Title of dissertation:

Televisual Land, Place and Space:

The Representation and Contextualisation of Townships in Post-Apartheid South African Television, a case study of selected episodes from *Skeem Saam (2011-)* and *uZalo (2015-)*.

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Abstract

Even though television is so common and part of our domestic routines, the apparatus has received little academic attention in comparison to the film medium. Both film and television are audio-visual mediums, nevertheless, it is film which received comparatively more academic enquiry. Scholars have argued that television, "the domestic box", is unworthy of academic enquiry and that its image making (cinematography) is inferior in comparison to that of film, with its panoramic "big screen" at the cinema complex.

This study returns to those debates about the relevancy of television and its aesthetics. The core aim of this research paper is to analyse Skeem Saam (2011-) Season One Episode One and uZalo (2015-) Season One Episode One with a focus on their cinematography and the manner in which the township landscape has been represented. My approach is qualitative. I observed the phenomenon of both episodes and analysed them according to Lukinbeal's (2005) analysis of Andrew Higson's (1984, 1987) taxonomy of how landscapes function on screen.

By analysing the cinematographic and representational attributes of the two episodes, I argue how the two episodes of the two productions' decision to film in the exterior side of the township has implications for the social cohesion and sense of community (ubuntu) with which townships in South Africa have become known for as opposed to always being perceived as places of violence, crime and poverty. The two episodes of the two productions do not follow the repertoires of most film and television productions which predominantly film in studio or in the townships of Soweto in Johannesburg or Khayelitsha in Cape Town. Ultimately, the analysis of the two episodes and their findings engage with the idea that television is an object capable of sustaining cinematographic attention (the ability to incorporate innovative image-making techniques even though the screen is smaller than that of a cinema complex) and worth academic enquiry

Keywords: Representation, Township, Landscape, Post-Apartheid South African Television, Skeem Saam, uZalo.

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Roystan Duwayne Kemp

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Chapter One.

Aim

Skeem Saam *(Peu Communication Solutions, 2011-)* and uZalo *(Stained Glass Productions, 2015-)* are post-apartheid television productions which are broadcasted on the public service broadcasting network the SABC[1] channel 1. Both narratives are fictionally located in township landscapes: Skeem Saam in Turfloop, east of Polokwane and uZalo in INK (Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu) of Durban. Viewers claim that they are arguably successful television productions because they film on location.

I set out to analyse Skeem Saam Season One Episode One and uZalo Season One Episode One according to Lukinbeal's (2005) analysis of Andrew Higson's (1984, 1987) taxonomy of how landscapes function on screen.

I will then proceed to argue how Skeem Saam Season One Episode One and uZalo Season One Episode One re-imagine the township and how they position and offer possibilities for subjective contextualisation in post-apartheid South African television.

Research questions

This study will attempt to answer the following research questions:

1. How has the township landscape been re-imagined as a place and space in the broader South African societal context beyond/outside major cities such as Cape Town and Johannesburg?
2. How can we refer to the discourse of South African townships as opposed to always referring to the townships of Cape Town (Gugulethu, Khayelitsha, The Cape Flats and Langa) and Johannesburg (Alexandra, Eldorado Park and Soweto) amongst others?
3. How has Skeem Saam and uZalo changed the focus of not only emphasising and seeing the township as a place of crime, violence and poverty?
4. What do the exterior camera shots of the township tell us about the township life and how can we interpret these observations?
5. What cultural and aesthetic differences are viewers of Skeem Saam and uZalo invited to note in the landscapes and exteriors of the townships they are filmed in?

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[1] South African Broadcasting Corporation.

Rationale

The belief that we should strive to produce as accurate a reflection of the world as possible (Duncan and Ley, 1993:2).

...because whatever form landscape takes, its symbolic qualities sustain and enlighten social meaning (Cosgrove, 1984; 1987; 1993, Daniels and Cosgrove, 1988; Daniels, 1989; Lukinbeal, 2005).

I became interested in this topic because I have worked on the production of Skeem Saam in Season Six and Season Seven. It was a profound experience for me because I am from Polokwane, although I am not from Turfloop. It was like working on a production from home because most of the other cast and crew members are also from Polokwane, so it was similar to working at a local production. I want to do this research because as an individual who grew up in a democratic South Africa, it was unpleasant to always being told about other areas and their dynamics. I thought we should learn more about other landscapes as opposed to always being subjected to what we see and hear of on South African television. That is what a production like Skeem Saam precisely did.

Skeem Saam is a post-apartheid television production which is produced by Peu Communication Solutions under the management of Executive Producer Winnie Serite. It is fictionally set in a township called Turfloop[2].

Turfloop is situated approximately 27 kilometres east of Polokwane[3] city on the R71 route which leads to Moria and the town of Tzaneen. McCusker and Ramudzuli (2007: 59) write that in the early years of apartheid South Africa, there were various Bantustans. Lebowa, which means north in Sepedi, was the Bantustan of the Turfloop area and it included Mankweng. The authors write that "Mankweng and a Bantu university were established in 1958 and a small residential area was planned for the lecturers and the first buildings were constructed on the Turfloop farm in 1959" (Horrell, 1964: 142). According to McCusker and Ramudzuli (2007: 59) "the university college of the North later became the University of the

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[2] Turfloop was originally the name of a farm situated in the Bantustan.
Turfloop is also referred to as Mankweng or Sovenga (Mankweng is the name of one of the early Chiefs of the area. Sovenga is an acronym made up of Sotho, Venda and Tsonga, which is the three major ethnic tribes of the Limpopo province).
[3] Polokwane was formerly known as Pietersburg and is the largest urban area north of Gauteng province.

North and is currently the University of Limpopo and was to be a major growth point for the area". Turfloop is known as a dynamic township because there is a major hospital in the area, a university, a magistrate's court as well as shopping centres which attract a large number of residents from other areas in Limpopo to flock to the area.
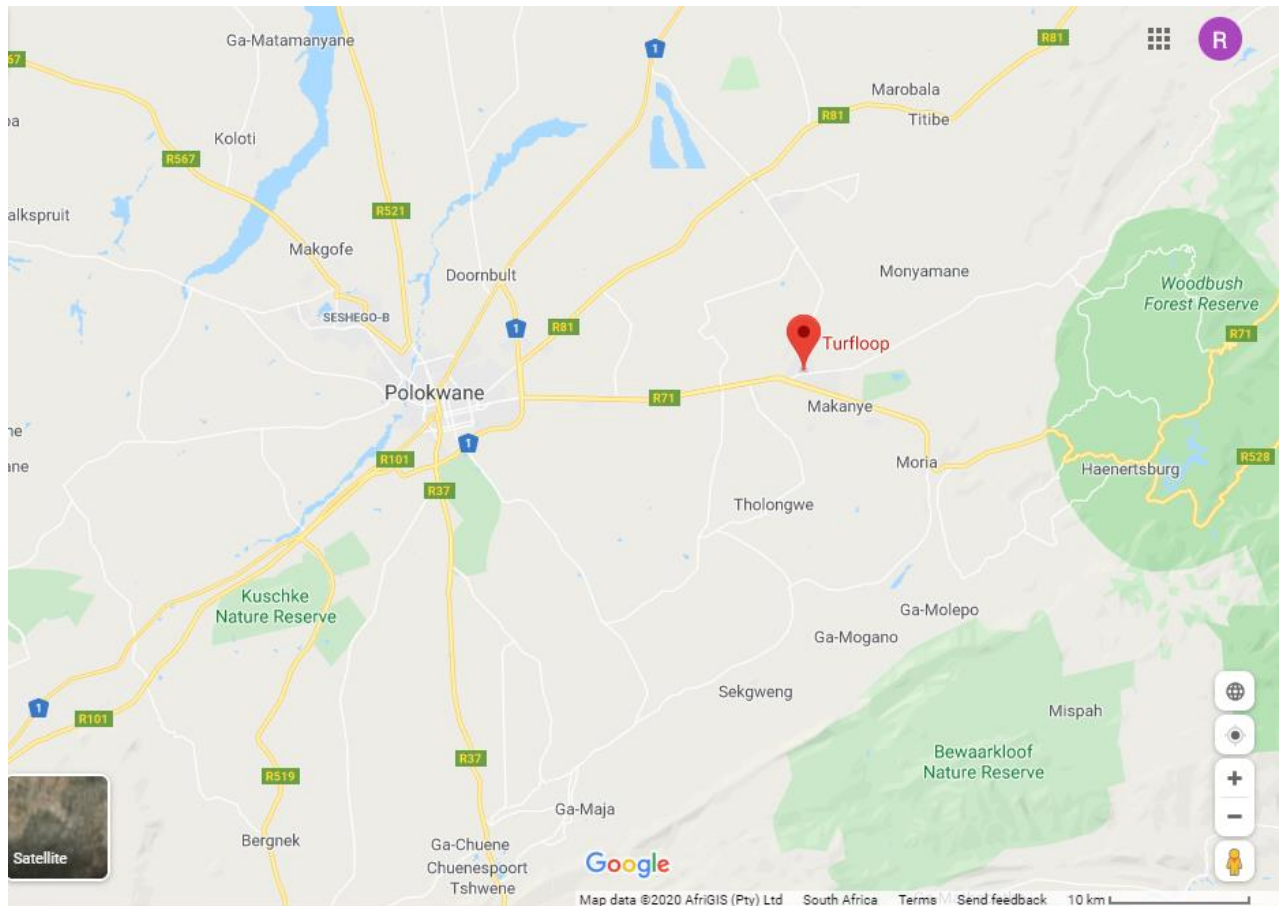
Map one: displaying where Turfloop is geographically located. Source: Google Maps.

The name Skeem Saam can loosely be translated as follows: *Skeem* (meaning friend or pal and/or also from the phrase 'scheme together') and *Saam* (meaning "together" from the Afrikaans word). According to Executive Producer Serite, the premise of the production is "what is a man?". Viewers are introduced to three teenage boys, namely Thabo "Tbose" Maputla, Zamokuhle "Kwaito" Seakamela and Katlego "Kat" Pieterson who journey together into manhood. They are three teenage boys who stay in close proximity of each other in the township of Turfloop. The first episode of season one starts with them and further develops as they grow up to become young, independent career men.

Skeem Saam has elements of an educational drama series as well as a teen drama series. I will be focusing this study specifically on Season One Episode One and not the other seasons. The mid to late 1990s saw a surge of educational and teen drama series on South African television with productions such as Yizo Yizo (Laduma Film Factory, 1999-, Bomb Productions 2000-2004) and Soul Buddyz (Bobby Heany Productions, 2000-2011) amongst others. Moseley (2015: 39) indicates that a teen drama or educational drama series can be characterised by its use of popular music which we have seen in the case of Tuks Senganga, a South African hip-hop artist whose song "bona fela" is utilised for the title sequence of Skeem Saam. Moseley also states that parents are carefully written into the storyline, but they feature as support for the youth and we see settings (landscapes) such as the high school, the family home and particularly the teen bedroom. All of these devices are utilised in Skeem Saam Season One Episode One.

Although not necessarily focusing on the youth, Uzalo[4] is another example of a post-apartheid South African production. Unlike the majority of post-apartheid South African productions which film their episodes in the studios of Johannesburg and Cape Town such as 7de Laan (Danie Odendaal Productions, 1999-), Isidingo (Endemol Shine Africa, 1998-2020) and Scandal! (Ochre Media, 2008-), uZalo also filmed season one in its real geographical location of the township landscape like Skeem Saam also did. Ferreira (2015: 1) describes the locations of uZalo such as KwaMashu township as "poor but vibrant" and mentions that "it subverts the often-typical glamorous setting of many other South African soap operas which are typically filmed on set in Johannesburg". Ferreira (2015: 1) also articulates that the producers further explained that KwaMashu is a character itself, that is a very specific place with its own type of feel and its own character. Ultimately, in the story, we really try to weave in KwaMashu as its own character, so, it is not just a story that could be set anywhere. Onuh (2017: 8) gives us more context about the locations of uZalo by explaining that KwaMashu has been grouped with neighbouring townships Inanda, Ntuzuma and together they are referred to as INK by the eThekwini Municipality. She further contextualises the area by mentioning that collectively, the INK area is home to about 500 000 residents and geographically, KwaMashu is one of the townships located in the province of KwaZulu-Natal precisely 32 kilometres north of Durban, South Africa. Onuh (2017: 8) utters that the

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[4] uZalo means "offspring" in isiZulu.

township name is an admiration of Sir Marshall Campbell which signifies "Place of Marshall".

uZalo follows the narrative of two families in the township. The two matriarchs gave birth to boys at the same time in the same hospital. The sisters on duty accidently separated them and gave the incorrect baby to the incorrect family. The narrative of the production then starts to follow the consequences of this error. Unlike other post-apartheid television productions, uZalo and Skeem Saam foreground the township landscape to the viewers. This study will look at some of these choices and what they mean in the current socio-political climate.

Map two: displaying KwaMashu, Inanda, Ntuzuma and surrounding townships. Source: Google Maps

This research aligns itself specifically within the discourse of Television Studies, its aesthetic codes and the geographies of television. According to Nelson (2015), "television has lagged behind film (in spite of televisions relative predominance in our everyday lives)" and "that television programmes are short-lived" (Nelson, 2015: 16). He further utters that "in the academic world, the content of television was for some time considered unworthy as an object of study" (Nelson, 2015: 16). This indicates how television was considered as a

medium which had a fast lifespan: a programme gets broadcast, repeats the following day and then it is over. Whereas films were seen as "art" and "events". Film goers usually make time to go to the cinema complex, they spend money on snacks and remember the event long after it is over. It is no surprise how most film goers usually go on a date, a birthday celebration or even take time off from work to go and see a film at a cinema complex. This event is then remembered long after it is over in contrast to a television set which is at home and part of the usual domestic routine. This research returns to those debates as identified by Nelson (2015) to engross with the idea that television is indeed a worthy object of study, irrespective of which angle the research takes. Nelson's (2015) quote is quite recent by looking at the date which he made those statements. In this case, I assume that he is referring to the long history of broadcast or terrestrial television, because it was in this format where a channel had control over what gets viewed and when. Nelson's comments seem to ignore the recent history of satellite television, cable television and internet streaming with examples such as *Netflix* and *Showmax* where viewers are able to watch any production that they want to. The example of internet streaming is more accurately known as IPTV[5] which "is a method of distributing content…that enables a more customised and interactive user experience in which customers are able to watch what they want and when they want to" (Han, Kim and Joshi: 2015: 94).

The topic of interest in this research is the topic of representation on television as well as in Television Studies as discussed in academic work. My point of departure is that my research does not necessarily look at how a specific group of people are represented. In most of my research scouting which I have encountered, a number of scholars have historically looked at specific groups of people such as homosexuals, minority racial groups, females and disabled people. Little research has been conducted about television and how landscapes have been represented. It is true as to what Nelson (2015) expresses that television has historically been lagging behind film studies. As such, this research returns to debates surrounding the scholarly conversation about the representation of landscapes on television in post-apartheid South Africa.

Further, this research fundamentally returns to debates surrounding the aesthetics of television and its cinematography. Scholars such as Higson (1984) and Gibson (2018) have in their own research encountered other scholars who deemed television as an inferior medium

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[5] Internet Protocol Television.

which cannot hold cinematographic attention like films. For example, a genre which dominates television globally as well as in South Africa is that of the soap opera genre. Soap operas usually receive scholarly attention based on their narratives, serialised storylines and they are seen as feminine genres because they also have large female viewership. My research will also return to debates surrounding the technical codes, televisual aesthetics and cinematography of post-apartheid South African productions which will set out to contribute to the phenomena that television can also maintain aesthetic and cinematographic attention and in addition also show socio-political reality.

Township landscapes feature prominently on post-apartheid South African television. Burgess (1987: 2) declares that virtually no attention has been paid to landscape and setting in television analysis and criticism despite the fact that landscapes and settings are an important way of communicating the realism of any televisual text. Frequently analysed in film studies (Aitken and Zonn, 1994; Cresswell and Dixon, 2002), the use of landscapes on television is equally important as "television also makes sense of certain sorts of space and image as landscape and encourages particular ways of looking at those spaces" (Higson, 1987: 8). Gibson (2018) draws on the attention that is usually given to the film medium which is displayed at the cinema complex with its wide and big screen in contrast to the smaller screens of television. She remarks that while early work on television saw it as an "inferior visual medium" (Williams, 1990: 22) that produced a 'lack of detail in the individual image" (Ellis, 1982: 14), the specificity of television as a medium is important for understanding the meanings of televisual landscapes. There are "clear differences between the way in which images are constructed, used or looked at in cinema and the way in which they figure in television" (Higson, 1987: 8). Although landscapes cannot have the same status as spectacle as they do in the cinema (Higson, 1987: 9), they do serve specific functions. When we shift our focus to the manner in which viewers watch television drama series' and soap operas particularly, it is usually the narrative dialogue and the characters which are the focal points of these productions. In present-day South Africa, the national broadcaster, the SABC, still broadcasts the picture format of most of its productions in standard definition (SD) and not yet in high definition (HD). High definition (in some cases ultra-high definition (UHD)) and television sets with bigger screen have become more available in comparison to the smaller to medium screens in South Africa. These television sets have an effect on the appreciation and perception of the image, and they may also project landscapes as spectacle Gibson (2018) cites Higson by remarking that televisual landscapes

can function as a "space of narrative or dramatic action; as a key signifier of a real historical and geographical place or as a spectacle of picturesque views" (Higson, 1987: 7-8). Finally, despite the primary function of landscapes on television being narrative space, there is often a tension "between what we see and what we hear, between views of a landscape and the conversation that accompanies it" (Higson, 1987: 9). This analysis of Higson (1987) and Gibson (2018) draws on a wide range of material and genres in television. Landscapes do indeed feature on sport programming, advertisements and nature programming for example. However, certain commercial and genre programming such as the comedy, soap operas and made-for-television films often neglect the use of landscapes. Viewers are then more focused on the characters and the dialogue between different characters. On average, the landscapes that do feature on these genres are usually stock footage which the production inserts whenever a master shot, or the establishing shot is utilised.

Escher (2006: 307) mentions that "the classic theme of geography, the analysis of landscapes has already found its way in the early works of the first film scholars". He mentions Bela Balazs, a cinema theorist who in 1924 turned his attention to landscapes in films. "Landscapes are primarily discussed while considering aspects of the dramaturgical impact and poetic possibilities in film" (Balazs 1924 cited in Escher, 2006: 307). Escher (2006) also states that media has neglected the study of geography far too long and that:

> it is necessary to invest a lot of time and energy in order to gain accurate insight into the diversity and complicated processes that contribute to the evolution of a cinematic world, which he further says, exist parallel to a life (real) world while constantly interacting with it and providing inspiration for structuring day to day life (Escher, 2006: 307).

Taking Escher's sentiments into consideration, this research could contribute to the study of how landscapes or even exteriors are represented on screen. Escher (2006) mentions that it is usually the Anglo-Saxon cultural geographers who are at the forefront in exploring the field of cinematic geography by considering a wide variety of perspectives and developing concepts into the contemporary society. There is room for other regions of the world to study the dynamics of landscapes on screen. He says that fundamental articles such as Aitken and Zonn's (1994) *Place, Power, Situation and Spectacle: a Geography of Film*" can be interpreted as the final starting point for the advent of geographical screen research. There have been many papers written about city life (Clarke 1997; Lukinbeal 1998; Forsher 2003;

Bollhofer 2003; Barber 2002; Shiel and Fitzmaurice 2001, 2003; Escher and Zimmerman 2001; Lukinbeal 2005), about cinematic representations and imagery and their geographical impact (Mains 2004; Zonn and Winchell 2002), open classical topics of geography like globalisation (Miller 1993; Jameson 1992) and tourism (Riley and van Doren 1992). My research is aligned with these phenomena in a post-apartheid South African context.

I have mentioned in this section so far that television has lagged behind academically in comparison to film. I also mentioned that television is seen as a medium which is frequently analysed with regards to how it represents a specific group of people and not so much about the landscapes, televisual aesthetics nor cinematography. This paper aligns itself with landscapes, particularly that of the township landscape in post-apartheid South African television.

Establishing Skeem Saam and uZalo in the overall South African television landscape.

Townships are often included in post-apartheid South African television productions. An example of one such production is that of Generations The Legacy (Morula Pictures, 2014-). In one of the episodes of season one, there is a set in the studio which is fictionally located in the Alexandra township[6]. This set is that of Gog' (Granny) Flo. The soap opera convention of utilising the studio is to be able to film as many scenes as possible in a short space of time because soap operas have serialised[7] storylines. As such, they seldom depict the exterior. This is often a topic of debate amongst South African viewers. Some claim that the reason why Generations The Legacy has been overtaken as the most viewed soap opera on prime-time television is because they do not depict the real geographical locations and are only limited to the interior.

7de Laan (Danie Odendaal Produksies, 2000-) is also another example of a post-apartheid television production. The storyline is fictionally set in a suburb called Hillside. Hillside is in Johannesburg in 7de Laan's diegesis. However, there is no place such as Hillside in present-day Johannesburg. The production of 7de Laan does utilise exterior shots such as the establishing shots. These are actually shots that were filmed of Melville, a suburb in Johannesburg. Melville has been fictionalised to represent Hillside. Higson (1987) and Gibson (2018) mentioned that televisual landscapes usually has three functions: as signifiers

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[6] Alexandra is a township north-east of Johannesburg.
[7] According to Anger (1999;18), soap operas allow many actions and stories to occur at the same time. This multiplicity as well as unending of soap operas may be seen as replicating real life in which many events occur simultaneously and the resolution of one problem may well create or be replaced by another.

of real geographical locations, as narrative spaces and as spectacles to display picturesque areas. Now, some landscapes on South African television usually just take the form of narrative space as opposed to signifiers of real geographical places in the case of 7de Laan which fictionalised Melville and Generations The Legacy which does not display the exterior of Alexandra township. Most post-apartheid South African soap operas and drama series make use of stock footage of landscapes to increase the production value and usually utilise the footage in the opening sequences or the establishing shots/master shots only. What I appreciate and why I chose this topic is because Skeem Saam and uZalo foreground the township landscape and exteriors unlike how most post-apartheid South African television just use them as places of narrative space.

The history of townships in South Africa paints a throbbing past. Townships are usually seen on screen, heard about on the radio or read on print as places of unrest and violence on documentaries and news bulletins. It leaves one to ask questions such as "do those television productions that do not show the exterior side of the township shy away from its reality?" and "if they do depict them, could it assist to potentially enliven the reputation of the geographical context?"

The Republic of South Africa had its sixth national elections on the eighth of May 2019. It also celebrated 25 years of democracy in the year 2019. This celebration was the commemoration from apartheid into a democratic society where free and fair elections were held and where people of colour, namely black African people, coloured[8] people, Indian people and other people of mixed races were allowed to vote for the first time. Apartheid had various institutionalised policies and practices in place. These include pass laws, Bantu education and townships. Contrary to the former two which are no longer the status quo, townships still exist 25 years into democracy.

Townships were not necessarily constructed during the apartheid era, but they were strengthened by the apartheid government. Bonner and Segal (1998) assert that the new (black) African township of Orlando was constructed in 1931 with the prime consideration of keeping black African individuals as far from the city of Johannesburg as possible. The

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[8] Erasmus (2001) says that "coloured identities are not based on race mixture but on cultural creativity, creolised formations shaped by South Africa's history of colonialism, slavery, segregation and apartheid. This conceptualisation undermines the commonsense view that conceives Colouredness as something produced by the mixture of other purer cultures. Instead, it strives the ambiguity and ceaseless fluidity of coloured identity formations while remaining conscious of the conditions under which they are produced" (Erasmus, 2001: 14).

apartheid government then further developed the discourse of townships to enforce and legalise separate development. Today in post-apartheid South Africa, I have noticed the dynamics of South Africans who usually compare and contrast democracy to that of apartheid. In a letter written to the *Mail and Guardian* newspaper and published 17 December 2018, Ebrahim Harvey refers to townships and points to the violence in the areas, the poor service delivery and he also makes references to the decaying educational systems. He further reiterates that conditions in townships are today than they were under apartheid. These claims by Harvey have consequences for the ruling African National Congress political party. Coming back to Alexandra, the township residents violently protested against the housing and land issues which eventually shut the area down a few days before the 2019 elections where some residents were unable to cast their vote.

I have noticed how television scholars and academics in post-apartheid South Africa tend to disagree and be unhappy with the manner in which townships are represented on screen. I remember the first time when I watched Tsotsi (Hood, 2005) as a high school learner. The film tells the story of a township gangster who goes into a Johannesburg suburb to rob a woman's car. After the robbery, when he drives away with the car, he notices her baby still in the back seat. This leads to his redemption. He ultimately returns the baby back to its parents. The film won the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Science Award (OSCAR) in the 2006 Best Foreign Language Film Category. This was a great moment for South African storytelling. However, Ellapen (2007) disagrees with the representational dynamics of the film, particularly with regards to how the township has been represented. He argues that "the township is represented as a space of otherness and that the cinematic representation fails to recognise that the township is actually a heterogeneous or hybridised[9] space" (Ellapen, 2007: 114). In *Tsotsi (Hood, 2005)* crime is glamourised and the exterior of the township is represented through violence and survival. As a viewer of the film, I thought that the cast and crew of the film did a great job in terms of their storytelling tactics, however, scholars such as Ellapen (2007) disagree.

Tsotsi (Hood, 2006) is a good quality film. The phrase "quality" is often used by South Africans to measure the success of a film production. According to Dovey's (2007) article

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[9] "Hybridity is a term used to refer to the mixing, fusion and assimilation of ideas and concepts that results in the formation of a 'third space'. A 'third space', or the hybrid object, usually has distinct characteristics, yet at the same time displays traces and features of that from which it has been assimilated" (Bhabha, 1994; Loomba, 1998).

published in *The Journal for African Cultural Studies,* Hollywood has been institutionalised within the South African film industry because institutions such as The National Film and Video Foundation (NFVF)[10] of South Africa places emphasis on "quality" and that South Africans should tell and make quality stories. Tsotsi (2006) can be argued to be an example of a quality film in post-apartheid South Africa, but scholars such as Ellapen (2007) and Dovey (2007) insist that the film conforms to Hollywood standards. As a viewer, I was still a teenager in junior high school. I did not know much about film language. I loved the film because yes, it is quality. This quality which I saw in the motion picture is the cinematography. Hatton (2018) pays homage not only to Hood, but also the cinematographer Lance Gewer by indicating to us that they filmed in such a manner so that the content of the image rather than its style is what speaks.

> From the landscape shots of shantytown huts and outlying wastelands to close-up shots of the mishandled baby inside Tsotsi's own corrugated tin home, the grimy underbelly that dominates the story needs no amplifying film technique.

(Hatton, 2018).

Hatton (2018) further argues that Hood's greatest virtue was subverting the convention of shooting on gritty film stock because it is usually expected that films about crime, poverty and other marginalised lifestyles are expected to be filmed in this way. Hatton (2018) brings in a different dimension by announcing that even though the film is conforming to a Hollywood aesthetic with director Hood having completed his filmmaking studies at the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA), Tsotsi (2006) is according to him not necessarily a Hollywood formulaic film. Irrespective of the fact that it was filmed in South Africa, with a South African born director and a South African crew and cast, Tsotsi did subvert some Hollywood conventions such as opening the first sequence in the interior as opposed to the usual exterior with the establishing shot. This interior sequence is that of the gang members who are playing a game of dice.

Yizo Yizo tells the story of youths in a Soweto township school. The name Yizo Yizo loosely means "to show it as it is" indicating the idea of realism in the narrative. Viewers of this television production were disturbed by its representational tactics, especially a rape scene which was broadcasted during the production's prime time slot. Hall (1997) talks of

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[10] The NFVF is a small portion of the Department of Arts and Culture and oversees the film, video and television industry. Some of their tasks include the assisting with marketing, skills and development training.

intertextuality. He announces that media texts such as films, television productions and books amongst others, do not exist on their own. They often have a connection to specific historical texts in which he writes that texts reference one another. This research will ultimately also look at how, if still in place, historical representational repertoires of the township are still at play or not in post-apartheid South African television.

Overview of Chapters

CHAPTER ONE has contextualised the research paper. I start with the aim, research questions which I set out to answer in this paper and the rationale. I also establish the two episodes of the two productions in the overall South African television landscape that I use for my research.

In CHAPTER TWO I review some of the literature which I have researched. I have broken the literature review down into the following headlines:
- "Cinematic Landscapes"
- "Representation"
- and "Township: the ship that never went to town".

In CHAPTER THREE I break down the theoretical framework of the paper as well as the methodology which I utilised.

In CHAPTER FOUR analyse the following data:
The Function of Landscapes on Screen
I also then set out to analyse selected sequences from each episode of the two case studies.

In CHAPTER FIVE I interpret the data which I have analysed in CHAPTER FOUR. This is where I give my own interpretation of what the deeper meanings are behind the representation of the landscapes

CHAPTER SIX is the concluding section of this paper followed by the Bibliography.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

I start this section of the Literature Review by analysing the word "landscape".

In language usage, the word landscape has different functions depending on its usage. According to the Collins English Dictionary (2010 edition), landscape is a word which functions both as a verb and as a noun. The verb refers to the idea of "improving the scenery of a piece of area" such as a garden. This would entail decorating it by adding tiles in the pathway, planting a variety of plants or to add a water feature such as a fountain to enhance the beauty of the area. As a noun, landscape refers to the idea of an extensive piece of land seen from a specific point of view. For example, standing on top of a mountain would allow one to see the village below from the distance. Landscape can also refer to topics, themes of what is currently dominant and trending. For example, when one talks of the media landscape on South African radio then it refers to the kind of music which is dominant on the "music scene". In such an example, the music landscape refers to those genres and types of artists who may have something in common with regards to their musicality.

The above-mentioned examples prove to us that the word landscape has various functions and meanings depending on its usage and context. For the purpose of this study, I will be focusing on specific post-apartheid South African television productions and how they re-imagined the township landscape. Scholars and academic have approached the concept of landscape in various manners. To them, landscapes do not necessarily mean majestic views of mountains or the clouds. However, in most cases, a street with trees and cars can constitute as a landscape.

Cinematic Landscapes

There have been a number of studies conducted on cinematic landscapes and I have engaged with the work of a few scholars who have done research in this field.

The scholarly conversation surrounding landscapes and the representation of geographical landscapes in film and television is vast. The dynamics of scholarly research done on the topic have taken different dimensions. Dissanayake (2010) first looks at the developments in the study of landscapes by stating that the term landscape has gone through some changes over time. He references the Oxford English Dictionary by stating:

> the term landscape was originally employed to signify a picture of natural land scenery and later to mean a birds eye view, a plan, a sketch or map. It also came to mean the depiction or description of something in words. (Dissanayake, 2010: 191).

As I mentioned in the introduction of this section, the word landscape can take on different meanings depending on the context in which it is used. Dissanayake however fails to give us the exact year from which he took the definition from the Oxford English Dictionary because based on his interpretation, the definition is still more or less the same in today's terms.

Another dimension in which scholarly research has been conducted with regards to landscapes is through how they are seen on screen. An overarching scholarly debate about the motion picture is that it is deemed "strong" because of its ability to make us see movement and hear sound. Rijsdijk (2014) says that:

> from the very beginnings, film has had tremendous power in representing physical environments-often in ways that incorporate and transcend other media. Film gave motion to the frozen tableaux of photography and it gave scale and depth to the dramatic art of landscape painting. Film could produce extraordinary verisimilitude[11] which helped to immerse the viewer in the world of the story (Rijsdijk, 2014: 17).

His analysis implies that unlike the still image of photography which has no sound, the motion picture has the ability to add scale and depth to a landscape[12]. A viewer is then able to see and also hear the ambient sound of the landscape in the unfolding narrative.

Similar to what Rijsdijk (2014) expresses about the strength of the cinematic landscape, Dissanayake (2010) says that the study of landscape became popular because of paintings, photography and cinema which later transcended the former two mediums:

> landscapes establish a sense of time, place and mood: they serve to punctuate the narrative and invest it with a more varied rhythm. They can intensify the pictoriality of films; they can enforce a sense of disjunction, an ironic juxtaposition; they can play on and manipulate our spatial consciousness… (Dissanayake, 2014: 191).

All of the aforementioned details are examples of what motion picture can do when it represents landscapes. It is evidence of how Dissanayake shows that the motion picture mediums of film

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[11] The Collins English Dictionary (2010 edition) gives the following definition for verisimilitude: the appearance of being real or true.

[12] Parallax, which is the apparent movement of objects when viewed from different positions according to the Merriam Webster Dictionary. A common example of this is seen when a car drives on a highway: when you look out of the window of the car, the electrical street poles near the road seem to move rapidly past while the trees in the distance away appear to slowly drift by. Even further away, the mountains in the distance move even slower. It is also called the "parallax effect", which is opposing movements. Moving around with the camera gives a suggestive three-dimensional depth to the displayed two-dimensional image.

and television transcended the still image because of its ability to incorporate landscapes in a multifaceted way.

When one thinks of the word landscape then one usually thinks of the exterior, the outside or even the physical Earth. The Earth and its exteriors are large in scale and almost impossible to capture into an entire single image or shot. The research that has been done by Harper and Rayner (2010) suggest that landscapes are always selected, and we do not see all the details of the landscape. They argue: "landscapes involve isolation of a certain spatial extent and a certain temporal length. That is, all notions of landscape are produced by human interpretation which, simply due to human physiology or due to political or cultural bias is selective" (Harper and Rayner, 2010: 16). Although we have already established that film and television transcended other media such as the still photography image by the theory given to us by Risjdijk (2014) and Dissanayake (2010), Harper and Rayner (2010) voice nevertheless that aesthetic treatments of landscape, whether in painting, photography or film involve further selection. They indicate that a single image of a landscape is perhaps too big to be represented in one frame. When we turn our focus to cinematic representation, the framing and composition of the shot is almost always a deliberate selection made by the filmmaker based on the fact that the image might suit the narrative or the space in which they are filming allows them to display the beauty of the area. In all these choices that are made when shooting on location or the exterior, they almost always involve some sort of selection and isolation of certain spaces.

Hall has written extensively on representation and in his book *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices (1997)* he talks about the topic of intertextuality, noting that the "accumulation of meaning across different texts, where one image refers to another" (Hall, 1997: 232) is intertextuality. Intertextuality refers to the notion and practice of how media texts reference each other (Hall, 1997). The same is true for landscapes and the manner in which they have been represented. Escher (2006) looks at the idea of intertextuality in cinematic landscapes:

> Once a location, city, landscape or history is defined by a successful movie, the same production environment will be used for the same icons and identical settings again and the identity of the city will be maintained in movies and for the fictitious narration. Nowadays, movies represent the reference system both for new movies and for everyday communication (Escher, 2006: 311).

Escher's interpretations indicate to us that one specific representation of a landscape for example which was successful in one particular film was then recycled and used in another film more or less in the same manner. These repertoires are what Escher (2006) mention is when a cinematic world evolves and shows us that concepts, sets, costumes and stories of successful movies live on in other movies. As Reed puts it: "movies come from movies and any given movie repeats things from hundreds of others" (Reed: 1989: 8). From Escher's (2006) analysis, we can then say that landscapes and the manner in which they were represented on screen was in some cases incidental. None of the filmmakers necessarily planned everything to the core, although they had an idea of how the landscapes should look. When the final product became a success, the cinematic world also evolved and became a standard for identifying and classifying landscape according to genre and sub-genres. An example is the Western films or Cowboy iconography. Scholars have noted how the American West is usually represented through the long shot, the vast open landscape (often Monument Valley), the remoteness and the mountains. It became a success in one specific film which was then repeated and became a standard way for viewers to identify the setting and kind of film being viewed. I thus note the idea of how a specific invention became a convention as said by Rijsdijk (2014).

This section of the literature review on landscapes indicates the complexity of the topic and how a variety of scholars have approached the topic in their own research. Landscape as a term not only has different meanings but also has different meanings depending on how one talks about it and in which context. The mediums of film and television are representational mediums and they were explained as motion picture mediums in contrast to that of the still image of photography and paintings. Cosgrove (1984) remarks that landscape is a visual term and that it is also about the practical appropriation of space. Perhaps the reason why it has become a topic of debate amongst scholars is because it contextualises a film or television production. When filmmakers represent the geographical landscape then they are contextualising the narrative to prove that the area exists, and it is not just a mere narrative space. It almost became pertinent for this sort of representation because it goes back to the idea of telling relatable narratives. In a country like South Africa with its history of racial segregation, television and film were also utilised as mediums to perpetuate racial segregation. As such, this idea of landscape and geographical representation is like a method to represent those people and their areas which were previously misrepresented during the apartheid regime.

Landscapes have also been previously studied for their ability to work with or against the narrative. For example, when a character in the narrative is sad then it suddenly starts to rain.

"Landscapes used in this manner may support the message of a scene or lend additional contrast to the action" (Schutte, 1999 cited in Escher, 2006: 309). This may be the case, however, based on the way in which landscapes operate in local narratives, landscape are not just merely used as a framework where the narrative unfolds or as a narrative signifying to put rain to connote sadness. A number of the South African landscapes on screen are represented as "cultural additions" (Escher, 2006). To interpret what is meant by cultural, I return to Dissanayake's (2010) analysis. He establishes two types of landscapes, first, natural landscapes such as hills, valleys and rivers which manifest nature. Secondly, what he means by cultural landscapes are those that "signify the way humans have re-shaped the natural landscape into human settlements" (Dissanayake, 2010: 194). In this analysis, cultural landscapes refer to streets, rows of houses or even a tree that has been planted in a garden. I then postulate that South African film and television have strong connections toward cultural landscapes because of the transition which the country has been going through and as a matter of fact, still going through. The manner in which filmmakers have represented landscapes in South African narratives is a way of showing how humans have reshaped the landscape. We have seen an influx of film and television productions which are filmed on location in the geographical township landscape for example. Viewers usually identify townships through the iconography of taxis, street vendors and birds eye views of shacks made from corrugated iron. As such, this proves to us that the representation of townships is not necessarily only a place where the narrative is unfolding but it also symbolises a cultural landscape, a real geographical location and it also contextualises the narrative which is indicating to viewers that the area really exists and is not merely a fictional place.

Representation

Representation or to represent is the process whereby "something" stands in for "something" else. For example, the South African flag with its six colours[13] have come to represent the nation of South Africa and its approximately 57 million citizens. This is just one way to define what representation is and what it means to represent.

There have been a number of scholars who have written about the topic of representation, especially within the disciplines of media studies, social sciences and cultural studies. In this section of the literature review, I will engage with a number of scholars which include the likes of Stuart Hall (1997) and Julie D'Acci (2004) who have made contributions to the topic of

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[13] The colours that make up the South African flag are blue, red, green, white, yellow and black.

representation. I will also outline, in this section of the research paper, what relationship the concept of representation has in connection to South African television.

Hall (1997) has done considerable work in-line with representation and semiotics. In his book Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices (1997) he mentions the word participants, referring to us, the people who make up society. He says that these participants are the ones who make up a culture which is the society which we live in and that its these participants who give meaning to objects and events. What Hall (1997) is implying is that the world around us, society that is, gets its meaning from people. Hall gives an example of a stone and says that "depending on what it means, that stone can be a piece of sculpture" (Hall, 1997: 3).

Julie D'Acci (2004) also did research on the concept of representation. Her analysis looks particularly from a television viewpoint and she also share similar sentiments with Hall (2007) in his analysis where he indicates that participants of society are the ones who give meaning to certain objects and events. D'Acci (2004: 367) tempts us to regard the social world as being a fixed, independently existing reality which an apparatus such as television then either reflects, distorts or reproduces. Similar to what Hall (1997) argues, D'Acci (2004) articulates that the society in which we live is actually just existing. Now, depending on how television (the producer or filmmaker) frames a stone in the camera composition (frame), television is the one which then gives meaning to that stone for example, depending on how it is being represented. I have noticed that with the research that I have done on representation, most scholars who wrote about the topic are those scholars who want to prove that events, groups of people or even objects are not holistically represented. These are usually researched where they look at minority groups such as women, feminism, children, homosexuals, the physically disabled and other minority groups amongst others. "Such studies almost invariably are used to demonstrate that television's representation of society is 'unrealistic' in particular respects" (Allen and Hill, 2004: 367).

Some of the earliest research that was done in the scholarly conversation surrounding representation on television was in the United States of America. Scholars have noted how during the period of the 1950s and 1970s, American television repeatedly produced representations of what D'Acci (2004) in particular says, white, young, middle-class, heterosexual, conventionally attractive, domesticated women as the norm of femininity. This according to D'Acci (2004) was wrong because it was just a method of producing heterosexual

desire to men and a way to make television more commercial. Throughout history there have been various labels given to the media, one of them is that "the media holds a mirror to society". Television is one of these mediums which supposedly 'reflects society'. However, D'Acci (2004) declares that the example of femininity in early American television is a distorted form of representation because according to her, femininity stretches further than the categories mentioned above (white, young, middle-class, heterosexual, attractive and domesticated). We can then make the point to assert that representation is selective because producers, directors and filmmakers of that era in the United States chose to focus on only some aspects of society and ignored the other forms of what it means to be feminine, for example. D'Acci (2004) further gives a radical approach towards how we should look at the concept of representation. She distinguishes between two kinds: social representation and cultural representation:

> as a term, 'representation' has typically been defined as referring to signs, symbols, images, portrayals, depictions, likeness and substitutions and we have tended to think of representation as the primary function that television performs. (D'Acci, 2004: 374).

Here she has given the basic definition of the phrase representation by including the fact that it is bound up by signs and symbols and something standing in for something. However, D'Acci avows that when we typically see the electronic image of a man on a television screen, we tend to think that is a portrayal, a substitute or a reproduction of a flesh and blood man somewhere in the tangible world. She further contests that representation may not be as simple as this as previous scholarship surrounding the concept has proven. She mentions "social" representations which is the idea that representation does not spring up in isolated human minds:

> in many societies, a boy at a particular point in his life may start to dress like the men in his family or region or country. He may then represent to himself and to those around him something like young manhood or masculinity. (D'Acci, 2004; 375).

This is an example of a gender related example. The point that D'Acci is making here is that the boy starts to adopt behaviours from the other men around him which will come to seem like common sense to him and the men around him. D'Acci's (2004) point is that there is no real manhood out there in nature of which this enactment is a re-presentation. The representation, the social construction, has come to stand in for an imaginary original reality. D'Acci (2004) mentions another form of representation. These, according to her, is cultural representations which is "representations that exist and do work in the cultural realm" (D'Acci,

2004: 375), for example, entertainment, language and art. The distinction between the two forms of representation, social and cultural, is complex. Nonetheless, D'Acci (2004) declares that social representation, like the example given about the boy, are thought to be more directly connected to the material existence of the empirical human body. The boy is in direct contact with the physical world and he is around the other men in his family which he emulates. While with cultural representation, D'Acci (2004) says, we should look at the word "nation". "We read about nations in newspapers, magazines and books…we learn about the culture, politics and symbols of nations from television" (D'Acci, 2004: 375). For example, she mentions the tensions which exist between Pakistan and India over the disputed state of Kashmir. The point that she is trying to make here is that we do not see these nations in our daily lives, but we encounter them on television, in the news headlines because of the tension and violence. These are then what we call "stereotypes" which then become dominant because other nations learn about other nations through a television news bulletin and this then becomes a manner of how we see those cultures. D'Acci (2004) concludes that she does not support the metaphor that states "television mirrors society" because its representational tactics can be distorted and, in some cases, selective. It does not give a holistic point of view according to her.

Television as a representational apparatus in South Africa also had a distorted and selective history. There has also been a number of scholars who have studied the history of television in the country, especially due to the apartheid regime.

Television first arrived in South Africa in the year 1976. This means that the country did not witness the first moon landing which took place in the 1960's. Krabill (2002) states that television did not come to South Africa until the year 1976 and that more than 130 countries had television before South Africa. The National Party had resisted television for so long because it raised risks that television would bring ideas of racial and gender equality to the country. "Politicians wanted to prevent the transmission of politically and socially seditious ideas" (Ives, 2004: 160). This demonstrates that television is a powerful medium which has a strong ability to influence society through its representational tactics. The government feared that South Africa might encounter what D'Acci (2004) called "cultural representations" through the medium of television that South Africans would then be able to see racial and ethnic advancements made in countries such as the United States of America and the United Kingdom for example. Television was eventually introduced in the year 1976 as mentioned above, however, Ives (2004) articulates that the decision to allow television in the country was done so on very circumscribed and controlled terms. The government then further used

television as a representational apparatus to perpetuate racial segregation. Krabill (2002) writes that initially, Black South Africans did not feature on television programming at all. Here Krabill (2002) talks about black Africans, coloured people, Indians and other people of mixed races. It shows that television was used as a representational apparatus which was selective as to what it wants to represent and how. Krabill (2002) continues by mentioning that Black South Africans did eventually appear on television but only in the context of accepted labour roles such as domestic workers or mine workers amongst others. As Hall (1997) cited by saying that the participants of a society are the ones who give meaning and make meaning to the world depending on how it is being represented. The manner in which television as a representational apparatus represented racial segregation during apartheid was also to further perpetuate the binary opposition idea of traditional versus modern according to the racial lines and justified the exclusion of non-white actors from participating in the 'modern' capitalist economy according to Ives (2004).

Television as a representational apparatus took on a new role at the end of apartheid in the year 1994. We have seen an incursion of black Africans on screen, programming which includes the rural areas as well as more storylines with the focus on black Africans:

> instead of promoting the National Party, television now represents the goals of the New South Africa. This message, Leslie Marx (2000: 131) asserts, both endorses the rainbow ideology pronounced by the country's new leaders and reassured international investors of the country's transforming and transformative capacities. (Ives, 2004: 161).

 Ives (2004) further states that we see the incorporation a black middle to upper class urban population in the representation of television. The earliest example of post-apartheid television which did so is Generations (Morula Pictures, 1994-2014). In Generations we did not see Black Africans in rural areas and necessarily dressed in traditional clothing. However, we saw the depictions of characters such as Karabo Moroka, Archie Moroka, Queen and Julia Motene and the likes of Ntombi who were represented as hardworking young Black South Africans who worked themselves up the corporate ladder. Ives (2004) utters that the inclusion of such representational tactics is part of the idea of neo-liberalism. The idea is that television is now used as a representation apparatus which is not necessarily under the control of the government but to redress the injustices of the past. These neoliberal tactics is a way in which television in South Africa is on a mission to widen its lens and to change how it represents society so as not to be distorted or selective as it was during the apartheid regime.

Ives (2004) also cites the IBA which stands for the Independent Broadcasting Authority. She utters that one of the mandates of the IBA is to guarantee plurality in programming on television. This process was to be able to get and to represent multiple perspectives of the South African society and to also ensure that the government does not have control over programming such as it did under the apartheid regime. Another post-apartheid South African production which represented neo-liberal policies and the changing climate of South Africa during the 90's was Suburban Bliss (Dapple Productions, 1996- n.d). Suburban Bliss represented a white Afrikaner family who were seen as down-to-Earth. They did not aspire to have the latest gadgets nor accessories. The patriarch of the family is Hempies, played by Patrick Mynhardt who was represented as the old school Afrikaner who did not really change much after the end of apartheid. He still sang the old anthem "*Die Stem[14]*". On the opposite side, the black African family, the Moloi's, moved out of the township and are now the new neighbours of the Dwyer family in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg. They are represented as ambitious and it is important for them to have the latest fashion items, such as a leather jacket for example. The narrative follows the trials and tribulations the two families encounter, in most occasions as binary opposites in the changing climate of the changing South African landscape at the time. This was done through humour because the production is a comedy.

Representation is still however a contested topic in South Africa, 25 years into democracy. A number of scholars are still writing about the topic and in most cases, the direction their research is taking is to measure how holistic representation is in the country. Ellapen (2007) for example has stated that even though a film such as Tsotsi (Hood, 2005) is shot in the township and features black African individuals in the leading roles, he felt that the film still conforms to outdated perceptions of what townships are which foregrounds crime and poverty too much. Other scholars have measured how, even though some films and television productions are made by Black African individuals, does not necessarily mean that it accurately represents the society. Scholars have remarked that films still conform to Hollywood tactics because Hollywood is seen as one of the institutions which distorts representation and is

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[14] *Die Stem,* (directly translated as "the voice" in Afrikaans) was the then-national anthem of The Union of South Africa. It is a poem written by C.J Langenhoven in May 1918. The music was composed by the Reverend M.L de Villiers in 1921. It was sung for the first time publicly in 1928 and was made the official anthem by the South African government in 1957.

Dean, O. 2012. "An Anthem to Ignorance-The Case of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika", *The Anton Moster Chair of Intellectual Property.* https://blogs.sun.ac.za/iplaw/2012/06/18/an-anthem-to-ignorance-the-case-of-nkosi-sikelel-iafrika/#, accessed on 13 March 2020.

selective with regards to how it represents society. Aiseng (2017) has praised the production of the film Elelwane (wa Luruli, 2014). He says that the film represents an authentic South African narrative because it tells the story of a young Venda woman who has fallen in love with a man but her family at home want her to marry the chief of the village. Aiseng (2014) states that the narrative, the technical codes and mise-en-scene is done is such a way that we see flashbacks, dream sequences and the long take (slow pacing and rhythm).

We can conclude by saying that representation is a pertinent topic in South Africa. The above examples include film and television productions and we can see that some scholars such as D'Acci (2004) and Ellapen (2007) argue that film and television can be unrealistic when it attempts to represent society. In a country like South Africa, the concept of representation remains crucial because of the apartheid regime which utilised television as a method to perpetuate racial segregation. It was thus necessary for filmmakers, producers and writers to re-imagine and change the manner in which the camera frames and in this way, composes society.

Township: the ship that never went to town.

This research focuses on how two post-apartheid South African television productions have re-imagined the representation of the geographical landscape and exterior of the township and how they have subjectively positioned the township in a post-apartheid context. I shall therefore proceed in this section of the literature review by giving a definition and origins of townships in the Democratic Republic of South Africa.

The Collins English Dictionary (2010 edition*)* defines a township as an urban settlement of black African or coloured people in South Africa. Townships are known as urban living areas which usually form part of major cities and towns in South Africa. Swarts and Scott (2013: 331) write that "townships are under-resourced, ill-serviced residential areas created by the segregationist policies of the apartheid government, especially between 1948 and 1994". They have similarities with the *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro, the slums in Calcutta or Nairobi, the barrios of Caracas and Mexico City and to some extent, with the British Council Estates and the ghetto or projects of the United States of America. In colloquial terms, a township is often referred to as *"iKasi"* or the "the ship that never went to town". Swarts and Scott (2013) are correct in their analysis. However, townships were not necessarily created during the apartheid era although they were further developed and sustained during the apartheid era. "Townships originated from South Africa's unique economic requirement for inexpensive migratory labour

and they were managed using brutal policing systems as well as British municipal administrative traditions" (Ladd, 2008: 405). He states that although Cape Town and Port Elizabeth had townships dating to the early 19th century, the first modern and formal townships were in Kimberly where migrant workers came to work in the mines following the discovery of diamonds in 1867. As such, gold was later discovered in Johannesburg which resulted in migrants streaming to Johannesburg[15]. Ladd (2008, 406) reiterates that since the turn of the century from the 1800s into the 1900s, the 1930s is known as the high-growth era in South African history which lasted into the 1960s. This period saw the rise of the industrial and technological time of the country.

> Townships sprouted across Johannesburg and the other main urban areas such as Cape Town, Durban, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth, East London, Bloemfontein and Pietersburg (which has now been renamed to Polokwane). This process required the labour of Black Africans. (Ladd, 2008: 406).

It was during these times in which townships became associated with issues such as protests and over population. As a young South African, I am aware of the South African calendar which recognises June the 16th every year as National Youth Day. This is because in the township of Soweto, school learners protested against the introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. This was one of the biggest revolts and protests which townships in South Africa experienced. In addition, Ladd (2008: 406) states that many important anti-apartheid protests in townships erupted which particularly targeted living conditions. Due to the sprouting of townships, several kinds of divisions endemic to South Africa were exacerbated which includes class, race, gender and the rural and urban divisions. Little attention was given to townships.

> "The typical township house was a matchbox of 40 square meters with rudimentary plumbing and until the 1980s, without electricity. One reason for the adverse socio-economic conditions was the inadequate tax base; often beer hall revenues. During the protests, community activists raised the demand for a 'one city, one tax' policy because black Africans, coloured and Indian townships were not charged the same as with white suburbs" (Ladd, 2008: 406).

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[15] This period is known as the "goldrush" in which Johannesburg became a major metropolitan area in southern Africa due to people flocking to the city for economic purposes.

The introduction of democracy in South Africa meant that negotiations started to remedy the injustices of the past. Yet, Ladd (2008) writes that restrictive macroeconomic conditions and neoliberal microeconomic policies meant that living conditions remained uncomfortable in most black African townships.

> The project of post-apartheid South African democracy was to fix the injustices of the past…however, neoliberal policies have failed, for example RDP houses[16]. They are constructed with flimsier materials than during apartheid, has been located even further from jobs in the cities and community amenities and had lower grade state services, including rubbish collection, inhumane sanitation, untarred roads and inadequate storm-water drainage. (Ladd, 2008: 407).

Townships today are still facing socio-economic and civil issues similar to ones that are mentioned above by Ladd.

Townships can technically be seen as a microcosm of South Africa. Especially with regards to black African individuals because they represent the hustle and bustle of most of their economic lifestyles and they are urban with forms of inequality such as some residents who are employed together with those who are unemployed. There are also sections in a township which are called skwatta camps[17].

Most townships in post-apartheid South Africa have ironic names. In some cases, the geography and landscape are also in irony to the area and what happens inside the area. Marx (2010) says that the coloured townships of Cape Town are very violent because of the gang rivalry which sees various gangster groups fight with one another. Nonetheless, the townships, or the Cape Flats as they are known are located next to the picturesque backdrops of Table Mountain which looks like paradise. Grassy Park is one of the areas and Marx (2010) voices that a name such as Grassy Park connotes aristocratic and pastoral connotations, however, it is in opposition of what actually happens in the area. Other coloured townships of Cape Town which has this naming irony include Hanover Park, Mitchel's Plain, Elsiesrivier and Bonteheuwel. Gugulethu is an example of a black African Township in Cape Town. The name Gugulethu is a contraction of "igugu lethu" which means "our pride" in isiXhosa and Naledi is a township which makes up a portion of the larger Soweto townships. Naledi means "star" is seSotho. These are just a few of the names of townships which have ironic names. In the case

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[16] RDP stands for Reconstruction and Development Project.

[17] From the word "squatter" which is unused land occupied by someone to live on.

of Grassy Park for example, Edgar Pieterse who works at the African Centre for Cities at the University of Cape Town is quoted in an article written by Oliver Wainwright (2014) states that because apartheid's project was segregation, townships are an example of its spatial engineering and that a natural landscape feature such as Table Mountain or sometimes manmade infrastructure were employed as physical barriers. "Even though races were segregated, there is (was) still segregation within black African townships. Ethnic groups were often segregated into separate areas for Zulu, Xhosa's, Sotho's and others" (Ladd, 2008: 405).

Turning my focus to Gauteng, Johannesburg is South Africa's largest metropolis. Ladd (2008) pronounces that the best-known townships are Soweto[18] and Alexandra. He further pronounces that others include Bosmont, Daveyton, Diepsloot, Duduza, Eldorado Park, Etwatwa, Evaton, Ivory Park, Kagiso, Katlehong, KwaThema, Lenasia, Orange Farm, Tembisa, Thokoza Park, Tsakane, Vosloorus and Wattville. These stretch more than 50 kilometres east, west, north and south and they fuse into other townships near Pretoria/Tshwane[19] and the Vaal River. The area constitutes a vast peri-urban expanse. Of the townships, which together host more than half the population, only Alexandra is relatively well located within the Central Business District of Johannesburg. It thus makes it easier for residents in Alexandra to commute to and from employment in Johannesburg city according to Ladd (2008).

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[18] Soweto is an acronym for South Western Townships

[19] I utilise Pretoria/Tshwane as opposed to just Pretoria or Tshwane, because in some contexts, the name Pretoria is used in commercial and tourist contexts. As of 2020, we still see maps and street signs written "Pretoria" on them. Tshwane is used as the official name of the municipality of the geographical area. Hence, in this paper, I refer to the area as Pretoria/Tshwane. I purposely placed "Pretoria" on the left-hand side when reading it as the name is older and more familiar. I did not do this with regards to preference of which name I want the city to be called.
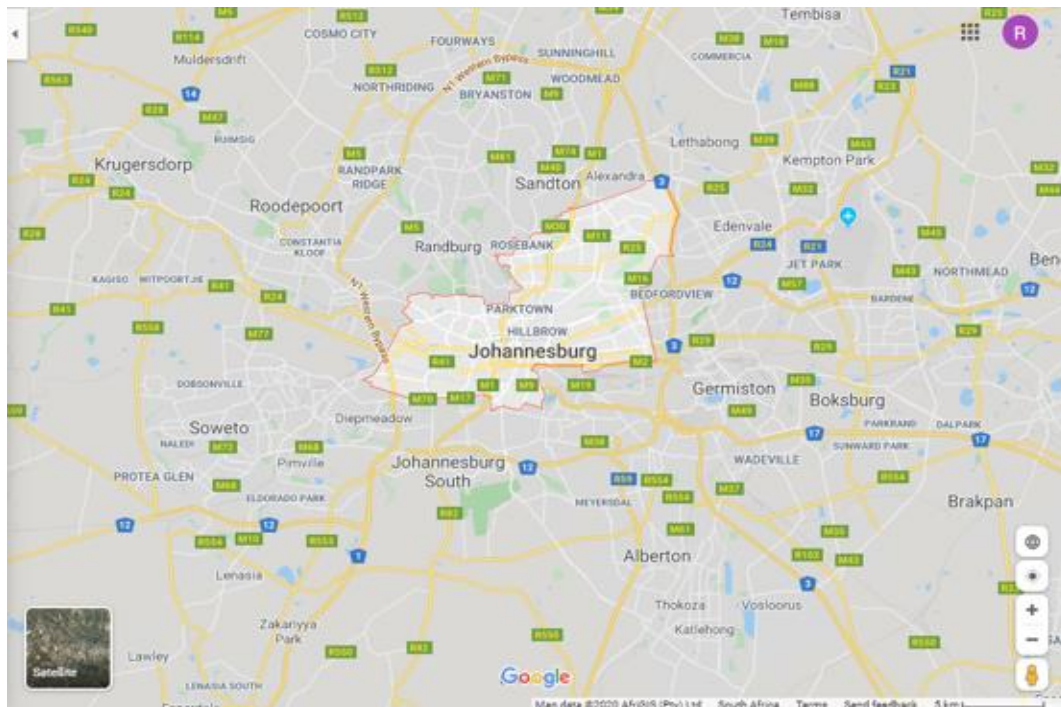
Map three: displaying the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan area and surrounding townships such as Tembisa in the north east, Katlehong in the south east, Lenasia in the south west and Kagiso to the west. Source: Google Maps.

Townships are not just areas where black African reside. The phrase black has been dealt differently by different scholars within the academic field of research. In its day-to-day usage, black may refer to a distinct racial group which specifically refers to black in terms of skin colour; an ethnic group identified by its African origins. In another dimension, Aiseng (2017) mentions that blackness with a small letter b in political terms, 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 (Aiseng, 2017: 10).

In this case, blackness in the South African context includes black Africans, coloured people, Indian people and other people of mixed races. The point I am trying to make here is that, Indian people for example, also reside in townships, in areas such as Lenasia for example. Within the coloured context the word township may be replaced by the word "location" or the Afrikaans equivalent "lokasie"[20]. Location or "lokasie" is most likely the word used because it refers to the site or position because townships on average, are positioned on the outskirts of most cities and towns. Although other races such as that of Indian people, coloured people and

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[20] There actually does not exist a word such as "lokasie" in the Afrikaans language. It is merely an Anglicism; the process where words get directly translated from or to English. The correct word for location in Afrikaans is "ligging".

other people of mixed races also reside in townships, most studies have particularly looked at the black African townships. Rens (2016: 13) affirms that the black African citizen as a subject of critical exploration provides for a thought-provoking avenue for research purposes with the aim of making a valuable contribution to the academy because South African history and current racial and socio-cultural atmosphere. Discourse pertaining to a history of segregation and racism in South Africa often follow a similar rhetoric situating the black African citizen in a position that illustrates an experience of suffering and oppression deemed more distinctly manifest even in the present socio-economic and socio-political landscape of the country (Goodman 2006; Balia 2004; Reddy 1997; Mda 2002; van Zyl 1999; Nebe 2012). Compared to their coloured and Indian counterparts, black African are documented in ways that points to them having suffered high(er) levels of trauma as they often found themselves in direct dispute and clashes with apartheid government (Mathabane 1986; Wilson 2001; Goodman 2006).

When South Africa transitioned from apartheid into democracy in 1994 and introduced a new constitution in 1997, society started to change in South Africa. All citizens were to be treated equally and the aims of democracy was to correct the injustices of the past which particularly looked at racial segregation. One of these was in the television industry. In addition to entertaining, television programming aimed to foster national unity through the redressing of historical wrongs and to encourage economic growth and foreign investment (Ives 2007). We saw an increase of township depictions being used on television. These were new perspectives and developments within an industry and a creative culture that once marginalised the majority of black Africans, coloured people, Indian people and other people of mixed races, excluding them in numerous ways from the representational apparatus (Ebrahim and Ellapen, 2018). Since we have seen a surge of townships on screen, which was a good thing because post 1994, many film (and television productions) sought to reformulate local histories that had been previously been denied (Hatton, 2018), yet many scholars and academics however are not entirely positive about the manner in which townships are represented on screen. In the 25th year of democracy, South Africa is still a developing nation which faces many challenges such as housing and land issues in townships. Townships still remain a very dynamic feature because of their history and origins. From the data collected in this section, we can see some examples that each township has a unique and dynamic story about why it started and also how it started. The naming of the townships is also thought-provoking.

Prior to doing this research, I have always perceived the word "township" as an authentic South African or a word which connotes and authentic black South African residential area. However, this research has showed me how language has changed over the years. A country like Canada and even the state of Alaska in the United States of America also had what is known as townships. These areas came to be known as those areas in the outskirts of the city. As the society evolved and the world became more or a global village with digitisation increasing, we tend to think of the word township only in the South African context as a settlement for black Africa, coloured, Indian and other people or mixed races. However, this is not necessarily true according to history because other countries such as Canada for example also possessed them. Perhaps it is because of the policies of apartheid which normalised the word township and made it become what is perceived as a South African settlement for black African, Indian, coloured and other people of mixed races.

Chapter three

Theoretical framework

This study is informed by the codes of television or more accurately, the technical codes of television (Fiske, 1999: 4 to 5). Selby and Cowdery (1995) say that media texts are constructions, which is the idea that all media texts are constructed using a media language and that the codes which are chosen, also convey certain cultural information. Two aspects which make up construction are mise-en-scene[21] and …. (which includes the setting, props, codes of non-verbal communication and codes of dress). Firstly, according to Selby and Cowdery (1995: 14) "mise-en-scene analysis looks at only those aspects which overlap with theatre; setting, props, behaviour of the actors or figures, costume and make-up".

Secondly, they also identify technical codes of composition which includes camera angle, shot size, lens type, composition, focus, lighting codes, colour and film stock codes. This paper is particularly concerned with the technical codes; however, I will now and then refer to mise-en-scene to explain a thought accurately. Fiske (1999) identifies the first level of codes as 'reality' and he says that an event to be televised is already encoded. This 'event' is then technically encoded through the second level of representation through camera work, lighting, editing, music and sound. These then transmit the conventional representational codes which then shapes the representations of narrative, conflict, character, action, dialogue, setting and casting. This then shapes the third level of 'ideology'. In this case, for example, an analysis of any kind of technicality would look like this: when a filmmaker utilises a technical code of low camera angle, the meaning or effect of this to the viewer is to see the sky (emphasis on the sky). On another level when a filmmaker selects sharp focus, the intention is to enhance the detail in the shot, whereas soft focus can symbolise either a dream or romance in a storyline.

This study will particularly look at the technical codes and their effect and deeper meaning within two examples of post-apartheid South African television productions. Cinematography is also of the focus here. Cinematography is the notion of what the television production looks like or will look like when it is being filmed. A cinematographer or Director of

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[21] Mise-en-scene, from the French "putting in the scene" refers to the modification of space, or the arrangement of performers and items within the visual field of the camera. Mise-en-scene is the space framed by the camera's visual field that the spectator witnesses when watching a film or television programme (Lukinbeal, 2005).

Photography (DOP) is the person who is, amongst other cinematic devices, involved with the likes of lens choice, stock, camera type and movement. Brown (2002) says that the lens of a camera is a prime tool to add different angles and meaning to the cinematic technique together with selecting the frame. He expresses that it is also the area of cinematography in which the director is most heavily involved. Brown (2002) articulates that setting the frame is a series of choices which decide what the viewer will see and not see and where to place the camera in relation to the scene. These are choices concerning the field of vision and movement, all of which work together to influence how the viewers will perceive the shot, "both in outright content and in emotional undercurrent subtext to the action and dialogue" (Brown, 2002: 15).

Composition is another element of the technical codes as identified by Fiske (1999). In order for a television production to change the script into an actual screen project, Mascelli (1965: 197) says "that composition is when the camera person positions anything such as a player, a piece of furniture or even a prop. This is then the mise-en-scene or mise-en-shot". According to Bacher (1978) the visual style is determined by elements making up the shot, that is, the images photographed in one operation or the motion picture camera: actors, sets, backgrounds, lighting and the staging of the action in relation to the camera work. Bacher (1978) further states that the term mise-en-scene encompasses all of these elements as well as their complex interrelations.

Ultimately, though not always in practise, the elements of the mise-en-scene or mise-en-shot are under control of the director (matter-en-scenes). "Since viewing motion picture is an emotional experience, the manner in which scenes are composed, staged, lighted, photographed and edited should motivate audience reaction according to the script intern" (Mascelli, 1965: 197). Composition is one of the cinematographic tools used to translate something which is on the script to the screen. It is through these technical codes such as composition in which the lens of the camera captures and records what is placed in front of it. This theoretical approach will help us to understand how and when the script for says "township" or "going into the township" for example, instead of making us the viewers use our imagination, the cinematographers actually compose the frame and record scenes in the exterior setting of the township by making use of shot sizes such as long shots or extreme long shots. This is an indication of how the production is then truthful to the landscape by using what is already existing there.

Methodology

I set out to analyse Skeem Saam Season One Episode and uZalo Season One Episode One using Lukinbeal's (2005) analysis of Andrew Higson's (1984, 1987) taxonomy of how landscapes function on screen.

I then argue how the two episodes from the two productions have re-imagined the township landscape and how they are (subjectively) positioned to offer possibilities for subjective contextualisation in post-apartheid South African television.

Details about the two episodes

Skeem Saam Season One Episode One was first broadcast on the 13th of October 2011 on SABC 1 Mzansi Fo Sho! As a teen educational drama, the production follows Thabo Maputla, Zamokuhle Seakamela and Katlego Pieterson as they journey into manhood. The production has filmed on location in the Turfloop township.

uZalo Season One Episode One was first broadcast on 9 February 2015, also on SABC 1 Mzansi Fo Sho! This production is a soap opera and follows the narrative of two families in the township of KwaMashu who's baby boys were accidently swapped at birth.

What initially distinguishes these two productions from other post-apartheid is the fact that they are both monolingual, monoracial and monocultural, foregrounding the Sepedi and the isiZulu culture and customs. However, my interest lies in its use of landscapes: both are filmed in the geographical context of the township landscape and it is this which also distinguishes it from other post-apartheid South African television productions which frequently films in the studios of Johannesburg.

The productions foreground the township landscape. I will discuss Lukinbeal's (2005) analysis of Andrew Higson's (1984, 1987) taxonomy of how landscape's function on screen, which is the following four categories:

- Landscape as Space
- Landscape as Place
- Landscape as Spectacle
- Landscape as Metaphor

I will approach to index the two episodes in the following way to get a better understanding of:

- I will be looking at how many scenes each episode has.

- How many interior shots?

- How many exterior shots?

- How the camera angles and framing differ between the two episodes?

- Do characters walk inside from the exterior or walk outside from the interior?

- Do they open and close doors of buildings?

- How is the landscape framed and composed?

Below is a summary of the study's methodology:

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1. Title:

Televisual Land, Space and Place: The Representation and Contextualisation of Townships in Post-Apartheid South African Television, a case study of Skeem Saam and uZalo.

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2. Literature Review + Theoretical Framework

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3. Key Research Questions
- How has the township landscape been re-imagined as a place and space in the broader South African societal context beyond/outside major cities such as Cape Town and Johannesburg?

- How can we refer to the discourse of South African townships as opposed to always referring to the townships of Cape Town (Gugulethu, Khayelitsha, The Cape Flats and Langa) and Johannesburg (Alexandra, Eldorado Park and Soweto) amongst others?

- How has Skeem Saam and uZalo changed the focus of not only emphasising and seeing the township as a place of crime, violence and poverty?

- What do the exterior camera shots of the township tell us about the township life and how can we interpret these observations?

- What cultural and aesthetic differences are viewers of Skeem Saam and uZalo invited to note in the landscapes and exteriors of the townships they are filmed in?

4. Research Approach

Qualitative approach.

I am not doing any interviews with this research. I am taking on an outsiders approach in this research, meaning that I have observed a phenomenon and now I am conducting this research from an outsiders point of view to interpret and analyse this phenomenon.

Cassell and Syman (1994: 7) utter that the qualitative research emphasises the process of interpreting rather than quantification. The fact that I have taken an outsiders point of view and that I have observed a phenomenon means that my research has to be informed by certain topics. I have narrowed my research down to Skeem Saam Season One Episode One and uZalo Season One Episode One. The particular focus is the representation of the geographical township landscape and exterior shots as opposed to focusing on all the production aspects such as character emotion, gender, make-up or wardrobe of each episode.

Research Design

I have taken on a case study design in this research. Cresswell (2007) says that a case study design usually involves the study of a phenomenon within a bounded system of setting or context (Cresswell, 2007: 75). This approach allows for the exploration of the representation of the geographical landscape of the township and its exteriors by using Skeem Saam Season One Episode One and uZalo Season One Episode One as case studies. Baxter and Jack (2008) say that this selection of case study approach enables the phenomenon of the study to be well explored as it fully describes a unit, a person or even

an organisation (Hancock, 1998; Maree, 2007) which often serves as a field of data gathering (Dyll-Myklebust, 2011).

5. Data Collection
- Discussing Lukinbeal's (2005) analysis of Andrew Higson' (1984, 1987) analysis of How Landscapes Function on screen.
- Viewing of Skeem Saam Season One Episode One and uZalo Season One Episode One on VIU.
- Analysing the two episodes to see under which classification or classifications of Lukinbeal (2005) they fall.

6. Data Analysis and Interpretation
- In this section of the research paper, I analyse and interpret the data which I have collected from Lukinbeal (2005) and the two episodes of the productions. Here I look at the literature review and theoretical framework and argue how Skeem Saam and uZalo have re-imagined the township landscape and subjectively contextualised it in a post-apartheid South African context.

Chapter four

<u>Break down of taxonomy of Landscapes</u>

In this section of the research I introduce the analysis of Lukinbeal's (2005) who did his own analysis on Andrew Higson's (1984, 1987) taxonomy of how landscapes function on screen. This is part of the objectives of this research. I then proceed to analyse Skeem Saam Season One Episode One and uZalo Season One Episode One according to the classification they best fall under.

Lukinbeal (2005) states that landscape is important in the formation of a cinematic space. "Landscape gives meaning to cinematic events and positions narratives within a particular scale and historical context" (Lukinbeal, 2005: 3). Film and television productions are two mediums which deal with people, societal dynamics and the different narratives of people. Now, the world as we know it is made up of different regions, area, countries and continents. All people in society are usually associated to some context in society, a place and geographical location. This context in society, this place or geographical location can be signified and represented in a variety of ways on film and television, whether it is in narrative cinema, sports programming or advertisements. These contexts in society, places, geographical locations may be signified or represented differently, depending on the producers, creators or filmmakers. Chris Lukinbeal has analysed Andrew Higson's taxonomy of how landscapes function on screen and there are four main categories, namely: Landscape as Space, Landscape as Place, Landscape as Spectacle and Landscape as Metaphor. Filmmakers and producers, whenever they film their various productions, whether it be a film, a television production, an advert, a web series or sport programme, they do not tell themselves "I am going to represent the landscape in a specific way so that it conforms to Landscape as Place". However, with this research, Andrew Higson (1984, 1987) has noticed a phenomenon amongst filmmakers and then he noticed that a number of them film in this style or in a specific manner. Lukinbeal (2005) years later interpreted the work of Higson and classified them according to the categories as those films, television productions, sport programming or advertisements which have the landscape categories in common. I will be discussing each of them below.

<u>Landscape as Space</u>

The keyword under the category of Landscape as Space is "placelessness". It is tied to the idea of generic representations of place (Relph, 1976). When we as the viewers watch

television productions which are placeless in its representation and signification of landscapes then it means that it refers to those television productions where the context, the geographical location and position of the exterior society is less important than the characters, figures and narrative dialogue on screen. We are likely to see them having conversations in a room, an area or in a street. "As space, landscape provides an area in which the drama of the film can unfold" (Lukinbeal, 2005). As such, landscape is constantly turned into a space of action. Put another way, social space de-centres the importance of locational place allowing narratives to unfold (Higson, 1984; Aitken and Zonn, 1994). When the script of the narrative says "city", the filmmaker is likely to represent a generic city through the signification of traffic jams, skyscrapers, pedestrians, hustling and bustling and congestion. This process would generally attempt as much as possible to ignore popular iconography such as the landmarks of a popular city such as the Statue of Liberty New York or the Empire State Building. The idea is to stick to those areas which makes the city look like any other city in the 21st century.

Landscape as Space is not only utilised as a filming device in the exterior but also in the interior. Lukinbeal (2005) expresses that the mise-en-scene or mise-en-shot is important in this instance because the landscape is subordinate to the drama of the narrative. In this sense, the characters themselves, what they are dressed in, the kind of props they utilise, their make-up, hair and the axis[22] in which they are blocked to perform on is what is important because the narrative is driven by them, the characters. In some cases, the relationship they have with furniture in the mise-en-scene is also important. On average, an example of such a television production usually uses the following technical codes: the close up, the mid-close up or the medium shot. Lukinbeal (2005) also declares that the camera angle is usually eye level, near eye level and possibly low and oblique. This proves that the narrative dialogue and the intention of the filmmaker is to allow the attention of the viewer to remain on the dialogue between the characters on screen and not so much on the geographical area where they are. The viewer is called to focus on the characters, check their body language, listen to the dialogue or monologue and see how they move on screen. In most cases, make up, costumes, hairstyles and accessories have received a lot of attention in the production. Emotion is also

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[22] Selby and Cowdery (1995) identify the axis as Performer Space. They say that this is the positioning of the characters in relation to the camera. The (x) axis is known as the Horizontal axis which extends to the left and the right of the camera. The (z) axis is known as the depth axis which extends to toward and away from the camera where the action takes place on several planes, which is typical the foreground, middle ground and background.

of importance because one particular character might possibly cry or smile, and the camera will be capturing this which is a significant moment in the narrative. This is possibly encoded through the medium close-up shot.

> Close-ups of characters with blurry backgrounds, shots that remove the landscape from view revealing only an object and the sky or action shots that move rapidly through a landscape are examples of Landscape as space.

> (Lukinbeal, 2005: 6).

It does not come as a surprise that Landscape as Space is most frequently filmed in studio sets. "Landscape as space is most frequently filmed in studio sets or on backlots[23]. Sets and backlots offer generic spaces which can be used for multiple narrative purposes" (Lukinbeal, 2005: 7). The genre and television format which frequently makes use of this filming style is soap opera. Soap operas have very intensive and busy production schedules. A typical day on set can be as long as 12 hours long, usually from six in the morning until six at night so that they are able to film as many scenes as possible under a tight budget.

> Programmes are shot quickly in real time, in studios built especially to accommodate quick set changes. Scripts are written according to strict guidelines and rewritten along a particular chain of command; directors, similarly, are allowed an extremely limited repertoire of visual flourishes. (Allen, 1985: 48, 54 and 55).

Scholars have contended that perhaps the reason why soap operas have such long filming hours where they must film as many scenes as possible and do as many set changes as possible is because of the serialised nature of soap operas. Historically, they started as serialised dramas on American radio which told the narratives of American housewives and they targeted American housewives. McCarthy (2004) remarks that with the arrival of television in the 1930's, the institution of radio began to change, and soap opera moved from radio to television. As an example of the filming style of Landscape as Space, especially in soap opera productions in South Africa, drawing on Lukinbeal (2005), the narratives focus on social narration rather than geographical realism. In Generations we see that characters such as Gog' Flo live in a house, which is in actual fact a studio set. However, we do not see them

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[23] A Backlot or fly wall is that piece of board which holds the set together in studio. In other scenarios, whenever there is a door or a window on set, a backlot or fly wall is that piece of board which has a picture of the exterior on it to imply that there is an exterior. I draw this from my own experience of working on a television set.

occupy a space beyond the interior. Generations is fictionally set in the city of Johannesburg, but we do not see the characters leave the interior and occupy the exterior. This is Lukinbeal's (2005: 6) idea of how the studio system of filming in studio is that of "constriction and artificiality". When viewers watch genres such as soap operas, the focus is usually on the mise-en-scene. Generations is an example of a post-apartheid South African television production as it represents an urban, middle to upper class black African South Africans. It is thus important for the production to display the wealth of certain types of characters on screen.

I conclude in this section by saying that Landscape as Space is more concerned with the performer space. Performer space is what Selby and Cowdery (1995) call the positioning of the characters in relation to the camera, either to the left and right or towards the camera and away from it. These are called the axes. "The horizontal axis (the x axis) extends to the left and right of the camera and the depth axis (z axis) extend toward and away from the camera" (Selby and Cowdery, 1995: 164). They do not mention the y or the vertical axis because there appears to be a perception that television characters do not occupy the top or bottom side of the screen. In most soap operas, characters are indeed occupying the horizontal or x axis by moving from the left and the right of the screen. When viewers watch productions blocked using the x axis, it usually has the ability to make them feel as if they are audiences in a studio as said by Selby and Cowdery that "the effect of the x axis blocking is to make us feel like members of a theatre audience"(Selby and Cowdery, 1995: 164).

Landscape as Place

In contrast to Landscape as Space which is dominating the television production studio filming style and has a very distinct way of representing landscapes, Lukinbeal (2005) drawing on Higson (1984, 1987) defines "Landscape as Place as closely associated with the geographic expression 'sense of place' and refers to the location where the narrative is supposedly set, whether real or imagined" (Lukinbeal, 2005: 6).

Under this category, Lukinbeal (2005) refers to the idea of a sense of place. When we talk about a city for example, the circumstances of a city are usually represented through skyscrapers, traffic congestion and people who are in a hurry. Unlike Landscape as Space, which is concerned with generic representations, Landscape as Place are those productions which depict the specifics of an area, often focusing on the real geographical location as opposed to making it look like it could have been filmed anywhere. What I understand about

Lukinbeal's (2005) phrase "sense of place", is that it means to capture not only what we see in the landscape but also to bring the circumstances alive. The circumstances in a dessert are different to that in a city and as such, the production would then prioritise the landscapes in different ways to bring out their iconography.

Lukinbeal (2005) further analyses Landscape as Place and mentions that there are multiple ways in which film and television productions represent it as such. He declares that one of these ways is that when a viewer watches a production, the narrative is told in such a way that it allows the viewer to understand various geographical scales that are negotiated throughout the production. He further announces that by allowing geographic scale to be comprehended, the viewer never becomes displaced or lost in narrative space. This means that as viewers, we understand the directions of the narrative space. For example, when a character moves out of the door in the interior or moves off screen, then we as the viewers perceive the direction in which he or she is going to. We understand the world of the narrative because Landscape as Place prioritises the representation of landscape.

In comparison to Landscape as Space, which are those television and/or film productions which do not prioritise the geographical landscape and which are predominantly filmed in studio, Landscape as Place is the opposite. Television or film productions which are classified as those which fall under the category of Landscape as Place are those productions which give us a sense of place and its circumstances. Lukinbeal (2005) avows that Landscape as Place is usually established in the master shot or the establishing shot. As the name affirms, the establishing shot is usually used as a way of establishing the world of the narrative in an equilibrium[24]. We are getting to know who the main characters are in the narrative and we see their geographical context through the establishing shot. Lukinbeal (2005) acknowledges that this shot is usually technically encoded with a pan or a track. Subsequently, they may be archival footage of the specific location:

> Landscape as Place is usually depicted in extreme long shots, long shots and deep focus shots, using a birds-eye view or a high camera angle set (the angle is usually situated in a position where the camera's eye can see a great distance. (Lukinbeal, 2005: 8).

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[24] Todorov (1977) says that narrative theory suggest that a story begin in an equilibrium, which is "steadiness or balance" until an incident occurs which then disrupts the equilibrium.

The filming style of Landscape as Place is very dynamic. Although we started off with the phrase "a sense of place", Lukinbeal (2005) also acknowledges that the establishing shot of a narrative also functions as an example of Landscape as Place. Compared to Landscape as Space, which is predominantly studio based, Landscape as Place can also refer to those productions that are shot on location and which play on the idea of the location as an extra character instead of just serving as a backdrop or background. In this case, a filmmaker has the ability to authenticate the narrative in a real geographical context and by using natural sunlight as opposed to the directional studio-based lighting of sets in the interior. Examples include Rome Open City (1945) and City of God (2002).

Lukinbeal (2005) does not distinguish between those productions that are shooting on location or not when he talks about the category of Landscape as Place. He does however utter that Landscape as Place is often established in the master shot or the establishing shot. This is evidencing those television productions which are shooting in the studio and utilising the close-up and placing emphasis on the mise-en-scene such as Landscape as Space, may indeed also be representing the idea of landscapes as place. These productions, like Generations The Legacy do show the iconography of the city of Johannesburg. Between scene changes, they even do show us the township of Alexandra too before crossing into the interior of Gog' Flo's house. Although the characters do not inhabit the exterior spaces, the television productions do contextualise the geographic location by inserting establishing shots of the location. This proves to us the complexities associated with how a television production may or may not represent the landscape. One would initially assume that Landscape as Space is much more focused on studio work and Landscape as Place is much more location filming based. However, the two filming styles are very dynamic and complex. Lukinbeal (2005) also does not exactly mention which format or genre of television usually films in this way (Landscape as Place). We can then make the conclusion by saying that Landscape as Place is the more flexible of the two so far.

Landscape as Spectacle

Lukinbeal (2005) then proceeds to identify another category in the functioning of landscapes on screen. He mentions Landscape as Spectacle and defines the concept as "landscape in film can be simply a spectacle: something which is beautiful and visually pleasant" (Lukinbeal, 2005: 11). At the other end, Johnston, Gregory, Pratt and Watts (2000: 500) identity the process whereby when a character is sad for example, then it starts to rain. This would be an

example of Landscape as Metaphor in the narrative. Landscape as Space and Landscape as Place are thought-provoking and dynamic in their nature. The dynamics between the two are very clear in the sense that we can see Lukinbeal speaks that Landscape as Space is about "generic placelessness" and that Landscape as Place is about "a sense of place". Lukinbeal (2005) has also identified how these landscapes are represented through various technical codes such as the close-up versus the high-camera angle which are blatantly distinct from one another. He also then concludes that Landscape as Space dominates the television studio production system and that Landscape as Place is the more flexible of the two.

Television and film are visual mediums. The manner in which a shot, scene or image is constructed is crucial for the way in which meaning is made for viewers. In the example of Landscape as Spectacle such as the visual beauty of the landscape or whenever a character for example cries then it starts to rain, Lukinbeal (2005) returns to the debates of visual pleasure. He declares that when a landscape is represented as a spectacle on screen then it implies that what is represented is because it is beautiful. There are also other multiple functions of the landscape as spectacle in either a film or television production. He says the following:

> for example, in the master shot, landscape functions as place and spectacle. As spectacle, it can be something fascinating in itself, thereby momentarily satisfying a voyeuristic appeal created by the narrative (Lukinbeal, 2005: 11).

As I mentioned earlier in the Landscape as Place section where Lukinbeal uses the phrase 'a sense of place', Landscape as Place is the most dynamic amongst the other categories because of its ability to also include the master shot or establishing shot, thereby not only setting up where the narrative will take place but also giving the viewers the spectacle of the area. As such, Landscape as Place has elements of Landscape as Spectacle and vice-versa. Lukinbeal (2005) further articulates that Landscape as Spectacle is represented when the filmmaker returns to a pan shot of a landscape and it is where the landscape is either a spectacle of beauty or a spectacle because it generates curiosity and interest. This analysis by Lukinbeal (2005) could indicate that Landscape as Spectacle is often incidental. Filmmakers, producers and even directors may have a concept to film a production and then incidentally stumble upon a beautiful piece of land which they then decide to include as part of the narrative of the production. Unlike Landscape as Place and Landscape as Space with their various technical codes which are often always planned ahead during the pre-production

stages, the cinematic function of Landscape as Spectacle is typically only technically coded with either a pan which depicts the landscape from the left to the right or even a high camera angle to see the surface of the Earth. This "spectacle" may not always be planned as Lukinbeal (2005) hints that the filming classification may be incidental where filmmakers discover a picturesque setting during the filming process which gets edited into the final product.

Lukinbeal (2005) mentions scopophilia and topophilia. Scopophilia has historically been researched within the mediums of film and television by many scholars, one of them being Laura Mulvey who wrote a well-known essay titled *Visual Pleasures and Narrative Film* (1975). Scopophilia is defined as the pleasure in looking and/or the pleasure in being looked at. Lukinbeal (2005) does not give a definition for topophilia but it does come from the word "topography" (the surface features of a place). We can say that topophilia is the idea of being fascinated by the Earth's natural aesthetic, for example, the manner in which plantations have been planted on the surface of the land.

In contrast to Landscape as Place and Landscape as Space, Landscape as Spectacle does not have anything to do with narrative and dialogue. It is more about the visual pleasures and displaying the beauty of the landscape to the viewers:

> Landscape as Spectacle encodes power relations within the gaze. Determination of whose gaze constitutes beauty, who is gazing and what we are gazing upon, are questions which help expose the inherent power relations embedded within cinematic landscapes. (Lukinbeal, 2005: 11).

He says that Gillian Rose (2001: 6) calls this the concept of the scope regime or "what is seen and how it is seen are culturally constructed". This quote by Rose (2001:6) brings our attention to the idea of how what we see on screen is not necessarily existing on its own. It goes back to the idea of how what is represented on television or film screens are a construction. The manner in which post-apartheid South Africa television productions construct their images and also tell narratives is to shoot on location. Since the end of apartheid, there have been a number of film and television productions which have started to shoot on location, especially in the townships. This construction of showing the landscapes and the houses in which people live is to contextualise the narrative and to be as authentic as possible to the real-life experiences of the people.

A film or television production also becomes impactful for some in South Africa when it moves away from Johannesburg and the greater Gauteng province. We have also started seeing representations of cities, towns, townships and villages more often on screen which are located in other regions of South Africa other than in Gauteng or the Western Cape. The cultural meaning behind some of these forms of representation and the manner in which the viewers gaze at them is to contextualise the narrative to a specific area in the country. This process is also in-line with some of the neo-liberal policies which seeks to represent a working, middle to upper class black South African identity. Landscape as Spectacle reiterates those ideas of the gaze and also encourages us to consider what is being looked at as beautiful. In the post-apartheid South African context, this is usually done to contextualise the narrative and to allow those landscapes which are not usually featured on television and film screens to be seen. I am going to make an example of the film Yesterday (Roodt, 2004). Yesterday (Roodt, 2004) has received scholarly attention (Saks, 2010) for its ability to shift the representational lens and the narrative away from Johannesburg and Cape Town and going into rural KwaZulu-Natal. Yesterday (Roodt, 2004) tells the story an HIV[25] positive woman called Yesterday. Her husband is also HIV positive and works in the mines of Johannesburg and he eventually returns back to KwaZulu-Natal and dies. Although this is a film and my research is concerned with the aesthetics of television, I am using this film as an example of how the spectacular landscapes of KwaZulu-Natal were used as focal points in the production. It was one of the few films in post-apartheid South Africa where we saw the rural landscapes of KwaZulu-Natal. By analysing the representational traits of the film further, a number of scholars such as Maingard (2007) have questioned the manner in which the film represents its landscape and the character of Yesterday. In the film, Yesterday, is represented as a lonely and hardworking mother in the rural areas of KwaZulu-Natal. Scholars and film critics have questioned this form of depiction by Roodt, stating that the filmmaker has exaggerated the lonely difficulty of Yesterday because the rural areas in South Africa are not necessarily places where people are lonesome. They are, as a matter of fact, places where there is a strong sense of community and where people live in harmony.

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[25] HIV stands for Human Immunodeficiency virus. A virus which causes AIDS (Acquired Immunodeficiency syndrome), a viral disease that destroys the body's ability to fight infections, according to the Collins English Dictionary.

Landscape as Metaphor

In the final taxonomy of how landscapes function on screen, Lukinbeal (2005) identifies Landscape as Metaphor. "Through the use of metaphor, meaning and ideology are appropriated into landscape, the most common example of which is the attribution of human or social characteristics to landscape" (Durgnant, 1965; Sherman, 1967; Rappaport, 1980; Higson, 1984, 1987; Aitken and Zonn, 1994) quoted in Lukinbeal (2005: 13). Lukinbeal (2005) declares that this process of attribution is more appropriately called naturalisation where the narrative seeks to pass off that which is cultural as natural (Duncan and Ley, 1993). This means that the things we then see in film and television play a role in society and how we make meaning daily in society.

The use of metaphor has also been researched extensively in academia. Johnston, Gregory, Pratt and Watts (2000, 500) distinguish between small and large metaphors. According to them, small metaphors are rhetoric devices or literary tropes. "For instance, a character is sad, and it begins to rain" (Lukinbeal, 2005: 15). On the opposite side, large metaphors are identified by Lukinbeal (2005) as those in which dominant opinions operate. For example, the manner in which the city versus the country is represented in film and television is a choice to communicate the idea of binary oppositions. Lukinbeal (2005) pronounces that the function of a city is most commonly represented as a loss of innocence and when someone is moving to the country, that person is seen as someone who wants to find happiness. This is not necessarily true as they are both examples of myths, but they usually function like this on screen which has become dominant.

In post-apartheid South African television, Ellapen argues (2007) that South African filmmakers are on a mission to sanitise the manner in which the township is represented, but according to him there are still some cases where the tactics of filmmakers conform to outdated myths of townships, such as being represented as places of violence, unrest and poverty. Ellapen (2007) states that the township is in actual fact a liminal space because it exists between the rural areas and the city. This idea goes back to him stating that townships have actually evolved; that they are not places of homogenous activities anymore. They are now more hybrid as the residents move between the rural areas, the township and the city. Yet, filmmakers tend to ignore these traits when they represent the space.

In the taxonomy of how Landscapes function on screen (Landscape as Space, Landscape Place, Landscape Spectacle and Landscape as Metaphor), each one of them have different

styles of representing a geographical context. There are some instances where they overlap and become very dynamic, for example, Landscape as Spectacle can have the same meaning and function as Landscape as Place. We could argue that the manner in which Lukinbeal (2005) and other scholars have analysed the four functions, make it seem like Landscape as Place is the most desired one of the four. Unlike Landscape as Space which films predominantly in studio and is known for its "artificiality", Landscape as Place shoots in the real geographical location and also places emphasis on the exterior as opposed to just focusing on the narrative dialogue. Landscape as Metaphor and Landscape as Spectacle overlaps into the former two. However, Lukinbeal (2005) does not prefer the one over the other. He simply says that:

> Landscape as Place and Spectacle both deal with the mimetic belief. On the other hand, Landscape as Space and Landscape as Metaphor deal with the cultural politics of diegesis and cultural text (Lukinbeal, 2005: 17).

Here he demonstrates ones again that the manner in which a landscape or exterior is technically encoded and represented within the narrative has different meanings depending on what the aim of the filmmakers and the producers of the story are. He further speaks "to assume landscape as place is somehow more realistic and thus a more accurate representation of reality is to ignore the fact that realism is an aesthetic tool that tries to make a narrative more real to the viewer. This aesthetic tool allows viewers to suspend their disbelief and cross the threshold into representational space" (Lukinbeal, 2005: 17). Kerr (1986) further supports Lukinbeal's claim and says that realism is therefore an aesthetic issue focusing on the relationship between what is depicted in the mise-en-scene and how the viewer receives that depiction.

In concluding this section, I draw on Lukinbeal who affirms that we should not choose either one of the four categories of the functions of how landscapes function on screen over the other. He mentions that we should look beyond the image and into the realm of film production. "Film production sites for Landscape as Space typically occur where it is cheapest to film" (Lukinbeal, 2005: 16). As we have discussed above, Landscape as Space is usually representing placeless locations and those which are conventionally shot in studio in front of a backdrop or fly-wall. The genre and format which usually utilises this filming style is that of the soap opera genre. Soap operas are known as genres which have serialised storylines, so they need to shoot as many scenes as possible in a short space of time. In this

analysis and discussion, we can see how there are some instances where the economy controls the aesthetic of a film and television production. Some productions do not have the freedom to be as creative as possible which makes them film and represent landscape in one of the different ways as identified by Lukinbeal (2005) analysis of Andrew Higson's (1984, 1987) taxonomy of how landscapes function on screen.

Analysing Skeem Saam Season One Episode

I set out to discuss and analyse Andrew Higson's (1984, 1987) taxonomy of how landscapes function on screen, drawing from Lukinbeal's analysis. I proceed to argue, based on the above analysis, how Skeem Saam Season One and uZalo Season One Episode One re-imagined the township landscape and subjectively contextualised the township within a post-apartheid South African context and offer possibilities for subjective contextualisation. This will entail at least three selected sequences from each episode.

There reason why I selected these two episodes is because both productions foreground the township geographical landscape in these two episodes. Below I will start with an analysis of Skeem Saam Season One Episode One.

Viewing of Skeem Saam Season One Episode One

Skeem Saam Season One Episode One was first broadcasted on SABC 1 Mzansi Fo Sho! The first episode was directed by Norman Maake, written by Sibusiso Mamba and created (produced) by Winnie Serite. I accessed the programme online on VIU which has packages available for viewers to catch up on various television programmes globally.

Themes and Main narratives

The main purpose of the inaugural episode of Skeem Saam was to contextualise the diegesis. It is the first time that we see characters and the world in which they live. The episode starts with the funeral of Ben Kunutu and we, the viewers, learn that his death is a mystery because his family knows that he got bumped by a car at night in the township, but they are unable to confirm who actually did it. We then cut to a flashback in the episode, to a week earlier and the episode starts off with the 16th birthday celebrations of Thabo "Tbose" Maputla. We later learn that Thabo and his friend and neighbour Zamokuhle "Kwaito" Seakamela celebrated Thabo's birthday by going out that nigh and that they were the ones who bumped and killed Ben Kunutu. Other supporting stories of the episode include Zamokuhle winning a trip to London for his excellence in poetry writing and we see the rest of the community. The main

themes of the narrative are the idea of "coming of age", boys who are busy becoming young men and the importance of responsibility.

Format

Skeem Saam Season One Episode One is 48 minutes and 00 seconds long. Including the television advertisement breaks, will make the episode technically one hour long. The episode consists of 41 scenes: 23 scenes are shot in the exterior and 18 are shot in the interior.

The opening title sequence of Skeem Saam Season One Episode One consists of some of the leading and supporting performers, including Cornet Mamabolo, Clement Maosa and Patrick Seleka Junior. The opening title sequence also depicts the landscapes of Turfloop, such as the hill tops and the main routes into and out of the township. The opening title sequence is supported by "Bona Fela" a Motswako[26]song performed by Tuks Senganga. The episode is 100% monolingual, performed in Sepedi with English subtitles, although a character such as Zamokuhle's mom, MaNtuli speaks in isiZulu.
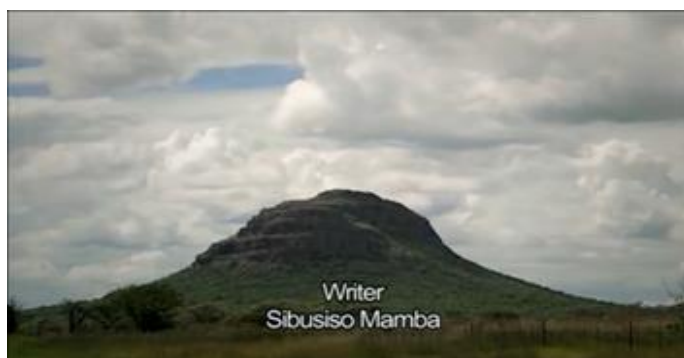
Frame shots One and Two: these establishing shots are unique to the Turfloop Township where the hill tops and the R71 route is at. The route leads further east towards Moria Zion City and westwards towards Polokwane Central Business District. Courtesy of VIU.

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[26] Motswako is a musical genre distinct to Southern African, more particularly to countries such as Botswana and South Africa. Motswako is a sub-genre of hip-hop and is mostly rapped in the Setswana language, although English, isiZulu and Afrikaans lyrics also feature sometimes.

First sequence of analysis

After the establishing shots, we cut to a high camera angle which shows a tent and a hearse and people who came to lay their respects at Ben Kunutu's funeral. We hear a voice over of Ben's brother, Charles who gives a eulogy inside the tent in honour of his deceased brother.

Frame shot three: a high camera angle which shows the funeral service of Ben Kunutu. Courtesy of VUI

The high camera angle is also used with an extreme long shot because the funeral attendants "take up only a small part of the frame and the setting itself is the main thing that we see" (Selby and Cowdery, 1995: 48). There is a cut to the interior of the funeral, with the camera showing more people walking in. inside the tent the attendants who came to lay their respect are framed through medium shots and close-ups. The purpose of this is to show emotions and reactions to the speech given by Charles, the brother of Ben. The sequence also makes use of a lot of close-ups which is sometimes knows as the head-and-shoulders shot. "The subject now fills most of the frame and we can see little of the setting…the close-up allows you to study the subject in detail" (Selby and Cowdery, 1995: 49).

Frame shot four: a shot of Ben's widow, Celia and daughter, Rachel. Courtesy of VUI

While we still hear the eulogy of Charles in honour of his brother Ben, we then cut to an exterior of Turfloop township where we see Thabo and Zamokuhle sit and talk about their deeds. Thabo then runs off screen, deeper into the township and the camera then pans and follows Zamokuhle who follows Thabo deeper towards the township. The camera then further moves until we see the landscapes of Turfloop where we see a route and a sign which says "Welcome to Turfloop" with the hustle and bustle of the township represented in the form of vehicles and pedestrians on the road.

Frame shot five (top) and six (bottom). These two screen shots officially show us that the first episode of Skeem Saam is set in Turfloop. They foreground the landscapes, such as the R71 route, the township houses and the hilltops in the distance. Screen shot five at the top, the two figures on the far left is Thabo and Zamokuhle who run into the township. Courtesy of VIU.

This sequence is an example of what Lukinbeal (2005) calls Landscape as Place. He states that "landscape as pace is closely associated with the geographical expression, 'sense of place' and refers to the location where the narrative is supposedly set" (Lukinbeal, 2005:6). In this case, the sequence of analysis which sees Thabo and Zamokuhle run into the township is an example of an area where the narrative is really set. We see a route, the hills which are distinct to Turfloop and the manner in which the technical codes operate, for example, the pan and the high camera angle allows us to see that Skeem Saam Season One Episode One is not imagining the landscape, but it is realistically utilising landscape.

It is a convention of most film and television productions to make use of establishing shot which shows viewers where the narrative is taking place. However, in this episode (Skeem Saam Season One Episode One), Landscape as Place does not only operate in the establishing shots but in the example of the sequence of Thabo and Zamokuhle. As such, it is also utilised within the narrative and not only at the beginning at the establishing shots. Drawing from Wollen (1980: 25), it requires the viewer to watch the production as an "event which is taking place" as opposed to a fictional construction. Lukinbeal (2005) indicates that Landscape as Place is usually depicted through the following technical codes: extreme long shots, the long shots and even deep focus shots using birds eye views or high camera angles. It is evident that in this episode of Skeem Saam, the essence of the landscape and the unique features of Turfloop encouraged the filmmakers and creators of the production to film with these technical codes mentioned above, in mind. They utilised high camera angles which made the funeral mourners at Ben Kunutu's funeral appear smaller than the tent and the hearse. The pan shot of Thabo and Zamokuhle running into the townships utilised with the idea of one following the other. "Returning to a pan shot of a landscape during the film re-establishes the individual or action in its environment. Place is not simply on display in this case, but positions and authenticates the narrative (Higson, 1984).

The technical codes in Season One Episode One also not only work to introduce us to Turfloop. They also show us its dynamics, such as the wind that blows in the trees, the blue skies, the taxis moving up and down the road and the township residents in Turfloop.

Second sequence of analysis

The second sequence of analysis which I do of the inaugural episode of Skeem Saam is the one which follows immediately after the one where Thabo and Zamokuhle run into the township. The purpose of this sequence is to take viewers back one week earlier to show the events which led to the death of Ben Kunutu. The main themes in the storyline include the idea of becoming young and responsible young men, underage drinking and reckless driving.

The first shot in this sequence is an establishing shot of the Maputla house to the left of the screen and the Seakamela house to the right. We can see the immediate difference between the two households: Thabo Maputla's family the bigger house in contrast to the orange house which is smaller in size. We can see a piece of bush, the untarred road and the clear blue sky

in this establishing shot.

Frame shot seven: an establishing of the Maputla house to the left and Seakamela to the right. Courtesy of VIU

In this establishing shot, the camera angle opens up to the clear blue sky in the background which has the effect of tranquillity and a peaceful set-up. Drawing from Todorov (1977), it connotes the idea of opening up the world in an equilibrium as it is the first time that the viewers see where the Maputla's and the Seakamela's reside.

In his analysis of Higson's taxonomy of how landscapes function on screen, Lukinbeal (2005) announces:

> that the narrative is told in such a way that it allows the viewer to understand the various geographic scales that are negotiated throughout the production. By allowing geographic scale to be comprehended, the viewer never becomes displaced or lost in narrative space (Lukinbeal, 2005: 7).

This quote is an example of the idea how Season One Episode One not only communicates that the Seakamela's and Maputla's are neighbours through dialogue, but it is actually represented to us through the technical code of an establishing shot and the wide angle. The viewer who watched this show will thus never get lost in narrative space because they know that the Maputla's and Seakamela's are neighbours.

As the sequence continues, we see Zamokuhle peeping through his window into the other side of the frame. He is looking into the Maputla household. Zamokuhle then proceeds back to his rooms and we hear a voice over of one of his poems which he reads. It is worth taking a

moment to note the filming style here. This sequence is the first to be filmed in the interior of a house, which is in the Seakamela household, the bedroom of Zamokuhle. The teen bedroom according to Moseley (2015: 39) is a classic setting of the teen drama genre. She further expresses that the teen bedroom is a key space through which identity is exposed in conversation, action and in the mise-en-scene: band posters are on the walls, diegetic and non-diegetic music and the books and clothing are all part of the teenage lifestyle. The bedroom of Zamokuhle has all of these, such as the posters on the wall of Tuks Senganga. The inclusion of Tuks in the narrative, not just the opening sequence, is pertinent to the nature of the teen drama element. Moseley (2015) further maintains that popular music is a critical formal element of teen drama inherited from the teen film and is used as expression of adolescent identity. The bedroom, the posters, the books (poems) and the inclusion of popular music all fall under the notion of televisual devices which Moseley (2015: 39) indicates might be seen as novelistic to teen drama.

Frame shot eight: an interior shot of Zamokuhle's room which exemplifies teen drama devices such as posters on the wall. Courtesy of VIU.

Third sequence of analysis

After the sequence in Zamokuhle's bedroom, there is a cut to the Maputla house. This is the second interior sequence of the episode. We see John Maputla, his wife Meikie Maputla, their eldest son Leeto Maputla and the youngest who is celebrating his 16th birthday, Thabo Maputla. Within the diegesis of the episode, the Maputla's are celebrating with cake, juice and presents. They are represented as a nuclear family: the hardworking husband who is an academic at the local university, the entrepreneurial wife and their two children. The dramatic

tension in this scene emerges when Leeto's cell phone rings and his family complains that he is always on his cell. He then walks off screen to go and answer the call. The camera follows Leeto outside and we see the exterior of the house: the Maputla house number is number 134. As Leeto walks, the camera pans and follows him. John, his father, also then exits the house and enters the frame and the camera also follows him. As the sequence proceeds, the family photographer arrives, and John asks Leeto to open the gate for him. As Leeto opens the gate, the three characters occupy the frame; John is to the left, the photographer in the centre and Leeto is to the right. This sequence shows us how Season One Episode One not only regarded the landscape as a mere geographical context but also relied on the landscape or exterior to be able to tell a story because in this sequence we can see the neighbouring houses and the rest of the untarred street which the Maputla's live on. This sequence made use of deep focus. During the conversation between the three characters, the camera is not making use of close-ups, but utilises deep focus which Gibson (2018) says it encourages the viewer to shift between the street in the township and the dialogue. It is thought-provoking that the deep focus does not allow the background to be blurry and out of focus. It implies that the conversation which is happening between the three characters are important and so is the manner in which the township landscape has been represented.

Frame shot nine: the exterior sequence at the Maputla household with John (left), photographer (centre) and Leeto (right) technically encoded through the deep focus with the background still in focus. Gibson (2018) says this sequence encourages the viewer to not only focus on the conversation but to also look at the background. Courtesy of VUI.

As the Maputla's are capturing the moments of Thabo's 16th birthday, the scene is contrasted with the Seakamela family next door. We see Pretty, Zamokuhle's younger sister and himself

doing the washing. The mise-en-scene of this sequence shows the viewers the washing, the house and the window together with the baskets and washing basins. We see MaNtuli Seakamela enter frame. She is the mother of Pretty and Zamokuhle and is represented as the strong, independent and hardworking single mother who does an unskilled job at the local hospital. She is the opposite of Meikie Maputla who is represented as the educated and entrepreneurial figure. In this sequence, the characters are blocked such a way that they occupy the foreground, middle ground and the background of the mise-en-scene. This mise-en-scene shows the washing line and Pretty in the foreground, MaNtuli in the middle and Zamokuhle standing in the background. According to Selby and Cowdery (1995) we immediately notice that they are blocked along the z axis, which is also called the depth axis which is the position which extends toward and away from the camera. "People will move in and out of shot, walk between the camera and the subjects of the action, thereby creating the impression of a 'slice of life' which is unfolding before our eyes" (Selby and Cowdery, 1995: 160). As with what Lukinbeal (2005) said that the category of Landscape as Place is closely associated with the geographic expression "sense of place", the "slice of life" example given to us by Selby and Cowdery (1995) evidences that the manner in which Skeem Saam filmed, constructing its mise-en-scene and blocked the character proves the idea was not to make us feel like viewers sitting and watching a piece of a performance unfolding, but the dynamics of the z axis or depth axis made it look like an event which is unfolding in a real geographical context. The characters in the scene of MaNtuli, Pretty and Zamokuhle were blocked in such a way as it was natural for them to move and occupy the foreground, middle ground and the background of the shot. The sequence also shows us how Thabo shares a piece of cake with Zamokuhle and Pretty (frame shot 11).

Frame shot 10: The Seakamela family doing washing in the exterior. They occupy the z axis which is the performer space extending towards the camera and away from it. Courtesy of VIU

Frame shot 11: Thabo giving Pretty and Zamokuhle pieces of his birthday cake. Courtesy of VIU

Frame shot 12: Zamokuhle watching the procession of the Maputla's taking a family portrait through the fence. Courtesy of VIU.

Fourth sequence of analysis

The fourth and final sequence of analysis which I will be analysing is that of another exterior shot in Skeem Saam. In this sequence, the viewers are introduced to Katlego Pieterson for the first time. He is one of the three teenagers which the narrative of Skeem Saam follows.

Katlego is represented as the helper and dutiful teenager of his Grandmother, Koko (Granny) Mantsha. Compared to his two friends, Thabo and Zamokuhle, Katlego is more responsible and Granny makes Katlego to do odd errands in his friends eyes. An example of this is when we see Katlego and Granny disembark from a taxi. Granny subsequently forget her brooms and she then shout to the driver of the vehicle to stop in which he does and then she makes Katlego carry the brooms home. Katlego is then ridiculed by his friends (frame shot 13).

Frame shot 13: Granny and Katlego retrieve brooms from the boot of the taxi. Courtesy of VIU

In screen shot 13, when we see the taxi driver open the boot of the taxi, the scene is filmed that the technical code of deep focus is used. We can see the tarred road with the taxi in the foreground and in the background, we can see what looks like a school sports ground and we can also see the camera capturing the sky. Going back to Lukinbeal (2005), analysis of landscapes; this sequence is an example of how the technical code of deep focus also focuses on the background of the scene. We can see the landscape very crisp and clearly. If the landscape was not important, Lukinbeal remarks that the scene might have been filmed utilising medium or close ups and then the landscape would be blurry. However, because Skeem Saam Season One Episode One was including the dynamics of the township exterior, such as the moving taxi, this sequence has been filmed in such manner that the viewers read the story in such a way that it is really taking place in a township. The deep focus which reveals the sky and the school playground has the effect of showing us the community nature of the story because a school is part of most societies and it verifies to us that Granny's house might be located in an area which is located next to a school. This adds more depth to the idea of exterior sequences in townships in post-apartheid South Africa.

Conclusion

In this section of the research paper, I analysed four selected sequences from Skeem Saam Season One Episode One. I selected these sequences because based on the analysis I have done of Lukinbeal's taxonomy of how Landscapes function on screen, these four sequences best describe that category. Shah (2017) comments that the idea of Landscape as Place can be established in the master shot where we see specific landmarks that are unique to a place. This is true, however with Season One Episode One the landscape and exterior features of the township of Turfloop such as the hill tops, the route and taxis were not only used in the establishing shots, but they were used specifically to show the realism of the narrative: that it is really filmed in Turfloop. The manner in which these landscapes of the township were represented also had an impact on how the technical codes were utilised. For example, whenever there was a conversation between characters, instead of using a mid-shot or close-up, the camera was coded on deep focus in which the viewers of the production could still see the background landscape and exteriors.

Skeem Saam; based in Turfloop but also films in Hammanskraal and Tembisa.

 I have worked on the production of Skeem Saam in a professional capacity on Season Six and Season Seven. I did learn that the production does not always necessarily film in Turfloop even though the storyline is based in Turfloop. I learned that the production does, in some cases, film in Hammanskraal which is north of Pretoria/Tshwane and Tembisa which is in Ekurhuleni outside of Johannesburg not far from Kempton Park. Even in Season One Episode One, there are some sequences which were filmed in one of the Gauteng townships.

In my analysis of the taxonomy of landscapes, Lukinbeal (2005) indicated that Landscape as Place is closely associated to the expression "sense of place" and that it refers to the location where the narrative is *supposedly* (own emphasis) set, whether real or imagined. I also mentioned that Landscape as Place represents the "circumstances" of the area and that it does refer to a specific context although a real geographical context. Skeem Saam Season One Episode One however does not comply to all of the classifications of Landscape as Place as it is not filmed 100 percent in Turfloop, although we can argue that the episode falls more under the rubric of Landscape as Place as opposed to the other ones.

The third sequence of analysis is the one discussed here. This is the sequence which shows the houses of the Maputla's and the Seakamela's. These two houses are not really in Turfloop but in the township of Hammanskraal. Although it is not really Turfloop it is a supposedly

imagined sense of place because it nonetheless still is within a township and looks like a township setting. The sequence still maintains some of the attributes of Landscape as Place because it starts off with the establishing/master shot of the two houses. As the viewers, we can see that the Maputla's and the Seakamela's are neighbours. We never become lost in the narrative space because the sequence was filmed in such a way that the neighbours, the two teenage boys Thabo and Zamokuhle are having conversations with one another through the fence.

The first episode of Skeem Saam Season One highlights the dynamic and complex nature of Lukinbeal's (2005) analysis of Higson's (1984, 1987) taxonomy of landscapes. We start asking ourselves the question: "what do we classify as Landscape as Place or not?". We can also argue that the third sequence of analysis makes it "placeless" because it is not filmed in its real geographical context. It is not a matter of arguing between which of the classifications are better at representing a holistic landscape. Lukinbeal (2005) explains that we should rather extend our inquiry beyond the image and into the realm of film and television production. Most of them operate in such a manner as to save as much money as possible. Johannesburg is the film and television capital of South Africa and Peu Communication Solutions most likely decided to film some scenes in Gauteng townships which is closer to Johannesburg (cost effectiveness).

Film and television are audio-visual mediums which means that we watch, and we listen to what is being displayed on the screens. Suspension of disbelief occurs when a viewer starts to accept what is being projected on screen. It means whatever is being represented on screen, the production has used specific techniques which makes the image realistic and accurate. The viewer then accepts, believes and continues to watch the events which occur on screen. In Skeem Saam Season One Episode One, the third sequence of analysis does not really show us Turfloop but Hammanskraal, which looks like Turfloop (placelessness):

> suspension of disbelief is destroyed when geographic realism is not maintained. In effect, the viewer figures out that the narrative is lying, that the landscape is not really the location being depicted (Lukinbeal, 2005: 17).

Lukinbeal further calls this practice a crime against geography and there are a multitude of productions which do this. The ones which are doing it are not merely attempting to save money only, but also do so because the narrative (dialogue) is more important than the geography.

Analysing uZalo Season One Episode One

uZalo Season One Episode One first debuted on SABC 1 Mzansi Fo Sho! On the 9th of February 2015 at 20h30. The first episode was directed by Alex Yazbek, written by Precious Sithole, produced by Pepsi Pokane and created by Duma Ndlovu. I also accessed the episode online on the VIU website which serves as a catch up and archival service for viewers to watch their favourite productions globally.

Themes and main stories

Similar to Skeem Saam, the first episode of uZalo is an introduction to the characters and the diegesis of the narrative. The episode starts with a black screen with the following written text: "11 February 1990, Queen Ann Hospital". There is then a voice over which is spoken in isiZulu with English subtitles. The voice over introduces the viewers to the dramatic tension which states that two women were giving birth at about the same time at the same hospital which is Queen Ann Hospital. The babies were unfortunately switched by accident in the labour ward by the two Sisters on duty. Consequently, the storyline will follow the two boys as they grow up in the incorrect family, hence why the title of the production, "uZalo". After the birth of the babies, the women are meeting with their husbands and we see one of the Sisters who misplaced the babies, peep through the door feeling guilty about what she has done.

The diegesis then cuts to 25 years later and as the viewers, we then see the same Sister who is now consulting a doctor because she is suffering from an unknown illness. This illness could be interpreted as the guilt of her deeds, 25 years ago. The production then runs its title sequence. The main themes of the storyline are the sister who is sick, the two boys who are now grown up and we also see the idea of binary oppositions: the one family is religious and the other is notorious for being gangsters.

Format

uZalo Season One Episode One is 24 minutes and 00 seconds long. When we include the advertisement breaks, it then makes the episode technically 30 minutes long. The episode consists of 15 scenes: seven which are interior scenes and a further eight which are in the exterior. In the next section I will do a technical analysis of uZalo Season One Episode One and relate it to the theory which I have dealt with in this paper so far, especially Lukinbeal's (2005) analysis.

The opening title sequence of uZalo showcases some of its main performers, such as the two women who gave birth to the boys, MaNzuza played by Leleti Khumalo and MaNcgobo played by Dawn King. Similar to Skeem Saam, uZalo's (2015-) title sequence also has some township landmarks and dynamics such as the church, the street and cars spinning. The opening sequence is supported by Mfiliseni Magubane's song which says "amanye amadoda awaphumeleli-amanye amadoda ayaphumelela" (some men do not succeed, some men succeed). The genre of the song is in the Maskandi[27] classification. The episode is 100% monolingual, performed in isiZulu with English subtitles.

First sequence of analysis

Frame shot 14 (top) and 15 (bottom), establishing shots of Durban. Courtesy of VIU

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[27] Maskandi is known as the Zulu folk music which can be described as the traditional style of music performed by people of the Zulu tribe.

Frame shot 16, an establishing shot of a street in KwaMashu Township. Courtesy of VIU

After the flashback and flash-forward of the ailing Sister, the episode cuts to the title sequence. Immediately after the title sequence we cut to establishing shots, or as Lukinbeal (2005) would explain, the master shots. These are shots of Durban, or as they would say in the regional context, "eThekwini" which is the name of the greater municipality and surrounding areas. They city is first technically encoded with a high camera angle (frame shot 14) which shows the beach with boats in the distance and the hotels and beachgoers. It then cuts to more establishing shots of Durban, this time showing us the dynamics of the city such as traffic, taxis, the skyscrapers, bridges and more traffic congestion. The manner in which these landscapes and exteriors are encoded is through movement. It is as if the camera is in a vehicle or the point of view of someone who is seated in a car and is being transported and we as the viewers see everything that this person is seeing, which is displayed in frame shot 15 above. The camera then further moves from the city and goes into the township of KwaMashu which is identified in the literature review as "The Place of Marshall" named after Sir Marshall Campbell. As the viewers, we see more establishing shots of the township, with the camera moving rapidly as if the point of view of someone being transported in a moving vehicle.

In these establishing shots, as shown in frame shots 15 and 16, we see different dynamics of Greater Durban and KwaMashu. We see street vendors, the layout of the houses of KwaMashu and the pedestrians. We see Metrorail trains and we can see children playing in the streets. "It is the opening extended montage of shots found in the diegetic present of Episode One, immediately following the title sequence, that clearly establishes uZalo's location in KwaZulu-Natal" (Gibson, 2018: 101). Drawing on Higson (1984: 7), Gibson

(2018: 101) further says that while establishing shots generally function as an economic way of establishing the overall space in which the action takes place, this initial montage of establishing shots does not so much establish the location of the next segment, but rather establishes the narrative space or dramatic space for the episode as a whole.

Master shots or establishing shots as they are called, are often technically encoded with a pan or a tilt. To reveal or follow. Gibson (2018) utters that Durban is objectified for the viewers' pleasure, with the use of a deep-focus lens adding depth to the scene. Gibson (2018) consequently notes that uZalo is complex in its technical coding and she further expresses that the establishing shots are then juxtaposed with a montage of normal-height extreme long shots of activities associated with the Durban beachfront: walking, fishing and surfing. Wheatley (2016: 126) remarks that this is a 'contemplative mode of viewing' because the Durban landscapes and exteriors with its beaches, skyscrapers, taxis and pedestrians are technically encoded with the conventional high camera angle, pans and tilts, which then transitions into a tracking shot from a moving car as if it is shot from the view point of a passenger or more accurately, a tourist in a car who views these landscapes and exteriors. This mode of filmmaking is not only dynamic, but it signifies the idea of the inaugural episode of Season One which takes us the outsiders of Durban and KwaMashu Township, to the landscapes and the locations where the narrative will unfold.

uZalo makes well use of the master shot or establishing shots as we have noted above. This is to establish the diegesis and milieu of the narrative. We saw that the storyline is set in present-time Durban. However, what is innovative about uZalo's approach of the establishing shots is that it first uses the convention of encoding them with the high camera angle, the tilt and the pan to reveal the landscapes of Durban. The cinematography then shifts to a tracking device and we see the camera move. It travels in such a way as if it started arriving in Durban then moving away from the city, along the main routes and into the township of KwaMashu. This, according to Wheatley (2016) is a contemplative mode of viewing because the static camera is replaced now and then with a tracking camera. Gibson further articulates from Wheatley (2016) stating that:

> viewers are encouraged to look at these images and to take visual pleasure of KwaZulu-Natal and the views that it has to offer. This montage simultaneously sets the boundaries of the 'narrative space' of uZalo and 'real historical places' (Gibson, 2018: 102).

uZalo is part of the vast variety of television productions which are produced in a post-apartheid context. uZalo is part of those television productions which fall under the soap opera genre. Soap operas are television productions which infrequently use location filming as a mode of storytelling. As such, soap operas are known in academia as "the world of interiors" based on their long production filming hours and scene changes. However, as a post-apartheid soap opera uZalo is one of those television productions which have subverted the convention of only recording in studios and interior sets. As Gibson (2018: 105) says "the cinematography (of uZalo) aestheticises these landscapes for the television audience and it is this that distinguishes uZalo from other soap operas".

The second sequence which I am analysing is that of the Sister who is ill. This is the fourth sequence in the episode which was filmed in the exterior. In this sequence, one of the Sisters who misplaced the baby boys at Queen Ann Hospital on 11 February 1990, is seated outside her home with her daughter, Sindisiwe. Sindisiwe is determined to find a cure for her mother's illness, however, due to the flashback in the beginning of the episode, it is assumed by the viewers that the Sister is sick due to her guilt by accidently swopping the babies at birth. The consequences of her actions have followed her. Unlike other sequences of uZalo Season One Episode One, this episode is filmed in Inanda. Inanda is one of the townships which make up the INK townships of Durban (Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu. The manner in which the landscape is encoded technically is to signify the idea of a spectacle, as seen in frame shot 17 below.

Frame shot 17, a shot of Sindisiwe and her mother, the ailing Sister, at their home located in Inanda with Lake Inanda in the distance. Courtesy of VIU

Lukinbeal (2005) says that as spectacle, the landscape can be something fascinating in itself, thereby momentarily satisfying a voyeuristic appeal created by the narrative, frame shot 17 shows Sindisiwe walking towards her mother, the Sister, who is seated. In the distance we see the Inanda Lake with the layout of houses of the township of Inanda. What is spectacular about this sequence is the idea of the location itself: it seems as if the household of Sindisiwe and her mother is located somewhere on a hilltop and they have this majestic and spectacular view of the Inanda Township overlooking Lake Inanda in the distance. The landscape is technically encoded with deep focus: in such a way that the rest of the township and the Inanda Lake is also in focus.

We can argue that based on our analysis of Season One Episode One of uZalo so far, that it can also be classified as an example of Landscape as Place according to Higson's analysis done by Lukinbeal (2005) about how landscapes function on screen. Due to the episodes nature of filming on location and the exterior, filming in its real geographical location and by utilising technical codes such as the pan, the tilt, high camera angles and extreme long shots. Yet, this sequence of Sindisiwe and her ailing mother in Inanda Township also attests the flexible nature of the episode in relation to Lukinbeal's analysis. There are instances where the cinematography of the landscape shifts between the different classifications of Lukinbeal. As it is shot on location, in the real historical context of Inanda demonstrates to us that we can classify the episode as Landscape as Place because it makes use of some of the attributes which Lukinbeal mentions. He mentions shooting on location and the idea of a "sense of place" instead of "placelessness". This sense of place is the idea of showing us the hilltop with Lake Inanda in the distance, which is specifically unique to that particular township. He also mentions the idea of the technical codes, all of which Season One Episode One makes use of. However, at the same time, the episode can be classified as Landscape as Spectacular, because we see some beautiful exteriors of the INK townships, again I mention Inanda, which no other township in South Africa looks like.

 Later, the episode again returns to Inanda, to Sindisiwe's home. In this sequence then, Sindisiwe's ailing mother has been put to bed by her aunt who subsequently assists Sindisiwe to take care of her mother. This sequence then has been technically encoded where it starts with a pan from the left-hand side of the structure's light blue wall to reveal Sindisiwe and her aunt communicating outside, and we see how the deep focus still keeps the rest of Inanda Township and the lake in focus (frame shot 18).

Frame shot 18: a pan which moves from the left hand to the right, eventually revealing the two women communicating outside with the background landscape still in focus. Courtesy of VIU.

This sequence shifts between long shot, medium shot, medium close-up and close-up, which still keeps the background in focus. The idea that Sindisiwe's aunt has put her mother to sleep indicates to us the importance of the landscape (the exterior as opposed to showing the interior where the nurse is). This is the second scene at Sindisiwe's home, and it is also filmed in the exterior, revealing Inanda Township and the lake. This is a manner in which the production of uZalo signifies the geography to us whereby each time that we see Inanda Lake then we know we are at Sindisiwe and her mother's home. The lake is now becoming a way to establishing this context of Inanda within the narrative. Unlike the convention of soap opera interiors, uZalo has retained the signification process of Sindisiwe's home in the exterior. We never saw her mother in Episode One in the interior of her house and we never saw her in her sick bed. The mode of filming was always in the exterior and revealing Inanda Township with its lake. The cinematographic style of uZalo shows to us that the production prioritises the exterior of the township and the most significant forms of storytelling is taking place in the exterior which we have seen in frame shots 17 and 18.

<u>Third sequence of analysis.</u>

In this section of the paper, I will further be analysing uZalo Season One Episode One. In the previous section where I analysed two sequences at Sindisiwe's home, we saw how the episode is an example of a television production which falls under the classification of Landscape as Place due to all the attributes it uses which Lukinbeal (2005) observed and mention, but also as Landscape as Spectacle because it contextualised some beautiful exteriors which are particular to Inanda township.

The 13th sequence of the episode is also taking place in the exterior. The sequence first starts with cut away shots of children who are playing in the street. It then cuts to a blue BMW Hatchback. There is then another cut of Nosi walking towards her home, the Xulu's, which is where the BMW Hatchback parks and stops. Mxolisi, one of the baby boys who was accidently swopped at Queen Ann Hospital on 11 February 1990, emerges from the vehicle and we see his sister Nosi run towards him in jubilation to welcome him home from Johannesburg, Gauteng to relocate back to KwaMashu in Durban. His mother, Ma Xulu emerges out of the house and is also jubilant to see her son, Mxolisi, back home in KwaMashu from Johannesburg. A few moments later, his father, Gxabashe also emerge from the house to see his son. Gxabashe is not as happy as Nosi and Ma Xulu to see Mxolisi back from Johannesburg and requests him to return where he came from. This scene is also one of the many examples of Season One Episode One which is significant in its encodings. The scene deals with a specific dilemma and the reunion they are having after the son and brother returns from Johannesburg, Gauteng. It is also the use of the landscape which is significant. "Moments of emotion and crisis are not filmed using the typical close-up shots but instead seem to focus on their location within the township" (Gibson, 2018: 104). Gibson (2018) further articulates that this specific scene of the Xulu reunion, uses the 'conventional shot, reverse shot' sequence to film the conversation, the deep focus of the background remains consistent. She indicates that as opposed to having close-ups to foreground the emotion or the scene being filmed in the interior, the depth of focus instead foregrounds the landscape. This, in contrast to Landscape as Space which Lukinbeal (2005) says uses close-up shots of characters talking with blurry backgrounds. This specific scene of Uzalo Season One Episode One accurately falls within the topic of Landscape as Place due to its nature of showing the character talking and also foregrounding the landscape and exteriors (frame shot 19).

Frame shot 19, the Xulu family having a conversation in the exterior with the landscape of the township in focus in the background. Courtesy of VIU

In conclusion of the analysis of uZalo Season One Episode One, we can see that as an example of soap opera, the production has subverted a lot of conventions. First, scholars in academia claim that it is a world of interiors. Soap operas seldom film on location. uZalo is an example of a post-apartheid television production which subverted the convention of only filming interiors by filming in the landscapes of the INK townships, namely, Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu, although, in Season One Episode One we are only introduced to KwaMashu and Inanda. According to my analyses of at least three selected sequences from Episode One Season One, we can observe the phenomenon and say that this episode can be classified as Landscape as Place. It arguably can also be classified as Landscape as Spectacle. However, the filming style is very dynamic, which makes the episode also dynamic. All in all, it is without a doubt that Season One Episode One foregrounds the township landscape and its exteriors.

Chapter Five: Data Interpretation

In the previous section of this research paper, I have done an analysis of selected sequences from Skeem Saam Season One Episode One and uZalo Season One Episode One. I have previously also done an analysis of Lukinbeal's (2005) taxonomy of how Landscapes function on screen. Through my analyses, we can see that the manner in which the above-mentioned television productions filmed was in a very hybrid form. However, the two episodes from the two television productions are most likely to be classified as Landscape as Place based on the data which has been analysed in conjunction Lukinbeal's analysis. The cinematography engaged with the idea that indeed television is capable of holding cinematographic attention in the same way that the panoramic and big screen of the cinema complex where films are being displayed. This is a major step in the engagement of the phenomena of previous academic enquiry into the aesthetics of television which argued that the televisual aesthetics is incapable of holding academic attention compared to film studies. I will now discuss these representations of the geographic township landscape and its exteriors. There is a deeper meaning behind the manner in which Skeem Saam and uZalo have represented the township and I look into this in the following sections.

<u>The Township as a space beyond the interior.</u>

Gugulethu

Ungatong'ngphazamisa khona la Gugulethu,

Ziyakhip' elokishini

Kumnandi zihlangene

Syasitana'

Omakhelwane bayaphilisana.

Ziyakiph' elokishini

Kumnandi sihlangene umuntu ngimuntu ngabantu[28]

Gugulethu
Do not come and interrupt me here in Gugulethu.

Things are on point in the township.

It is nice, things have come together.

We assist each other

Neighbours live well together

Things are always on point

It is nice, we are together
Our humanity is what makes us who we are (ubuntu).

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[28] Lyrics of South African musician Kabelo "Prince Kaybee" Motsamai's song titled *Gugulethu.* The song pays homage to the township life of Gugulethu in Cape Town, courtesy of: Mafishane, R., Motsamai, K., Nkuna, P.G. and Skosana, L. 2019. *Gugulethu.* Universal Music.
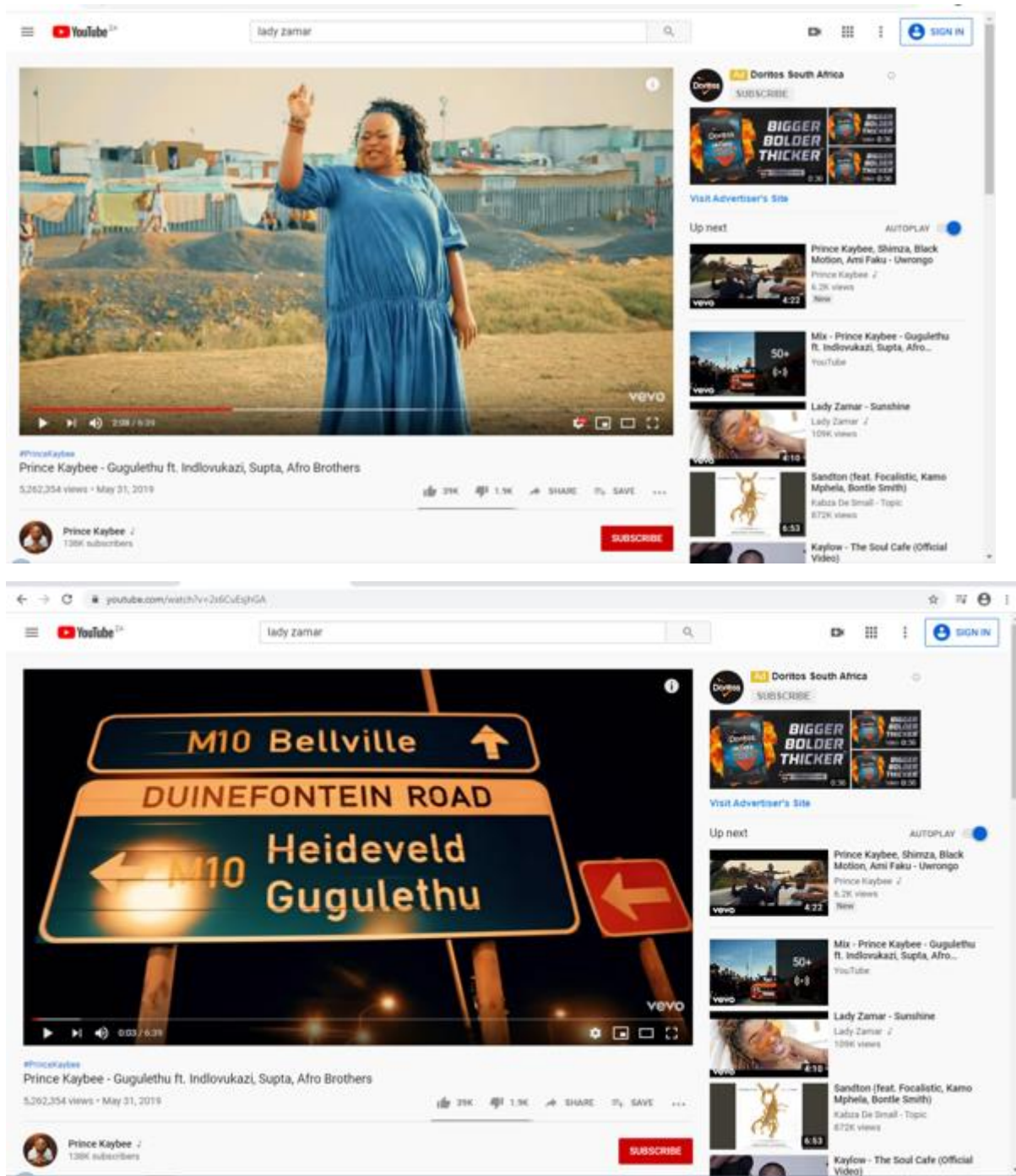
Screen shots one and two: the visuals of the music video by Prince Kaybee that pays homage to the township of Gugulethu in the city of Cape Town. The music video was predominantly shot in the exterior and displays the social dynamics of the area. Courtesy: YouTube. [29]

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[29]Motsamai "Prince Kaybee", K. 2019. *Prince Kaybee-Gugulethu featering Indlovukazi, Supta, Afro Brothers.* https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2s6CuEsjhGA, accessed on 15 December 2019.

As discussed in an earlier chapter, townships have historically been established on problematic politics in South Africa. These problematic politics include forced removals, racial segregation and poor service delivery from municipalities as affirmed by Ladd (2008). Ladd (2008) elaborates that townships originated from South Africa's unique economic requirement for inexpensive migratory labour and that they were managed using brutal policing systems as well as British municipal administrative traditions. These issues amongst others have resulted in tensions in townships in South Africa. Crime erupted, poverty is in most cases the order of the day and violence also increased. Some of these issues are still experienced today, 25 years into the democracy of South Africa. A township such as Alexandra, north east of Johannesburg for example, experienced service delivery protests a few weeks before the national elections in May 2019. Residents demanded assistance from government, more specifically from the then-Executive Mayor of the city of Johannesburg, Herman Mashaba[30]. As outsiders, as people who do not live in townships, what are we supposed to think or feel when we always see the plight that township residents face? In some cases, one cannot help but feel pity and sorrow because of all the problems we see about townships even in a democratic South African context.

Skeem Saam Season One Episode One and uZalo Season One Episode One are television productions which re-imagine the township through the process of taking the lens of the camera beyond the interior. Both episodes of the television productions follow the lives of the ordinary township characters. On average, their point-of-departure is the fact that instead of focusing on the interiors only they foreground the exterior side of the township landscape. The essence of a township does not really lie in the interior but the exterior. The exterior shots of the community and the landscapes foreground the notion of social cohesion: the sense of a community. Even though townships may have been established on problematic politics and are still experiencing some degree of poverty, crime and violence, they usually have a very strong social network and cohesion. There is in most cases always the relationship and bond with the neighbours, stokvels[31] and the relationship children have

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[30] After a little over three years as the Mayor of City of Johannesburg, Herman Mashaba has resigned from the Democratic Alliance, the official oppositional party of South Africa. This also affected his term as Mayor which then ended on 27 November 2019.

[31] In the South African context, a stokvel is a group of individuals (in most cases usually women, but men also feature) in which each individual contributes an agreed amount of money per month where it grows and then it gets shared. In some cases, stokvel's also involve groceries, where members save money monthly and buy groceries at the end of the year. https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/stokvel

amongst one another. For example, townships sometimes do not have parks for children to play in. You then find children who are playing in the streets using their imagination to create games to keep themselves entertained and out of trouble. A lot of these games can go on for up to hours, especially during the school holidays.

In chapter two titled "Township in Sight" in his book *Native Nostalgia (2009)* Jacob Dlamini reflects on the social order of his experiences as a child in the township of Katlehong. Dlamini (2009) at first explains that, unlike a slum township which Alexandra is the only one still existing in post-apartheid South Africa, Katlehong is a scientific township. He says so because Katlehong is laid out in a grid with streets that intersect at 90-degree angles, followed by neat curves and ended in T-junctions. This, according to Dlamini (2009) serves to the idea of a scientific township because it was neatly laid out by the government unlike a slum township which Alexandra is an example of because it is maze-like, densely populated settlements with no official 'order' to their layout. Dlamini (2009) paints the idea of how after school playtime was the most important part of his street life.

> Here we played soccer, marbles, spinning tops, a cricket-like game called *bhathi*, a card game called boom, *umgusha* (high hump), kites, wire cars and of course, black *mampatile* (hide-and-seek)
>
> (Dlamini, 2009: 58).

He further articulates that these were not just street games but that they also heralded in their own way, the change in seasons. In this case, each season had specific games that children played. For example, the black *mampatile* (hide-and-seek) was perfect for the winter season because the sun set earlier in the winter and it made the idea of hiding applicable. This evidence which is given by Dlamini (2009) paints a picture to us about the exterior side of the township, the playfulness of the children, their social interactions as well as how each season had specific games allocated to it. Massey cited inside Dlamini (2009: 61) says that "the global is in the local in the very process of the formation of the local" which indicates to us that Jacob Dlamini's upbringing in the township of Katlehong is part of the global world, a world which is in motion with its own unique dynamics but still keeping up and connected to what is going on outside of Katlehong. Dlamini (2009) ultimately voices that his book *Native Nostalgia* is not an ethnography of Katlehong, nor a study of its culture. He writes that there is nothing mournful or sorrowful about his township childhood, despite standard portrayals of township life that sometimes paint it as miserable. Dlamini (2009) gives us evidence of a

social order in the township Katlehong. This is his childhood encounters of playing games with his friends. These acts of playing games are not taking place in the interior but the exterior and they prove a stronger social order by announcing the seasons. Children know which game to play when and when not.

The relationship that neighbours in the township have are also considerable. This social order is defined by Moore (1978) as the "familiar lubricants of daily social intercourse" (Moore, 1978 cited inside Dlamini, 2009: 98). He mentions phrases such as 'please' and 'thank you' as two phrases which make up the social structure of townships. For example, in the past, which is also still in practise today, township residents would have rituals where they would share household items amongst one another. The practise of borrowing or asking for sugar until it was someone else's turn to run out of sugar and then they would go and ask from one of the other neighbours was an ongoing process. It has undertones and connotations of "we are all that we have". Dlamini (2009) says that in the context of a township, there is nothing as worse as a poorly attended funeral. A funeral is the end of your life and its attendance signifies how you have lived your life. It is bad when there are only about 20 people in attendance, which can indicate that perhaps the deceased was disliked by the community or that the deceased was unknown and did not participate and attend other residents' events in the area. A funeral is one of the major social rituals in a township because there is usually a week-long preparation of tasks such as the tent or hall which needs to be prepared, prayers which will take place at the household of the deceased and the chopping and peeling of vegetables for catering on the day of the funeral. All of these tasks will need assistance from the extended township residents.

Depending on which church denomination the deceased belongs to, a funeral usually takes place either on a Saturday morning or a Sunday morning. Judging from the history of labour in South Africa, weekends are those times when children and adults are not at school nor at work, which gives them the opportunity to pay their respects and attend the funeral service. If the deceased gets buried during the week, this process might be seen as a selfish and inconsiderate act of the bereaved family because they are not allowing extended family and friends the time to make travel arrangements during the week in order to attend the funeral and say their goodbyes. In Skeem Saam Season One Episode One there is a sequence which depicts the funeral of Ben Kunutu (which I analysed in chapter four). As the viewers, we have never seen Ben Kunutu, yet the episode starts off with his funeral. In chapter four of this paper, the analyses of the sequence identified a high camera angle which depicts the street

and the tent where mourners have gathered to pay their last respects. The yard of the Kunutu family is filled with people who have arrived to support the family in their time of grief. We can then make the conclusion that within the diegesis of the episode, Ben Kunutu lived a fulfilled life and he was loved by his family, friends, the street where he lived on and the township community at large. His brother, Charles Kunutu shares details of Ben's life by mentioning that he was a father, a husband and a brother. He, Ben, was also a factory worker who studied part-time as a Bachelor of Commerce student who wanted to improve his and his family's life. This first sequence of Skeem Saam Season One Episode One starts with an exterior shot of the funeral of Ben Kunutu, indicating the idea of a social structure in the township context, even amidst the difficulties which they may be facing such as crime, poverty and violence.

Another sequence from Episode One Season One of Skeem Saam which represents the township as a space beyond the interior is the one where Zamokuhle Seakamela is seated in his room and writes his poetry. Zamokuhle is revealed to us, the viewers, in his bedroom and we hear his voice-over of how he is busy thinking and reciting his vocabulary while writing his poems. He then peeps through the window of his room into the household of his neighbours, the Maputla family. Instead of just occupying the interior, the episode has technically been encoded in such a way that we see the space into which Zamokuhle is looking to. This off-screen space is revealed to be that of his friend, Thabo Maputla. The specific day within the diegesis of the episode happens to be the 16th birthday celebrations of Thabo and Zamokuhle is seen looking into the Maputla territory to see what they are doing as a family. Moments later, we as the viewers see Thabo giving a piece of his birthday cake to Zamokuhle and his younger sister Pretty over the wired fence which serves as a divider between the two yards of the two families. Zamokuhle then retrieves a set of tickets to a music performance by musician Tuks Senganga. This over-the-fence ritual between the teenage boys refers to Moore's phrase of familiar lubricants of daily social intercourse. It is quite common for neighbours in the townships to share these rituals with one another over the fence or the wall. It further represents the idea of a social order and commonality amongst the residents of a township. These two above mentioned sequences are examples of how Skeem Saam reimagines the township and not only reduces it to a world of interiors but as a space beyond the interior.

As mentioned earlier in this paper, Dlamini (2009) wrote a lot about his own experiences of growing up in a township and he focuses predominantly on the social order. He references

that his family was poor, and they did not have much. Instead of focusing only the negative nature of his upbringing, he does mention positive things as well. He further mentions aspects of his childhood such as how they used to have rituals such as taking turns to bath and by a certain time of the day, they would all sit around the radio, having dinner and listen to their favourite radio programmes. He expresses:

> townships tend to be seen as zones of deprivation that can only ever be defined in a negative sense…there are predominant ways of thinking of townships as spaces of negativity. Townships were intended to serve as dormitories of labour. It is wrong to only think of townships in terms of their economic function (Dlamini, 2009: 105).

In the quote Dlamini emphasises the historical context of townships, that they were establishes as places for labour and not necessarily for permanent living. This is not the case however, seeing that townships are places where inhabitants reside permanently. This states that inhabitants have made them as comfortable as possible.

Dlamini (2009) further reminds us of the idea of not knowing who your neighbour is in a suburb, which in his opinion is a communal defect. According to Dlamini (2009), not knowing your neighbour is a sign which indicates poverty to a certain degree because they, the suburb residents, do not have a social order nor a sense of community amongst one another. As such, I do not think that television productions such as Skeem Saam and uZalo would have done the legacy of the township justice if they reduced the diegesis of the narrative only to the interior sides. It was necessary for them to film on location in the geographical context of the township landscape. This style of filming also debunks the dominant belief of seeing a township only from the viewpoint of its poor economic status, violence and poverty. Between the two productions for example, Skeem Saam Season One Episode One shows us that a character such as Ben Kunutu has lived a fulfilled life. We as the viewers see this with the street scene and the tent which is filled to capacity with mourners who came to lay their last respects. These rituals are what makes the social structure of townships exist because residents support one another. Historically, the township is often seen as a place of survival and unrest. Jaqueline Maingard articulates that a tendency in South Africa after apartheid has emerged where films are located in the townships in her book titled *South African National Cinema* (Maingard, 2007: 178). This is also true for television which included the likes of Yizo Yizo. Ward articulates that:

the films use the ghetto as a setting to explore the issue of gangsterism within the townships. It is important to evaluate the setting and the influence it may have on the cinematic identities of Black South Africans and Black experiences (Ward, 2008: 2).

According to Ellapen (2007), a film such as Tsotsi (Hood, 2005), represents the space of the township through the male-gaze. By this he means that the film represented the exteriors and interiors of the township through the protagonist, who is a gangster within the diegesis of the film. As such, the township landscape and spaces are seen as dangerous, a place of 'survival of the fittest' and crime which are some of the activities which the protagonist experiences throughout the narrative of the film Tsotsi.

In contrast however, when we look at the examples of Skeem Saam and uZalo, the cinematography and filming style which I have analysed in chapter four has characterised not only the interiors but more importantly, the exteriors are where significant rituals and practises have been displayed in the two episodes. In Skeem Saam we saw the "over-the-fence" act and communication between Thabo Maputla and Zamokuhle Seakamela and in uZalo a family reunion and meeting takes place in the exterior. Turfloop and KwaMashu are not seen as places of survival and unrest. However, both productions have re-imagined the exterior of these two townships as places with social cohesion and people who participate in the idea of a shared sense of community with the "familiar lubricants of daily social intercourse" as said by Moore (1978).

Subjective contextualisation

Soweto townships have been signified as the microcosm[32] of South African townships and as those townships which have come to represent the notion of authentic black African experience and identity. I say 'townships' in the plural sense as opposed to the singular form "township" because Soweto is made up of a variety of smaller townships such as Tladi, Orlando Naledi, Zola, Jabulani, Protea North and Meadowlands amongst others, hence why the name Soweto which is an acronym for "South Western Townships" of the greater Johannesburg metropolitan area.

Soweto has played a significant role in the history of liberation in the Republic of South Africa. Former President Nelson Mandela used to stay in the area, in Orlando with his former wife Winnie Madikizela-Mandela. The youth of 1976 also protested against Afrikaans as a

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[32] According to the Collins English Dictionary, microcosm means a miniature representation of something.

medium of instruction on the 16th of June, which has come to be known as Youth Day on the South African calendar in tribute to the efforts faced by the youth at that time. These are just some of the details which proves that Greater Soweto is a dynamic township within the larger South African context. Due to Johannesburg being the largest and most vibrant urban area in South Africa, it is without a doubt that a large number of people flocked to the city in pursuit of economic stability. These events of people flocking to Johannesburg in pursuit of employment is what Ladd (2008) calls the goldrush, which is the period from about 1886 when gold was discovered in Johannesburg. Soweto is not a homogenous township because there are different cultural tribes in the area. For example, Orlando is known for being the township which is dominated by the Nguni tribes such as the Zulu tribe and the Xhosa tribe. Tladi and Naledi are townships which are known as being historically more Sotho speaking. Chiawelo is known as being the historically Tsonga speaking township on the other hand. As such, Soweto is not a homogenous township. In fact, Soweto is a multicultural and multilingual township. There is a variety of tribes and cultural groups which form part of the area. It is then true that we can declare that Soweto is a microcosm of townships in South Africa. However, I find the fact that we as South Africans have reduced and employed Soweto as *'the'* (emphasis added) township which has come to represent all other townships.
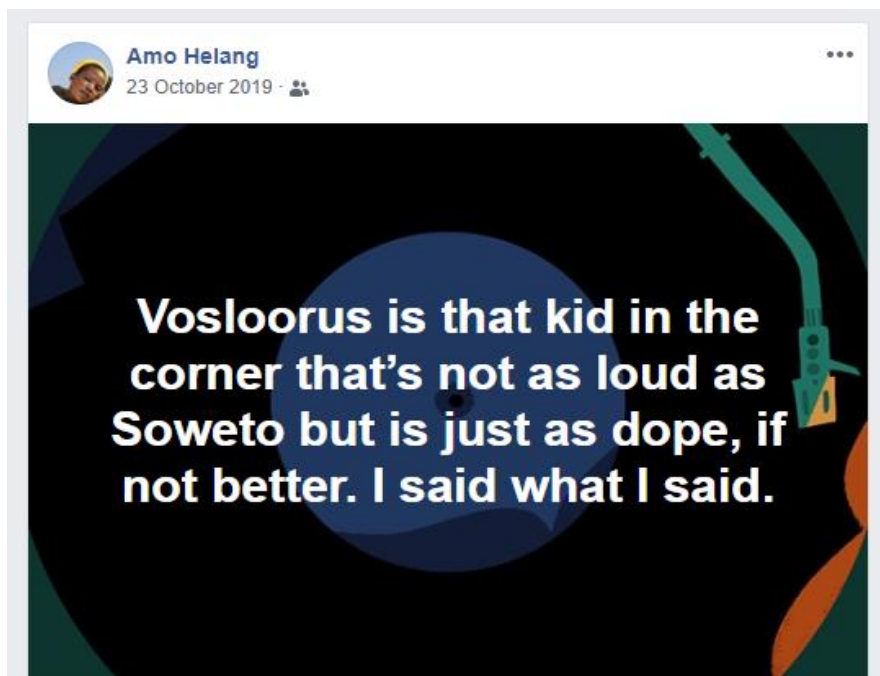
Screen Shot three: a post by Amo Helang which was posted on 23 October 2019. In this post, she personifies Soweto and Vosloorus, a township situated east of Johannesburg, by saying that they are school children and Vosloorus is not on the same rank as Soweto, but just as dope (slang for cool). This post fundamentally highlights what I am trying to say about Soweto's status as a township in post-apartheid South Africa. Screen shot is courtesy of Facebook.

Soweto is in almost every film and television production and the landscape of the township has come to signify authentic black African identity and struggle because of its significant historical events, notable figures such as the Mandelas, Hector Pieterson and because it is a major tourist attraction today. Part of the reason why I was interested to do this research and the reason why I decided to look at the idea around cultural geography, geographical context and landscapes is based on my own encounters. I have noticed the phenomenon in South Africa where we as South African usually measure one another's identity, socio-political and economic consciousness based on the geographical landscapes or context of where we come from. Here in this section of this paper, I wish to make another example based on my own experience to better explain what I mean by this and to elaborate on the idea of subjectivity.

The Cape Flats of the city of Cape Town.

The Cape Flats are a group of mainly historical coloured townships in the city of Cape Town. Trotter (2009) declares that about 150 000 coloured people were evicted from their natal homes and communities in the Cape Peninsula between 1957 and 1985 under the Group Areas Act. Trotter (2009) states:

> whites obtained the prime real estate near Table Mountain and the coasts, while Coloureds, Africans and Indians were banished to racially homogenous group areas on the periphery of the city (Trotter, 2009: 51).

He further indicates that people who were classified as "coloured" were taken from all over the Cape Peninsula and lumped together in racially homogenous townships on the Cape Flats. Scholars such as Trotter (2009), Adhikari (2005), Soudien (2001) and Erasmus (2001) studied the dynamics of coloured identity in South Africa. Before the Cape Flats, coloured people in Cape Town stayed in what was known as "Kanaladorp" which was District 6. District 6 was not necessarily a "coloured" area because the area was made up of a variety of races and cultural groups, although the majority were coloureds. Since the introduction of the Group Areas Act, the residents of District Six, especially the Coloured people were evicted to the townships of the Cape Flats. These townships include some of the following areas: Hanover Park, Grassy Park, Lavender Hill, Atlantis, Mitchell's Plain, Bonteheuwel, Elsies Rivier and Manenberg to name but a few. In chapter two of this paper I discussed the idea of how Marx (2010) uttered that despite the names that these areas have, connoting aristocracy and pastoral connotations, such as Grassy Park for example, and their names are completely the opposite of what happens in those areas. These townships are notorious for their gang

violence, drug abuse and their overall plight for survival such as school children and other residents of the areas who are unable to go to school or to go buy a loaf of bread at the corner shop because of their fear of being caught in the cross fire when gangs shoot and retaliate at one another.

Map four: displaying The Greater Cape Town Municipal landscape and where the Cape Flats are located. Source: Google Images.

There have been a number of incidents reported where children got killed after bullets strike them[33] when crossing the street on a normal day and when gangs randomly start shooting at

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[33] https://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/news/stray-bullet-kills-ottery-boy-13-37402209

one another. These townships on the Cape Flats are usually on the news headlines, primetime television news, radio news bulletins and the front pages of daily and weekly newspapers (Bloch, 1975; Bowers du Toit, 2014). A number of films have also been released about the crime, drug abuse and the gang violence on the Cape Flats. Recent films include Nommer 37 (Dumisa, 2018), and Die Ellen Pakkies Storie (Joshua, 2018). Most recently, a notorious former gangster and drug lord known as Rashied Staggie[34] was shot dead in Cape Town city. This story made national headlines and placed the focus again on the violence experienced by the residents on the Cape Flats. The approach that the news reports took was that they focused on Staggie's early years as a gangster and a drug lord and they also reported how he was in and out of prison. So, when the lens of a camera, whether it may be to record video footage or a still image, this lens which is framed to the geographical context of Cape Town introduces us to the residents of the Cape Flats and the kind of lives that they live because we are the outsiders. The residents in these areas on the Cape Flats are represented in specific ways, in ways which paint them as violet and rough. As such, the images are constantly reiterated and represented to the rest of the South African society. Whenever a coloured individual or an individual with a coloured background and/or identity moves around and mingles in other communities and people from other societies, this person of coloured identity is usually measured according to what is happening in the Cape Flats. I find this happening a lot with me which is problematic. coloured people or people with coloured backgrounds in post-apartheid South Africa are usually perceived as automatically and innately rough, dangerous, *tjatjarag*[35] and mischievous. In my opinion, the reason why this is so is because of how the lens of the camera represents, captures and records the geographical landscape of the Cape Flats and its people. I have never been to Cape Town as mentioned earlier in this paper. However, because of what I see and hear on television, films, radio and the newspapers, I can tell anyone almost anything about the landscapes of Cape Town. I even know the names of all the areas which make up the Cape Flats, such as the ones which I have mentioned above in this paper. The city of Cape Town is also a popular destination just like the city of Johannesburg is, to Africa and the rest of the world. The Cape Flats have been

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[34] Oukula, O. 2019, "Hit on Rashied Staggie done to undermine Hard Livings gang", *Cape Talk 567 AM.* http://www.capetalk.co.za/articles/369808/hit-on-rashied-staggie-done-to-undermine-hard-livings-gang-says-criminologist, accessed on 13 March 2020.

[35] *Tjatjarag* (pronounced as "Cha-Cha-Ra-G" is not a pure Afrikaans word. More like a slang to refer to an individual who is annoying, nosy, troublesome or cheeky as well. There are spelling variations, from *tjatjarig* to *chacharig.*

represented in film, television and newspapers so many times that I can tell someone a lot of details about the city even though I have never set foot there before. New York is also one of those geographical areas which I have never been to. The matter at hand is that there are so many film and television depictions of the New York landscape that as a viewer, I can clearly identify the Statue of Liberty, the Chrysler Building as well as the Empire State Building.

Going back to the idea of coloured identity and contexts in post-apartheid South Africa, other coloured townships which are usually featured on post-apartheid South African film and television are places like Eersterus in Pretoria/Tshwane and Westbury and Eldorado which are both located in Johannesburg. These are areas which, just like Soweto, are employed as authentic coloured areas with the Cape Flats as an example, so much so that the rest of the South African population believe that the Cape Flats, Eersterus, Westbury and Eldorado Park are the *only* (emphasis added) places where coloured people stay and originate from, which is a myth. As my understanding goes, the history of South African city and town planning took the shape of apartheid Afrikaner Nationalism which was the idea of segregation where each ethnic group had a specific area assigned to them, which was in the form of the Group Areas Act of 1950. As such, each city and town in South African was almost similarly planned and certain areas were reserved for certain ethnic groups. As such it was common that South African cities and towns had areas reserved for white people, black African people, Indian people as well as coloured people. It was common and still is common that coloured people are scattered almost all-over South Africa, although the majority of them lived in Cape Town[36]. It is not necessarily true that they all originate and only stay in the city of Cape Town which is what most of the other South African believe. I was born in a community called Westenburg in Polokwane (which was formerly known as Pietersburg until 2002). This is the only coloured community I have ever lived in. I often engage with a variety of South Africans and my identity as a person with a coloured background often gets measured in comparison to other coloured townships, particularly to the ones in the Cape Flats. So much so that in Westenburg, we do not have any gang violence. Other South Africans are often so

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[36] The main reason why there are so many coloured people in Cape Town (The Western Cape Province as a whole) is because Adhikari (2005) says that when the National Party came into power in 1948, it quickly introduced a slew of laws on residential segregation, classifying of the "races", employment and education. Adhikari (2005) further states that the Group Areas Act of 1950 had profound effects on land ownership, even for the coloured elites of Cape Town. However, in contrast to Black Africans, coloured people were never subjected to the system of pass books, nor were they deported to the Homelands. Adhikari (2005) finally says that the Western Cape was declared a "coloured Labour Preference Area", meaning fundamentally in the absence of White job candidates, coloureds would be considered to the exclusion of Africans.

used to the notion of seeing coloured identity with gang violence that a township such as Westenburg, the dynamics of the area might be seen as "retarted" and "not vibrant" enough when it gets compared to what is happening on the Cape Flats. Hugo Canham (2019) reflects on this process and asserts that Cape Town is most representative of the coloured ghetto, however, it is not everyone's experience. I also sometimes find myself feeling incomplete as an individual because I do not know and have never lived in any other coloured area other than where I am from, which is Westenburg, because of the constant images of what supposedly authentic coloured identity is supposed to look like. We almost never see other coloured townships in post-apartheid South African television and film, other than the Cape Flats, Eersterus, Westbury and Eldorado Park. When we do see them, their "colouredness" is often measured in comparison to that of the Cape Flats. My own community of Westenburg in Polokwane did make it on television screens; however, it was a hostile representation during the 2008 xenophobic attacks and recently in 2018 with the land grabs and high unemployment issues faced by residents.

Roome (1998) quotes Barthes to argue that television can be a vehicle of myths:

> a myth is defined as a socially constructed truth with an underlying ideological meaning to retain the status quo which overturns the historical truth into the natural, so contemporary myth consists of stereotypes
> (Barthes, 1977; 165).

Roome (1998) further indicates that because myths are ideological, they naturalise history. The above-mentioned examples about townships in South Africa can be seen as myths, because townships are often represented on screen as places of violence and unrest. Even in the context of Coloured townships, it is a myth to reduce authentic Coloured identity to the gang related violence in the Cape Flats because as Canham (2019) has expressed, it is not everyone's reality. This phenomenon in South Africa, whereby we measure one
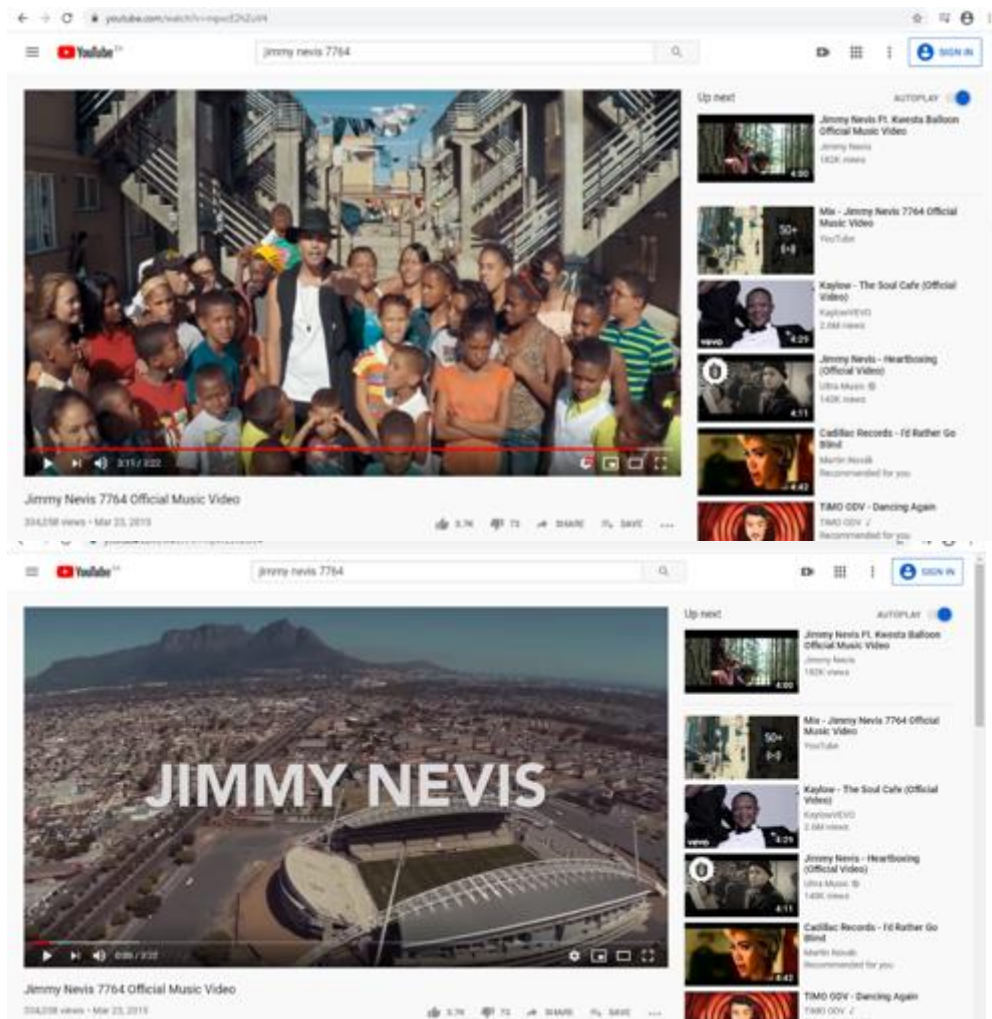
Screen shots four and five: Jimmy Nevis' music video, *7764*. Similar to Prince Kaybee's *Gugulethu*, *7764* is filmed in the exterior and pays homage to the positive attributes of the Cape Flats. We can see the flats and children in Screen shot three and Table Mountain in the distance at the bottom. Courtesy: YouTube. [37]

another's identity, socio-political and economic consciousness based on the landscapes where we come from is the process of reductionism. Young (1976: 42) defines reductionism as the process "whereby roughly similar groups in language or even general area of origin are grouped in ordinary social discourse". He maintains that J. Clyde Mitchell was one of the first to pick this up:

> tribes appear to one another to be undifferentiated wholes…their own ethnic
> distinctiveness which they took for granted in the rural areas, for example, the
> manner in which Africans related and referred to one another. There is a great

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[37]Nevis, J. 2015. *Jimmy Nevis 7764 Official Music Video.* https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mpvcE2hZuV4 , accessed 12 January 2020.

tendency to regard them as an undifferentiated category and to place them under a general rubric. (Mitchell cited inside Young, 1976: 42).

Canham (2019) asks the following question when he contends that the Cape Flats and its violence is not every coloured person's experience in South Africa: "what does it mean to deprive people complexity?". The answer is Reductionism (Young, 1976) or conformism as mentioned by Fiske (2006). Fiske (2006) introduces us to the concept of conformism because for example, not all subjects of white, patriarchal capitalism think in the same way nor do they construct identical senses of their own identities. Other terms which come to mind are generalisation and lack of fluidity.

The manner in which South African media tends to represent landscapes and the people in them for example, the Cape Flats and coloured identity is based on the notion of reductionism and conformism. Reducing coloured identity to that of the experiences on the Cape Flats or conforming identity to that, thus generalising and not thinking about fluidity and other ways of seeing and representing. Roome (1998) reminds us that the makers of film and television productions for example may create these representations of the Cape Flats and other townships in South Africa without knowing what the implications are or may be. Michaels (1990: 11) then express that in evaluating television and film it becomes apparent that it is not one self-evident thing nor is it neutral but it does produce and reproduce socially constructed texts whose intents are meaningful, even if the realisation of such intent proves unpredictable, misconstrued or insidious in historical or social terms. This meaning making process is sometimes attributed to polysemy[38] where a viewer has the ability to read the text in whichever way possible (Roome, 1998).

Offering possibilities for subjective contextualisation

In this section. I will again reflect about my personal experiences with regards to townships.

In December 2019, I had to go to Woodlands Shopping Centre in the south east of Pretoria/Tshwane. I was staying with my eldest sister and her husband in East Lynne, a suburb east of the city. In order for me to go to Woodlands Shopping Centre, I had to commute with a taxi which I had to catch in Mamelodi, a township further east in Pretoria/Tshwane. They mentioned a taxi rank called "Denneboom", which is where I was to

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[38] Polysemy is a word which refers to the idea of a word or an object which is capable of having several meanings. This makes it then "polysemic". http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/polysemic

catch the taxi. I had no idea whatsoever about the name of the taxi rank nor did I know where it was located in Mamelodi township. My brother-in-law asked me questions such as "is it your first time in Mamelodi?" and "so you have never been to Mamelodi?" In defence I responded by stating that I have been to Mamelodi before! They had their wedding celebrations at the house of the groom back in December 2014 and as such, I have been to the area before, although it was a while ago. The questions they asked me had connotations and undertones which implied and painted me as an outsider, which is something that you do not want to be in a township. Even though I have many friends from Mamelodi, and I know where it is geographically located, in the far east of Pretoria/Tshwane, I do not know the geographics of its landscape. All I know about Mamelodi is that it is situated next to a hill on the outskirts of the city. Perhaps the residents in the township would have seen that I am a blatant outsider. They would have been able to smell my fears and confusion while I was trying to figure out where exactly Deneboom taxi rank was. Ultimately, I think where the conversation was going was that not only did it paint me as an outsider, but it also made me look like someone who does not go out and that I also do not mingle with the locals of the eastern side of Pretoria/Tshwane which is where East Lynne and Mamelodi falls under. It also made me look like I do not know my South African history because Mamelodi is the birthplace of Solomon Mahlangu who also played a significant role in the liberation of South Africa. I also felt as if I was not in touch with my African-ness and I do not know the city of Pretoria/Tshwane and its landscapes. However, I defended myself in the conversation about my unfamiliarity with Mamelodi. I am not a Pretorian by birth and I do not stay in the area.

In this section of the paper I am arguing that, unlike the other townships of South Africa, we usually see Soweto on our screens. Soweto, which is a frequent on television and film, has become a microcosm and a way to represent the idea of an authentic black African township, similar to how the Cape Flats has come to present the idea of authentic coloured identity. This is not necessarily true. I find such representations in post-apartheid South Africa problematic. Skeem Saam Season One Episode One and uZalo Season One Episode One have been filmed in such a way that the cinematography of the productions allows us to see the townships of Turfloop in Polokwane, Hammanskraal in Pretoria/Tshwane, Tembisa in Ekurhuleni and Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu of Durban as focal points. They broke the convention which most post-apartheid South African television productions do (often soap operas), that is, usually film in the glamorous studios of Johannesburg and Cape Town, focus mostly on the interior which is usually set in Soweto or in other townships, examples include

the Cape Flats. They also do not show us other contexts. Landscape as Place which is a filming style utilised in Skeem Saam Season One Episode One and uZalo Season One Episode One assisted with the idea of representing the township as a space beyond the interior and I am arguing that this gives us possibilities for more subjective contextualisation in post-apartheid South African television.

Roome (1998) drawing on Hartley (1987) and Fiske (1987), writes that Hartley has listed seven types of subjectivity which are defined as a structure of accessed identifications. The list includes the following: self, gender, age-group, family, class, nation and ethnicity (Hartley and Fiske, 1987: 50). In this case, we can state that nation falls under the idea of landscapes and geographical context, which I have analysed in this paper that Skeem Saam and uZalo, their first episodes, foreground the township landscape. The viewers of these programmes are encouraged to identify with various abstract social values…having been given concrete representation in the programme according to Roome (1998: 257). Television is able to construct these subject positions for the reader to occupy, rewarding the reader with ideological pleasure because the meanings of their world and subjectivities are confirmed, namely, the pleasure of recognition, depending on how closely the viewer's ideology connects with the dominant ideology (Fiske, 1987). As a viewer of Skeem Saam specifically, I am from Polokwane. I loved the idea of how the production showed us the landscapes of Polokwane. I recognised it as a viewer because I saw my geographical context on screen. Fiske (1989: 66) states that this is textual pleasure. He elaborates that textual pleasure arises from an awareness of the text where social experiences of the viewer is also textualised and by bringing these experiences to interpret the text, the one informs the other. Roome (1998) indicates that the actual ability to do this determines the subjectivity of the viewer and it actualises in different forms at different moments.

This subjective contextualisation is the idea of how Skeem Saam and uZalo did not necessarily follow the intertextuality of the usual way of how townships are represented on screen. The episodes show different townships which created a form of textual pleasure and the pleasure of recognition (Fiske, 2006) because as a viewer, I recognise the landscapes of Polokwane and the township of Turfloop. The representational tactics of Skeem Saam and uZalo then also refers to the idea of pluralism, more specifically cultural pluralism. Here I mean that there is a tendency in South Africa where we measure one another's identity and backgrounds according to what and how we see it and the landscapes of these identities being represented on the media. This is what we have come to be defined as the process of

reductionism, conformism and generalisation as argued earlier in this paper. According to Canham (2018: 1), this is when we deprive people of complexity. However, in a country like South Africa, there are a myriad of cultures and viewpoints and I admire what Skeem Saam and uZalo did because they showed us the pluralism of culture and the dynamics their unique townships: that they are not just places of poverty and violence. Even in the coloured community, I have argued that the Cape Flats is not every coloured person's experience in South Africa, and I contend that the media tends to fail to acknowledge and represent other coloured subjects in post-apartheid South Africa.

Skeem Saam Season One and uZalo has showed us that there is room to show us different contexts and that the landscape, the culture and subjects in the country are plural. They have showed us that there exists many other types of townships and township residents. Cultural pluralism also has its critics, however. I am calling for a more normalised representation of townships as opposed to always seeing townships such as Soweto and the Cape Flats on television. This would show us how for example, a Coloured person is not expected to be violent because of the usual representation of violence which is experienced by the residents in the Cape Flats. I am calling for more and different township landscapes in other areas of South Africa. This is to show how they can be plural. Sarbin writes:

> it is axiomatic that in order to survive as a member of a society, a person must be able to locate himself accurately in the role structure. The simplest way to accomplish this is by seeking and finding answers to the question 'who am I'? Since roles are structured in reciprocal fashion, the answers can also be achieved through locating the position of the other by implicitly asking the question 'who are you' (Sarbin quoted inside Young, 1976: 41).

Young (1976 :41) explains that a sense of membership in a given cultural community involves recognition of certain features of the group which render it distinctive; implicitly these attributes are contrastive. For example, even in the coloured community in itself, the community is so unique that, drawing from Young (1976) it requires perception of what differentiates the group from others in speech code, symbols, values, religion, ritual or physical appearance (Young, 1976: 41). However, as I expressed above, the media tends to fail this process, because it reduces and conforms identity to specific contexts which then becomes the norm.

I am calling for cultural pluralism, however, the process has its negative history in South Africa. Becker (2015) avows that in the history of South Africa, critics rejected the emphasis on plural cultures, pointing to the architects of apartheid who encouraged cultural difference to encourage fragmentation. This was the process whereby in the black African context for example, African tribes were alienated from one another. My focus here however is stating that we need to see more landscapes of South Africa on television which will show us the different subjectivities and viewpoints of the people who live there. I acknowledge that we are a diverse nation however, it is problematic how in the coloured community, coloured identity is often reduced to violence and to the geographical context of Cape Town. What about the townships, landscapes and exteriors in the North West, the Northern Cape or Mpumalanga? Can we measure them as townships based on their residents' identities and socio-political context against the usual Soweto? What about the Indian context? The most famous Indian townships in South Africa include Chatsworth in Durban and Lenasia in Johannesburg. A lot of South Africans might not even know that each city and town in the country has an Indian community. Indian identity has also specifically been reduced to only Chatsworth and Lenasia. Therefore, I liked what Skeem Saam Season One Episode One and uZalo Season One Episode One did because it showed us different contexts of Black African townships. In the words of American Executive Producer at Shondaland, Shonda Rhimes mentioned that she hates the word "diverse" because it connotes "otherness". She uttered she prefers the word "normal" (Rhimes, 2016: 235). Turfloop in Polokwane and the INK townships of Durban are normal because they are part of the South African geographical landscape. The producers of the two productions set in these townships normalised Turfloop and the INK Township because they are part of South Africa.

Cultural and aesthetic differences

The manner in which Skeem Saam Season One Episode One and uZalo Season One Episode One was filmed is based on the classification of "Landscape as Place". This filming style foregrounds the landscape and exterior, which is that of the township. As such, based on my arguments so far in this paper, I have argued that the filming style of Skeem Saam Season One Episode One and uZalo Season One Episode One is not homogenised: they do not follow the intertextual style of filming in such a way that they follow the repertoires of other productions in South Africa such as filming only interior sequences in studios. They also did not film in Soweto necessarily and subjectively positioned the township by filming predominantly exterior sequences. These representational tactics of the two productions

implies that the township is not necessarily a place and space of violence, crime and poverty. The manner in which the two productions represented the township is to imply that the township is a space beyond the interior and that there is a very functional social structure in the area.

In addition to social cohesion, Skeem Saam Season One Episode One and uZalo Season One Episode One allow viewers to note cultural and aesthetic differences in South African townships. The project of apartheid was segregation. Townships were examples of apartheid's spatial engineering according to Pieterse cited inside Wainwright (2014). For example, in the city of Cape Town, Table Mountain was employed as a natural barrier to separate the townships from the suburbs and the city centre. Races were segregated even further, such as within the Black African township. Ethnic groups were divided (Ladd, 2008) into different classifications, such as in Soweto where there were sections for the Zulu tribe, Xhosa, Sotho and Tsonga groups amongst others. These segregated townships would most likely have an effect on the landscape and the aesthetics of the place because each of South Africa's ethnic groups have a specific mode of expressing their identities. For example, in the images below I reference the Ndebele culture which is well-known for their ability to paint their houses in bright colours.

Image one: an example of the exterior of a home painted in the distinct Ndebele cultural aesthetic. Source: Google Images.

Image two: Ndebele women outside a hut painted in the Ndebele cultural aesthetic. Source: Google Images.

The Ndebele tribe is scattered across southern Africa, most notably in present-day Zimbabwe and South Africa. According to Lalioti et. al. (2001), the Ndebele tribe is divided into four subtribes of which two, the Manala and the Ndzundza, live presently mainly in Pretoria/Tshwane in the Gauteng Province and the Mpumalanga Province of South Africa. This suggests that unlike the other subtribes, especially those in Zimbabwe, the Ndzundza is the only subtribe which practices the decorative art of painting and it is the subtribe which Doctor Esther Mahlangu[39] belongs to.

Image three: Doctor Esther Mahlangu. Source: Google Images.

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[39] Doctor Esther Mahlangu was born in Mpumalanga and has received worldwide recognition for her Ndebele cultural crafts. In 2018 she was honoured with a Doctorates degree from the University of Johannesburg for her contributions towards South African arts and culture.
 https://citypress.news24.com/News/its-dr-esther-mahlangu-uj-honours-renowned-sa-artist-with-honorary-doctorate-20120409

The history of the Ndebele tribe paints one of how they came to be known for their decorative art. A number of scholars have noted that the Ndebele's were not necessarily a stand-alone tribe of southern Africa but were part of a bigger Nguni social structure. As Lalioti et. al. (2001) indicate, that the Ndebele sub-tribes, although not kindred in origin, language or culture, are undoubtedly descendants of a proto-Nguni tribe as are the Xhosa and Zulu and were resident in what is today called KwaZulu-Natal for many years. Lalioti et.al (2001) further states that the Ndebele tribe originated as a tribal following in 1823 when Mzilikazi, a general under the Zulu King Shaka, fled with his Kumalo clan and renamed them the Ndebele, "those who carry long shields", into what is now the Gauteng and Mpumalanga area. Patowary (2014) mentions that one group of Ndebele decided to flee further north into Zimbabwe as a result of rivalry between families and of the groups which stayed in South Africa, the Manala and the Ndzundza, it is the latter who developed abstract house painting schemes and who are recognised globally as the Ndebele of South Africa. Not much is asserted about the third subtribe of the Ndebele tribe.

Scholars have different findings as to why the Ndebele's paint or how the phenomenon started. They do however agree that the early Ndebele's were formidable warriors and abandoned warfare to become herders and farmers. For example, Lalioti et.al (2001) express that the paintings of the Ndebele tribe started as a form of cultural expressions. De Jager and Loots (2003) say that the Ndebele house decorations transcends the status of craft: it is a spiritually charged expression of identity, belonging and a celebration of important social occasions. These are some of the most notable findings for the reason as to why the Ndebele tribe paints in what Patowary (2014) says:

> according to a few sources, the Ndebele's suffered a horrible defeat in a war against the Dutch-speaking settlers-the Boers just before the start of the 20th century. Forced into an oppressive life, the Ndebele people started using expressive symbols to secretly communicate with one another (Patowary, 2014: 1).

Patowary (2014) states that as a result, the paintings became an expression of both cultural resistance and continuity. Patowary (2014) ultimately states that the Boer farmers did not understand the meaning and viewed this cultural art as decorative and harmless and thus allowed it to continue.

The three different scholarly research on the Ndebele paintings (Lalioti et. al. (2001), de Jager and Loots (2003) and Patowary (2014) do however agree that it is usually the women

who paint. They do not only paint the exteriors but also the interior side of the houses. The scholars utter that a well painted house indicates a good and obedient woman who is capable of sustaining a household. She is also a good wife. The different scholars also agree that the painting usually takes place during the dry months of the southern African winter months because during the season of summer it rains a lot in the country and the summer rains could possibly wash away the colours.

The Ndebele house paintings are an example of a specific geographical context in South African exteriors. The Ndebele houses and their exteriors are an example of what a specific context of the country's context looks like because they have a very distinct style of cultural expression. Even though they also live in cylindrical styled houses like the rondavels of KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape Provinces, the walls of the Ndebele are not painted in the same aesthetic as the other tribes of South Africa.

The segregation policies of apartheid have decontextualized the cultural and ethnic aspects of townships because all of them look similar. RDP houses are an example of post-apartheid constructions; they look very similar and often identical to one another. In uZalo Season One Episode One we as the viewers are introduced to the landscapes and exteriors of the townships of KwaZulu-Natal. I refer to one of the sequences which I have analysed in Chapter Four. Refer to the Frame Shots below.

Frame shot 20: Sindisiwe walking towards her ailing mother, the Sister in uZalo Season One Episode One. Courtesy of VIU.

Frame shot 21: Sindisiwe sits with the mother in uZalo Season One Episode One. Courtesy of VIU.

This sequence is the one of Sindisiwe and her mother, the Sister who reside in Inanda township. I think it is significant how a sick person is outside and not indoors in the bed. However, the most significant point in this sequence is the aesthetic of the residence which is very specific to the province of KwaZulu-Natal and the Zulu culture. This sequence displays the township of Inanda with the Inanda dam in the distance. It also shows the household of the women. Rondavels or round huts are a common aspect in the Zulu culture and the province of KwaZulu-Natal. uZalo Season One Episode One displays the aesthetic difference of Inanda as a township by showing viewers how the influence of the Zulu culture has an impact on the landscape of Inanda township and that we should not necessarily interpret the township as belonging "anywhere" (placeless), but that it is specific in terms of its culture and its geographical context.

South Africa is officially one of the most unequal societies in the world according to an article written by Dennis Webster in the Mail and Guardian newspaper. In the article, Webster illustrates that inequality within South Africa is worse:

> inequality between nations is worse than inequality within nations. This means that the economic distance between an impoverished Burundian and a wealthy Belgian, for example, is far greater than the economic distance between impoverished and

wealthy people within Burundi itself. There is only one place where the severity of this global inequality is mirrored at a national level: South Africa. (Webster, 2019: 1)

Webster (2019) further articulates that the "wealthiest 1 percent owns 67 percent of the country's wealth. The top 10 percent owns 93 percent. The remaining 90 percent own a paltry 7 percent of the country's wealth" (Webster, 2019: 1)

Townships are those places in South Africa where it is also drastically evident. For example, there is a growing number of upper class and an increasing middle to lower class. These statistics also have an impact on the landscape and exterior of townships where one would find very big houses and then some people living in moderate houses as well as in shacks. Some of these sections of townships are known as shanty towns or the slums where people live almost on top of one another. Skeem Saam Season One Episode One makes use of such a divide where it first shows the households of the Maputla's and the Seakamela's.

Frame shot 22: The establishing shot revealing the households of the Maputla's (right) and the Seakamela's (left) in Skeem Saam *Season One Episode One*. Courtesy of VIU.

This sequence which I analysed in Chapter four where the viewers are introduced to the two families and we learn that they are neighbours in the township of Turfloop. This establishing shot is filmed in such a way that the camera is still and reveals the clear blue sky. One immediately notes the difference in terms of the structure of their houses with the Maputla house being much bigger than the Seakamela house. This is just one of the many examples of how the economic inequality has an impact on the aesthetics of township landscapes and exteriors in South Africa.

<u>"Stop your nonsense!"</u>

In my research I have shown how the filming attributes of Skeem Saam Season One and uZalo Season One Episode One has so far found that the two episodes focused on the social cohesion and social structure of the township exterior in post-apartheid South Africa. The two episodes did not so much focus on the phenomenon of what is called "Stop Nonsense" in the South African context.

'Stop nonsense' in the South African context refers to a specific type of wall which neighbours erect to divide the space of their yards from one another. These walls are made out of concrete and they come in different shapes, sizes and patterns. The phrase 'stop nonsense' is a South African slang, jargon or colloquial term[40]. Stop nonsense is defined as a high, often prefabricated, perimeter wall or (palisade) fence securing a yard and house, or the materials used to build such a wall or small (one roomed) house[41]. In this research, I do not refer to a wired fence or brick wall as 'stop nonsense'. Another meaning of the term is when a man or more specifically a woman wears a ring to signify marriage, 'stop nonsense' as a phrase may be used in this context, although it is rare. The ring is said to be the item which fends off possible people trying to approach the wearer of the ring.

The uses of 'stop nonsense' are realities in post-apartheid South Africa. Due to the issues of crime and violence in some townships, the residents erect them on their properties to keep criminals out and to protect the assets in their homes. Stop nonsense walls are also erected between the neighbours to, as the literal phrase says "to stop the nonsense" that may come from having a neighbour. Within the context of townships, the phrase 'stop nonsense' has come to be a common phrase. It is a name which people talk to and refer to these concrete walls.

There are also houses and backrooms built from these concrete walls. The main reason why this is so is because they tend to be cheaper than building with bricks and cement. Most people who build with them do so by building one-bedroom 'stop nonsense' rooms on their properties and renting them out in an effort to generate an income.

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[40] Stop nonsense in a sentence could be anything like this: *"He ran and jumped over the stop nonsense to get away from the barking dog".*

[41] https://gqom.wordpress.com/2019/09/13/talking-back-1-a-short-lexicon-of-contemporary-english-language-black-south-african-english/amp/

In Skeem Saam Season One Episode One, the two families who are neighbours are the Maputla's and the Seakamela's. They do not have a 'stop nonsense' wall erected between them. However, they do have a wired fence erected to divide their yards. Unlike a prefabricated stop nonsense wall, a wired fence allows the neighbours to see one another clearly. This tells us as the viewers that the nature of the relationship between them is welcoming and receptive; Thabo and Zamokuhle are the same age, they attend the same school with one another, and Thabo shares his birthday cake with Zamokuhle and his younger sister Pretty over the wired fence. However, the wired fence between the two also displays the issue of nosiness because Zamokuhle peeps from his bedroom window and is curious as to what the Maputla's are doing on Thabo's birthday. This nosiness is in some cases the reason why the residents of townships erect a stop nonsense because nosiness can be seen as starting nonsense which will become neighbourhood rivalry. The kind of barrier does not always necessarily indicate the status of the relationship between neighbours. In some cases, it can indicate financial rank because a wired fence is cheaper than a stop nonsense wall to install. Compared to a brick wall, a stop nonsense wall is then cheaper because the concrete is already built when purchased, whereas a brick wall will still require the labour of layering the bricks one by one. It sometimes also depends what kind of bricks are being utilised.

Images four and five: the top image displays a house under construction and made out of stop nonsense. Although usually a one room house, this one appears to be a two room. Image six at the bottom displays a stop nonsense barrier between properties. Courtesy: Google images.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this research paper has delved into the debates surrounding the televisual aesthetics of two post-apartheid South African television productions. Previous scholarship has argued that television as a medium is an inferior academic inquiry and that it is unable to hold cinematographic attention in comparison to the film medium with its big panoramic screen at the cinema complex. Little research has been conducted on the televisual aesthetics of television (Gibson, 2018) and more specifically, the representation of landscapes in post-apartheid South African television. This research focused on selected episodes of Skeem Saam and uZalo, the two post-apartheid television productions which are broadcast on SABC 1. Both of the narratives are fictionally located in township landscapes outside of Johannesburg and Cape Town. Skeem Saam's storyline is based in Turfloop outside Polokwane and in some instances Hammanskraal outside Pretoria/Tshwane as well as Tembisa north of Johannesburg. uZalo is based in Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu outside Durban. As such, the aim of this research was to analyse Skeem Saam Season One Episode One and uZalo Season One Episode One according to Lukinbeal's (2005) analysis of Andrew Higson's (1984, 1987) taxonomy of how landscapes function on screen.

I took on a qualitative approach with this research. As an outside researcher, I did not do interviews. However, I collected data by focusing specifically on the first episodes of the first season of each production. The qualitative research approach according to Cassel and Symon (1994: 7) emphasises the process of interpreting rather than quantification. As this research was focused on two phenomena, I narrowed my research down to Skeem Saam Season One Episode One and uZalo Season One Episode One. The particular focus was the cinematography, the representation of the geographical township landscape and exterior shots as opposed to focusing only on other production attributes such as character, emotion, gender, make-up and wardrobe. This research design is a case study design. As I focused only on the first episodes of season one, it allowed for the exploration of the representation of the geographical landscape of the township and its exteriors.

The two episodes and their representational attributes can be seen as polysemic. For example, the creators of the productions have had certain ideas about how they filmed and why they filmed that way. As an outside observed, the literature I engaged with in this paper informed my particular findings of the data which I have collected. Skeem Saam debuted in 2011 and uZalo in 2015. Both productions have developed into major productions which tell unique

South African stories in the post-apartheid era. Skeem Saam alone for example, has since developed into a full-on soap opera as opposed to being a teen drama series only since it first launched in Season One. Generations was South Africa's most watched soap opera for 20 years and it dominated the 20h00 time slot on primetime television. An incident happened in 2014 which changed the course of the 20h00 time slots which is known as the most contested property in South African television because millions of viewers tuned into Generations. From the 30th of September to the 30th of November 2014, Generations was put on a hiatus following the dispute with 16 performers who were fired from the production on 18 August 2014 after a week-long strike. Thinus Ferreira in his article for Channel24 stated that "Generations was the biggest money earner for the public broadcaster, the SABC". The SABC and the production company terminated contracts following what they claim to be an illegal strike by the performers. The performers demanded amongst other issues: royalties for repeated episodes and better working conditions. It was during this period in which the SABC then decided to fill the 20h00 prime time slot with Skeem Saam. As a result, the demand for Skeem Saam increased and they were required to shoot more episodes at a quicker pace. The production was re-introduced as a full-on soap opera and no longer a drama series. Generations then returned and was rebranded as Generations the Legacy on 1 December 2014. Skeem Saam went to the 18h30 time slot and took most of the loyal viewers of Generations with them, thus increasing the relevance and popularity of the productions because the viewers became loyal to the production while Generations was off air.

Skeem Saam no longer films in its geographical location of Turfloop outside Polokwane. As of early 2020, the production is approaching its ninth season and films predominantly interior scenes at Sasani Studios in Highlands North, Johannesburg. As the viewers, we do not see characters occupy the exterior anymore not does the camera follow them as they enter or exit a building, which was the case in the majority of the scenes in Season One when it was still a teen drama series. In this instance, Skeem Saam can be argued to now follow the attributes of Landscape as Space which is the classification category which dominates television studio productions. There are periods when the production films on location and most of these scenes are filmed either in Hammanskraal or Tembisa.

This research did not focus on any other episodes of Skeem Saam and uZalo. The research focus was specifically targeting Season One Episode One of both productions. By analysing the cinematographic and representational attributes of the two television productions, the findings of my research which was also informed by the literature review, found that the two

productions focused on the social cohesion of township lifestyles. As opposed to being generalised places of violence and unrest, Skeem Saam and uZalo emphasised the relationships neighbours have with one another and the exterior shots also emphasised the social structure and despite there being violence, poverty and crime, township residents actually do have a functioning social structure. My findings have also looked at the broader representation of townships in post-apartheid South African film and television. Most of the townships which are represented are townships such as Soweto outside Johannesburg and those in the city of Cape Town such as Khayelitsha. This reductionist approach then means that most South Africans usually measure one another's identities based on what they see being represented on film and television screens. I made an example of how the Cape Flats in Cape Town is believed to be the mecca of Coloured identity in South Africa, which is a myth. Although they were historically created to house Coloured people, my research has engaged with the idea that Coloured people and the Coloured identity stretches further than the Cape Flats in post-apartheid South Africa. My research findings have indicated how Skeem Saam and uZalo are not based in Soweto and other Cape Town townships. they are based beyond these aforementioned cities and have assisted in the process of re-imagining townships and places and spaces in the broader South African societal context beyond cities like Johannesburg and Cape Town. It will assist society to refer to and talk about the discourse of post-apartheid South African townships as opposed to always referring to Soweto and the violence, crime and unrest in the Cape Flats.

Due to the nature of Skeem Saam Season One Episode One and uZalo Season One Episode One shooting exterior shots, the two productions displayed and highlighted the cultural differences in South African landscapes. I then made an example of the Ndzundza subtribe within the Ndebele tribe. The Ndzundza are examples of the South African Ndebele's who are famous for their ability to paint the exteriors of their houses in the distinct Ndebele aesthetic. Throughout this research, I returned to the debates and contributed to the debates presented by scholars such as Gibson (2018), Higson (1984, 1987), Lukinbeal (2005) who said that television is indeed an apparatus which is worthy of academic inquiry and that it can hold the same cinematographic attention that films do. This study has looked at the representation and contextualisation of two post-apartheid South African television productions and how they have contextualised the South African landscape on screen through their dynamic televisual aesthetics.

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