Daniels, Joelle Kayembe, Tanya van Graan and Khulu Skenjana” (Young, 2014:2) who could have been used as the lead actors. This is a serious problem for South African cinema, if not for the entire continent. Films such as *Black Diamond* (Pascale Lamche, 2010), *Black November* (Jeta Amata, 2012) *Beasts of no Nation* (Carry Fukunaga, 2015) *A United Kingdom* (Amma Asante, 2016) are made based on African stories but they all feature foreign actors as leading characters. Local characters are always supporting roles. In South Africa specifically this can be seen in all films based on the life of Nelson Mandela, none has a local actor/actress as a leading character. This is despite a great amount of talent that the country has, Sello Maake ka Ncube, Terry Pheto, Florence Masebe, Harriet Manamela, Tina Jaxa, Brenda Ngxoli, Seputla Sebogodi, Patric Ndlovu, Dumisane Mbebe. It is vital to develop the local industry using local talent. The advantage of this is that the performer, for example, will be familiar with the socio-political factors which the story and the location are based in. Hence it becomes easy for them to play the character effectively and convincingly to the audience.

Furthermore, Salle states that he has a lot of respect for the South African film industry for its use of great actors and film crews, but his worry is the amount of money invested in filmmaking. According to Salle (interview with Young, 2014:2) “if you want to make great movies you have to be able to sell the movies. You need to make South African movies that don’t just talk to South African people. If you want to get the money you have to make interesting movies, you have to be able to sell the story all over the world”. Salle’s pro-capital analogy of what makes a great a movie and what makes a movie sell is one of the problems facing South Africa. Funding institutions in South Africa – as I have discussed in chapter 1 – tend to follow the market-orientated system in funding films. Market orientation does not work for South African cinema because it is the system working on meeting clients’ needs through product mix. This system, which came to South Africa as a result of neo-liberal policies in 1996 fail to differentiate cinema from other sectors which aim to make profit. It treats cinema like other sectors in a form of business transaction. This can cannot be beneficial for South Africa at all especially considering the history of cinema as a tool for racial division in the country, for some cinema is still a tool towards healing, hence when it becomes commercialized that hope fails because accessibility to cinema still depends on financial stabilities.

## **Theoretical Framework**

### **Black Consciousness Philosophy**

The Black Consciousness Movement emphasised the political, social and economic revival of the black people and their self-realization. Alexander, Gibson and Mngxitama (2008:69) quote Biko affirming that

By Black Consciousness, I mean the cultural and political revival of an oppressed people. This must be related to the emancipation of the entire continent of Africa since the Second World War...I feel that the black people of the world, in choosing to reject the legacy of colonialism and white domination and to build around themselves their own values, standards, and outlook to life, have at least established a solid base for meaningful

cooperation amongst themselves in the larger battle of the Third World against the rich nations.

What we learn from Biko in the above passage is that cultural and political revival of the black people was the core of BCM. This is very crucial because it teaches us that BCM put black lives at the centre of analysis of the then political atmosphere. I believe this is where a cinema of Black Consciousness comes in. It needs to be understood as a framework that seeks to understand to what extent black issues are given a space in South African cinema. However, one of the most important things to consider, as Biko said with regards to race and BCM, is that BCM was not about negating white people, but negating white supremacy, this is one of the defining factors of a cinema of Black Consciousness. Such a framework does not intend to negate any cinematic practices. But rather, it aims to focus on whether black sensibility has a space in post-apartheid cinema.

One of the core arguments that came from BCM discussion, that a cinema of Black Consciousness can draw from is the point made by Woods (1987) Biko (1996), Rambally (1997) and Kentworthy (2007), explaining that Africans have been indoctrinated to accept themselves as inferior to whites and to discard their own humanity, and as a result ascribe anything that is good to whiteness; thus a clear vision of Black Consciousness was the cultural and political revival of oppressed people. This framework can build from this argument to understand how BCM led to the cultural and political emancipation of the black people.

The Negritude Movement was also very important in how the BCM emerged. This can also influence a cinema of Black Consciousness. The former intended to break down and reject the established stereotypical boundaries that had been set down for black people. What a cinema of Black Consciousness should do is study whether post-apartheid cinema has refuted and challenged the established cinematic rules and guidelines that came with colonialism because they serve mainly a particular culture, a culture that they come from. Hence, it becomes difficult for funding institutions which rely on those guidelines to fund stories which are outside the West's.

### Afrocentrism

One of the most important phrases in this philosophy is “what would African people be if there were no white people?” (Asante, 2009). In other words, how would Africans be if there was never an intervention of colonialism or slavery? This question does not steer any violent thoughts towards white people and their arrival in Africa. However, it is only raising a question that might be ignored. In terms of cinema, what this question could be asking is how Africans could have developed their own cinemas and their own cinematic techniques if white people never introduced their own. Africans have always been storytellers. They have always relied on folk tales normally told by a grandmother or a grandfather around firewood at night with grandchildren surrounding them. Africa has always been rich in stories, hence, if Afrocentrism speaks about centralizing the African subject within the African history it

would be an incomplete chapter to talk about a possible African cinema without mentioning at length the potential that oral narratives could add to that cinema.

The second key thought which stood out from the literature review in this philosophy was a quote from Asante, stating that Afrocentricity is “a mode of thought and action in which the centrality of African interests, values and perspectives predominate” (Asante, 2003:3). This point cannot be ignored as it will be a defining principle for a cinema of Black Consciousness. Such a framework will aim to study post-apartheid cinema and analyse whether it has given enough space to issues that are pertinent to the black population. This is cemented by Asante (2003: vii) when he further argues that “I wrote Afrocentricity because I was convinced, and I remain convinced, that the best road to all health, economic, political, cultural and psychological in the African community is through a centred position of ourselves [Africans] within our story”.

With Afrocentrism, the framework will study the types of stories that post-apartheid cinema has produced and whether they reflect the lives of black people in South Africa. However, this does not mean that I will study whether those stories are authentic about how they represent blackness. It means I will focus on whether blackness is being represented or not. I will also look at how African ideologies drive these stories for the sake of achieving a distinctive post-apartheid cinema that does not exist on the model of Western cinemas.

### African Renaissance

African Renaissance calls for a post-nationalist agenda that will revitalize Africa’s cultural ideals and that will promote a new political culture on the continent (Bongma, 2004). This is one of the key ideas from African Renaissance that a cinema of Black Consciousness will draw from. The main argument behind Bongma’s point is that Africa’s cultural ideas needs to be revitalize. Africa has always been defined outside its own cultural ideals, example include, religion. African Religions have always been disregarded. A cinema of Black Consciousness should step in and study these issues that normally do not make it to cinema. This framework also studies the role of cinema in revitalizing these unknown and unrepresented black issues.

According to Mamdani (1999) and Stremlau (1999) African Renaissance prides itself by correcting the African history that has always been told by colonisers, it digs into the past so that Africa is redefined. The most important thing here is correcting the history that has always been told by colonisers. This is one of the things that a cinema of Black Consciousness can draw from. Cinema has always been a victim of misuse by colonisers to misinform and misrepresent Africa. It is time that Africa filmmakers take a position and correct that history. It is one of the possible ways that the future generations of Africans will know about Africa the way it is, instead of getting to know about it as a place of war, hunger and diseases.

Where I also seek to situate cinema into African Renaissance is through understanding how a South African cinema can build relationships with other African cinemas, developing features and mandates that are similar to the ones of its own continent. In the words of Lucia Saks (2010:29), “African Renaissance is also about a cinema of one’s own, which is understood as black empowerment”. Saks makes a link between cinema and African Renaissance as creating one’s own cinema, that is, a cinema endorsing Africa’s various cultures, ethnicities, problems and so forth. This is where a cinema of Black Consciousness will feature. It will take elements of African Renaissance to produce a framework from various ways of living that Black people experience and are familiar with.

The three political movements discussed here, Black Consciousness, Afrocentrism and African Renaissance, have some common traits and differences among each other. The central argument of these movements is on revitalising, consolidating and solidifying Africa. Black Consciousness focuses on black liberation, African Renaissance speaks about the rebirth of Africa and Afrocentrism expresses black pride and Africans endorsing Africanism. The common aspect shared by these movements is their focus on rewriting the distorted history of Africa by the colonisers.

On the other hand, these movements have some differences. African Renaissance, for example, does not reject the influence and assistance of the West when Africa is unable to meet its own demands (hunger, disease outbreak, peace instability). However, both Black Consciousness and Afrocentrism reject any means of foreign influence or assistance to Africa as they argue that the same assistance is what weakens Africa. Furthermore, Afrocentrism’s focus is not just on political revival; it extends to the economy (same as African Renaissance) and the social status of Africa. On the other hand, Black Consciousness focuses on the project of decolonization of the mind, believing that the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed.

All these three movements, with their differences acknowledged, are very crucial in post-apartheid South Africa and for the purpose of this research. This paper calls for a cinema of Black Consciousness; such a cinema cannot be conceptualised and put into practice without reference to the above movements. Black Consciousness will offer a conceptual framework for what a cinema of Black Consciousness should focus on, blackness and black lives.

Below are the main features or aspects of a cinema of Black Consciousness that I will apply to each film to evaluate to what extent they feature blackness in their storylines. I draw these features from the above political ideologies based on their key arguments with regards to how black people should reshape blackness:

- 1) Africanism: - Textual - Do films portray a new world characterised by the solidarity of Africans to conquer economic, political, and social emancipation of Africa?

2) Black pride: - Contextual - Do funding institutions allow the filmmaker to reject the psychological shackles of the “slave mentality” and overcome the sense of inferiority and self-alienation through their artistic work?

- Textual - What kind of films do writers produce, what do they say about issues of blackness in the country? Do filmmakers have artist freedom to produce the work of their choice?

3) Self-realization: - Contextual - Is the film not judged according to Western values and norms? Are filmmakers allowed to experiment with storytelling techniques so that their techniques can fit the kind of stories they want to tell?

4) Self-sufficiency: - Textual and Contextual - Do filmmakers adopt leadership roles and take control of their own destiny in the story? This takes us back to the textual factors, it is important to know if filmmakers have a final say in how they want their stories.

All the theoretical and scholarly views extrapolated above assist me to argue that South African cinema, as an institution that is dynamic and multidimensional, exists within the monolithic purview of the Western world. Hence the need for a proposed framework. Such a framework has the ability to assist filmmakers and filmmaking funders in the country to change their perspective towards filmmaking in the country. Bernard (1994:6) proclaims that “we must break away from the seductions of first world ideologies and perpetuations of stereotypes and begin to fully comprehend the black historical experiences in relation to black filmmaking”. Bernard wrote in a context out of South Africa. However, his argument is very relevant to my call for a cinema of Black Consciousness as he is writing about recognizing the power of black filmmaking in America as a culture that challenges power dynamics. A cinema of Black Consciousness is able to create debates about ways in which filmmaking is evolving in post-apartheid South Africa and possibly change ways in which institutions of power (funding, exhibition/distribution) have been treating the country’s industry.

## **Cinema of Black Consciousness: Analytical Framework**

This section discusses the proposed analytical framework termed ‘a cinema of Black Consciousness’. The framework is a research method towards analysing, studying and critiquing how post-apartheid cinema deals with issues of black sensibility in post-apartheid cinema. Such a framework derives from the philosophies and ideologies of the BCM (I have already discussed what the framework will draw from this political philosophy in the theoretical framework). This framework consists of two major aspects which will be at the centre of analysing post-apartheid films: textual aspects and contextual aspects. The former analyses themes of the films, representation of black characters, centralising storylines on black characters and the development of distinctive film language that will divorce itself from the existing mainstream film language. The latter examines post-apartheid cinema on the basis of policies, funding models, and film development initiatives.

A research methodology refers to a general approach of conducting research, whether it is qualitative and quantitative. The former reaches its conclusions or answers its research questions through analytical and interpretative measures. The latter answers its research questions through analysing numbers; it requires interpretation of certain amount of data to reach the conclusion. This dissertation will rely on the former. The reason for this is that researchers use quantitative research methods mainly in the natural sciences to help study and understand natural phenomena. Qualitative methods, on the other hand, were developed in the social sciences to help researchers study social and cultural phenomena (Thomas, 2010). Therefore, qualitative methodology is ideal for the context of this paper as I am dealing with a cultural phenomenon (cinema).

Andrew Vassiliou (2006) explains textual analysis as a method for understanding how humans make sense of the world, how various cultures and subcultures understand who they are and how they fit into the world where they live. In the humanities field, textual analysis is useful for researchers working in cultural studies, media studies, film studies, and communication studies. When working with these texts using textual analysis, we will be seeking to understand the meaning behind the texts and make interpretations. The paper analyses and question elements that make meaning in films, elements such as, acting, directing, cinematography and locations. The purpose of this will be to make meaning out of the case studies and link that meaning to the larger context of a South African film industry.

The contextual analysis involves assessing the construction of texts, with a special eye on their historical and cultural settings. “A contextual analysis combines features of ‘cultural archeology’, or the systematic study of social, political, economic, philosophical, religious and aesthetic conditions that were in place at the time the text was created” (Behrendt, 2008:1). For the context of this study and filmic analysis, the focus is on films using contextual factors to examine films and putting them into the larger context of South African social, historical, cultural and political environment. Aspects such as policies, funding models, and film development initiatives take a centre stage.

On the discussion of post-apartheid cinema earlier on, the attention was on the NFVF, DTI and IDC in terms of their funding mechanisms for the film industry. This is because funding is one of the basic things that every filmmaker needs in order to make a film. I should indicate that the analysis of film funding is critical in both the contextual and textual analysis. The reason is that film funding has greatest bearing on which stories are told and how they get are told. An example of this is South African films that have been funded by foreign based investors such as *U-Carmen eKhayelitsha* by Mark Dornford-May (2005), *Tsotsi* (2006) and, *Invictus* by Clint Eastwood (2009). These films, although intended for the South African audiences still get to be told from the perspective of the foreign culture. This indicates that a person funding a film will somewhere and somehow influence how the story is told. The same applies to distributors in South Africa, they only distribute certain films, films that abide by the Western technical aspects and will generate them income. This leaves local films which do not abide by those principles at the periphery. As a result, we can see that funding and distribution both influence narrative techniques as well as aesthetic approaches that stories need to follow. Filmmakers are not free to tell their stories in whichever way they feel it is appropriate.

In unpacking the framework, according to Cheick Oumar Sissoko in an interview with Gugler (2003:4)

First of all, we have to establish the image of Black People, to contribute to overcoming this tragic absence of our images from the universe of images, so that we will finally recognize our place and our role, but also so that the North understands that we exist. We have a history, we have our cultures, we are people who have been organised, people who have known states, who have contributed to enrich world culture, who have participated in the two world wars, but all these contributions of Africa are obscured by the Occident all the time.

The analysis of the absence or presence of stories that reflect lives of black people forms nucleus of the framework. As Sissoko argues, black people have a history, have cultures, have existence but they have always been denied an opportunity to fully express those cultures, history and existence due to power dynamics that have always been enforced by the West. This framework seeks to study whether post-apartheid films establish and address the image of black people as it is evident in their daily lives. However, the framework does not aim to put down a set of criteria for filmmakers for how they must make films. But it is important, as Sissoko argues, to acknowledge that black people have a history and have different cultures, therefore, this framework seeks to study whether and how films in post-apartheid South Africa have represented such issues. As it is evident in the literature review, identities and cultures as well as the history of black people have always been in denial under the macroscopic eye of the West. Hence it is vital to study how cinemas have taken a responsibility to give black people, the “subhuman” their identities back

In the subsequent paragraphs I draw ideas from Black Consciousness and Black/Diasporic Cinema that informs a cinema of Black Consciousness. Such a framework studies whether identity together with pride are central in post-apartheid cinema in such a manner that seeks to empower black people to declare that they are not a potentiality of someone else; they are whole as who they are. This framework assesses whether there is any depiction of self and self-worth of black lives in a cinema of a country that is predominantly black. By so doing this framework will be analysing the extent to which post-apartheid cinema plays a role in shaping social cohesions.

A cinema of Black Consciousness draws from Black Consciousness’ radical philosophical and ideological stances. This is vital in understanding if whether post-apartheid cinema exists as an expression of a cultural revolution in the minds of the black population, studying if whether it exists as a revolutionary platform for self-love for blackness, for identity and revolution for cultural as well as a political assertion. It is worth quoting Biko (cited in Gibson, 1988:15) to clarify further the approach that this framework focuses on: “I must emphasise the cultural depth of Black Consciousness. The recognition of the depth of white invincibility forces Blacks to ask the question: ‘who am I?’ ‘Who are we?’ And the fundamental answer we give is: ‘people are people’”. From this context, I am situating a

cinema of Black Consciousness as a framework that studies whether post-apartheid cinema exists to restore the dignity of black people; as a framework that seeks to understand whether post-apartheid cinema provides filmmakers with the ideological platform to answer the questions of “who am I?” “Who are we?”

Quraish Patel (cited in AZAPO, 2014:1) explains that Black Consciousness aims to negate white superiority – ideologies that are created to maintain the colonial status quo that whiteness is superior to other races and other races must judge themselves based on the characteristics determined by whites - not to negate whites as a people. I merge a cinema of Black Consciousness with Patel’s argument. The framework does not seek to destruct any cinema of any sort. Instead, the framework seeks to study the progress of destructing white superiority in cinema, that is, the influence of Western cinemas. The framework seeks to determine whether the total rejection of white dominance and/or superiority in the cinema is possible and if so, how and how far South African cinema is in that process. A cinema of Black Consciousness also inclines towards what Fanon (1968) said in *The Wretched of the Earth*, that the colonised man who writes for his people ought to use the past with the intention of opening the future, and an invitation to action on the basis of hope. From this, I propose a cinema of Black Consciousness to suggest that Black Consciousness philosophies can grant a South African cinema a mandate to challenge the existing and continuing psychological and metaphysical shackles of Western domination in cinemas of the south.

A basic examination of post-apartheid cinema suggests that colonialism and post-colonialism cemented by their social and political effects dominate South African cinema. For example, the use of Hollywood techniques to determine which film gets funding and which one does not. In arguing further – and also based on the prior arguments in this section - I propose that a cinema of Black Consciousness should study such mishaps. Such a framework will also draw its purposes and goals from those of Black Diaspora Cinema, which will ultimately lead to “(1) decolonize the mind; (2) contribute to the development of a radical consciousness; (3) lead to a revolutionary transformation of society; (4) develop a film language with which to accomplish these tasks” (Ukadike, 1994:7). Here I will make a relationship between Black Consciousness, Third Cinema and a cinema of Black Consciousness. Third Cinema is the movement of cinema as a liberator of the oppressed; this is where Black Consciousness comes in, the mental liberation of the oppressed. Michael Martin (1995) suggests that in order to conceptualize black Diaspora cinemas one must be trace the history of the Third Cinema Movement. The call for cinema as cultural and revolutionary instruments (Third Cinema) came forth in the 1960s by Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino. The proposition was that cinema should be transformed from mere entertainment into an active means of delineation of social injustices (Solanas and Getino, 1969). The role of cinema was in the battle for the complete liberation of the oppressed, the camera becomes a gun, and the cinema is a guerrilla cinema. The Third Cinema movement was tied to the processes of decolonization and nation-building through cinema (Solanas and Getino, 1969).

With regards to Diaspora cinema, Ukadike (1994) raises another crucial point about African cinemas and this is the point that I should be aware of when shaping a cinema of Black Consciousness. He indicates that the African governments have indeed recognized and appreciated cinema as a tool for promoting traditional cultures; however, they have failed to

promote it. Nor have they tried to see cinema as a resourceful material that is worth investing in. As a result, filmmakers in Africa face “complexities of economic, political and psychological subordination” (Ukadike, 1994:3). Nonetheless, Yearwood (1999) insists that black filmmakers should use expressive forms and systems of significance that reflect the cultural and historical priorities of the black experiences. But the reality is that every filmmaker needs money to do that and this is where the state should come in, and one of the ways to do that is to force the private sector to invest into film subsidies that are handled by the state organisations and that can happen through taxation.

My main focus from these arguments is developing a framework that will study whether post-apartheid cinema exist as a tool for promoting traditional cultures and reflecting cultural and historical priorities of South Africa, mainly for the black population; does an old lady from Seshego, an illiterate person from Taung, a cultural and a religious man from Morokweng wa ga Maidi, Morokweng wa Ganyesa see themselves reflected in post-apartheid cinema? A cinema of Black Consciousness is a framework that seeks to study such issues so that scholars are able to understand if issues of black sensibility have a space in post-apartheid cinema. As Yearwood (1999) argues, there is a great success among independent African-Americans filmmakers who use cinema as an expressive tool, utilize its own vernacular space and time for storytelling and what works in their favour is both this and how the film narration of African-American cinema draws on the formal structures of black experience to organize story material (racism, white superiority, police shootings, etc.).

It is also important to bring in Gabriel’s discussion of Third World films and how they are tools for social cohesion. Gabriel argues that Third World films deal with cultural traditions; history and contemporary experience, which sometimes include oral tradition and folklore. This led Gabriel to develop a framework which consisted of three phases of Third World films. Third Cinema was an aesthetic and political project which intended to challenge structures. It was developed for filmmakers within the former Third World regions of Africa, Asia and Latin America. However, recently Gabriel’s Third World Cinema can also refer to Third Cinema. This is because words such as First World, Second World and Third World are no longer being used. Gabriel’s framework is very useful for a cinema of Black Consciousness as it sets down the elements for analysing films produced under different aesthetic principles from First Cinema and Second Cinema. I will incorporate his framework into a cinema of Black Consciousness when I am doing the analyses of *Elelwani*.

With regards to the analysis of key theories to underpin this study, I have developed the following characteristics for what I have termed a “cinema of Black Consciousness”:

- 1) Africanism: I look at how post-apartheid cinema is used to conquer economic, political, and social emancipation of Africa. To achieve this analysis, under the theme of Africanism in *Life, Above All* I will look at how the main character is represented to other central characters, especially her mother and her stepfather. I will discuss Africanism and Black pride together in this film. That is because they signify each other in *Life, Above All*. In *Elelwani* I will focus on how the film is able to feature issues such as arranged marriage without critiquing them, but instead celebrating them as African practices.

- 2) Black pride: In this subheading I will study how these films reject the psychological shackles of the “slave mentality” and overcome the sense of inferiority and self-alienation. In *Life, Above All* Black pride and Africanism are discussed together. In *Elelwani* Black pride and Africanism are also studied together.
- 3) Self-realization: Here I will look at how films centralize black issues; issues mainly affecting black communities instead of being expected to have themes with international appeal. In *Life, Above All* I will study how the film represents HIV/AIDS as well as the location in which the story takes place. As is case with the previous subheadings, I will discuss Self-realization together with Self-sufficiency in this film. In *Elelwani*, I will study how black issues, which is women struggle against traditions and/or culture are represented using distinctive film language that fit a black storyline, rather than relying on Hollywood’s techniques to tell a black story.

I have developed the above characteristics as core features for what I have termed a “cinema of Black Consciousness”. These characteristics are an approach to the analysis of post-apartheid films and towards understanding the way post-apartheid cinema has fared in terms of representing issues of black sensibility.

Below I show the framework in detail, factors that I will be looking for in the films. I need to state clearly that these are the factors that a cinema of Black Consciousness will use to analyse post-apartheid South Africa cinema. Furthermore, I need to clarify that a cinema of Black Consciousness has four themes which I draw from the two main aspects (contextual and textual), which are Africanism, Black Pride, Self-realization and Self-sufficiency. These are themes/factors which every scholar can use to study post-apartheid cinema. However, they are at the broader level. They do apply to the study of every film; but, each film must be studied in its own merit. For example, in this paper, I have developed two features (which I have drawn from the themes/factors) which I will use to study the three case studies. Those are Black sensibility for *Life, Above All* and distinctive film language for *Elelwani*. These features are different from the themes/factors, the former will vary from one film to the other depending on the scholar conducting the study, and every scholar will develop for themselves which feature they want to look for in their chosen film. The latter, on the other hand, lays down the foundation for the framework, they cannot be changed. They are the core themes/factors for the framework and they are applicable to every film. The scholar doing the analysis of a film will develop their own features from the film and study whether those features correlate with the themes of a cinema of Black Consciousness.

Now let me lay out the core features used in studying the chosen films. The focus on *Life Above All* is on what I call ‘black sensibility’. The focus of black sensibility in the analysis as mentioned on page 8 is on fighting defeatism as postulated by the BCM. Black sensibility is in three parts, the representation of Chanda (the main character) in relation to other central characters, the representation of the location (the setting in which the film takes place) and the centralization of HIV/AIDS (the central theme of the film). I will refer to these three

sensibilities collectively as a “black sensibility”. This is because they are specifically relevant to the black communities in this country and black people can share their effects from one setting to the other. Through black sensibility I argue that films must be criticised for whether they represent black lives and not authenticity of how they represent black lives. HIV/AIDS is still a pertinent and burning issue in South Africa, especially in poor black communities and the result of this is people suffering from the disease are facing discrimination and hatred from their neighbours for the fear of “getting infected”. These are the fundamental basis for which I am arguing that these factors as ‘black sensibility, and I will look at how the film represents them.

Second, the analysis of *Elelwani* is on the basis of its abilities and accomplishments in challenging and restructuring the dominant and accepted filmic practices. The interest is on how the director is able to introduce new filmic practices in South African cinema. This analysis is centred on the arguments made by Teshome Gabriel (1989) in his article *Towards a critical theory of Third World film*. In this article Gabriel is explaining Third World Cinema in detail. He elaborates how it differs from the dominant, Hollywood cinema. With that said, my argument will be centred on showing how *Elelwani* meets the characteristics of Third World Cinema (as stipulated by Gabriel) and how that compatibility defines *Elelwani* as a film that represents blackness at the level of content and how it establishes a distinctive cinema techniques at the level of form.

### **Chapter 3: *Life, Above All***

This chapter starts the discussion on how a cinema of Black Consciousness is applied to analysing post-apartheid films. I use this framework to study the extent to which *Life, Above All* speaks to issues that are of a concern to black people. The framework will study whether *Life, Above All* incorporates ideologies of Africanism, Black Pride, Self-realization and Self-sufficiency.

*Life Above All* is shot in a village outside Johannesburg. The film follows the life of Chanda (Kgomotso Manyaka), a 12-year-old girl who experiences her mother being abolished from their village. Chanda's mother, Lillian (Lerato Mvelase) loses her youngest child due to HIV and later her husband also dies. Then she also falls sick. Her symptoms are unknown to the community and they go untreated. The community gets outraged for the fear of the "unknown disease". When Lillian exiles herself, Chanda goes on a mission to find her and help her come back home. The HIV discourse in the film comes with many other issues; the female traditional doctor who casts spells and misleads the township all together by associating HIV with witchcraft, a stepfather who does not care about his family and brings the HIV infection home, child prostitution and village gossip which tears Chanda's family apart.

*Life, Above All* is a Dreamer Joint Venture Production in coproduction with Enigma Pictures, Senator Film Production and Niama-Film. Dreamer Joint Venture is a German production company founded in March 1997 by Oliver Stoltz. The company concentrates on the production of feature films and feature length documentaries (Dreamer Joint Venture, 2016). The film was funded by the Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media (BKM), Filmstiftung NRW and Medieboard Berlin-Brandenburg, German Federal Film Board (FFA) and German Federal Film Fund (DFFF) and DTI. As I stated earlier, a cinema of Black Consciousness does not study films that were only made by black directors, this is an inclusive framework. In *Life, Above All*, we have a film that is internationally produced and funded, with some funding from the DTI. That is very important to the framework as the who is funding the film plays a central role to how the story is told, and in fact, credit should go to the production that is mostly German for making a South African film that centralizes black sensibilities.

The focus on *Life, Above All* is on the representation of what I call "black sensibility". This black sensibility will include the representation of Chanda (the main character), location (the setting in which the film takes place) and HIV/AIDS (the central theme of the film). I will study how the film represents black sensibility and whether such a representation speaks back to issues that are troubling the black population in the country. The rationale for referring to this representation as black sensibility is that these are issues that predominantly affect black people. And my interest is not on how films represent black lives but on whether films represent issues affecting black people. In some of the South African communities children who are still in school are the heads of the families, either because parents are sick or they are no more (Hall and Meintjes estimated that the population of child-headed households was 54000 in the country in 2014). HIV/AIDS is still a pertinent and burning issue in South Africa, especially in poor black communities and the result of this is that people suffering

from the disease are facing discrimination and hatred from their neighbours for the fear of “getting infected”.

## **Africanism and Black Pride**

### **The representation of Chanda in relation to other central characters**

I discuss Chanda’s character in relation to one of the most burning issues in South Africa, if not the continent: child-headed families. Boule, Hall, Marera, and Meintjies, (2007) define a child-headed household as a household in which all members are, or are under, the age of 18 years. I extend this definition and define a child-headed household as a household in which there are or sometimes there are no parents, and a child, younger than the age of 18 is heading the family. According to The United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF) (2014:1) “there are an estimated 3.7 million orphans in South Africa, about half of whom have lost one or both parents to AIDS; and 150 000 children are believed to be living in child-headed households”. This contextual background is important and in-line with the arguments made in the discussions of African Renaissance. Hence, I use ideas in the philosophy of African Renaissance to understanding whether Africanism and Black Pride feature in *Life, Above All*.

According to Makgoba (1999) African Renaissance refers to the rebirth of the continent [Africa]. Seleti (1999) argues that ‘Africanism’ in “African Renaissance” is based on history and consciousness of the people; it distances itself from the centrality of colour and geography. Seleti adds that “the general definition, however, avoids the danger of objectifying Africa, for example in the context of South Africa; it distances itself from the objectifications of white superiority, male superiority, Europeanism, or even Africanism”. The director’s decision to place Chanda as a head of the family is exactly what African Renaissance seeks to ensure; that Africa problems take a centre stage in discussions of the continent. When Chanda realises that her mother’s condition is deteriorating, she hides her from the neighbours. When her mother leaves her and her siblings to go hide elsewhere, Chanda is left with the burden of taking care of her siblings. The responsibility placed onto Chanda is that of an adult. The director carefully constructs the storyline of a child-headed family by representing Chanda as the head of the family in the presence of both her parents. The most important thing about this storyline is that it places an African issue in the centre. The storyline consists of an Africanism element; a child-headed family. This argument is cemented by the theory of Afrocentrism. Asante (2003) writes about Afrocentricity as a mode of placing African people in the centre of analysis of African phenomena, that is, “Afrocentricity is a mode of thought and action in which the centrality of African interests, values and perspectives predominate” (Asante, 2003:3). Child-headed families continue to be a troublesome phenomenon to many African countries due to several social and health factors such as HIV/AIDS and high rate of unemployment. The challenges that Child-headed families bare for the society include, children dropping out of school to take care of their families, child pornography, rape and an increase of HIV/AIDS virus as children find themselves more vulnerable to having sex with anyone because they need money to take care of themselves and their families. That is the reason I am examining this theme in *Life, Above All*. It is a predominately African dilemma, and we are seeing the director bringing it forward in *Life, Above All*. Here we are witnessing a post-apartheid film centralizing another African

issue, exposing it so that people are aware of it. We are seeing the film providing a window into an African problem to distant world.

Placing Africa in the middle of analysis is very critical for understanding how *Life, Above All* portrays the theme of child-headed households. Thus it is useful to bring forth an argument about how the use of Chanda as a character in a black community reflects issues of Africanism and Black Pride. One cannot fully comprehend Afrocentricity if they do not know the general characteristics of Afrocentricity as well as the practical applications of the field:

(1) The Afrocentric method considers that no phenomena can be apprehended adequately without locating it first. (2) The Afrocentric method considers phenomena to be diverse, dynamic and in motion. This means that the investigator must know where he or she is standing in the process. (3) The Afrocentric method is a form of cultural criticism that examines etymological uses of words and terms in order to know the source of an author's location. (4) The Afrocentric method seeks to uncover the masks behind the rhetoric of power, privilege and position in order to establish how principal myths create place. (5) The Afrocentric method locates the imaginative structure of a system of economics, bureau of politics, policy of government, expression of cultural form in the attitude, direction and language of the *phenom*, be it text, institution, personality, interaction, or event. (Asante, 2009)

The objectification of black bodies has been a norm since the evolution of cinema in the West (Ukadike, 1994). In *Life Above All* the director makes sure that the representation of Chanda as a girl whose family has been affected by HIV/AIDS is not objectified. The film portrays Chanda as a very powerful character. One of the most striking elements about Chanda is that it takes almost 18 minutes of the film to show her shed a tear. From the beginning of the film, we see her family showered with despair and terror, but Chanda holds on until her little sister's funeral. This suggests that Chanda has a social responsibility, that of a parent. And the responsibility is that no matter the difficulty she must never fall apart as she would have failed the family. Hence it is easy to conclude that the family is looking up to Chanda to take care of the family. This is where we also see Africanism and Black Pride coming in. These two themes seek to ensure that African problems cannot be solved without centralising Africa and allowing Africans to take control of the situations. In the above quotation Asante lays out the structural foundations of Afrocentrism, that it seeks to reject power dynamics that the West imposed on Africa and that every social, economic and political phenomenon must first be contextualised and/or located before it is solved. In *Life, Above All*, through the subject of child-headed family it becomes inevitable that the director is taking a position to raise awareness about this siege but, also using the film as a cultural critique for social institutions of power to solve social problems like this one.

Chanda's family is overshadowed by misfortune because of HIV/AIDS and fuelled by community members' reaction to it. According to Marry Corliss (2011:1)

The secret horror destroying Chanda's family –neighbours call it 'the disease' - is AIDS. The father passed it on to his wife, the wife to the baby Sarah and

all three are mortally inflicted. The town people know how to condemn AIDS sufferers but do not know how to fight the plague. They try to ward it off with the magic and superstition they have used for centuries. They consult a shaman, who produces a snake from a woman's body; they visit a 'doctor' who is actually a pharmaceutical salesman, they sing a gospel chorale; finally they exile the sick to die out on the plains.

Based on the above-discussed scene by Corliss, I argue that the film incorporates elements of the African Renaissance and Afrocentricity by portraying the human conditions in Africa. The film positions an African girl, Chanda, in the centre of attention, scrutinize the responsibility that she has been given as the head of the family and leaves the questions to the audience, without coming up with answers for the audience or without putting the blame on anyone. This film forms part of the analysis of African crisis. An activist politician, Priscilia Jane (cited in Aning and Annan, 2016) argues that

The African Renaissance vision is an all-embracing concept that draws its inspiration from the rich and diverse history and cultures of Africa. It acknowledges that Africa is the cradle of humanity, whilst providing a framework for the modern Africa to re-emerge as a significant partner in the New World order.

This is exactly what we see in the film; instead of lambasting the African continent for the slow progress in combating the AIDS pandemic and the child-headed family, the film raises awareness about these phenomena. In summing up this argument, like it is the case with *Life, Above All*, it is important to allow the new generation of filmmakers to freely produce films that comes from their needs and taste, politicians have to lift the film industry in the same way as they lift the sociocultural and economic sectors and, a trust has to exist between politicians and filmmakers to make sure that no party sees the other as an enemy to the other. Ukadike regards these influences to have informed the efforts of the "pioneers of black African Cinema (to ensure that) cinema should be regarded as a powerful instrument in the development of the cultural ethos of a people" (Ukadike, 1994:3).

One of the critical moments in which we see Africanism and Black Pride intertwined in the film is at the end of the film. The community coming together to support Chanda and her siblings despite the hostility that they first threw at her is being eased. At the start of the film all the way towards the end Chanda and her family is under attack because an unknown disease. However, the religious moral that the community still has reverberates an element of urgency to them. We see the community coming to support Chanda after she went to search and found her mother exiled in the bush. There is almost a sense of communalism, Ubuntu in them. In this way we see the problem that terrorised Chanda's family again being the same problem that brings her closer to the community.

According to Alexander Prokhorov (2007:115) during the 1950s and 1960s films in the Soviet Union started to follow the socio-political effects of the Stalin leadership and in the "aftermath of World War II and the purges, the family unit is broken. While adolescents seek

mentors outside the traditional family, and may fall into traps and be misguided, it is the children who fix the broken family bonds”. In South Africa, after 1994 families were torn apart by apartheid, with mostly fathers having migrated to towns and cities seeking employment. This era resembles the Stalin era. Families were left abandoned and some families had to be headed by children. This is the scenario we see portrayed in *Life, Above All*. A young teenage girl is supposed to look after her family torn by HIV/AIDS. AIDS started gaining momentum in South Africa from the late 1990s. The film portrays HIV from the perspective of a child, a teenage girl. This portrays a message about some of the effects the end of apartheid had on the country, especially in children. The connection between families falling apart due to migration and HIV is that both these issues (migration due to apartheid and HIV) are socio-political factors which cause disunity and terror in the families. Hence we see HIV/AIDS in the film and element of Africanism cohabiting with togetherness, which in this case togetherness connotes African Pride. We see black people coming to fight a social issue they are facing.

Furthermore, in concluding the discussion around Chanda as a leading character, Thaw films (films that were created after the fall of the social repression and censorship of the Soviet Union) created adolescent heroes which aspired to be the future of the communist societies, adolescents who inherited a new set of values and aspired to be potential communist models (Prokhorov, 2007). This is all due to Communism, which is a highest form of Socialism. *Life, Above All* exists along the same paradigm. The main character is constructed as a potential future leader; however, the difference between her and the Thaw adolescent is that her potential comes at the expense of her future; she no longer goes to school and might even be tempted to follow prostitution just like her friend. But nonetheless, she carries the attributes of an adolescent protagonist that was born after the fall of Stalin in the Soviet cinema, *House I Live in* (1957 by Lev Kulidzhanov and Iakov Segel), *My Friend Kolka* (1961 by Aleksandr Mitta and Aleksei Saltykov), *And What if it's Love?* (1962 by Iulii Raizman). Having said that, this shows that *Life, Above All* is in contrast with Communalism, which is a political system that is mainly found in Africa. This is because part of Communalism is a unity amongst a group of people, normally of one ethnic group. But when the film represents Chanda as the head of the family after both her parents have deserted their home, it becomes clear that film questions the state of Communalism in African communities

It appears apparent that *Life, Above All* gives a touch on Africanism and Black Pride through its representation of Chanda as the head of the family. The film, as in the words of pioneering Senegalese filmmaker Ousmane Sembene, also gives black audience privilege to “see, feel and understand [themselves] through the mirror of film” (cited in Thackway, 2003:1). The prevalent argument is that, *Life, Above All* does constitute elements of Africanism coupled with Black Pride. This substantiated by Thackway’s argument (2003), it is imperative for African audiences to feel a sense of belonging in the cinema, African audiences must have full access to the world, cultures, norms and sufferings of fellow Africans from worlds that are far from them. This is what *Life, Above All* does. The film provides a window for fellow Africans to understand the core of HIV/AIDS in rural areas and townships, particularly in South African context.

## **Self-realization and Self-sufficiency**

### **The representation of HIV/AIDS and location**

In order to argue for Self-realization and Self-sufficiency in *Life, Above All*, I will use Mamdani's analysis (1994) of the role that black intelligentsia can play in reclaiming Africa's identity and rebuilding Africa. He makes the four main arguments

One, there can be no renaissance without an intelligentsia to drive it. Two, an African Renaissance requires an African-focused intelligentsia to drive it. Third, let us reflect on the sober morning-after realization that South Africa lacks an African-focused intelligentsia in critical numbers. Finally, there is a need to underline the key lesson of the past colonial academy in equatorial Africa (Mamdani, 1994:134).

African Renaissance has grown is understood as a collective analogy which requires everyone's attention and participation. According to Thabo Mbeki, the necessary and most essential element of African Renaissance is that we must all make an effort to encourage each other as Africans who carry "this leaden weight, to rebel, to assert the principality of her humanity" (Mbeki, 1998:2), that we are not beasts of burden, but we are merely humans and African beings (Mbeki, 1998). This assists Africans towards realizing that African Renaissance together with its aims and objectives can only be achieved if Africans define it themselves. This sets out the approach through which I look at Self-realization and Self-sufficiency in this film. I study how *Life, Above All* does not only represent black struggle but propel black solidarity, communalism and Ubuntu instead of portraying blackness and African ways of living from the European perspectives like it is the case with other films such as *The Gods Must Be Crazy I* (1982 by Jamie Uys). The film represents black people as creatures who are backward and stupid and have not encountered modernity. *Life, Above All* centralizes HIV/AIDS in a community, invite attention to this social and medical factor that is dividing the community. African Renaissance, African agency, African Reformation are all being questioned and invited through such a representation of, just like it is the case with *Yesterday*. Both *Yesterday* and *Life, Above All* conscientize African societies about the danger that HIV/AIDS is bearing on the societies whereby villagers go as far as exiling those living with the disease just because their symptoms are unknown.

In the previous subheading I discussed how the film focuses on one of the burning issues in South Africa, child-headed families. Nonetheless, the film was almost overlooked by the acknowledgment of international stars at Cannes Festival. According to (Eliseev, 2010:1)

The response towards the film so far has certainly made up for the lack of attention the filmmakers and actresses received at the South African party this past Saturday. It's something that upsets Schmitz and Buckle alike, who feel that such a fuss was made over Jennifer Hudson and Terrance Howards being in Cannes to promote the Winnie Movie, and by none other than the National Film and Video Foundation and the Minister of Arts and Culture, Lulu Xingwana. In speeches given that night, *Life, Above All* wasn't mentioned – at

all. Perhaps now the spotlight will shift a little to a film that's truly taking the festival by storm.

Eliseev raises a point that South African cinema is always a victim of, acclaiming international stars over the local stars. This is one of the matters that post-apartheid cinema must take into serious consideration should our cinema and stars be recognized for the work that they do. In 2011 *Life, Above All* was an official South African film for the Oscar Awards in the Best Foreign Language Film category. According to the then NFFV head of Marketing and Public Affairs "we are pleased to receive this exciting news. This is a great achievement bearing in mind that the film was competing with 66 other films from around the world" (ScreenAfrica, 2011:1). In May 2010 *Life, Above All* received a 10-minute standing ovation at its world premiere at the 63<sup>rd</sup> Cannes International Film Festival. At the 31<sup>st</sup> Durban International Film Festival, the film received the Best Actress Award by Kgomoiso Manyaka (Chanda).

The director of *Life, Above All*, Oliver Schmitz tells of his experience with the film at Cannes Festival. Schmitz (Eliseev, 2010:1) exclaims that

I was very nervous. Every time someone coughs, you think something is wrong; every time someone gets up, you think there is something wrong. But the reaction was amazing. I looked around to see everyone around me with their tears in the eyes. And then they were clapping for the actresses sitting next to me, and rightly so. They are so deserving of that praise.

Cannes Festival is one of the biggest Film Festival in the world. It is held annually in France, it aims to exhibit some of the best films produced in a year. Filmmakers know that being invited to show their work at Cannes Festival is probably one of the best moments of their career as a filmmaker. Hence Schmitz experience is understandable; his nervousness about the reception towards the film was to be expected because when your work receives a positive feedback at Cannes Festival it means the world will approve of it as Cannes is a film festivals attended by the best minds in the film industry. Oliver Schmitz is not new to South African cinema. He directed *Mapantsula*, *Hijack Stories* (2010), and *Shepherds and Butchers* (2016). *Mapantsula* was his first film to be screened at Cannes Festival. His latest film, *Shepherds and Butchers* also premiered in the Panorama section at the 66<sup>th</sup> Berlin International Film Festival.

It is very important to give the above contextual background. This background is vital to understanding the themes of Self-sufficiency and Self-realization in *Life, Above All*. The background makes us aware of the director's responsibility in a society. It is important to know who the director of the film is, what other work they have done and what achievements has the film made. All this takes us back to understanding the role that cinema can play in society. In the above background it is inevitable that Schmitz, a White director, told a black story, using black characters to raise awareness about issues relating to HIV/AIDS, alcohol, child-headed families. All this is important when we come to Black Consciousness,

Afrocentrism and African Renaissance because it makes us aware that an African problem is being centralised and analysed from African perspectives.

Moving on, I now look at the representation of HIV/AIDS as another black sensibility in the film. The two young girls, Chanda and Esther are portrayed as hopeless because of HIV/AIDS. The former's mother is sick, her stepfather and little sister passed away due to the infection. The latter is also at risk of the infection due to child prostitution that she is part of. Mitchell and Walsh (2004) highlight that many artists have boarded on numerous projects to tackle the issue of HIV/AIDS, its social, political and economic impacts. As Judith Pastore (1993) argues, artists have a social obligation to talk about discourses such as HIV/AIDS, not only as artists but as humans. Art has traditionally played a role in voicing issues of cultural concern, an artist "picks up signals when values are being threatened or when they need to be changed to accommodate new realities" (Pastore, 1993:1). The reality is that amongst the many black communities in South Africa HIV is still a concern. According to the statistics released by Statistics South Africa (in *News24*, 2015), around 1 in 10 people in South Africa are living with HIV. Statistics South Africa estimates that at least 6.9 million South Africans are HIV-positive. This means it is 11.2% of the estimated population of 54.95 million people. This number has increased by 2.17 million since 2002 when at least 4.02 million South Africans were HIV positive. These figures indicate the terror that HIV continues to bring to some of the social values in the country such as family, education and health.

According to Keely Macarow (2008), the stigmas of HIV/AIDS are greatly influenced by geographical locations. The geographical locations where the victims live disseminate traditional myths around HIV/AIDS (I can get HIV by being around people who are HIV positive, I can get the disease from kissing or hugging the person who is HIV positive, having sex with a virgin girl will cure HIV, AIDS is a death sentence). Some, not all, of these myths and misconceptions, we can see them in *Life Above All*. For example when Jonah (Chanda's stepfather) comes back from Johannesburg the people burn the wagon that carried him when he came back, assuming that they will get infected from the wagon, the people also accuse Chanda's mother of bringing them curses and Jonah accuses her of poisoning Sarah (their late toddler) with the milk from her breasts. As evident in the film, HIV is not just a medical problem, but a social problem. People fear those that are infected. Community members fear that living together with the people with HIV will infect them also. To the community members, HIV is a curse, not a medical problem. They fear that the curse will spread among them all. Henceforward, they see it best to remove those with the disease from their surroundings. Here the director is cautioning the audiences about the stigma surrounding HIV victims in some black South African societies. The director is claiming a leadership role that African Renaissance emphasises on, the director is using a film as a weapon to raise awareness about HIV. The director becomes an intelligentsia who takes a stand against HIV as an issue that continues to devastate Africa.

The film is deconstructing the HIV/AIDS pandemic. It situates Chand as a teenage girl in the middle of a village characterised by stereotypes, patriarchy, disease, ignorance and poverty. For example, when the film opens Chanda is in the mortuary with the undertaker to look for low-price coffins. Her mother is at home holding the late toddler in her arms and refusing with the baby to be buried, probably due to the pain of losing her child. Chanda's

responsibilities of organizing the funeral and looking for the coffins subject her to sad circumstances that no teenager should go through. Meanwhile, Jonah is at a tavern, with a mistress and they are spending money spending the funeral money buying alcohol.

In *Life, Above All*, the director restores the dignity of the location (village) space by making sure that no stereotypes for the location occur or are eminent. In fact, the location in the film becomes part of the other antagonist –HIV/AIDS- by making it completely impossible for Chanda's family to live in harmony with the other community members. The location traps Chanda into the chains of struggle. She has to be the head of the family, even when both her parents are still alive. The village is a powerful character in the story, it consists of poverty, poor service delivery (there are no hospitals, police stations, roads and transport) and alcoholism. The children, even the elders have no hope in this village. People have nothing else to do, they spend their time drinking and gossiping. This portrays the power that a person's surrounding and environment have on their success or failure. Lack of motivation leads Chanda to have doubts about school, pushes her friend (Ester), a 13-year-old girl, to child prostitution. Ester is even in competition with older women. These are some of the connotative messages embedded in how the village is a character in the story. The director is critiquing the future of most black communities, the idling of young people in the streets, poor service delivery, and lack of employment. In this regard, we see the director shifting the attention of the audience to understanding how black lives must change. The director is building a destiny for the black population. He does that by critiquing this village so to open up the eyes of the people, to realize the future that they are heading to.

Jonah comes back home carried on the back of a wagon after disappearing to Johannesburg. The director is now escalating the level of hatred and discrimination for people living with HIV in this community. The woman that brings Jonah back is their family member (Aunt Ruth), but she does not put him inside her car. She and her husband would rather tow a wagon and throw Jonah inside. Even when they arrive with him at his house, they do not take him inside the house or take him out of the wagon properly, they turn the wagon down to offload him like bags of garbage. They then quickly get into the car and leave. The suggestion of this is that they fear touching Johan – taking us back to the myths about people with AIDS – and they are embarrassed of seen handling or even in contact with him. Aunt Ruth makes it clear to Lillian (who comes out of the house walking with a stick as her body also slowly gives in to the infection) that they have children and cannot continue living with Jonah. They do not know what his illness is, but they seem to fear his symptoms. At this point we see HIV turning Jonah into a 'spectacle of fear'. People gather around amazed, to stare at Jonah like a beehive. Later at night we see the wagon on fire. This shows that people assume that whatever Jonah is suffering from is left in the wagon and they might also get it.

During the funeral of baby Sarah and during Jonah's, there are just a handful of people at the funeral. This highlights how society has rejected this family. In a black people's community, a funeral is giving dignity by having a lot of people attending so that they mourn together. This is a sign of communalism and support. However, in *Life, Above All* the director gives Chanda's family a position of outcasts. These scenes say a lot about the stigma caused by HIV/AIDS in most black communities. The film puts into scrutiny the rise and hatred of those suffering from the disease. The director carefully puts the disease as the central theme

of the film. This goes back to ideas of Self-sufficiency and Self-realization, about how Africans should take a leadership role to addressing African issues. And we see the film here being used as an example for teaching other Africans about the devastation caused by HIV/AIDS in other black communities.

The story does not necessarily have an antagonist (in a human form) as it is the norm with Classical Hollywood Cinema. My argument is that the location and HIV/AIDS are two critical and central antagonists in the story. An antagonist is the central character in the story whose purpose is to obstruct the protagonist from reaching the main goal. However, usually the protagonist is also the one against the antagonist reaching their goals. In *Life, Above All*, we are witnessing the former. Location and HIV/AIDS are structurally constructed to hinder Chanda from succeeding in her life. Chanda's goal is not clear in the story, but she is a girl who is ambitious about school and wants to get her family back to order. This can be seen with her determination to go to school even when she is organizing her little sister's funeral, her mid-night study with her neighbour even after her parents have left and still taking care of her siblings. But her main obstacles are (1) the village with the rejection, lies, rumours and criticism that people give her family and (2) HIV/AIDS that is tearing her family apart. These two obstacles are non-living characters that go together to deny Chanda the chance to reaching her goal. This is a lesson to other black people, to learn about this pandemic and how your surroundings add to your stigma that is caused by the pandemic. Here the director is almost cautioning audiences about the kind of treatment that fellow blacks are giving each other, especially when they are sick from the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The director is sending a message about lack of solidarity and support among fellow blacks.

Ukadike argues that "since its inception, black African cinema has been struggling to reverse the demeaning portrayals by the dominant colonial and commercial cinemas which blatantly distorted African life and culture" (Ukadike, 1994:2). Daniel (1993) further explains that African filmmakers have the biggest challenge; decolonizing the African screens. This is one of the main issues that a South African cinema suffers from as I indicated in chapter one. The obsession with international film standards by NFVF and DTI is continuing the colonization of South African screens. Ukadike situates the origins of these problems within a context of competing images, African and non-African, that battle for the minds and self-persecutions of the continent's media audience. Ukadike emphasises his stance by arguing that: "my analysis will be strongly influenced by the notion of 'culture', 'self-affirmation' and 'recognition' as reflected in the thoughts of Amilcar Cabral, Frantz Fanon and Kwame Nkrumah" (Ukadike, 1994:3). In *Life, Above All* it might be difficult to say the film challenges the long-existing demeaning portrayal of Africans in cinema, but there are elements of challenging dominant cinema's portrayal of African lives in the film. The interesting aspect about the portrayal of HIV in this film, as I have argued earlier, is that it does not objectify or create a spectacle out of the characters. This is one of the ways in which the film rejects the Western representation of black characters as abject bodies. The film focuses on raising awareness about HIV. The director uses the HIV theme in the film, not to invite attention to Africa, but to open dialogue, to make people speak about the state of HIV in the continent.

In conclusion of this chapter let me offer an analysis of ways in which I have used my framework to study the representation and incorporation of black issues in *Life, Above All*. At

the beginning of this chapter I stated that my interest in this film is studying how black issues are featured in it through what I termed 'black sensibility'. And I showed that this film indeed features black issues in three ways: the representation of Chanda as the head of the family, the representation of HIV/AIDS as a central theme and the representation of the location as one of the antagonists in the story. The director is using the location and the theme of the story as antagonists and the director is centralizing and contextualizing the story in a distinctive South African environment and situates the storyline in relevant issues to post-apartheid South Africa. The effects of AIDS from South Africa to China, Germany, United States of America, Australia, Sudan, Angola or any other country are completely different. Hence, it would have been irrelevant to a South African to relate, effectively, to *Life, Above All* if the portrayal of HIV in the film reflects another society. The director used the story to reflect an ordinary, everyday, South African society.

The film portrays a socio-economic condition (HIV/AIDS) from black-communities' perspective. The film, made by a white director, is given the space to represent HIV from an African context. In *Life, Above All*, the director has the luxury to approach HIV from a perspective of Africans by locating it within issues of community rejection and child-headed families. What is crucial to note here is that in the context of a cinema of Black Consciousness, the skin colour of the director does not matter, what matters is the relevance of the story to the black population of the country. The framework does not analyse films from the perspective of the skin colour of the director, what matters is the textual and contextual factors which made up the film and whether they speak to the black population.

## **Chapter 5: Elelwani**

My analysis of *Elelwani* is on the basis of its abilities and accomplishments in telling a black story and doing that while challenging and restructuring the dominant and accepted filmic practices and aesthetics. I will look at how the director is able to introduce new filmic practices in South African cinema and what other post-apartheid filmmakers can learn from *Elelwani*. In his article, *Towards a critical theory of Third World film*, Gabriel is explaining Third World Cinema in detail. He elaborates how it differs from the dominant, Hollywood cinema. Gabriel argued for Third World Cinema as a cinematic space that cares less about technical perfection to tell the story, but instead the content. This is my rationale for incorporating Gabriel's framework to my framework. I seek to analyse which issues *Elelwani* focuses on, and whether those issues affect black people. This will allow me to study this film using my developed themes: Self-realization, Self-sufficiency, Africanism and Black-pride. These four themes will allow me to unpack what is 'black' about *Elelwani*, can the black people of South Africa see themselves in *Elelwani*? What does the film bring to post-apartheid cinema? What can other filmmakers learn from *Elelwani*?

"Elelwani" is a Venda word meaning "remember" or "recall". The story is set in a rural village of Venda and it revolves around Elelwani, a young female university graduate who is in love with her boyfriend (Vele) whom she met at university. Elelwani and Vele are in a serious relationship and are planning to get married and go on a vacation to overseas. Elelwani plans to tell her parents about her boyfriend, but her parents have traditional obligations that they should fulfil. Her parents expect her to marry the Chief from another village, a Chief that she never gets to see, except after his death. In the middle of the film we find out that the Chief paid for Elelwani's university fees and that the agreement was that she will marry him after completing her studies as re-payment. The film is based on a book by Tinus Ntsieni.

### **Self-realization**

I start this analysis with a quote from Glauber Rocha (cited in Gabriel, 1989:30) in examining the concept of "New Cinema" or what I will refer to as the "Revolutionary Cinema", one of the concepts which informs a cinema of Black Consciousness:

Wherever there is a film-maker prepared to stand up against commercialization, exploitation, pornography and the tyranny of technique, there is to be found the living spirit of New Cinema. Wherever there is a film-maker, of any age or background, ready to replace his cinema and his profession at the service of the great causes of his time, there will be the living spirit of New Cinema. This is the correct definition which sets New Cinema apart from the commercial industry because the commitment of industrial cinema is to untruth and exploitation.

Glauber puts the matter of commercialization of cinemas under the spotlight and argues that using cinemas as a tool against social injustices is one of the mechanisms with which cinemas can counter the dominant cinematic model that operates under the umbrella of capitalism. As a result of neoliberalism, cinemas are funded to exist like any other commercial institutions,

to generate profit. The problem with this is that artistic abilities are bottled-up for the sake of keeping those with capital ability happy. The saying that “he who pays the piper calls the tune” is evident in this model. This is exactly what Glauber is critiquing; that cinemas cannot perform their societal roles for as long as the global capital model still prevails over them as their main sources of funding. *Elelwani* earned itself R290000 at the box office. However, my focus on the film is on the themes and the stylistic aspects, as compared to the financial ones. The stylistic aspects and the themes will be studied as creating and/or contributing to black Self-realization, Self-sufficiency, Africanism and Black-pride. *Elelwani* incorporates issues of blackness in a South African context (arranged marriage, conflict between the modern and the traditional world).

With the above in mind, to illustrate, the NFVF’s box office report for January-June 2014 (2014:1) state that

The first half of 2014 has been quite competitive with animation versus live-action films (some titles available in 3D) enjoying booming popularity at the box office. *Thus, South African films had to compete with the likes of Amazing Spider-Men, Rio 2, X-Men: Days of Future Past.* However, the first six months of 2014 have been a distinct improvement in gross box office for local productions from the previous six months of 2013. *The total box office for local productions showed a notable increase of 43% climbing to R33 million, up from R23 Million. This goes to show that even though consumers are faced with high ticket prices, as well as rising petrol costs and food prices they are still able to leave provision for entertainment and go out with their families to watch movies.* (My own italics).

It is very crucial to fully comprehend the NFVF’s obsession with the box office revenues. Let me point out the two italicised sections in the passage. In these two sections, the first indicates that the NFVF is aware that South African films have to compete with international films in South African cinemas. But there is still no mention of any plan to change that. In the second section the NFVF applauds the South African audiences for coming out in numbers to watch films in cinemas despite the drastic increase in food prices, fuel prices and even high ticket prices. The NFVF is even happy that the local productions have performed better in 2014, with an increase of 43% in the box office returns compared to 2013. This is a big concern, especially in the context of this paper because this implies that from these figures – proudly - released by a South African film and funding foundation, commercialization of cinema is a new tradition that developing countries are embarking on. The problem with this is that it leads to commercialisation of artistic freedom, artists have to sell their art, which in return affects the societal role of art: educate, inform, and entertain. These are issues that a cinema of Black Consciousness must look into. This framework must also study the commercial constraints which have potential to affect which stories get told and which ones do not get told. This background is vital in eliminating market laws in having influence in cinema. It is important to note how this background links with the rest of the chapter in terms of how Third World cinemas are developing themselves and what post-apartheid cinema can adopt from them.

Gabriel (1989) explains that unlike the Western model of filmmaking which places too much emphasis on the literary and/or written conception of the scenario and as a result producing a linear narrative of events, Third World films relies on oral narratives which come from traditional and cultural experiences. *Elelwani* is an adaptation of a novel by Dr. Titus Ntsieni Maumela. The film originates from oral narratives; there are elements of the film, which resemble the Venda oral teachings. For example, Madzwara – Elelwani’s wizard - talks to Elelwani through idioms and proverbs. In every culture, idioms and proverbs carry deep meanings and teachings. They are also believed to originate from that culture’s ancestors. Furthermore, in one dream sequence where Elelwani is talking to Prince Thovela, the prince teaches her about some of the Venda people’s symbols and sacred places; he teaches her that a white lion is a holy ghost of a Chief that has passed on and he visits the living to communicate a message from the ancestors in a form of a white lion. These are some of the examples from the film which resonates with Gabriel’s discussion of a Third World cinema and using oral narratives.

Luruli illustrates *Elelwani*’s role in post-apartheid context as a first Venda film, according to Luruli (interview with *Channel24*, 2014:1), the Venda people:

Inhabit a deeply spiritual world as can be seen from their wood carvings, pottery and building decorations. Male and female roles are clearly defined in this society and it is one of the themes explored in the film. Traditional life in this culture has changed little over time, and I was keen to home on that in a way that is sensitive and respectful, while providing an authentic look at the conflicts that can arise when modernity impacts a traditional way of life.

Luruli’s argument resonates with what a cinema of Black Consciousness intends to do. In *Elelwani*, as Luruli submits, and correlating with Gabriel (1989), there is a relationship between characters their traditional lives; themes of the story exist within the history of the Venda people. These are elements which can make South African cinema distinct from other cinematic practices in the world. This is part of indigenizing cinemas based on its cultural contexts. Luruli brings forward a theme of Self-realization in *Elelwani* by centralising the Venda people ways of living in the story. By bringing forth the oral narratives, traditional storylines the film fully captures the mind of the target audience and stay in his/her mind for long. In this way, the film achieves the Self-realization purpose at the level of content.

Tomaselli and Eke (1995) state that we ought to study the way various African filmmakers from Algeria in the north to South Africa in the south have used Third World cinema techniques. African filmmakers who have deployed Third World cinema techniques in their narratives have done so entirely as part of indigenizing their theoretical perspectives on film and cinema (Tomaselli and Eke (1995). This argument enhances the previous acknowledgement of *Elelwani* for using oral narratives to propel the story and ultimately achieving the Self-realization goal. It becomes apparent that *Elelwani* is rich in Venda traditions; the dances, the costumes, and the language spoken in the film – the film uses the language that is full with cultural meanings, especially through idioms and proverbs – the

locations, and even the references to some of the old Venda traditional practises like the arranged marriages. Gabriel (1982:39) points out that “Third World films are heterogeneous, employing narrative and oral discourses, folk music and songs, extended silences and gaps, moving from fictional representation to reality to fiction”.

I will identify the characteristics of Third World cinema that Gabriel highlights as the essential features that distinguish Third World cinema from Western Cinema or First Cinema. I will identify each characteristic, explain it and discuss whether *Elelwani* encompasses that feature. The purpose of this is to show how *Elelwani* uses new cinematic techniques in South Africa and how those techniques leads to Self-realization, not only in content (as I will show later), but also in form. *Elelwani*’s ability to draw from Gabriel’s characteristics for developing a distinctive Third World cinema in South Africa forms part of Self-realization in the level of form.

*The long take* (Gabriel, 1989): It is very common to Third World films to deploy long takes, repeating scenes and even shots. Such a cinema relies on the slow pacing of shots, scenes, and images to show the rhythm of life in Third World. The reason for this is to reflect the audience’s life which is community-based and how people fit into the nature of life (Gabriel, 1989). This is evident in *Elelwani*. When Elelwani’s father summons so that her future in-laws can see how she has grown up and she is ready for marriage, the scene lasts for at least 55 seconds without any cut. The only cut in the entire scene is when the camera shows a close-up shot of Elelwani being shocked by the compliments that her future in-laws are making about her; that she has grown up and she will make a beautiful princess. This technique is also used in the scene where Elelwani is officially told that she is going to be married to the Chief. We see the director employing all the above features that Gabriel explains; the scene lasts for 3 minutes and 37 seconds, with only two shots used; long shots and medium shots. Every take lasts for at least 30 seconds. When every character speaks, the camera cuts straight to them, there are no reactionary shots and/or camera movements used. Even when the character speaks, there is no fast use of camera cuts in editing; the director maintains the slow pace that seeks to situate the story into how the people fit into their everyday lives.

It is an aesthetic norm that some of Third World films follow a realist mode. These films use the camera to emphasise the realism aspects endorsed from everyday lives. Odo Okere (cited in Gugler, 2003:10) talks about how Ousmane Sembene used the camera to reflect everyday lives

The deliberate slowness and simplicity...characterises all the films, particularly in the use of long takes. The attempt is partly to allow the audience enough time, and with minimum difficulty, to digest information and partly to reflect the reality of the slowness which characterises much of African life. The need to maintain spatial and temporal realities also compels an unspectacular camera display. It will be seen, for instance, that almost throughout, his (Sembene) camera remains at an eye-level – that is, no indulgence in high- or low-angle theatrics. For Sembene, man sees the world basically from two positions: either sitting down or standing up. This is basic

reality, and anything else is mere contrivance...Indeed, Sembene's instance on presenting time and space realistically is so strong that even the use of such an expressionistic cinematic code as montage is subordinated to it. Thus...montage images are realised through, not Eisensteinian cross-cutting, but a *mise-en-scene*. Throughout, the narrative technique must be made to serve...the purpose of the content, which is to produce a particularly social reality. Indeed, the great necessity to present this social reality and to make it understandable to his African audience, his primary audience, and significantly too, the desire to make 'man' the centre of his creative activity, forces Sembene to superordinate the cultural to the purely cinematic codes. It is in the consistent fusing of these recognizable elements in the narrative...that his filmic aesthetics achieves its distinctiveness.

In *Elelwani*, as I draw from how Sembene used the camera, Luruli uses the slow camera movements and slow editing paces to allow the audience some time to digest the information. According to Okere (cited in Gugler, 2003), this slowness of life reflects the African way of life. It is arguable that this process was first induced by colonisers by assuming that Africans are slow and cannot adapt to things fast. Hence, even the Third World films tended to adopt the same principle. The argument above is that Sembene relied only on one camera angle; eye-level, rejecting any high or low angle. Luruli maintains this technique throughout *Elelwani*, he maintains the Venda people power hierarchies in the film by using high angles when, for example, portraying Elelwani when she speaks to her parents. Luruli allows societal and cultural power relations through cinematic techniques that he draws from Third World cinema to manifest in the story.

Lurulu explains the realism mode in his film. He states that:

As a Venda I have an intimate, insider's position on the culture and community in which the narrative unfolds. There is no danger that the Venda culture will be exoticized and this unique position allows me to offer commentary on the culture while being critical (through the narrative and characters). Such a film challenges local audiences and also offers foreign audiences insight into a culture very rarely, if ever seen, since so little is known about the sacred and ritualistic practices of this community (AFRICAVERNIER, 2016:1).

*Elelwani* focuses entirely on the Venda ways of living. As Okere (cited in Gugler, 2003) argues, cinemas must allow Africans to see themselves as they are in real life, and not in ways that Western media have always portrayed them. Luruli brings forward an element of Self-realization by situating the story among the elders and the young in a culture that is barely unknown to many. The story focuses on some of the unforgotten and unknown African traditions, especially in communities that have supposedly encountered modernity.

*The close-up shot*: Gabriel (1989) argues that films of Third World cinema do not or hardly use close-up shots. Third Worlds, unlike Western Worlds, do not emphasise individualism,

rather, they emphasis communalism. Thus, the rejection of close-up shots is the rejection of this notion of individualism in Third World cinema. The close-up shot is rejected by the Third World film-maker as it “(i) calls attention to itself; (ii) it eliminates social considerations; and (iii) it diminishes spatial integrity” (Gabriel, 1989:45). *Elelwani* hardly uses close-up shots. In almost 90% of the film the director uses medium shots and long shots. Instead of the use of close-up shots to show the deep emotions of character, like it is the case with Hollywood cinema, *Elelwani* situates the characters and their emotions in the entire community. The audience gets to know the characters feelings through how the other community members interact with and treat them. As Gabriel argued, close-up shots seclude characters from the communities they live in and make them powerful or hopeless beings that deserve sympathy or praise. *Elelwani* rejects that. In this film, we see the community as part of the challenges that Elelwani faces and as part of the solutions.

Cheick Oumar Sissoko (cited in Gugler, 2003:10) applied Gabriel’s technique of no close-up shots in his films. Sissoko states that

I avoided close-ups and a tight focus generally. I know American films do this, and I see it as a technique to idealise the individual. My intention was to show that people are never isolated. I didn’t want to emphasise individuality. It’s not one person but the group effort that influences events.

Sissoko’s characters in *Finzan* (1989) do not exist as individuals; they are never isolated from the communities. Sissoko integrates their problems into social realities. While Western films tend to put too much emphasis on the individual character, Third World cinemas reject this. Third World films can still portray individualism, but not as a central problem. The focus is still on the social, cultural and political spectrums (Gugler, 2003). In the case of *Elelwani*, we see Elelwani and a wizard– Madzwara – who takes her on a journey to learning and understanding her true destiny in the royal house. Even in the royal house, we see that Elelwani has enemies, especially the Chief’s first wife and vhoMakhadzi (a Chief’s senior sister in Venda traditions) but nonetheless, these enemies do not succeed in defeating her, because of the centralization of her problems to the community, rather than her as an individual.

*The concept of silence* (Gabriel, 1989): Third World cinema relies on the power and potential that the absence of sound can create in a story. Some of these films rely on silence during the course of the story. In order for this silence to achieve its intended meaning, it has to be understood to the context of the whole story and the long takes that are being used. Silence makes “viewers wonder what will happen, accustomed as they are to the incessant sound and overload of music of dominant cinema” (Gabriel, 1989:45). Long takes and silence go hand-in-hand in *Elelwani*. The film relies on silence to tell the story, for example, in the above-discussed scene where Elelwani is informed about the plans to marry her off the Chief, the film does not use any soundtrack to emphasise the emotions that might be taking place within and among the characters. Rather, the film relies on diegetic sounds. The film relies on the birds’ sounds that are coming outside the house to maintain silence among the characters. When Elelwani’s in-laws are eating, they never talk. They eat silently. When Elelwani starts to wonder where her “husband” might be because she has never seen him since she arrived in the royal house, she does not talk to anyone about this, she starts spending time in the outside,

having a spiritual interaction with nature to find out where her life could be heading to. When Elelwani is taken on a dream sequence to learn about her roles as a future queen, she hardly talks, the use of natural species such as birds and trees to make some noises is a highly-used factor in the story. All these scenes show instances where silence is used over dialogue in the story. Gabriel said, silence can create a story on its own, and context is very important in understanding the role of silence in a story. Instead of allowing the characters to tell the story, Luruli draws the audience into the story through silence; he relies on the silence to invoke active participation and interpretation from the audience. He holds the attention of the audience through silence.

*The Concept of hero/heroine* (Gabriel, 1989): Western cinemas place audiences in the position of possible identification with the hero/heroine. That is, audiences are positioned to relate to the main character, his or her struggles and desires. However, with Third World films that is not the case. The hero is not created to appear as the 'hero', he/she does not make history. The hero/heroine is only worried about serving the historical necessities (Gabriel, 1989). The film does not emphasise the idea of an individual character over all characters in the story. For example, one of the ways in which *Elelwani* rejects the emphasis on a single character as the hero of the story is how the film opens up the problems and struggles that Elelwani is facing. The result of this is that the film does not have a single hero that can be praised for saving the village. Furthermore, after the death of her husband, Elelwani takes the chieftain, but still, she is not really the heroine for herself alone, but for the community, the community gets saved from the royal family that has been misleading the people about the whereabouts of the Chief. Through Elelwani the community gets the chance to have a new leader. Elelwani is not a heroine for herself, but a heroine for the community. What is important to notice here, especially in relation to Self-realization is that a sense of fulfilment is achieved. This film fulfils and maintains the Venda practices by portraying how the chieftaincy gets passed from one person to the other, by portraying the role of traditional healers and wizards, by portraying how black traditions such as arranged marriages are still upheld. This leads us back to reclaiming the black identity that colonialism and apartheid robbed off black people.

### **Self-sufficiency**

Due to various issues facing the South African film industry; lack of local audiences for local products, the use of international actors and actresses to tell local stories, lack of sufficient funding and the monopolization of cinemas and distribution companies, South Africa is still not able to formulate a distinctive South Africa cinema. According to the NFVF (2014) from January 3<sup>rd</sup> to 28<sup>th</sup> June 2014 a total of 111 films were released at the box office. Not surprisingly; a large amount of these films were distributed by Ster Kinekor (47) and 39 were distributed by Times Media. "The highest grossing release was *Amazing Spider Man 2* which earned R21.8 million, followed by *Rio 2* (21.1 million) and *X-Men: Days of Future Past* with box office takings of R16.9 million" (NFVF, 2014:2). Furthermore, about this far-reaching financial benefit that international productions continue to achieve in South Africa, the NFVF states that 12 local films were released in the first half of 2014 but still foreign films continued to receive more support and the benefit of the local audiences over the local films. These figures should suggest that there is something wrong to the NFVF; that drastic measures need to be implemented to increase local viewership and curb the international

dominance in local screens. *Elelwani* was funded with grant from the National Lottery Distribution Trust Fund, and additional funding from the Department of Trade and Industry, The Department of Arts and Culture (DAC), NFVF and The Gauteng Film Commission (GFC) (Chennel24, 2014).

The above background is very important in understanding the current trends in the local industry and what filmmakers ought to do to fight the challenges that the local industry is facing. It is a reality that distribution companies such as Ster Kinekor always prioritize international films over the local films; this is one of the reasons that the local films are not getting enough support locally, distribution companies have been monopolised. This is where a cinema of Black Consciousness comes in, it ought to open dialogue and create research that will study how access to the industry can be opened so that the cinematic space is enjoyed and celebrated by all who wish to do so. Black stories and issues will not get the recognition and attention that they deserve for as long as distribution of films is still monopolised and funding is only subtly available for stories which are for one culture, the Western culture.

Indigenizing and the use of oral narratives are some of the elements that post-apartheid cinema still lack. Luruli (AFRICAVERNIER, 2016:1) states that:

For many years I have longed and desired to celebrate black South African authors who have written and published their stories in indigenous languages which had not been recognised under apartheid. One of these unsung heroes is Venda author T.N Maumela who has written and published over 20 novels, short stories, folklores and essays in Venda language.

Post-apartheid cinema has great potential to compete against other African cinemas such as Nollywood and Ghanaian cinema. We need more investment in local stories. This is the point that Luruli leads to in the above quotation that he longed and desired to see African stories in South African cinemas, but international films have always dominated local screens and this has denied him an opportunity to see local stories. Masebe adds on to Luruli by stating that “we are both from Venda (herself and Luruli) and the story is close to our hearts and it’s been incredibly rewarding to see our dream turned into the reality that is the film. It’s a respectable interpretation of Venda traditions and I urge all South Africans to watch it”. (NFVF, 2014:1). The film celebrates blackness. This is a sign that South Africa has a pool full of local stories that are all rich in different aspects from one to the other. These stories only need recognition and support.

Moving on, I analyse the elements of Self-sufficiency in *Elelwani*. The film is shot against the green backdrop of Thoyandou, area of Limpopo. The cinematography takes the audience into the journey of beautiful and dramatic plot, filling the film with magic realism and offering a cinematic initiation into the Venda culture. Kimberleigh Stark (cited in NFVF, 2015:1), the chairperson of South African Academy Award Selection Committee notes that

*Elelwani* is one of a kind, it is beautifully told, explores Tshivenda cultural values that have not been given attention in South Africa before. In addition, *Elelwani* is a breath of fresh air, original and engaging.

Furthermore, Helen Kuun (cited in *Screen Africa*, 2015:1) CEO of Indigenous Film Distribution states that “*Elelwani* is a unique film and an important milestone in South African cinema history. Not only does it provide a window into Venda culture, but it’s also a well-told take that is beautifully shot, with solid performance from the lead character”. Both Stark and Kuun’s argument is substantiated by the use of the camera in the story. The director of photography, Lance Gewer, uses the camera to tell the story in such a way that most of us are not familiar. The camera is low and still at most of the time. As a result of this magnificent cinematic technique, we get to watch the story unfold from the perspectives of Venda women who prostrate when they are talking to men, they move with their hands and knees on the floor. However, as I argued earlier; the director does not use these cinematic skills to make it explicit that he is making a point about gender issues in Venda traditions. Luruli uses the camera to tell the story in such a way that the audience will decide for themselves whether the film challenges patriarchy or succumbs to it because the film concludes with *Elelwani* triumphing over the entire social powers that might be argued to be in contrast to women’s rights. The way the camera tells the story is almost like one is experiencing the story in reality. For example, when *Elelwani* confronts her “future in-laws” and try to explain why she cannot marry the Chief, the film puts the audience in her position; heard-bowed, not looking anyone in the face to show respect, as it is the case with the Venda culture. For someone who is not familiar with the Venda traditions, *Elelwani* and her mother’s behaviour of lowering their faces when addressing men and walking on their knees when serving men might be servile. But Luruli captures this behaviour very well using the camera. He opens the behaviour to both criticisms (from feminists) and compliments (from traditionalists). The camera becomes a communicative tool for the Venda traditions.

Luruli substantiates my argument that *Elelwani* does not make it explicit in terms of whether it challenges gender practices in Venda culture or not by stating that

My intentions are not a romantic obsession with the African past. I am attracted to this story because of its timeless social theme and their cultural and political relevance to contemporary experiences in South African life. Most importantly, my intention is not to offer a didactic film but one which portrays the experiences of women in a community through characters that are engaging in a moving story which reassess cultural-gender frameworks. (AFRICAVERNIER, 2016:1)

Luruli states that his interest in the film is on the cultural and political experiences in South Africa. This is an intention that a cinema of Black Consciousness is looking for in filmmakers, to see if filmmakers are willing to use cinema to open conversations about issues that affect the black population in the country. This is what Self-sufficiency is about, seeing if filmmakers are taking leadership roles in the society to fight social injustices that black people encounter in their lives. In *Elelwani* and from the above quotation we see Luruli

making it clear that his intention in the film was to portray the experiences of black women in black communities.

In an interview with Nonhlanhla Mnisi (2014:1) the leading actor and executive producer of *Elelwani*, Florence Masebe says

We will never tell our stories in our voices or language if things continue as they are. We have a wealth of stories but don't care much about the value of heritage. Something needs to be done by the department of arts and culture and the National Heritage Council. We're obsessed with township Lingo. You won't see programmes like *Deliwe* which will proudly tell our own stories in our languages without trying to diversify.

Masebe is arguing against two crucial issues with regards to post-apartheid cinema; township lingo (languages) and diversification. Masebe is arguing against the prioritization of township languages and township life in South African cinema, for example, *Tsotsi* (2005) *Jerusalema* (2008), *Hard to Get* (2014, Zee Ntuli) *Ayanda* (2015, Sara Blecher). The result of this is that people even forget that there are rich stories in villages, stories that are good enough to make it into cinema. The second point is with regards to diversification. Masebe cautions against the danger of making stories that must always accommodate everyone, especially in languages. It has been normalised and institutionalised in South Africa that it is difficult, if not impossible, to make Xhangane-speaking film because most of the people do not understand the language. Masebe suggests that it is time film-funding institutions of South Africa do something about these issues because they do not only affect the amount of talent that South Africa has in visual storytelling, but they censor too.

Building on the above argument, there are many internationally-produced films in South African cinemas (Oberholzer, 2006); but however, South Africa prides itself on cultural and ethnic diversity. This raises a number of important questions; is it not the time for South Africa to consider using this diversity to compete against this dominance? Should South African filmmakers not be considering locating their stories within this diversity and tell stories that are reflecting the demographics of the country? I focus on these questions to buttress my argument for understanding the effectiveness that the indigenous and other local cultural aspects of South Africa can add to the local film industry in competing against the one that is predominantly modelled on templates of international filmmaking. This is where it is important to understand the role of cinema in post-apartheid South Africa. Self-sufficiency can also be achieved through language. This is why a cinema of Black Consciousness pays attention to how post-apartheid represents black languages. A lot has been done in terms of diversifying languages, indigenous languages are being developed, with Zulu, Sotho, Xhosa, Tswana and Pedi at the front. However, more can still be done to promote languages such as Swati and Ndebele. This argument is very crucial in showing how elements of Self-sufficiency are evident in the film.

## Africanism and Black Pride

Black Consciousness drew from the Fanonian tradition of blackness and black identity and ultimately added to the South African political landscape an analysis and characterization of racism as “discrimination by a group of people against another for purposes of subjugation or maintaining subjugation” (AZAPO, 2014:2). It was Franz Fanon, who asserted that hybridity and creolization can assist in forming humanist, anti-colonial cultures. Hybridity, in particular, according to Fanon, is a counter-hegemonic opposition to colonial practices, a non-assimilationist way of building connections across cultures that Africana scholar Paget Henry argues is constitutive of Africana political philosophy (Henry cited in Nicholls, 2002). Assimilation was one of the rejected principles of Black Consciousness. In *Elelwani*, the director, by rejecting Western storylines and Western cinematic techniques was rejecting the principle of assimilation in cinema. My interpretation is that cinematic assimilation is when all other cinematic practices must adopt Hollywood cinematic techniques and make them theirs. The problem with this principle in cinema is that it denies diversification in cinema. Through this process, Africans, Asians, and Latin Americans will continue making films that are just another version of Hollywood. Hence, in *Elelwani* Luruli implements new cinematic techniques, the ones that fit the context of his story.

*Elelwani* follows the codes and conventions of Third World Cinema. Third World Cinema is revolutionary, subversive, didactic and user-friendly. Third Cinema reflects and participates in the “traumatic changes that are engulfing the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America” furthermore, it does not want to “re-aestheticize traditional cinematic codes but to politicize cinema to such an extent that a new cinematic code appropriate to its needs is established” (Gabriel, 1982: XI). Luruli is doing exactly this in *Elelwani*, the film uses long shots to tell the story. Takes are very long without any editing in-between. This is one of the techniques that are rejected in mainstream, dominant cinema. As Gabriel (1982) argued, Third World films serve left-wing, socialist broad messages of the people, *Elelwani* is doing the same. The film does not serve the bourgeois, small elites. This argument is prompted by the fact that the narrative relies on unknown stories, unknown culture, and unknown cultural practices. One can argue that *Elelwani* follows the aesthetic route of National Geographic stories: exploring the unknown. The former, unlike the latter, portrays, rather than exposes, the true Venda traditions that many are unfamiliar with. Moreover, cultural practices are the centre of *Elelwani*. As it the case with Third World cinema, *Elelwani* implements film techniques that support and favour the context of the story. The director did not rely on Western film techniques to tell a South African, Venda story for the mere fact that the sociological factors which influenced *Elelwani* cannot be found in a Western country, thus new cinematic techniques which would fit the story were needed.

Adding to some of the myths and misconceptions that the West perpetuated about Africa, such as Africa is backward, dirty, and vile, Hegel (1956:19) stated that “Africa is no historical part of the world; it has no movement or development to exhibit, historical movements in it...belong to the Asiatic or European world.” In response to this, early African-American scholars focused on correcting history Du Bois, Woodson, Rogers and Franklin, all tried to remind the world that there is another part of the black history, the part that the West ignores or perhaps does not know about. *Elelwani* is continuing this rejection of the distorted black history. The film focuses on the idea of arranged marriage. Everything that

the white colonialists victimised and rejected in Africa – culture, traditional healers, traditional attires, and African marriage practices – the film celebrates them. In this regard, I argue that Luruli joins some of the African filmmakers who have embarked on a journey to correct the colonial damages – lack of identity and a sense of no belonging - that the whites left on the people of this continent.

Thackway (2003:3) states that “like other subjugated and/or marginalised groups...African filmmakers face questions of how to represent a people hitherto denied the right to represent themselves and whose image – and by extension identities – have systematically been misrepresented in Western texts”. This gives African filmmakers a voice to reclaim the control of their own images and to seize the opportunity to provide alternative African images. The result of this is that cinemas will become a medium of the revised identity constructions that are enforced by various African socio-political factors. The power lies in the hands of Africans to tell their own stories in the way that they want to be told. The Cameroonian filmmaker Jean-Marie Teno has attested to the importance of Africans being in control of their own stories. According to Teno (cited in Thackway, 2003:3)

It is...important to be able to speak about themselves, so that they don't just become objects or settings...it is important for individuals to be able to identify with people who are like them, to be able to see their reality on the screen, so that they don't feel that they don't exist, especially for people who have been colonised, because colonization amounts to reducing the other to a non-nation.

Gaston Kabore (cited in Thackway, 2003), also explained that cinema is one of the most powerful instruments to help Africans penetrate through the wall of colonial stereotypes of Africans to discovering a dialogue towards creating a new African image and identity. As it is the case with the quote above by Keto and Kabore's argument, Thackway (2003:5) argues that “African filmmakers have used the film medium to redefine and reaffirm their identities and cultures, thereby restoring a polyvocal African voice and perspective that challenges the hegemony of the West”. This allows me to argue that *Elelwani* forms part of the few films in South Africa that have been made with the interest of South African audiences. For example, the film constitutes cultural and oral traditional storylines that are particularly relevant to the people of this country. We see Luruli celebrating blackness in this film, reconstructing identities that have been tarnished by Western cinema. Luruli is using the film to make a commentary about new African images that African cinemas should be embarking on.

Manthia Diawara suggested that “to avoid making African Cinema into an imperfect appendix to European cinema, one must question Africa itself, and African traditions, to discover the originality of its films” (Diawara, 1988:6). In support of Diawara, Ngangura (1996) recounts censorship and distribution mechanisms as the main problems facing African filmmakers when they want to get African ideas across in cinemas. Ngangura (1996) argues that African audiences are alienated from African cinemas; African stories are regarded as “too cultural”, and as a result, the films' message appears to be appealing to a different audience (international audiences) than the ones intended. This was also argued by Magogodi (interview with McCluskey, 2009). In South Africa, the censorship that Magogodi and

Ngangura debate about is highly influenced and enforced by funding institutions. These funding institutions exist to be a gatekeeper between filmmakers/artists and audiences. What filmmakers want to share with the audiences will be decided by the funding institutions. It becomes evident that between filmmakers and funding bodies, one seeks to serve one purpose and the other seeks to serve a different purpose. The question of who serves a better purpose remains unanswered.

This chapter has looked at four themes (Self-sufficiency, Self-realization, Africanism and Black-pride and how they are represented in *Elelwani*. I have made arguments that this film portrays blackness from an African perspective and that it goes against the Western representation of Africa as backward, and far from modernity. In *Elelwani*, Luruli centralises the story around a group of women without inviting gender issues to the story. He uses cinematic techniques that he acquired from Gabriel's framework of understanding and studying Third World Cinema. Luruli rejects Hollywood techniques in terms of telling the story. What is important to note is that a cinema of Black Consciousness seeks to study how post-apartheid cinema deals with issues affecting black people in the country. *Elelwani* film with only two issues that affect black people (encountering modernity and women struggle against traditions) but nonetheless, the film celebrates blackness. This is very important because *Elelwani* is the only film in the last 5 years of democracy that focuses on celebrating blackness instead of focusing on issues that give black communities sleepless nights like crime and drug syndicates.

## **Chapter 6: Conclusion**

This dissertation proposed a critical framework for what I have termed a cinema of Black Consciousness in South Africa to study (1) what filmmakers have done to represent and address black issues in South Africa, (2) what film funding institutions have done to promote films that address black issues. To do this I analysed two post-apartheid films using this framework. I defined a cinema of Black Consciousness as a framework and/or a research method that can be used by scholars to discuss, deliberate on issues of blackness in South Africa in terms of whether post-apartheid cinema represents them. The framework was mainly derived from the philosophies and ideologies of the BCM. This framework consists of two major factors which are at the centre of analysing post-apartheid films: textual factors and contextual factors. The former analysed themes of the films, representation of black characters, centralising storylines on black characters and the development of distinctive film language that will divorce itself from the existing mainstream film language. The latter examined post-apartheid cinema on the basis of policies, funding models, and film development initiatives.

### **Key Findings**

These are some of the foreseeable limitations for a cinema of Black Consciousness. Flanery (2009:231) asks some very crucial questions that are important to understanding the conditions under which post-apartheid cinema has fared

In more than a century of production, why has South African films failed to come of age? Why are its products so often either aesthetic, narrative, critical or commercial failures, both within South Africa-Africa and in the global market place and media scape? What do the few success stories tell us about the way film functions in South Africa and particularly in the institutions of cultural production and validation, and does their success reflect anything like objective quality (assuming the possibility of agreement on ‘objective’ markers of quality)? How can we speak of South African film when the financing, personnel, and circulation, to varying degrees, have so often been and remain emphatically multi and transnational, and when, particularly in the last fifteen years, films seem to be addressed, as much to an international audience as to a South African one?

In the above argument, Flanery points out two issues that continue are a big concern to post-apartheid South African cinema, commercialization and internationalization of cinema. Flanery highlights these two processes as some of the factors denying the local audience space to freely express their lived experiences because our aesthetic and narrative concerns are those that reflect and are more identifiable to international audiences than local ones. To strengthen his argument, Flanery makes reference to *Tsotsi*, and *Yesterday*, as two notable local films which had international celebrations. This was due to their international filmic conventions and commercial viabilities. These two films were made with international audiences in mind. These films had a huge success both on the local and international level as the directors managed to master the vocabulary of Hollywood films - to “speak in a formal language that Hollywood and American audiences understand, even if the language coming out of the characters’ mouths requires subtitles” (Flanery, 2009:240). This indicates that a lot

still has to be done to transform post-apartheid cinema from being another version of Hollywood to being cinematic space that its own people can relate to.

South African film industry is facing a major problem, a lack of cinema audiences especially for local products. The possible reason for this is either South Africans grow up exposed to foreign films, mainly Hollywood and Hong Kong films, or perhaps, South African films are not seen by the targeted audience due to, possibly distribution and exhibition constraints (Saks, 2003). The former is more relevant and understandable to the majority of South African audiences. The infiltration of Hollywood has swallowed the potential success of local products. Saks (2003:149) sums up this challenge as

The cultural dominance of mainstream narrative codes, the lack of an audience, the mentality of the distributors resulting in the lack of exhibition values, the lack of local funding and the concomitant reliance on foreign (Western funding, a pervasive sense of cultural inferiority especially in the arena of filmmaking), and a widely held concept of films as global commodities and should seek common solutions, ones that do not always result in producing Africa on film solely as a saleable commodity to the West.

Furthermore, Saks (2003) also points out that it is possible for South African filmmakers to prosper against the Western domination of local cinemas and that will only be possible when they reject institutional and market controls. This will help them not to give in to either the dictates of political correctness or the hegemony of the market. However, elsewhere in this paper I pointed out that the influence of the market, especially in a pro-capitalism state like South Africa, which is still under the matrices of neo-colonialism, it is going to be a difficult task to make films without sourcing financial assistance from somewhere, someone or without worrying about gross revenues from the box office because films are funded by government institutions such as the NVFV and DTI, and these institutions rely on taxpayers' money to fund films.

Financial support is a very big dilemma for African cinemas. Gugler (2003) argues that African films have always been dependent on Europe for financial support, either through funding agencies, non-governmental organizations, television networks and commercial producers. Francois Pfaff (cited in Gugler, 2003) suggests that the impact of this foreign assistance depends on the source. Films that are funded publicly are less concerned about commercial returns, but they are likely to suffer from manifest censorship or even self-censorship that is shaped by the financial requirements.

In South Africa when we make a film that deals with the tensions of the society to the past there are praises and disapproval for that film. On one hand, those who praise it believe that films should be an instrument which deals with the past to national priorities. On the other hand, those who disapprove of it view that process as an impediment to the trajectories of nation-building, especially the ones that were set down by the TRC in 1997: forgive and forget for the sake of nation-building, peace, and stability. As a result, a Pan Africanist filmmaker, Haile Gerima (2004) agreed with the former. According to Gerima (2003:207)

“our cinemas should transcend and demystify politics”. We need to move on with stories that do not have to worry filmmakers about their safety and threats of no funding for their future projects. Gerima argues that we need to centralize these kinds of stories without necessarily worried about the technical demands of storytelling that are dictated by the West. This is because these techniques only perpetuate Eurocentric hegemony and Eurocentric control and claims of superiority over Africa.

Now I look at the recommendations for post-apartheid cinema, with regards to the above limitations. These recommendations can assist film funding institutions such as NFVF, and DTI, filmmakers and audiences. That is why I am incorporating them in this study so that it also becomes clear that they are part of a cinema of Black Consciousness.

One of the wrong things about a South African cinema is that it is “Westernised”, either at the level of form or content. But what does it mean when something is “Westernised”? Achille Mbembe (2015) explains that this means you aspire to become local instantiations of a dominant model based on a Eurocentric epistemic canon, this argument was also made by Fanon (1968) and Gabriel (1989). Mbembe (2015:9) defines Eurocentric canon as a “canon that attributes truth only to the Western way of knowledge production. It is a canon that disregards other epistemic traditions. It is a canon that tries to portray colonialism as a normal form of social relations between human beings rather than a system of exploitation and oppression”. The problem with the Eurocentric canon is that it becomes hegemonic and as a result, there are practices that come with this hegemony (filmmaking techniques, film funding, film distribution) that make it difficult to invent other practices outside the hegemonised practices. Mbembe (2015:10) states that “this hegemonic tradition has not only become hegemonic. It also actively represses anything that actually is articulated, thought and envisioned from outside of these premises”. Post-apartheid cinema falls very well under the products of Eurocentric canon. Let us take, for example, the NFVF film-funding requirements. Filmmakers who reject the mantras of three act structure, the story with two central characters who are driven by the psychological factors and not the social factors do not get funding. These are just strategies of exclusion of dissenting practices.

Global South cinemas must be decolonised. According to Fanon (1968), there are two reasons for decolonization. The first is to ensure that “the European game has finally ended; we must find something different” that “we today can do everything, so long as we do not imitate Europe, so long as we are not obsessed by the desire to catch up with Europe” (1968:314). Second, decolonization should be “a question of the Third World starting a new history of man” (1968:315); that is, we should “try to set afoot a new man” (1968:316). These two reasons should set the ground for a post-apartheid cinema; these reasons call for the rejection of Western film techniques and the new modes of films, new filmmakers who will aspire to restore the black dignity. Hence I proposed a cinema of Black Consciousness to study how far post-apartheid cinema is with regards to decolonization of the silver screen. I did that with three films, and the results were that some filmmakers have started with the process, but there is a lot that can still be done.

A cinema of Black Consciousness as a new analytical framework, just like Third World cinematic experience – as argued by Gabriel (1989:38) “Inchoate as it is...the new process of creating a concurrent development of a new and throbbing social institution capable of generating a dynamic and far reaching influence on the future [of] socio-economic and educational course”. This quote gives a clear indication of the purpose of a cinema of Black Consciousness about how intends to study a social and educational development of post-apartheid cinema. In this framework, filmmakers are studies in terms of whether they challenge the hegemonic Western iconography and use filmmaking as a tool to fight for their identity. This will assist them to ideally portray the historical, political and geographical wealth of the Africa continent (Pfaff, 2004). In the Algiers Charter on African cinema drafted in 1975, progressive international filmmakers agreed on the important role that African cinemas should play as “a means of education, and consciousness-raising” primarily for the purpose of the African audiences, but also for non-Africans (Pfaff, 2004).

Cinema in Africa should consist of creative expressions that allow filmmakers the room to practice their artistic skills that are informed by cultural, intellectual as well as the political background (Cham, 2004). As Cham argues, this creative freedom gives filmmakers the chance to define, interpret and portray African experiences that continue to shape and influence the present using the past. The purpose of this is to ensure that African experiences take precedence in African screens; the ultimate result of this is that African cinemas become more than mere entertainment platforms. Cham (2004:48) adds that African cinemas have a more important role to play in society, “African cinema assigns itself a pivotal role in definitions, enactment, and performance of African notions and ideologies of individuals as well as community and humanity”. Furthermore, cinemas globally have always carried a heavy weight of ideological repression. South Africa has been no exception to this. Tomaselli (1989) affirms that during the apartheid era cinema played a significant role in normalizing and legitimizing apartheid. Thus, a cinema of Black Consciousness seeks study whether post-apartheid cinema has started to correct the mistakes of apartheid cinema (denying black people a space in cinema) by allowing black lives to have a space in cinema, to see themselves and their issues in cinema.

In both chapter 3 and 4 I discussed how a cinema of Black Consciousness is used to study what filmmakers are doing to represent and join issues of black sensibility in post-apartheid cinema. The focus on *Life Above All* was on what I called ‘black sensibility’. Black sensibility was studied in three parts, the representation of Chanda (the main character), the representation of the location (the setting in which the film takes place) and the centralization of HIV/AIDS (the central theme of the film). I called these three sensibilities collectively “black sensibility”. This is because they are specifically relevant to the black communities in this country. In some of the South African communities – as I have argued - children who are still in school are the heads of the families, either because parents are sick or they are no more. HIV/AIDS is still a pertinent and burning issue in South Africa, especially in poor black communities and the result of this is people suffering from the disease are facing discrimination and hatred from their neighbours for the fear of “getting infected”. These are the fundamental basis for which I am arguing that these factors as ‘black sensibility, and I looked at how the film represents them.

Second, the analysis of *Elelwani* was done on the basis of its abilities and accomplishments in challenging and restructuring the dominant and accepted filmic practices. I examined how the director is able to introduce new filmic practices in South African cinema through *Elelwani*. This analysis was coupled by the arguments made by Teshome Gabriel (1989) in his article *Towards a critical theory of Third World film*. In this article Gabriel is explaining Third Cinema in detail. He elaborates how it differs from the dominant, Hollywood cinema. With that said, my argument showed how *Elelwani* meets the characteristics of Third Cinema (as stipulated by Gabriel) and how that compatibility defines *Elelwani* as a film that represents blackness at the level of content and how it establishes a distinctive cinema techniques at the level of form.

Since the dawn of independence in Africa, African filmmakers have made films that offer images of Africa that are totally different from the usual images that have been offered by the Western films. In these films, Africa takes a centre stage. Some of these films are about African liberation, some deal with issues of post-colonial developments. The main trajectory that these filmmakers are faced with is re-imagining Africa through cinema (Gugler, 2003). As Cheick Oumar Sissoko argued in an interview with Gugler (2003:4)

First of all, we have to establish the image of Black People, to contribute to overcome this tragic absence of our images from the universe of images, so that we will finally recognize our place and our role, but also so that the North understands that we exist. We have a history, we have our cultures, we are people who have been organised, people who have known states, who have contributed to enrich world culture, who have participated in the two world wars, but all these contributions of Africa are obscured by the Occident all the time.

According to Cham (2004) since the dawn of the 1960s and 1970s, a significant change started to hit the African cinemas. Filmmakers started to reflect on their history to tell stories. Since this period social justice issues such as racism, colonial exploitation, modernity, traditions, hopes and betrayal started being the centrepiece of cinema. Some of these films include *The Battle of Algiers* (1966), by Gillo Pontecorvo, *Moolaade* (2004) by Ousmane Sembene, *Daratt* (2006) by Mahamat-Saleh Haroun, *The Yacoubian Building* (2006) by Marwan Hamed. These films are some of the few examples which have been produced in Africa and are intended to portray the lives of African people after the colonial era. The filmmakers are involved in the historicizing of African cinema. This is the perspective through which I studied both *Elelwani* and *Life, Above All*. The intention was also to unpack how filmmakers in South Africa like in other African countries have moved away from celebrating the history that has been set down by the Europeans for their own consumption, the process that Mazrui (1986) called “romantic gloriana” – glorifying the history that Europeans have determined just for their own pleasure.

I have argued that, to an extent, a cinema of Black Consciousness is reminiscent of other frameworks such as Imperfect Cinema, New Latin Cinema and Third Cinema. Ana Del Sarto (2005) states that the 1960s led to the evolution of the four dissimilar but interrelated aesthetic projects, which came to be known as the New Latin American Cinema. These projects were Imperfect Cinema from Cuba, New Cinema and, later, Third Cinema from Argentina and Cinema Novo from Brazil. The main purpose of these projects was to implement ways of using cinema as a tool to examine, understand and fight the national and social injustices. In Argentina, filmmakers were searching for a more inclusive national weapon to fight the oppressive system (Getino and Solanas, 1969) and in Brazil they were intending to build an authentic national culture using cinema (Pereira dos Santos cited in Sarto, 2005). Sarto (2005:80) argues that “both New/Third Cinema and Cinema Novo shared not only regional sociohistorical conditions under which they emerged, but also and more important, an impulse of radicalization: aesthetic experimentation, political intervention, cultural reconfiguration and social transformation”. The new sorts of nationalism in the 1960s which characterized several Latin American countries and later extended to Africa and Asia were sparked by national liberation movements and the emergence of the Third World as a result of the Cold War. This led to the notion of having cinema as a political and social tool emerged in the Latin American countries. The three movements were predominantly leftist movements and have a complex ideological combination between Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-Tung’s cultural nationalism, Che Guevara’s voluntarism, Franz Fanon’s thirdworldism and national-popular liberation and anticolonialism (Sarto, 2005).

The above argument which explains the evolution of the New Latin American Cinema sets precedence for what a cinema of Black Consciousness is. For example, in *Four Corners* and *Life Above, All*, it becomes evident that social issues such of gangsterism and AIDS are very irksome to post-apartheid South Africa. Hence, cinema must play a central role in representing and informing the nation about them. *Life, Above All* reference films such as *Yesterday* and of course, there films such as *Four Corners* (2013, Ian Gabriel) and *Tsotsi*. AIDS and gangsterism are at the centre of *Yesterday* and *Tsotsi*, with *Tsotsi* having both themes and *Yesterday* only having AIDS. According to Maingard (2007:162)

AIDS is in part the subject of *Tsotsi*...the dual South African themes of AIDS and gangsters conjoin in this punchy film, where the young *Tsotsi*, also called David (Presley Chweneyagae), violent and embittered, is softened by the discovery in a car he has ‘hijacked’. The film is shot in a sepia stained light that gives it a raw edge and highlights the dusty, dark experience of the cramped township life that *Tsotsi* leads. The Kwaito-based musical score washes the film with a powerful intensity that throbs and beats through deeply violent moments, where humanity is denuded of all meaning.

AIDS and gangsterism are not the only issues affecting townships and villages; there are issues of drugs, poor service delivery, unemployment, education and much more. These issues should be dealt with through discussions and debates. This is exactly what the New Latin American Cinema was doing; centralising the socio-political factors of the time in cinema.

Jim Pines (1996) argues that there is a continuation of resistance in the Western countries to allow black filmmakers the spaces to express themselves freely. This perpetuates the exclusion and marginalization of black films and even black people. Pines (1996:184) states that

Other issues are now emerging into the forefront which are equally vital to the development of the sector [film], i.e. issues which one might define as black-specific in orientation – like the development of a genuinely independent black film culture and concomitantly the shaping of an expressive film ‘language’ which draws on and addresses in every specific ways particular features of black cultural experiences.

In supporting Pines argument and explaining the underlying structures that influence what Pines is saying, bell hooks (1992) argues that power relations in Western countries play a big role in determining the products of mass media. Pines’ statement is crucial in understanding the marginalization of black voices in cinema, not only in Western countries, but in many countries which still follow the dominant Hollywood model to tell their stories. Pines states that what is needed is a distinctive black film culture coupled with film language for the black filmmakers so to that they can be able to express their cultural experiences freely. This is because the Western film industry is ideal for the Western cultural experiences. And it cannot assist black filmmakers in practicing their artistic craft freely. For this reason, according to Lott (1999:222) “commentators such as Teshome Gabriel and Kobena Mercer have urged the need for film criticism to address the politics of black filmmaking practice, with an awareness that what is often referred to as ‘aesthetics’ is linked with important issues pertaining to the control of film production and distribution”.

The above argument from Pines is one of the focuses that seek to drive a cinema of Black Consciousness to analyse the level in which post-apartheid cinema is a laboratory mechanism for black people. As I have argued in this study, films such as *Elelwani*, *Life* and *Above All* have core themes that a cinema of Black Consciousness is looking for in films. These films introduce a different film culture in South Africa; a film culture that is embedded into the needs and the struggle of the people; a film culture that is mandated to represent the black population of the country. Through this new film culture, we see that black lives are given a space in cinema; they are given a space to be seen, rather than ridiculed like it has been the case since the evolution of cinema in Western nations. In the words of Joris Ivens, a Cuban filmmaker (cited in Chanan, 1997:4), “one of the aims of such films is to provide the occasion for people to find themselves and speak about their problems. The projection becomes a place where people talk out and develop their awareness. We learn the importance of this space: cinema here becomes humanly useful”. There is no better way of explaining a cinema of Black Consciousness than what Ivens argues for in the case of New Latin American Cinema.

## **Bibliography**

Abdul-Raheem, T. (1996). Introduction. In *Pan-Africanism: Politics, Economy, and Social Change in the Twenty-First Century*. Edited by Tajudeen Abdul-Raheem. Pluto Press, Ann Arbor.

Adhikari, M. (2005). *Not White Enough: Not Black Enough: Racial Identity in the South African Coloured Community*. Ohio University Press. Athens.

AFRICAVERNIER, 2016. *Screen of <<Elelwani in Windhoek>>*. Accessed on the 22 November 2016 from World Wide Web < [http://www.africaverir.org/event-details/cal/event/detail/2016/06/25/screening\\_of\\_elelwani\\_in\\_windhoek/view-list%7Cpage\\_id-49.html](http://www.africaverir.org/event-details/cal/event/detail/2016/06/25/screening_of_elelwani_in_windhoek/view-list%7Cpage_id-49.html) >

Alexander, A, Gibson, N. Mngxitama, A. (2008). *Biko Lives*. In *Biko Lives*. Palgrave Macmillan. New York.

Aning, K. and Annan, N. (2016) Africanizing the international and internationalizing Africa: security, war on terror in Mali. In *Africa in Global International Relations: Emerging approaches to theory of practice*. Edited by Paul-Henri Bischoff, Kwesi Aning and Amitav Acharya. Routledge. New York.

Armes, R. (2008). *Dictionary of African Filmmakers*. Indiana University Press. Bloomington.

Asante, M.K. (2009). Afrocentricity. Accessed from World Wide Web < <http://www.asante.net/articles/1/afrocentricity/> > on the 19<sup>th</sup> March 2016.

Asante, M.K. (2003). *Afrocentricity: The Theory of Social Change (Revised and Expanded)*. African American Images. Chicago, Illinois.

Asante, M, K. (1991). The Afrocentric idea in education. *Journal of Negro Education*. Vol. 60, 170-179.

AZAPO, (2014). *Black Consciousness*. Accessed from World Wide Web < <http://azapo.org.za/about-azapo/black-consciousness/> > on 20 March 2016.

Baker, L.D. (2000). Afrocentricity and the American Dream. In *Dispatches from the Ebony Tower: Intellectuals Confront the African American Experience*. Edited by Manning Marable. Columbia UP. New York.

Balseiro, I and Masilela, N. (2003). Introduction, in *To Change Reels: Film Culture in South Africa*, edited by Isabel Balseiro and Ntongela Masilela. Wayne State University Press, Detroit.

Behrendt, S.C. (2008). *Using Contextual Analysis to evaluate texts*. Accessed on the 26<sup>th</sup> July 2016 from World Wide Web <<http://english.unl.edu/sbehrendt/StudyQuestions/ContextualAnalysis.html>>

Bernard, L. (1994). Black Cinema: A Celebration of Pan-African Film: Tisch School of the Arts, New York University 22-30 March 1994. *Black Camera*. Vol. 9 (1), 3-8.

Biko, B. S. (1996). Steve Biko 1946-77 – I Write What I Like. In *I Write What I Like: Steve Biko, A selection of his writings*. Edited by Aelred Stubbs C.R. Heinemann. Oxford.

- Bongmba, E.K. (2004). Reflections on Thabo Mbeki's African Renaissance. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. Vol. 30 (2), 291-316.
- Bordwell, D. Staiger, J. and Thompson, K. (1985). *The Classical Hollywood Cinema" Film Style and Mode of Production to 1960*. Columbia University Press. New York.
- Botha, M. (1995). The South African film industry: Fragmentation, identity crisis and unification. *Kinema*. Vol 2 (3), 2-8.
- Botha, M. (2006). 110 years of a South African cinema. *Kinema*. Vol: 25, 5-21.
- Botha, M. (2012). *South African Cinema: 1896-2010*. Intellect Bristol, Chicago.
- Boulle, A. Hall, K. Marera, D.H. and Meintjies, H. (2007). *Child-headed households in South Africa: A statistical brief*. Unpublished report. University of Cape Town.
- Chanan, M. (1997). The Changing Geography of Third Cinema. *Screen Special Latin American Issue*. Vol: 38 (4) 1-13.
- Cham, M. (2004). Film and History in Africa: A Critical Survey of Current Trends and Tendencies. In *Focus on African Films*. Edited by Francoise Pfaff. Indiana University Press. Bloomington.
- Chennel24, 2014. *South Africa's first Tshivenda film set to release*. Accessed on the 22 November 2016 from World Wide Web <http://www.channel24.co.za/Movies/News/South-Africas-first-Tshivenda-film-set-for-release-20140129>
- Dremer Joint Venture. 2016. Company Profile. Accessed on 27 November 2016 from World Wide Web < <http://www.dreamerjointventure.de/#/companyprofile>>
- Hall, K. and Meintjies, H. (2014). *Demography – Child-only households*. Accessed on the 23 November 2016 from World Wide Web < <http://www.childrencount.org.za/indicator.php?id=1&indicator=17>>
- Cham, M. (2004). Film and History in Africa: A Critical Survey of Current Trends and Tendencies. In *Focus on African Films*. Edited by Francoise Pfaff. Indiana University Press. Bloomington.
- Corliss, M. (2011). *Life, Above All: A Frank Capra Vision of a Devastating Plight*. Accessed on 18 June 2016 From World Wide Web <http://entertainment.time.com/2011/07/14/south-africa-life-above-all-review/>
- Daniel, M. (1993). Interview with Mweze Nanguru, Brussels, *Newsletter*, 3, 2-3.
- Diawara, M. (1988). Popular Culture and Oral Traditions in African Film. *Film Quarterly*. Vol: 41 (3), 6-14.
- Dlamini, S. O'Meara, D. Davies, R. (1988). The Struggle for South Africa. *Thift Books*. Vol. 2, 1-240.
- Du Bois, W.E.B. (1903). *The Souls of Black Folk*. A.C. McClurg and Co, Chicago.
- DTI. (2015) Financial Assistance. Accessed on 17 June 2016 from World Wide Web [https://www.thedti.gov.za/financial\\_assistance/financial\\_incentive.jsp?id=64&subthemeid=](https://www.thedti.gov.za/financial_assistance/financial_incentive.jsp?id=64&subthemeid=)

- Ebrahim, H. (2017). (Forthcoming) Scattered Speculations, in *Mzansi at the Movies: Cinema and Film Culture in South Africa*. Edited by Haseenah Ebrahim and Jordache A. Ellapen. University of South Africa Press, Pretoria.
- Eke, M and Tomaselli, K. (1995). Perspectives on Orality in African Cinema. *Oral Tradition*. Vol: 10 (1), 111-128.
- Ellapen, J.A. (2007). The cinematic township: cinematic representations of the 'township space' and who can claim the rights to representation in the post-apartheid South African cinema. *Journal of African Cultural Studies*. Vol: 19 (1), 113-137.
- Eliseev, A. (2010). 63<sup>rd</sup> Cannes: Applause, emotion and Life, Above All. *Daily Maverick*. Accessed on 27 November 2016 from World Wide Web  
<<http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2010-05-20-63rd-cannes-applause-emotion-and-life-above-all#.WDrP1dV96M8>>
- Falicov, T. (2006). *The Cinematic Tango: Contemporary Argentine Film*. Wallflower Press. London.
- Fall, I, Vilakazi A and Vilakazi, H.W. (1997). *Africa's rough road: problems of change and development*. University Press of America. Charlottesville.
- Fanon, F. (1968). *The Wretched of the Earth*. Grove Press. New York.
- Flanery, P.D. (2009). What National Cinema? South African Film Cultures and the Transnational. *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies*. Vol:10 (2). 239-253.
- Franklin, J.H. Moss Jr, A.A. (1947). *From Slavery to Freedom, Eighth Edition*. Alfred A. Knopf. New York.
- Gabriel, T. (1989). Towards a critical theory of Third World Films. In *Questions of Third Cinema*. Edited by Jim Pines and Paul Willemen. British Film Institute. London.
- Gabriel, T. (1982). *Third Cinema in The Third World: The Aesthetics of Liberation*. Umi Research. Ann Arbor.
- Gerhart, G. M. (1978). *Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology*. University of California Press. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London.
- Gerhart, G. M. (1978). *Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology*. University of California Press. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London.
- Gerima, H. (2003). Afterword: Future Directions of South African Cinema. in *To Change Reels: Film Culture in South Africa*, edited by Isabel Balseiro and Ntongela Masilela. Wayne State University Press, Detroit.
- Getino, O and Solanas, F. (1969). Toward a Third Cinema. *Tricontinental*. N.14. Octubre de 1969. P107-132
- Gibson, N. (2004). Black Consciousness 1977-1987; the Dialectics of Liberation in South Africa. *Centre for Civil Society Research Report No. 18*

- Gibson, N. (2004). Black Consciousness 1977-1987; the Dialectics of Liberation in South Africa. *Centre for Civil Society Research Report No. 18*
- Giliomee, H.B and Mbenga, B. (2007). *New History of South Africa*. Tafelberg. Ann Arbor.
- Gqola, P.D. (2010). *What is Slavery to Me? : Postcolonial Memory and the Post-apartheid Imagination*. Wits University Press, Johannesburg.
- Gqola, P.D. (2001). Defining People: Analysing Power, Language and Representation in Metaphors of the New South Africa. *Transformations*. Vol. 47, 94-106.
- Gugler, J. (2003). Introduction. in *African Film: Re-Imagining a Continent*. Edited by Joseph Gugler. James Currey Ltd. United Kingdom.
- Gutsche, T. (1972). *The History and Social Significance of Motion Pictures in South Africa: 1895-1940*. H. Timmins.
- Habermas, J. (1962). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. MIT Press, Massachusetts.
- Halisi, C.R.D. (1999). *Black Political Thought in the Making of South African Democracy*. Indian University Press. Bloomington.
- Hegel, G.W.F. (1956). *The Philosophy of History*. Dover Publications. New York.
- Hooks, B. (1992). The Oppositional Gaze: Black Female Spectators. *Black Looks: Race and Representation*. 151-131
- Horrell, M. (1977). *A Survey of Race Relations*. South African Institute of Race Relations. Johannesburg.
- Hunkin, J. (2014). An Interview with Four Corners Director Ian Gabriel. *Between 10and5.com*. Accessed on 29<sup>th</sup> November 2016 from World Wide Web < <http://10and5.com/2014/03/18/an-interview-with-four-corners-director-ian-gabriel/>>
- Industrial Development Corporation. (2016). *Media and Motion Pictures*. Accessed on the 30 September 2016 from World Wide Web < <http://www.idc.co.za/sbu-overview/media-and-motion-pictures.html>>
- Henry, P. (2000). *Caliban's Reason: Introducing Afro-Caribbean Philosophy*. Routledge, New York.
- Kenworthy, P. C. (2007). *Bikoism or Mbekism – the role of Black Consciousness in Mbeki's South Africa*. Masters Dissertation. Roskilde University.
- Keto, T.C. (2001). *Vision and Time: Historical Perspective of an African-Centered Paradigm*. University Press of America, Lanham, MD.
- Krabill, M. (2010). *Starring Mandela and Cosby: Media and the End(s) of Apartheid*. University of Chicago Press. Chicago.
- Krings, M. and Okome, O. (2013). Nollywood and its Diaspora: An Introduction. In *Global Nollywood: The Transnational Dimensions of an African Video Film Industry*. Edited by Matthias Krings and Onookome Okome. Indiana University Press. Bloomington.

- Macarow, K. (2008). Transmission Routes: The Global AIDS Epidemic on South Africa and France. *The Global South*. Vol:2 (2), 92-111.
- Maingard, J. (2007). *South African National Cinema*. Routledge, London, New York.
- Maingard, J. (2009). *Zulu Love Letter*. Accessed from World Wide Web <<http://witspress.co.za/catalogue/146/>> on 19<sup>th</sup> January 2017.
- Magubane, B.M. (1999). The African Renaissance in Historical Perspectives. In *African Renaissance: The New Struggle*. Edited by Malegapuru William Makgoba. Mafube Publishing (Proprietary) Limited. Cape Town.
- Malegapuru, W. M. Mazwi, T. Shope, T. (1999). Introduction. In *African Renaissance: The New Struggle*. Edited by Malegapuru William Makgoba. Mafube Publishing (Proprietary) Limited. Cape Town.
- Maloka, E.T. (2001). The South African “African Renaissance” debate: a critique. *Quest*. Vol 8, 1-10.
- Mamdani, M (1984). *Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda*. Africa World Press. Chicago.
- Mamdani, M. (1999). There Can Be No African Renaissance without an African-focused Intelligentsia. In *African Renaissance: The New Struggle*. Edited by Malegapuru William Makgoba. Mafube Publishing (Proprietary) Limited. Cape Town.
- Martin. T.M. (1995). Framing the “Black” in Black Diasporic Cinemas. In *Cinemas of the Black Diaspora: Diversity, Dependency, and Oppositionality*. Edited by Michael T. Martin. Wayne State University Press. Detroit.
- Maserumule, M.H (2015). Half a century of disciplinary Existence, Antecedents, Evolution, Scholarship, Trends and Issues. *SAAPM 15<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference 2015*. Pretoria.
- Masilela, N. (2000). *Is there a South African National Cinema?* Accessed from World Wide Web < <http://pzacad.pitzer.edu/nam/general/essays/national-cinema.pdf> > on the 21 March 2016.
- Masilela, N. (2013). *An Outline of the New African Movement in South Africa*. Africa World Press. New Jersey.
- Mazama, A. (2001). The Afrocentric Paradigm: Contours and Definitions. *Journal of Black Studies*. Vol. 31 (4), 387-405.
- Mbembe, A. (2015). *Decolonizing Knowledge and the Question of the Archive*. (ebook). Accessed from World Wide Web < <http://africasacountry.com/>> on 26<sup>th</sup> June 2016
- McCluskey, A.T. (2009). Introduction. In *The Devil You Dance With: Film Culture in the New South Africa*. Edited by Audrey Thomas McCluskey. University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago.
- Mitchel, C. and Walsh, S. (2004). *Fire&Hope: A creative action guide for youth-based HIV prevention projects*. Unpublished manuscript. McGill University: Participatory Cultures lab.
- Mkhwazi, K. 2014. Why do Hollywood stars play leads in South African stories? Mail & Guardian. Published 09<sup>th</sup> October 2015. Accessed on the 08<sup>th</sup> August 2016 from World Wide

Web <<http://mg.co.za/article/2014-10-09-why-do-hollywood-stars-play-leads-in-south-african-stories>>

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

Mpumlwana, M. Pityana, N.B. Ramphele, M. Wilson L. *Bounds of Possibility: The Legacy of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness*. David Philp. Cape Town.

Mnisi, N. (2014). Insights into an exotic culture. *Mail and Guardian*. Accessed on 17 June 2016 from World Wide Web <http://mg.co.za/article/2014-01-30-insights-into-an-exotic-culture>

Nantambu, K. (1996). *Egypt and Afrocentric-politics: Essays on European Supremacy*. Kent, OH. Imhotep.

National Film and Video Foundation. 2014. *South Africa's Box Office Report (January – June 2014)*.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S.J. (2013). Why Decoloniality in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century? *The Thinker: For Thought Leaders*. Vol: 48. 10-15.

NFVF. (2005). *The Value Charter*. Johannesburg. NFVF.

NFVF. (2009). *The Value Charter*. Johannesburg. NFVF.

NFVF (2014). *SEDIBA Programmes*. Accessed on 17 June 2016 From World Wide Web <http://www.nfvf.co.za/home/index.php?ipkContentID=290>.

NFVF, (2015). *Elelwani, the first Tshivenda Film selected as South Africa's Oscars entry*. Accessed on the 17 June 2016 from World Wide Web <http://www.nfvf.co.za/home/index.php?ipkMenuID=&ipkArticleID=137>

Nkunzimana, B. (2009). Beyond colonial Stereotypes: reflections on postcolonial cinema in the African Great Lakes region. *Journal of African Cinemas*. Vol: 1 (1), 79-95.

Ngangura, M. (1996). African Cinema – Militancy or Entertainment? In *African Experiences of Cinema*. Edited by Imruh Bakari and Mbye B. Cham. BFI. London.

Ntshangase, D. K. (1995). Indaba yami i-straight: language and language practices in Soweto. In *Language and Social History: Studies in South African Sociolinguistics*. Edited by Rajend Mesthrie. David Philip Publishers. Cape Town and Johannesburg.

Ntuli, D and Pillay, M. (2004). *Audience Development Report*. Cape Town Film Commission. Cape Town.

Oberholzer, C. (2006). *An Investigation into Nationalism and National Allegory within South African Post-Apartheid Film*. Masters Dissertation. University of Witwatersrand.

Papaioannou, P. J (2009). From orality to visuality: the question of aesthetics in African cinema. *Journal of African Cinemas*. Vol: 1 (2), 141-159.

- Pastore, J.L. (1993). Introduction. In *Confronting AIDS Through Literature: The Responsibilities of Representation*. Edited by Judith Laurence Pastore. University of Illinois Press. Urbana and Chicago.
- Peterson, B. (2003). The Politics of Leisure during the Early Days of South Africa Cinema. In *To Change Reels: Film Culture in South Africa*, edited by Isabel Balseiro and Ntongela Masilela. Wayne State University Press, Detroit.
- Peterson, B. (2017). (Forthcoming). Reflections on writing screenplays in South Africa. In *Mzansi at the Movies: Cinema and Film Culture in South Africa*, edited by Haseenah Ebrahim and Jordache A. Ellapen. Unisa Press, Pretoria.
- Pfaff, F. (2004). Introduction. In *Focus on African Films*. Edited by Francoise Pfaff. Indiana University Press. Bloomington.
- Pichaske, K. (2009). *Colour Adjustment: Race and Representation in Post-apartheid South African Documentary*. Unpublished PhD dissertation: University of Cape Town.
- Pines, J. (1996). The Cultural Context of Black British Cinema. In *Black British Cultural Studies: A Reader*. Edited by Barker, Jr. H.A. Diawara, M and Lindeburg, R.H. The University of Chicago Press. Chicago and London.
- Prokhorov, A. (2007). The adolescent and the child in the cinema of Thaw. *Studies in Russian and Soviet Cinema*. Vol: 1 (2), 115-129.
- Rambally, A. (1977). *Black Review 1975-1976, Black Community Programmes*. Lovedale, Johannesburg.
- Rijdsdijk, I. (2007). The White Man's Curse: Stander and The Last Samurai. In *Marginal Lives and Painful Pasts: South African Cinema after Apartheid*. Edited by Martin Botha. Genugtig Press. Parklands.
- Rogers, J. A. (1917). *From "Superman" to Man*. Lushina Books, Bensenville.
- Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. Routledge. London.
- Saks, L. (2003). The Race for Representation: New View sites for Change in South African Cinema. In *To Change Reels: Film Culture in South Africa*, edited by Isabel Balseiro and Ntongela Masilela. Wayne State University Press, Detroit.
- Saks, L. (2010). *Cinema in a Democratic South Africa: The Race for Representation*. Indiana University Press. Bloomington.
- Sarto, A.D. (2005). Cinema Novo and New/Third Cinema Revisited: Aesthetics, Culture and Politics. *Chasqui*. Vol: 34 (1). 78-89
- ScreenAfrica. 2011. NFVF congratulates Life, Above All. Accessed on 27 November 2016 from World Wide Web < <http://www.screenafrica.com/page/news/industry/212968-NFVF-congratulates-Life-Above-All>>
- ScreenAfrica, 2013. *Elelwani*. Accessed on the 22 November 2016 from World Wide Web <https://www.google.co.za/webhp?sourceid=chrome-instant&ion=1&espv=2&ie=UTF-8#q=elelwani+movie+distribution>

ScreenAfrica. 2015. *Venda-language film Elelwani to screen in SA*. Accessed on 17 June 2016 From World Wide Web <http://www.screenafrica.com/page/news/film/1638648-Venda-language-film-Elelwani-to-screen-in-SA#.V2RHJIV96M8>

Seleti, Y. (1999). African Renaissance: The new struggle: is the African Renaissance a Chimera? *Current Writing: Text and Reception in Southern Africa*. Vol. 11 (2), 52-65

Silinda, M. (2008). Funding a Sustainable Film Industry. *Inside Film South Africa*. Vol: 3 (25). Johannesburg. NFVF.

South African History Online. (2016). *Sophiatown*. Accessed on the 19<sup>th</sup> July 2016 from World Wide Web <http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/gangsterism>

Stenfason, B. (2009). Renewal in African cinema: genres and aesthetics. *Journal of African Cinemas*. Vol. 1 (1), 9-19.

Stremlau, J. (1999). African Renaissance and International Relations. In *African Renaissance: The New Struggle*. Edited by Malegapuru William Makgoba. Mafube Publishing (Proprietary) Limited. Cape Town.

Teno, J.M. (1996). Freedom: The Power to Say No. in *African Experiences of Cinema*. Edited by Imruh Bakari and Mbye B. Chan. BFI. London.

Thackway, M. (2003). *African Shoots Back: Alternative Perspectives in Sub-Saharan Francophone African Film*. James Currey Ltd. United Kingdom.

Thing'o, W.N. (1994). *Decolonizing the mind: politics of language in African Literature*. East African Literature. Nairobi.

Thomas, P.Y. (2010). Research methodology and design. Accessed on the 26<sup>th</sup> July 2016 from World Wide Web [http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/4245/05Chap%204\\_Research%20methodology%20and%20design.pdf](http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/4245/05Chap%204_Research%20methodology%20and%20design.pdf)

Tomasellig, K.G. (1989). *The Cinema of Apartheid: Race and Class in South African Film*. Routledge. London and New York.

Tomaselli, K.G. (1992). The cinema of Jamie Uys: From bushveld to 'Bushmen'. In *Movie Moguls Mavericks: South African cinema: 1979-1991*. Edited by Blignaut and Botha. Showdata. Cape Town.

Tomaselli, K.G. (1996). African Cinema: Theoretical Perspectives on Some Unresolved Questions. In *African Experiences of Cinema*. Edited by Imruh Bakari and Mbeye Cham. British Film Institute, London.

Tomaselli, K.G. (2006). *Encountering Modernity: Twentieth century South African cinemas*. Pretoria, Unisa.

Treffry-Goatley, A. (2010). *The Representation and Mediation of National Identity in the Production of Post-apartheid, South African Cinema*. Ph.D Thesis. University of Cape Town.

Tuomi, K. 2006. The South African feature film industry: A comparative analysis. *Social Dynamics*. Vol: 32 (2), 81-110.

Ukadike, N.F. (1994). *Black African Cinema*. University of California Press. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London.

UNICEF. *Protection for Orphans and Vulnerable Children*. Accessed on 23 July 2016 from World Wide Web [http://www.unicef.org/southafrica/protection\\_6633.html](http://www.unicef.org/southafrica/protection_6633.html)

Van Kessel, I. (2002). In search of an African Renaissance; an agenda for Modernization, neo-traditionalism or Africanisation. *Quest*. Vol. 15 (1-2), 42-53.

Vassiliou, A. (2006). *Analysing Film Content: A Text-Based Approach*. PhD Thesis. University of Surrey.

Wakefield, A. (2015). One in 10 South Africans living with HIV – Stats SA. *News24*. Accessed on 18<sup>th</sup> June 2016. From World Wide Web <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/One-in-10-South-Africans-living-with-HIV-Stats-SA-20150723>

Woods, D. (1987). *Biko*. Holt. New York.

Woodson, C.G. (1919). *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*. Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. Anne Arbor.

Yearwood, G. L. (1999). *Black Film as a Signifying Practice: Cinema, Narration and the African American Aesthetic Tradition*. Africa World Pr. Ann Arbor.

Young, R. (2014). *Four Corners* walks the tight tropes. Mail & Guardian. Accessed on the 28<sup>th</sup> August 2016 from World Wide Web <http://mg.co.za/article/2014-04-02-four-corners-walks-the-tight-tropes>.

## **Filmography**

Attenborough, R. (1987). *Cry Freedom*. Film. Marble Arch Productions. Johannesburg.

Chadwick, J. (2013). *Mandela: Long Walk to Freedom*. Film. 20<sup>th</sup> Century Fox. London.

Chamarasinghe, N.M.K. (2012). *Maikgethelo*. DVD. Nihal Chamarasinghe. Gaborone

Desai, R. (2004). *Born into Struggle*. Documentary. Uhuru Productions. Johannesburg.

Desai, R. (2014). *Miners Shot Down*. Documentary. Uhuru Productions. Johannesburg.

Desai, R. (2016). *The Giant is falling*. Documentary. Uhuru Productions. Johannesburg.

Diaite, L and Drabo, A. (2009). *Fantan Fanga*. Film. Taare Film. Bamako.

Dornford-May, M. (2005). *U-Carmen eKhayelitsha*. Film. Spier Films. Cape Town.

Eastwood, C. (2009). *Invictus*. Film. Revelations Entertainment. Los Angeles.

Gabriel, I. (2004). *Forgiveness*. Film. Giant Films. Johannesburg.

Gabriel, I. (2013). *Four Corners*. Film. Giant Films. Johannesburg.

George, T. (2004). *Hotel Rwanda*. Film. United Artists. Los Angeles.

- Green, R.M. (2014). *Stone Cars*. Short Film. Cape Town.
- Griffith, D.W. (1915). *The Birth of a Nation*. Film. David W. Griffith Corp. New York.
- Hamed, M. (2006). Film. *The Yacoubian Building*. Good News Productions. Cairo.
- Haroun, M.S. (2006). *Daratt*. Film. Chinguitty Films. N'Djamena.
- Hermanus, O. (2009). *Shirley Adams*. Film. DV8 Films. Cape Town.
- Hermanus, O. (2011). *Skoonheid*. Film. Didier Costet. Cape Town.
- Hood, G. (2005). *Tsotsi*. Film. The UK Film & TV Production Company PLC. Johannesburg.
- Jankes, M. (2010). *Umkhongo*. Short film. Mannequin Pictures. Johannesburg.
- Keitumetse, J. (2012). *O bone oja Sereto*. DVD. Dargie Digital Studios. Gaborone.
- Kulidzhanov, L. and Segel, Y. (1957). *The House I live in*. Film. Gorky Film Studio. Moscow.
- Kunath, B. Maluwa-Bruce, S. and Zuckmantel, Y. (2000). *Forbidden Fruit*. Short documentary film. Harare.
- Levi, D. (2012). *Nothing about Nothing*. Short Film.
- Luruli, N. (2012). *Elelwani* (2012). Film. Shadowy Meadows Productions. Johannesburg.
- Matabane, K. (2005). *Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon*. Documentary. Matabane Filmworks. Johannesburg.
- Matabane, K. (2005). *Story of a Beautiful Country*. Documentary. Day Zero Film. Johannesburg.
- Matabane, K. (2007). *Imagine Afrika*. TV Series. Born Free Media. Johannesburg.
- Matabane, K. (2010). *State of Violence*. Film. DV8 Films. Johannesburg.
- Matabane, K. (2014). *Nelson Mandela: The Myth and Me*. Documentary. Born Free Media. Johannesburg.
- Mawuru, G. (1993). *Neria*. Film. Media for Development International. Harare.
- Mazrui, A. A. (1986). *The African: A Triple Heritage*. Documentary. British Broadcasting Corporation Documentary Series. London.
- Meirelles, F. (2002). *City of God (Cidade de Deus)*. Film. 02 Filmes. Rio de Janeiro.
- Mitta, A. and Saltykov, A. (1961). *My Friend, Kolka!* Film. Mosfilm. Moscow.
- Noyce, P. (2014). *The Giver*. Film. Walden Media. Los Angeles.
- Ntuli, Z. (2014). *Hard to Get*. Film. Derek White. Johannesburg.
- Pontecorvo, G. (1967). *The Battle of Algiers*. Casbah Film. Algiers.

Rabaud, M. and Zajtman, A. (2010). *Kafka au Congo*. Documentary film. Eklektik Productions. Kinshasa.

Rogosin, L. (1959). *Come Back, Africa*. Film. Milestone Films. Johannesburg.

Roodt, D. (2004). *Yesterday*. Film. HBO Films. Johannesburg.

Salle, J. (2013). *Zulu*. Film. Pathe. Johannesburg.

Sembene, O. (2004). *Moolade*. Film. Doomoireew. Ouagadougou.

Schmitz, O. (2010). *Life, Above All*. Film. Dreamer Joint Venture Filmproduction. Johannesburg.

Shaw, H.M. (1916). *De Voortrekkers*. Film. African Film Productions. Johannesburg.

Suleman, R. (2004). *Zulu Love Letter*. Film. FMB2 Johannesburg.

Sissako, A. (2014). *Timbuktu*. Film. Les Films du Worso. Port Louis.

Swanson, D. (1949). *African Jim*. Film. African Film Library. Johannesburg.

Teno, J.M. (1992). *Afrique, je te plumerai*. Documentary. Les Films du Raphia. Yaounde.

Tshoganetso, G. (2016). *Chobolo: Botswana Drama*. DVD. Gaone Tshoganetso. Gaborone.

Uys, J. (1954). *Daar droer in die Stad*. Film. African Film Productions. Johannesburg.

Uys, J. (1955). *Geld soos Bossies*. Film. African Film Productions. Johannesburg.

Uys, J. (1965). *Dingaka*. Film. Embassy Pictures Corporation. Johannesburg.

Uys, J. (1982) *The Gods Must Be Crazy I*. Film. Ster kinekor. Johannesburg.

Wet, P. (1949). *Kom Saam Vanaand*. Film. African Film Productions. Johannesburg.

Wet, P. (1952). *Altyd in My Drome*. Film. African Film Productions. Johannesburg.

Wet, P. (1958). *Fratse in die Vloot*. Film. African Film Productions. Johannesburg.

Wet, P. (1959). *Piet se Tante*. Film. African Film Productions. Johannesburg.

Whedon, J. (2015). *Avengers: Age of Ultron*. Film. Walt Disney Studios. Los Angeles.

Williams, S. (1976). *Inkunzi*. Film. Heyns Films. Johannesburg.

Ziman, R. (2008). *Jerusalema*. Film. United Int'l Pictures. Johannesburg.