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The Zulu Mask: The Role of Creative Imagination in Documentary Film

An investigation into how subjective Creative Imagination was applied to strategically enhance the "*Mimicry of the Real*" in the documentary film, *The Zulu Mask.*

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Abstract

Scholarly discourses on documentary film have focused on the debate between documentary's claims of 'objectivity' and 'truthfulness' versus the reality of its subjective ontology. At the turn of the 21st century, there seems to be appreciation of the constructiveness of documentary film. This development is taking place at the backdrop of emergence of more subjective documentary films produced by a new crop of filmmakers who do not shy away from exposing their subjective production thoughts and processes, contrary to earlier documentary filmmakers. This renewed interest is interesting and points to something that calls for an investigation in order to understand fundamental reasons behind it. In this report, I investigate the relationship between this development and the concept of 'Creative Imagination' normally associated with fiction film. Particularly, the paper investigates why 'Creative Imagination' may be understood to deploy aspects of realism style which manipulates time, space, character, and characterisation, in the production and analysis of documentary films. Through a production of a documentary film *The Zulu Mask*, this report hypothesises that documentary just like fiction film utilises the logic of creative imagination of the mind and aspects of realism style' to mimic the real. Documentary and fiction, I argue are thus the products of the same thought process and desire.

Key Words

Documentary, Fiction, Film, Creative Imagination, Realism, Reality Representation, Language, Time, Space, Character and Characterisation.

Declaration

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

----------Day of ----------2012

Clifford R. O. Derrick

Dedication

To my loving daughter Locampo, you may have wondered why daddy was not with you most of the time and even in the house, he would give you little attention. Well, I was busy ‘planting a tree’ and I hope you will take it from here and nurture it well my lovely daughter. I dedicate this report to you.

Acknowledgments

I thank God for this work; nothing would have been achieved without His help. My second thanks is to my supervisor Mr.Mncedisi Mashigoane; your deep understanding, dedication and professional guidance has seen this project through to its completion. My mother Judy Akinyi *Nyar-Kakelo*, thank you for everything. This report could not have been successful without the support love and caring of my dear wife Yvonne. I would also like to sincerely thank King Chamba, Nkosinathi Mabetha, Sonto, Eddy, Andile, Anele and all the people who participated in this film for accepting to be part of my documentary. Very special thanks to Laetitia van den Asum and Busisiwe Sithole for supporting this study. Lastly, I would like to thank all who shaped this study in one way or another; I am indebted to you all. Thank you.

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Preface

I have always wanted to understand the fundamental differences between documentary - also known as non-fiction - and fictional films particularly on their conception of 'reality'. From its inception, documentary has developed and acquired some kind of 'objective' status in terms of its representation of the real world as compared to the subjectivity associated with fictional film. Yet, a closer scrutiny reveals that both documentary and fictional film share many aspects of their means of representation of the perceived real world. In this paper, I investigate how the concepts of creativity and imagination also know in other fields as 'creative imagination' may be said to work with aspects of realism such as time, space character/subject and characterisation to produce 'a documentary film reality.

It is worth noting that unlike in fictional film literature where the terms imagination and creativity are used both explicitly and implicitly because of their open constructive nature, in documentary literature however, the terms imagination and creativity are often used with scant regard as to how they exactly assist us to understand the construction of documentary. My main argument in this paper therefore is not to out rightly dismiss the term 'objectivity' but to problematize its usage within documentary mode. I argue that indeed as many scholars have confirmed, there is an 'objective' factual' and 'real' world out there. However, to make sense of this world, we use our conscious mind through a number of ways. Our representation of this world either to ourselves or to other people can either be 'objective' or 'subjective' depending on what we are representing, how we are representing it and why we are representing the given world.

In this paper I argue that within representation whether documentary or fiction film, this 'objective' world is represented 'subjectively' through the organising logic and system of our 'conscious' creativity and imagination of our mind which manipulates primarily, space, time, character/subject and characterisation.

John Searle's (1995) work on *The Construction of Social Reality*, provides valuable arguments in terms of the understanding of how we make sense of the world. He has particularly looked at how social facts exist and how these realities fit within the overall nature of the world, in other words, how the existence of social world relates to other things that exists (Searle, 1995: 4-5). I therefore find Searle's work helpful in solving some of my curiosities about the ontology of documentary film given that he offers some metaphysical understanding on different ways in which we make sense of various things in the world which can be applied to how to understand the constitutive elements of documentary film.

My curiosity to understand the nature of documentary film especially on the role of creativity and especially imagination in the construction of films did not begin with this project given that as a little boy I was always constantly trying to make sense of the nature of the real world. Part of my varied fascinations relevant to this study has been to the nature of television technology particularly the television anchor. I always wondered how these presenters were able to memorise everything they presented without looking at a paper only to later discover that everything was pre-planned and organised and that in fact the readers relied on a teleprompter. Yet, the technology gives an illusion that the reader is articulating the words from his/her own memory-which is not necessarily the case. Linked to the above fascination however has been to

understand the distinction between the 'real' and the represented and whether we should take as gospel truth what we see on television through news reports, documentaries and fictional films. Philosophically, I have questioned whether there is indeed anything called 'reality' and if there is, whether it could be represented without any alteration or whether reality is a result of thought, creation or perception in that, we think and create certain words, concepts which later become 'reality'. Epistemological inquiries into the ontology of existence have established that indeed, there is reality (Searle, 1995; Hair, 2009; Bruzzi, 2002; Bluestone, 1961; Herzog; 2000). Bruzzi (2002) reminds us that though many scholars and writers have opposed claims made by documentary to represent the real, reality does in fact exist no matter the difficulties in attempting to capture it.

Though one may consider it normative and banal, I find the online Oxford English dictionary (2012) definition of reality quite useful as a starting point before we progress to a more nuanced understanding of the concept. The dictionary defines reality first as: being the state of things as they actually exist, as opposed to an idealistic or notional idea of them; Secondly, reality as a thing that is actually experienced or seen; Thirdly, reality as the quality of being lifelike; and finally, reality as the state or quality of having existence or substance (OED, 2012). As I have mentioned, these normative conception of reality as offered by the dictionary do not necessarily reflect a lack of literature on reality the same but have been strategically used as a starting point mainly because it takes this work closer to the documentary films conceptions of reality.

However, it is worth noting that documentary film and fictional film have different conceptions of reality which they represent. In this regard, the differences between the documentary and

fictional films' conceptions of reality may be found in the first definition of reality above. The first part of this definition which states that reality is 'the state of things as they actually exist' tends to resonate with the traditional conception of documentary reality whereas the second part of the definition, which relates to Culbertson's, (2009) "idealistic or notional ideas" tend to resonate with the fictional film's conception of reality. In this paper though, I argue that even though fiction and non-fiction films conceive reality differently, any represented reality is a construct given that even if the represented subject is based on an 'objective' world, the fact that it is within representation becomes subjective because it involves attitude, opinion, and 'intentional choices made by the presenter. In this regard, the content of both documentary and fiction films can be regarded as subjective realities because they are both constructs.

A number of scholars have also looked at the different notions of reality in fiction and non-fiction (documentary) films. For instance, Bill Nichols (2001: 1) distinguishes between two kinds of films according to how they encode reality. The first is the fictional film which he calls "the Documentary of Wish-Fulfilment" and the second is the non-fictional which he calls the "Documentary of Social Representation (Nichols, 2001: 1). For Nichols, the documentary of social representation attempts to encode accurate representation of the world we share and is commonly known as the documentary film.

The documentary of wish-fulfilment on the other hand, he argues, satisfies our wishes and dreams and is known as the fiction film (Nichols, 2001: 1). In this regard, fictional reality is not necessarily conceptualised as factual representation of the world but rather, as a metaphorical representation of the real world. Nichols' views on the difference between documentary and fictional realities is however problematic mainly because both documentary and fictional films

are constructed based on our lived experiences and follow our desires to express our feelings, experiences and ideas. Indeed, Dirk Eitzen (1995) also disagrees with the view that fictional reality is different from that of documentary. He argues that every representation is fictionalised in the sense that it is an artificial construct, "a highly contrived and selective view of the world, produced for some purpose and therefore unavoidably reflecting a given subjectivity or point of view (Eitzen, 1995: 82). Eitzens' view further complicates the understanding of the differences between documentary and fictional realities when he says that "even our "brute" perceptions of the world are inescapably tainted by our beliefs, assumptions, goals, and desires (Eitzen, 1995: 82). Interestingly, Nichols (2001) concurs with Eitzen at this juncture. He points out that no work of art can totally be divorced from the social world where it is produced because it consists of some indelible imprints of language, theme, customs, and costumes and is based on lived experiences and realities.

Therefore, every representation whether fiction or non-fiction contains some degree of embodiment of social relevance either in terms of lessons deduced out of it or feelings of experiences it gives to the viewer. A good example can be children's cartoons which deploy creative aspects of art and production to certify imaginations particularly of children. Cartoons, one may argue, are partly intelligible to the children because of the deployment of the above mentioned social aspects; language, theme, costumes and indeed music and sound effects. All these are effects that are readily available in children's social lives and thus when used during the production of the cartoons, resonates with the children's frame of reference. Although fictional, the cartoons represent tangible aspects of our social lives such as humour, happiness, experimentations and confusions.

Perhaps, the perceived different realities between documentary and fictional films may be seen from how they encode their realities and how the audiences decode these different realities. Eitzen, (1995) and La Marre & Landreville, (2009) have looked at the structural differences between documentaries and fictional films in terms of visual and auditory features , which may help shed light into how the two forms encode reality.

Common features of fiction film, they say, include close up shots, rapid pace of editing, a frequent moving camera, studio-created sounds, and dramatic music whereas common features of documentaries are the opposite- long shots, slow pace editing, immobile or seldom travelling cameras, location sounds, and background noises (Pouliot & Cowen, 2007 in La Marre & Landreville, 2009). From the above statement, we can see that audiences perceive documentaries to be more real because both their visual and auditory references resonate with the normal rhythm of the world. To the contrary, fictional visual and auditory references are somehow exaggerated thus considered unreal because of the dramatic re-enactments. Shapiro and Shock (2003) have argued that re-enactments in documentaries are perceived as more factual than re-enactments in fiction films (even when covering the same content) because fictional films include more unusual and dramatic scenes, which are perceived as less real (in La Marre & Landreville, 2009). However different the conceptions of the real maybe, both documentary and fiction films rely on realism to capture the aesthetics of the different worlds they thrive to present.

'Realism' is a term often used in different fields and disciplines to denote different meanings. According to Ian Watts, (1957) 'realism' is a literary style which makes claim about what is worth representing and what the notion of representation consists of. In his book, the *Rise of the*

Novel (1957), Watts identified what he called the hallmarks of realism, particularities of time, space and characterisation. Watts argued that realistic novels offer specific, plausible details which seem to correspond to real life experiences: "that narratives are set by implication, in a particular year, a particular city, the characters speak with the idiosyncrasies that characterises individual personal expression" (Watts, quoted in Barber, 2009:14).

Within this style, narratives, are often set in recognisable everyday life, revolve around recognisable everyday people and the story unfolds according to everyday logics of course and effects (Watts, quoted in Barber, 2009:14). Even though we may know a particular film to be screened, the realism experience in cinema gives us an impression that cinematic depictions of events are somehow real (Riss, 2002:93). To achieve this experiential realism, the realism style uses concepts of time, space, character and characterisations- explained below – to mimic the real. Filmmakers, I argue, use their creativity and imagination herein called Creative Imagination to achieve this.

There are various definitions or understandings of the term imagination as used in various fields. Although I am not completely confident with the term's connotations of 'what is not instead of what is' (Riss, 2002:101), I have a conviction that imagination looked at in its original form, may help us understand how and why both fictional and non-fictional filmmakers use it within realism to produce films. This original conception of imagination is best captured by the definition found in Macmillan online dictionary and another disclaimer here- this does not necessarily mean a lack of literature on the subject in this report. More nuanced discussions on imagination are provided further in the report but the Macmillan definition of imagination takes us closer to the realms of arts where we need to be. Thus, Macmillan online dictionary (2012)

identifies imagination as “the ability to form a picture in one’s mind.” This formation of a picture in one’s mind should not be looked at negatively as the creation of non-existing objects or ideas, but should be looked at as a creative aspect of human beings to invent and thus construct reality.

Another concept used together with imagination is creativity which is a word often used within the art industry to denote the ability to create new ideas using one’s imagination (Macmillan online dictionary, 2012). Perhaps, it is important to bring Neihart, et al, (1998) conception of creativity which describes it as the production of something both new and valuable. Therefore while imagination refers to the qualities of conceptualising with the mind creativity refers to the ability to bring to light or birth such conceptualisation.

This paper undertakes to understand the role of imagination and creativity in relation to their organising logic of mimicking the aesthetics of the real in fictional film and argues that the same organising logic applies to the documentary film. For my purposes therefore, I combine the two concepts of creativity and imagination and refer to them as ‘Creative Imagination’ which denotes a spectrum through which a process of mimicking reality is undertaken and implemented through the organising logic of the mind. This organising logic of the mind I argue, utilises realism through the manipulation of time, space, character, characterisations- concepts explained in chapter one below- to capture the aesthetics of the ‘real’.

Chapter One

1.1 Introduction

This study is divided into two main components namely: the research report and the practical component. The report is a reflection on the production process of a 22 minute documentary film called *The Zulu Mask*. Chapter one of the report is the introduction which unpacks aspects of realism namely: 'time' 'space' 'character' and 'characterisation as deployed within the Creative Imagination spectrum in both fiction and non-fiction films. The second chapter offers a deeper theoretical framework and literature review where we gain an understanding of the documentary legacy in relation to fiction. The chapter further provides a brief introduction to the two documentary subjects King Chamba and Nkosinathi Mabetha, a justification for the use of *The Zulu Mask* as the title of the documentary and finally, an explanation of why knowledge of Irvin Goffman's concept of the mask is important in understanding the nature of the survival strategies adopted by the documentary subjects in Johannesburg.

The third chapter explores how language hinders or enhances the survival strategies of migrants particularly the Zimbabwean Shona and isiNdebele speakers in Johannesburg. This is followed by a historical background of the documentary subject's tribal history. Chapter four tackles the production process where I provide details of the different stages of the production of the film from conceptualisation to the final cut. It is in this chapter where we attempt to demonstrate certain aspects of how realism components of 'time' and 'space' are creatively and imaginatively deployed to gives us a feeling of experiential realism in the documentary *The Zulu Mask*. This is done in the analysis section which is followed by conclusion. The documentary's main aim is to

create an illusion of the 'real' in presenting the role of language in the survival strategies of Shona and Ndebele lower-class economic migrants in Johannesburg.

1.2 Documentary versus Fiction Film

A vast body of scholarly discourse has been written on documentary film and its relation to fictional film (Edmond, 1974; Rosenthal, 1998; Nichols, 1994, 2000, 2001, 2002; Bruzzi, 2002). Varied opinions, theories and suggestions as to what documentary is and is not in relation to fictional film and newsreel abound (Nichols, 1981, 1988, 1991; Ellis, 1991; Godmilow and Shapiro, 1997). This reflexive paper endeavours to take a detour into a route less travelled by looking at some of the most underexplored but yet crucial components of documentary in relation to fictional film.

Even though documentary and fictional films are widely considered not to be the same, I argue that both are products of the same processes of subjective Creative Imagination of the mind and that both may be considered to deploy aspects of realism style such as time, space, character/subject and characterisation to capture the aesthetics of their different 'realities'. In this paper, I attempt to show evidence based on literature that indeed, fiction film utilises the above mentioned realism style aspects to capture the aesthetics of the real. Since both fiction and none fiction films are works of art, I prose that documentary, just like fiction, utilises the same techniques to realise its own version of experiential realism.

Whereas documentary utilises realism through Creative Imagination to capture the aesthetics of 'life as it is' (Hair, 2006), fictional film, I argue, utilises realism through Creative Imagination to capture a mimesis' reality of the world. This artistic framing of different 'realities' may be

looked at as a system in which in its representation, manipulates aspects of space, time, characters and characterisation (Barber, 2009), to create an illusion of the 'real' in both documentary and fictional films. It therefore requires what Hair, has termed ordering and protocol (Hair, 2006). There are various understandings of the concepts of space, time, character and characterisations as used in different contexts. However, for the purposes of this paper, the above concepts will be used in relation to how they are applied to fiction filmmaking. I will then demonstrate how they in turn may be applied in the production and analysis of documentary films.

In the following section, I provide some scholarly knowledge about 'tools' of realism such as time, space character and characterisation which are creatively and imaginatively used by our conscious mind to construct fictional and non-fiction realities but first, I briefly return to the concept of reality. In the preface of this paper, I began first by providing a banal dictionary definition followed by other relevant conceptions of the same. In this section however, I re-visit the conception of reality by adopting Searle's (1995) philosophical conception because I find it quite useful in this study. In his defence for ontology of the real, fact and reality, Searle puts an argument that it is a fact that there is a world out there which exists on its own and whose most fundamental feature can be described by physics, chemistry, and the natural sciences. The puzzlement however Searle (1995) observes emanates from the existence of phenomena that are not in any obvious way physical or chemical. Searle points at the importance of language in bridging the gap between the natural reality and the reality that exists in our conscious and intentional minds (Searle, 1995). It seems to me that Searle is attempting to suggest that there are two fundamental types of existences in realities; the natural reality and the constructed reality

which exists mainly because of human opinion and legitimation. Searle makes the following important point about the different nature of existence:

> In a sense, there are things that exist only because we believe them to exist. I'm thinking of things like money, property, government, and marriages. Yet, many facts regarding these things are "objective" facts in the sense that they are not a matter of your or my preferences, evaluations, or moral attitudes. I'm thinking of such facts as that I am a citizen of the United States that the pieces of paper in my pocket is a five dollar bill, that my younger sister got married on December 14th, that I own a piece of property in Berkeley, and that the New York Giants won the 1991 super bowl. These contrast with facts that Mount Ernest has snow and ice near the summit or that hydrogen atoms have one electron, which are facts independent of any human opinion… (Searle, 1995: 1).

Searle has divided facts into two main categories namely: "Institutional" and "non-institutional facts" (Searle: 1995:1). Institutional facts he argues are dependent on human agreements while what he calls 'brute' facts are none-institutional and exist independently of human agreement or perceptions (Searle: 1995:1). However, as Eitzen (1995:82) has observed, the brute facts do not necessarily escape our beliefs, assumptions, goals, and desires *perhaps because they are named by human beings* (emphasis mine). Social reality therefore, according to Searle, is constructed as human beings interact to form institutional existences such as money, laws, restaurants and other invisible structures of metaphysical social realities. According to Searle, the structure realities derived from both the atomic theory of matter and the evolutionary theory of biology whose end results produce a human being capable of a conscious mind are factual and unchangeable.

Searle (1995: 7) provides a crucial phrase in his analogy of the backbone of ontology: "We live in a world made up entirely of physical particles in the field of force. Some of these are organised into systems. Some of these systems are living systems and some of these living systems have evolved consciousness. With consciousness comes intentionality, the capacity of the organism to represent objects and states of affairs in the world to itself." From this statement, one can deduce that human being exists as one of the evolved natures but with the advantage of a conscious mind which can make sense of his/her environment. In order to make sense of this environment, we have to acknowledge the existence of space and time and that this spatio temporal exhibits certain qualities which we are familiar with.

Therefore some of these mentioned modes of existences are what Searle calls brute facts in that their existence are devoid of opinion and attitudes. However, there is also another layer of existence which Searle (1995) calls. Institutional – meaning that it exists because conscious human beings have created and agreed to its existence. These are things such as rules and conventions, beauty, ugliness, madness, wealth, poverty sickness happiness money, buildings, television, camera, and many others. Now, the representation of these different 'objective' and subjective' realities depend on our ability to use our conscious mind imaginatively and creatively in order to produce 'something similar to these different realities. The end results however remain a representation which falls under the second category of reality-institutional reality - because it becomes part of what we have generally agreed to as a representation. This makes any representation therefore subjective. Again, the constructive nature of the method of representation which involves our conscious mind renders the represented reality subjective because the producer makes intentional decisions and choices on part of the 'objective' or subjective' realities to be represented.

As already indicated, both 'objective' and 'subjective' realities exist within a brute spatial temporal and –institutional realities. In order to represent aspects of this world filmically, I argue the producer uses the logic of Creative Imagination of the conscious mind through the manipulation of aspects of spatial temporal and institutional realities. In particular, the producer manipulates space, time character/subject and characterisation through a number of strategies to mimic the real. In the following section therefore, I attempt to provide an overview of the cinematic conventions on how time and space are represented cinematically through a metaphor of a shot which in cinema is an uninterrupted segment of exposed film (Ameson *et al* 2005:1), but first a review on the concepts of time and space. This statement appears outdated however, since most films today are not shot on film but with digital cameras.

Time and space as used within realism have been subject to inquiry by a number of cinema and film theorists (Bluestone, 1961; Magliano *et al*, 2001; Balaz 1924 in Loewy, 2006). Time and space are the most basic dimensions of events (Zwaan and *et al*, 1998 in Magliano *et al*, 2001:533). As Magliano *el al*, (2001) further emphasise, every event has an obligatory spatial and temporal index, that is, it always occurs at a certain time and in a certain location. Therefore, documentary, just like cinema tries to capture the aesthetics of time and space in its representation of the world. Indeed, the concept of time and space has not only been looked at within cinema alone.

As a matter of historical fact, realism which utilises the concept of time and space to mimic the real was first utilised within literary works (Watts, 1957 in Barber, 2009:14). Thus in comparison to the concept of time as used in literature and cinema, Bluestones (1962:311) refers to Henri

Bergson's distinction between two kinds of time: chronological time measured in more or less discrete units, as in clocks and metronomes; and psychological time which depends or compresses in consciousness and appears in continuous flux. As observed by Bergeson, fiction-that is novel, utilises the second aspect of time, which is psychological time to compress events. He further argues that just like fiction, film also has the comparative ability to utilise psychological time.

Loewy (2006 :72) explains that the feeling of time is evoked in the film through the montage of images and the rhythm of movement through space. Quoting Balaz (1924), Loewy explains that in film, the passage of time is indicated by spatial symbols: "The actual duration of sequences and cuts says little about the temporal impression they leave behind. It is more a matter of the rhythm of the action in a scene, or "the space in which it plays out" (Balaz, 1924:73 in Loewy, 2006:74). Especially important in this concept, Loewy explains, is the movement of the montage, that is, the relationship between space and perception. "The more remote the setting of the secondary scene is from that of the primary one, the more time we feel has elapsed" (Loewy, 2006: :73 quoting Balaz).

Time in film is subject to manipulation because this is not only the realistic strategy through which a long event that occurred within normal time and space is compressed, but in also, which certain components may have no value to the viewer due to lack of interesting activities. Thus Loewy (2006) explains some of the strategies through which time is manipulated in film. He says that passages, parallel action, and repeated images are ways that film time can be manipulated. The techniques of montage, he argues are especially capable of breaking down linear time and

that “they can compress time or depict it in close-up, stretch it out with deadly suspense, or present its fragmentation as a whirl of images” (Loewy, 2006:73).

Mangliano *et al* (2001) has also looked at the filmic convention of manipulation of time in their study Event *Indexing in Film*. They argue that in order to convey a coherent story, filmmakers usually “adopt a set of editing conventions to create the illusion that a sequence of shots conveys temporally, spatially, and causally contiguous events and actions” Mangliano *et al* (2001:535).
As Bluestones (1962:313) observes, each shot takes its meaning both from preceding shots and the future expectation. A jump in time is shown by adopting the conventions of fading or dissolving out from one shot and into the next (Mangliano *et al*, 2001:535). The next shot of this imaginary sequence should be interpreted as a jump in narrative time. Thus by adopting the shot as a unit of analysis, one is able to identify if a given shot conveys events or actions that are contiguous or not with the immediately prior shot along the dimensions of time and space.

As can be seen from the above, just like in the novel and film, which are both works of art, documentary production and analysis adopts the psychological conception of time and indeed employs the film conventions of continuity and discontinuity to manipulate time and space. Therefore, though the subject of the representation may be objective, the method used in the representation such as manipulation of time and aspects of the space renders this represented reality subjective. This however may not necessarily invalidate the existence of the represented reality.
Spatial meanings and effects in film have also attracted a number of film theorists. To Balaz, space signifies two fundamental things: image and physical sensation, seeing and experiencing (Balaz 1924 in Loewy, 1976:69). Balaz further explains: “Sometimes space is an empty

continuum in which bodies' move, sometimes a fluidity that- though invisible – is constantly felt. Sometimes it separates objects from each other, sometimes it ties them together..." (Balaz 1924 in Loewy,1976: 69).

Loewy discusses the concept of magical space which he argues transcends both the uniform space of geometry and the sensual space of perception. Film, he argues organizes a journey into a world of "magical intertwining", into a different kind of time with no seconds and no hours, into a space that knows no specific locations but only settings full of meaning (Loewy'1976: 74). Space in film therefore comprises of aspects of the environment or prop that a filmmaker subjectively chooses to present. "Spatial regions of interaction can be rooms, scenarios, or regions that have distinctive features that can be discriminated from alternative spatial settings in a story (Zwaan et al., 1995 in Mangliano et al, 2001:535). Again, we see the subjectivity of the manipulation of the space to reflect the intention of the producer. The end result is a subjective reality be it documentary or fiction film.

Furthermore, Bluestones (1962) ideas on camera angle and point of view is crucial in understanding the construction of the space and time in films. Bluestones argue that in film construction, camera the lens takes the viewer's eye with it, thereby making the viewer omnipotent. Thus, the viewer follows the camera's point of view as constructed within the film to see all the spaces that even the characters may not see. More dramatically, he argues, the special effects are not confined to sight but sound. For example sound can tell us a great deal about the spaces such as bars, markets, traffic and rivers among others.

Space in film language communicates a great deal of other metaphysical realities that may not be spoken by the subjects or narrated by the presenter. We get to experience and feel certain subject

positions in a film in relation to their experiences of different emotions, such as happiness, sadness, freedom and confinement. This is achieved by the camera positioning in relation to the characters (Bluestones, 1962). Therefore, a low angle positioning of the camera towards a character denotes a feeling of power and happiness. Conversely, a high angle camera positioning of a character may denote the feeling of powerless and intimidation (Bluestones, 1962). A wide angle with a long shot may symbolises a big space which projects what can be thought of as a feeling of freedom. On the other hand, a tight close up or medium shot may denote congestion and therefore lack of space and freedom.

Another conception of space which resonates with this study is 'space' as a site in which events occur (Gandy, 2003). Films, just like documentaries are constructed within a particular geographical space or site. Space may also mean in this context, the idea of a period of time in which events took place or are taking place; an interval between two times such as between two or three years. In this case, the space becomes both 'objective' realities in the sense that such spaces exists within the specified durations. Again, just like a film would capture these different places and times, documentary has the capability of fluxing all these spaces and times in one condensed presentation. However, when represented, their realities become subjective and second realities because we are only shown certain aspects of such spaces which the director indends to show.

The third element which is utilised in realism through Creative Imagination is character, which in this case denotes the subject through whom the narrative of a film revolves. In fiction, the characters are normally professional actors (Godmilow and Shapiro, 1997; Nichols, 2001), which means that they are real people hired to play a role according to scripts. On the other hand, in

documentary tradition, characters are called ‘subjects’ and as Nichols (2001) mentions they ought to be real as opposed to fiction which tends to rely on actors to perform the role of a character. In terms of ‘objective’ ‘subjective’ reality binary, character in this case is based on the first order of reality in the sense that when both fictional films use human beings other than cartoons or animations, they are normally real people existing in this world.

Closely related to ‘character/subject’ element of realism strategies manipulated by Creative Imagination is ‘Characterisation’ which I argue is a ‘subjective’ reality and is treated almost in the same way in documentary as in fiction film to represent a ‘subjective’ reality. Firstly, in film convention, characterisation comes about as a result of a script, the way that people are represented in a film, a play or book (Cohen, 2001; Bandura et al, 1963). Characterisation therefore also assumes the normal behavioural traits of human beings and takes emotions of happiness, arrogance, peacefulness, calmness, selfishness and generosity into consideration in order to be identified by audiences (Bandura et al, 1963). These characters are normally developed and they go through changes in time and space and the viewer is allowed to identify with them in the course of their journey (Cohen, 2001).

We get to experience and understand a character by their characterisation as the film progresses due to how they deal with different situations which they encounter within the life of a film. These properties of characterisation, though present in every aspect of documentary film, are seldom used to analyse documentary. In terms of ‘objective’ ‘subjective’ reality, characterisation falls into the subjective reality category whether as used in documentary or in fiction film. This is because, within fiction film, characters acquire certain identities and follow certain trajectories. On the other hand, though in documentary, subjects may not be explicitly directed

and told to memorise certain phrases, the fact that the director only chooses certain aspects of their images and sound and behaviours suggests that characterisation, just as in fiction is a subjective reality in documentary as well.

As has been argued, both documentary and fiction films are a representation of 'subjective' realities because, as has been demonstrated, all the four main realism tools namely space, time, character/subjects and characterisation become subjective once they are manipulated by the directors and the end result becomes a second reality which can either be a documentary or fiction. The only difference becomes a matter of degree of closeness or furthest from the 'objective' reality. In other words, it depends on the continuum of either fictional end or non-fictional end.

In the following section, I try to explain how the logic of Creative Imagination works with the three mentioned concepts to achieve life-like depiction and to propose how these can be used or are used within documentary film production and analysis. As a point of departure therefore I argue that the concepts of space, time, character and characterisations are useful in understanding how Creative Imagination artistically manipulates perceptions to represent fiction film reality and documentary reality.

1.3 The Role of the Intellect in the construction of film reality

Indeed, it has long been debated that no reality exists outside of our own perception and conception of it. Thus, it is important to look at how our minds and the intellect perceive and conceive reality. In this section I try to connect arguments that have been advanced on the

connection between the intellect and the art of creation which may help us understand how fiction filmmakers and of-course documentary filmmakers work to create an illusion of the 'real'. I begin with a few works on fiction film then move to those within documentary film.

The discovery and the ensuing debate on how intellect is perceived and utilizes time and space to construct reality can be traced back to the era of primitive cinema in 1896 and 1907 (Totaro, 2001). In his article, tiled: *Time, Bergeson, and Cinematographic Mechanism*, Totaro takes a closer review of Bergson's conception of how the intellect approaches reality. Henri Bergson is one of the first philosophers to incorporate cinema into philosophical discourse. Totaro cites one of the Bergson's chapters on *Creative Evolution* (1907), in which he employs what he calls the "cinematographical apparatus" as an analogy of how the intellect approaches reality.

This analogy, Totaro (2001:1) observes, appears within Bergson's epistemological dualism, where intuition is placed alongside the intellect as a means of acquiring absolute knowledge. To Bergson "movement is reality itself" (*The Creative Mind* 169 in Totaro, 2001:1). The intellect, Totaro posits, is by nature a spatializing mechanism, meaning that the intellect relies on concepts, symbols, abstraction, analysis, and fragmentation to acquire knowledge. Bergeson further compares the mechanical action of the camera, to that of our mind and argues that just like the camera, our minds capture and remember pieces of the world that we want to remember (Totaro, 2001:2). Totaro summarises Bergson's critique on cinema thus: "The cinematographic process is like the intellect in that it takes "snapshots" of a passing reality..." (Totaro, 2001:5).

Within documentary, film theorists and scholars have moved closer into tackling the subject of intellect and reality but without some certainty. In his article-*Ontology and Appearing: Documentary Realism as a Mathematical thought* in which he compares the thought processes of

a documentary film director and the logic of mathematics, Hair (2006), has attempted to look at the ordering logic of documentary film. Hair argues that "analogous to the case of foundational mathematical orientations, being is established following a particular axiomatic decision that shapes the presented universe in the light of certain artistic convictions, or thought protocols" (Hair, 2006:241). This means that the indexical cinematic signifier used in the films whether fiction or non-fiction, must follow established formulas used to represent the signified in order to make representational sense, otherwise we may not be able to figure out exactly what the film is about if for example, the supposed signifier does not correspond in proportion, size or frequency to the signified in the real world.

Indeed, the following statement by Totaro supports this thinking: "The filmic illusion of space, movement, and time comes alive, in the end, out of a finely tuned, precise ordered succession of static images" (Totaro, 2001:6). Badiou defines an artistic world as a 'relation between the chaotic nature of sensibility and form' (quoted in Hair, 2006:242). Through protocol and ordering, artists are thus able to employ their creative and imaginative minds to emerge with some sensibility within the form of a documentary.

According to Hair (2006:242), "The infinity of the material world to be represented is given order or form as a result of the artistic conviction or vision, which can be understood as an ontological decision that orients the production of a truth that structures the particular being-there of the world produced by the documentary". The ordering role of the artistic world therefore sets the boundaries of the world to be represented and also determines its shape, theme and purpose. It is Bergson's discussion on intellect approaches to reality and Hair's work on

thought processes of a documentary film director and the logic of mathematics, which leads us to the concept of Creative Imagination spectrum.

1.4 Creative Imagination

Borrowed from a number of disciplines including, psychology, architect and even communications, creativity and imagination or *creative imagination* denotes different concepts depending on the context. In this section, I begin by defining creativity and imagination then demonstrate how they can work as one concept under Creative Imagination spectrum within fictional film. I then propose how these concepts may be used within the construction and analysis of documentary film.

'Creativity' is a term that has been used in both fiction and non-fiction films contexts but at the same time, appears to have gained more currency within fiction as opposed to non-fiction. A number of scholars have looked at different conception of creativity (Martindale, 1989; Sass, 2000; Madden, 2004; Erickson-Bragg 2002). Martindale (1989) defines its production in terms of three essential attributes which are almost similar to the definition earlier advanced in the preface. These are: ceativity "must be original; it must be useful or appropriate for the situation in which it occurs and it must actually be put to some use" (Martindale, 1989 quoted in Sass, 2000-2001:55). Martindale further explains that the creative process is the same in poetry, science and virtually all other domains.

The great classical notions of creativity can also be characterised as Platonic and Aristotelian. Plato viewed ceativity as a mysterious, inspirational process similar to the divine act of creation

itself (Madden, 2004:134). Madden points out that Aristotle saw creativity as potentially more humdrum, believing that an artisan who fashions an uncomplicated or predicable object such as a simple bronze sphere is being creative (Madden, 2004:134). This literature adopts the nobility nature of creativity regardless of the magnitude of the innovation. In this study, I use creativity to denote the inherent and developed aspect of a filmmaker's artistic quality which enables him/her to implement his/her imagined ideas about the represented aspect of the world. This is in line with John Grierson's conception of documentary which he defined as 'creative treatment of actuality (Little, 2007:8). . Understanding creativity as used in this study is therefore important because it enables us to explain how it utilises our mental capability to construct representational ideas of the social reality using our imaginations.

Imagination on the other hand is a crucial trait possessed by every conscious human being and is helpful in our daily activities particularly in how we make sense of aspects of both institutional and brute facts. In other words, how we make sense of both 'objective' and 'subjective realities in the world. Greene observes that "of all our cognitive capacities, imagination is the one that permits us to give credence to alternative realities. It allows us to break with the taken for granted, to set aside familiar distinctions and definitions (Greene, 2005:3). Indeed, it is safe to say that all conscious human beings inhibit a humanly fabricated world, is mortal and can acknowledge that mortality, and can tell the story of what happens to him or her as he or she lives. In many situations, human beings are expected to use imaginations to solve certain challenges. Some of these challenges may be, like in my case, to understand the nature of reality represented by television anchors. As Greene reminds us, somehow, "the extent to which we grasp another's world depends on our existing ability to make poetic use of our imagination, to bring to being the "as if" worlds created by writers, painters, sculptures, filmmakers,

choreographers, and composers, and to be in some manner a participant in artists' worlds reaching far back and ahead of time" (Greene, 2005: 4).

It IS for this reason within imaginative writing, the imaginative approach is known to present a story based on the writer's imagination of a topic (Erickson-Bragg 2002). The writer, having studied or experienced a topic, visualises a scene, situation or character and then uses his/her own creativity to represent the hypothetical situation (Erickson-Bragg, 2002). However, Imagination has somehow been viewed with some negative connotations by some authors such as Riss, (2002:96) who tends to prefer illusion to imagination. He believes that illusion can be used to explain realism than imagination which he equates to wishful thinking (Riss, 2002:100).However imagination needs not be vilified as inconsequential and wishful thinking.

To the contrary, imagination has the potential to generate tangible ideas which can indeed, create both filmic and documentary realism. Indeed Berger (1986) rightfully observes that instead of being viewed as mere fantasy, "The concept of imagination is the active and creative scene of encounters with other worlds through which understanding is achieved" (Berger 1986:142). Berger (1986) further contends that imagination becomes a real presence, bearing the status of an essence eternally competent of receiving ideas and transforming them into a body. Imagination, Berger (1986) concludes, "appears as both means of knowledge and a modality of being, and in that sense bears a philosophical (existential) dimension" (Berber 1986:142). From the above arguments, one can conclude without contradiction that imagination plays a very potent right in our conception and construction of the social reality and how we represent it. Taken together, the two concepts appears as both means of knowledge and a modality of being, and in that sense

have the potential to innovate ideas and bring them to life. The following section takes a look at how Creative Imagination as a concept has been theorised by other scholars in different fields.

Creative imagination as a concept has been studied within communication sciences for instance where, Valkenburg et al (2007) looked at children's creative imagination in response to radio and television stories. In their study Valkenburg et al (2007) subjected a number of children to both television and radio stories in order to test their creative imagination in both medium. In particular, the study looked at the following five features: creativity, novelty, continuity, coherence, competition. The experiment set to investigate the prevailing explanation for the experimental finding that radio stories elicit more novel responses than do television stories and that viewers have difficulty dissociating themselves from ready-made television images (visualization hypothesis).

Contrary to the faulty-memory hypothesis, double presentation of a radio story did not result in fewer novel ideas than did a single presentation. In the older age group, radio stories elicited more novel responses than did television stories. The novel response in this case means the children's ability to be imaginative in their conceptualisation of both television and radio stories. The researchers found that there was almost similarity in the novel responses for both television and radio stories (Valkenburg et al,2007).

This study is relevant in this research to the extent that it indicates the existence of our imaginative ability as human beings and that both works of television and radio can stimulate our imagination. The study is also a demonstration of one of the discipline areas in which creative magination has been studied. The study also offers a clue as to how creative imagination can be

used to analyse films in order to determine their levels of creativity and imagination. For an extensive review on this study, see (Valkenburg et al, 2007).

William Seifriz (1943) also looked at creative imagination within science and philosophy and argues that scientists with Creative Imaginations are ever confronted with two opposing forces. One tempts to soar into realm of fancy, while the other cautions them to keep their feet on the ground. Seifriz (1943:1) further argues that these conflicting influences play a significant part in the search for fundamental truth.

Another vital definition of creative imagination is advanced by Kris (1935:1) who suggests that the term indicates "a mental property which we usually connect with achievements in the arts, in the broadest sense of the word." Scientists and 'thinkers', he adds, also rely upon creative imagination during certain and probably all crucial phases of their work. He concludes that this mental property may manifest in the personal or professional lives of us all. Both Seifriz and Kris provide two important ideas on creative imagination that is central to this reflexive report on documentary film production.

Starting with Seifriz, the two opposing forces of realm of fancy and the other cautionary force reflects the two polar extremes of 'facts' and 'fiction' within creative imagination. There is however the third form- the mixture of facts and fiction – the docu-fiction which merges aspects of both forces to come up with something completely different but not entirely divorced from the original two. Kris's conclusion that creative imagination is a mental property possessed by us all is also helpful in this study because it contends that probably everybody has the organising logic of creative imagination because that is what makes us remember and function as human beings since we all depend on our mind to generate thoughts and ideas.

However, the degree to which this mental property works differs depending on one's profession, occupation and preoccupation. For those in the film industry, this faculty is responsible for the kinds of movies we watch on our screens and theatres. I argue that there is absolutely no reason why this property should not be employed by documentary filmmaking since from its "birth" in early cinema (1895-1905), just like fictional forms the non-fictional film has always mimicked the real through the organising logic of creative imagination. The only difference however has been the degree to which the non-fiction form has deployed creative imagination as opposed to fiction. I further argue that as time progressed, and with more democratisation of documentary and calls for more transparency and accountability in the documentary production process, it soon became apparent that documentary and fiction are closer to each other than previously thought. Video technological innovations, development of non-linear editing, graphic design and animation software further amplified the ways in which non-fiction films make use of creative imagination. These changes of production environment have enabled documentary films to be more elastic in their application of creative imagination to the extent that we now have documentaries that are hard to distinguish from fiction films. For example, looking at some documentaries such as *Walts with Bashir* (2007) *Ryan* (2004) and the *Thin Blue Line* (1988), the distinction between fiction and facts becomes secondary *and at times difficult* (Barber, 2009) (italics mine).

As a number of documentary and fictional films have shown, a documentary can look like fiction just like a fictional film may also be confused for a documentary. This may explain the reason why most documentary and fictional film scholars are increasingly converging at the idea that the two forms share more things in common than earlier thought because fundamentally, they

both utilise the same methods in their efforts to represent different aspects of the social real world.

Within literature in documentary, Michael Renov provides a very brief but telling definition of creative imagination in this quoted passage: “The truth of aesthetic forms in its classical mode has been rendered through a kind of “crucible effect” in which reality is subjected to the heat and pressure of the *creative imagination* – the passage of truth through fiction...” (Renov, 1993: 6).

It is crucial to understand the meaning behind this statement of the heat and pressure that sees the passage of the truth though fiction. The sum and whole of immeasurable unquantifiable reality, in order to be captured and contained in documentary, has to be subjugated to the artistic, constructive devises which define the very nature of fiction. Though the documentary form claims to be different from fiction, this claim is problematic considering the fact that they both rely on Creative Imagination to ‘mimic the ‘real’. A desire to represent the world as accurately as possible through Creative Imagination has been a preoccupation of the earlier filmmakers from Grierson’s time as demonstrated in the next section. Only that, the term Creative Imagination has not been explicitly used to denote this process. Fundamentally though, as has been discussed, Creative Imagination also does manifest as a highly subjective phenomenon and therefore its execution whether within documentary or fictional film remains subjective.

Chapter Two

2.1 Documentary- From Grierson to Moore

This chapter examines the documentary tradition from the John Grierson period of representational 'objectivity' to Michael Moore's emergence of the mixed mode of documentary representation

John Grierson, Robert Flaherty and Dziga Vertov, the three early documentary filmmakers had their different reasons of producing non-fiction emanating from their environment to bring about particular changes in society. In other words, the earlier pioneers of documentary, as Little (2007:2) observes, were armed with noble social or political cause and believed they could construct films using both fiction and non-fiction tools as long as the "truth" of their cause was ultimately served. Thus, when documentary as mode was finally born, its earlier conception as an 'objective' representation of reality was to be expected as Little (2007: 6) eloquently explicates, "Grierson's passion was to bring political enlightenment, interpretation and participation to the public; for Flaherty, it was the desire to bring inaccessible ethnographic, man versus nature exploration to cinema; while for Vertov, it was a teleological, duty-driven manifesto defined effort to bring a Leninists film-truth to the Soviet proletariat".

Of the three patriarchs of what was soon to be called documentary film - Grierson, Flaherty and Vertov, I find the story of Grierson compelling and thus will use it to explain how a prevailing environment influenced his conception of documentary's 'objectivity' and the effects thereafter.

Barnouw (1974:85) reminds us that at the University of Glasgow where Grierson graduated with a diploma in moral philosophy, he developed a theory that film and popular media were

becoming more influential in society than church and school. Therefore, when he received a Rockefeller Research Fellowship in 1924 to continue his studies in the United States, his research focused on the psychology of propaganda—the impact of the press, film, and other mass media on shaping public opinion (Little, 2007:3). According to Little (2007), Grierson's preoccupation with the impact of the media on public opinion was influenced by Walter Lippman, a writer and political philosopher who believed that the:

> ...erosion of democracy was due in part to political and social complexities of contemporary society that made it difficult, if not impossible, for the public to comprehend and respond to issues vital to the maintenance of democratic society (Lippman as paraphrased in Little, 2007:03).

This school of thought influenced Grierson to conclude that citizens might become actively involved in their government with engaging excitement, if news generated by popular press, were simplified and dramatized public affairs. Most importantly, Grierson strongly believed that documentary had the potential of bringing even an apathetic public to actively engage in political processes (Little, 2007:4). He also viewed film as a form of social and political persuasion and as a mechanism for social reform and education.

There is a good reason for earlier filmmakers and film intellectuals' preoccupation with the notion of objectivity. I argue that this was so because, for a film to be considered 'objective' then, it had to conform to certain conventions which did not threaten to transcend the understandings of 'lifelikeness'. A few examples of these conventions would be the use of long take as opposed to rapid cuts, use of social characters as opposed to professional actors and use of natural lights as opposed to superficial lighting. Within this environment therefore, the

development of creative imagination within the documentary was somehow hindered. But I argue that the organising logic of creative imagination and aspects of realism such as space, time character and characterisations were used consciously or unconsciously in all documentary films though their deployment as often taken for granted. Indeed in a way, a human being is a product of his/her environment in as much as he/she tries to control it thus, we conceive reality based on our own perception and conception of reality which is fundamentally influenced by lived experiences accumulated from our environments. John Thompson (1990) rightfully observes that every symbolic forms- that is, any work of art or meaningful expressions- bears the resemblance of its social historical contexts and processes within which it is produced. Thus, earlier documentary modes were reflective of certain rules and conventions that determined what was to be considered authentic documentary. However, these rules and conventions are not static, they change over time, new rules and conventions emerge which challenge the older ones (Thompson, 1990). Thompson's ideas especially his new conception of ideology and culture is therefore helpful and provides a needed analytical tool to deconstruct certain metamorphosis that documentary mode as a symbolic form has gone through over the years to become what it is today. New filmmakers questioned certain claims by documentary filmmakers such as truthfulness and objectivity which were oblivious of its constructive nature. With the above understanding one can therefore explain why the new emerging filmmakers began poking holes into the efficacy of the early documentary filmmaker's conception of documentary purity.

It also emerged that although early filmmakers fiercely advocated for documentary purity, they were dishonest in their methodology. For instance, critics assailed Vertov's *Man With a Movie Camera* (1929) for both staging shots and its stark experimentation (Little, 2007:6). Equally considered as problematic methodology was Flaherty's *Nanook of the North* (1922) idea of

asking a community to change its behaviour for the sake of a documentary film (Little, 2007:6). However, for these filmmakers, especially Flaherty, they did not set out to produce a documentary because according to documentary history, documentary as a mode was yet to be born during *Nanook of the North* film. It is also important to note that by mentioning Flaherty, this report merely illustrates the primordial presence of creativity and subjectivity. Although Flaherty's film was not produced as documentary genre, it became and has been canonized as one.

I think this disclaimer here is helpful because much of the criticism levelled against these two filmmakers has largely assumed that their films were documentary modes, yet as has been indicated earlier, by the time of their films, documentary as a form was yet to be born. It is thus safe to argue without contradiction that, even though Vertov and Flaherty may or may not have set out to shoot a documentary and therefore did not disclose their methodology, their methodology appeared to have embraced subjectivity.

The realisation that there is no objectivity in documentary film production prompted three key new documentary filmmakers to begin a new chapter of documentary performativity. Almost a century after the emergence of documentary film, new film makers such as Michael Moore, Chris Marker and Errol Morris among other famous filmmakers embraced a multitude of representational techniques that break away from the earlier one-dimensional conceptions of documentary representation. In this new era of experimentation, exploration and revelation of documentary production processes, we note an incorporation of fictional and non-fictional, evocative, expressive, performative elements that have clearly been influenced by Creative Imagination of the mind.

This shift is also being experienced within the documentary film intelligentsia where a plethora of scholarly writings in documentary has acknowledged the significance of subjectivity in documentary film representation (Bruzzi 2006, 2000, Nichols 2002, Lewis 2000, Rosenthal 1998, Scheibler 1993). The advent of new hybrid genres such as the docu-drama, the docu-fiction and reality TV also exemplify the success of creativity and subjectivity in reality modes of representation. However few studies have looked at the role of realism and creative imagination within the documentary's subjectivity and how these concepts contribute to the documentary representation of social phenomenon.

While most of the authors reviewed here do not explicitly mention creative imagination within their discussions of documentary's subjective strategies, their acknowledgement of documentary's performativity accentuates the acknowledgment of the role played by creative imagination in subjective documentary representation. Leading in this pack is Bruzzi, (2006, 2000), Renov, (1993), Susan Scheibler, (1993),Edmond (1974), Nichols (2001), Eitzen (1995), Winstons (1988), Rosenthal, (1988) and Ruby, (2005). As in fiction, creative imaginative representation in documentary which operates in the realm of documentary performativity and subjectivity has the potential to stimulate audiences' feelings and experience through the use of time, space, colour and auditory means. Edmond (1974) identifies three basic sources for audiences stimulation namely, subject matter, attitude of the art-work maker and aesthetic packaging. He argues that audiences can either be attracted to a combination of these three components or one of them in a particular representation.

Edmond (1974:44) further adds:

> No matter what it is that first draws us to continued attention of the elements in the three major areas...; and our cognitive, thinking, reasoning activity becomes intensified by our feelingful involvement, while , reflexively, our feelings are intensified by the 'information," the cognitive burden, of the work.

Edmond's statement challenges the traditional conceptions of documentary as an objective medium of reason and logic. While reason and emotion can translate to cognition and affection, they cannot be alternatives to the other (Edmond1974). Edmonds (1974:43) reminds us that no one ever learned anything without a feeling.

This study argues that the creative imagination of the filmmaker helps in making better choices of both the subject matter and aesthetic packaging to realise a representation capable of stimulating feelings of experience. Creativity and imagination has traditionally been associated with fictional films, (Ruby 1998, Barnouw, 1974, Rosenthal, 1988). Documentary on the other hand, with its perceived 'objectivity' and truth claim (Barnouw, 1974, Scheibler, 1993) has been approached with a non-interventionist stance in order to maintain and preserve its perceived purity. This is something that for some reason consciously or unconsciously determined our imagination of documentary films to the extent that it has created certain expectations whenever we approach documentary films and fictional films.

Therefore, I argue that even though documentary also utilises aspects of creativity as the definition of Grierson points out, the imagining of documentary as work of creativity has been less attractive and almost either ignored or if realised, considered disturbing than appreciated as compared to the imagining of fiction as work of creativity and imagination. As stated by Hair (2006), even Grierson in his "*First Principles of Documentary"*, deliberately excluded the

'actuality film' as one of the 'lower forms' because it was constructed largely of 'natural materials', arguing that the: "... only world in which documentary can hope to achieve the ordinary virtues of an art [is when] we pass from the plain (or fancy) descriptions of natural material, to arrangements, rearrangements, and creative shapings of it" (as quoted in Hair, 2006:242). This is a further indication of the resemblance between documentary and fictional film, and hence this paper attempts to challenge the traditional binary between the documentary and fiction. When Nichols (2004) argues that it is increasingly becoming difficult to separate documentary and fictional films from one another, it means that both documentary and fiction films are actually products of the same process.

The development taking place within the conception of documentary is a healthy one since documentary as a work of art should be allowed to explore and to enhance its representation of social phenomena. Subjective Imagination within documentary representation does not necessarily invalidate the reality of the represented phenomenon but it in fact, enhances its validity (Bruzzi, 2002). This is also because, as Bruzzi rightfully observes, subjective imagination enhances honesty as it does not hide the presence of the creating director role in a documentary.

2.2 Documentary's 'Objective' Subjective Binary

Documentary is a complex, contested and evolving concept that has attracted heated debates dating back to the 19th century (Nichols 1998, Nichols 2001, Rosenthal 1998, Edmonds 1974, Scheibler 1993, Bordwell and Thompson 2004). The debate on the documentary is wide ranging,

constantly evolving but rooted in the notion of 'objectively' representing 'reality' through film. Scheibler (1993) notes that from its inception through to its different developmental stages, documentary has always revealed an intrinsic epistemological longing. That is, it has always desired to provide knowledge of the world. According Scheibler (1993:136) "documentary's Latin roots, docere, indicate an ability to teach and to provide knowledge".

This epistemological view of the form is supported by a more comprehensive definition of documentary offered by Winston (1988:23):

> It is all methods of recording on celluloid any aspect of reality interpreted either by factual shooting or by sincere and justifiable reconstruction, so as to appeal either to reason or emotion, for the purpose of stimulating the desire for, and the widening of human knowledge and understanding, and truthfully posing problems and their solutions in the sphere of economics, culture, human relations.

This definition took care of the constructive aspect of the documentary by the acknowledgment that there are situations that may need reconstruction in order to simulate what could not be captured in time. The reconstruction aspect in documentary representation opened its subject to a matter of interpretation by the filmmaker and the audience. I argue that the reconstructive aspect of documentary is a postmodernist illustration that there is no one single 'reality' out there but different interpretations of the world.

In the recent past, there has been a renewed realisation of the impossibility of 'objectivity' in documentary representation (Bruzzi 2006, Bruzzi 2000, Edmond 1974, Nichols 2002). As mentioned earlier, most of the current filmmakers are increasingly exploring the limits and elasticity of the documentary representation. In this alternative mode of subjective

representation, a number of strategies have been studied such as creativity, innovation and performativity.

As Nichols (2001) rightfully observes, there has been an increased confusion since notions about what is distinct to documentary and what is not, change over time. "Test cases appear that challenge the conventions defining the boundaries of documentary film practice. They push the limits and sometimes change them" (Nichols, 2001:21). Indeed research has established that fundamentally, documentary representation enlists the use of subjective representational traditions hitherto associated with fiction films. Examples of documentaries that have deployed fictional traditions include *Sous Les Bombes*, (2007) by Philiphe Aractingi, *The Thin Blue Line* (1988) by Errol Morris, *Fahreinheit 9/11* (2004) by Michael Moore and *Waltz With Bashir* (2007) by Ari Folman among others.

Walts with Bashir for example is an animated 90 minutes feature-long documentary about Ari Folman, an Israeli soldier who struggles to regain and reconstruct his lost memory during the 1982 war in Lebanon and Beirut. What is interesting about this film is the fact that it represents a factual event, but it does so through animation. The only documentary visual convention is introduced briefly at the end of the film through television news reel archives of the Lebanon war. This film brings attention to the growing hybrids between documentaries and dramatic films.

Subjective representation is however not a new phenomenon and reflects a quest to challenge the dominant ideology of film objectivity which has been in existence since the production of *Mannahatta* (1921) a film by Charles Sheeler and Walt Whiteman (Jacobs, 1979:6). As Jacob (1979:6) notes "*Mannahatta* made no reference to actual people, places or events and that

instead of reportage, pure and simple, the pictures tried to realise its subjects in terms of the potentialities of the medium by manipulating factual material to express the feeling of the city through abstract signs". Indeed, even what has been considered the progenitor of all modern documentaries Robert Flaherty's *Nanook of the North* (1922) was replete with numerous distortions such re-enactments, editing and use of black and whites - which were only discovered later (Edmonds, 1979:41). Yet, at the time, *Nanook of the North* was accepted as the film that objectively represented the Eskimo. As Edmond (1979:41) argues, it can be assumed that distortion is not a matter of degree and that any distortion removes objectivity. If this proposition is true then objectivity is impossible. Indeed Rosenthal (1988:13) makes the point that the objectivity claim could not hold when it was apparent that every decision made by a filmmaker in the process of producing a documentary film was conscious and subjective.

Within the subjective documentary representation there is no marked limitation as to how far a filmmaker can stretch his/her imagination in the effort to represent a social issue. In his response to limitations of the previous supposed objective modes, Nichols (2001:101) argues that this limitation comes about partly from a sense of what it takes to represent the historical - for instance the refusal to use actors. He therefore argues for subjective representation modes such as participatory, reflexive and performative modes. These modes allow greater latitude in terms of how far an artist can stretch his or her imagination. In order to understand documentary representation and particularly the debate around 'objectivity' and subjectivity, one cannot escape looking at culture, language and representation because as Stuart Hall (2007:5) notes, it is through culture and language that the production and circulation of meaning takes place. Even though Hall's work in representation does not specifically focus on the documentary

representation, his ideas around representation, language and signifying practices and how these work to give meaning can be applied to the documentary.

It is against this background that this section briefly examines language representation, culture, ideology and meaning and how these relate to the documentary representation. Culture is a complex concept that has varied definitions and meanings (Hall 2007:1). Hall argues that production of meaning through signifying practices is what connects language and representation. In this context, culture is to be understood within the confines of "'shared meanings', concepts and ideas within the art, design, literature and entertainment and how these ideas are represented" (Hall 2007:2). We are constantly involved in the production and exchange of meaning both in our personal and social interactions, though we often take this for granted. Similarly, as Hall (2007:4) has observed, meanings regulate and organise our conduct and practices in such a way that they act like sub cultures which govern and regulate our conventions through language.

According to Hall (2007:1) language is one of the 'media' through which thoughts, ideas and feelings are represented in a culture. He further notes that representation through language is central to the process by which meaning is produced. Hall observes:

> Members of the same culture must share sets of concepts, images, and ideas which enable them to think and feel about the world, and thus to interpret the world in roughly similar ways. They must share, broadly speaking, the same 'cultural codes'. In this sense, thinking and feeling are themselves 'systems of representation', in which our concepts, images and emotions 'stand for' or represent in our mental life, things which are or may be 'out there' in the word (Hall 2007:4).

Producing meaning, Hall (2007:62) argues, depends on the practice of interpretation, which is sustained by what he calls encoding and decoding systems. According to Hall, encoding and decoding are a two way process involving primarily two active participants and involves the exchange of mutually intelligible signs in the process of communication. Looking at a constructionist approach Hall (2007:25) contends that "we construct meaning, using representational systems-concepts and signs" (semiotics).

The constructionist approach posits that meaning is constructed through signifying practices such as language and other conceptual systems we use to represent concepts (Hall 2007:25). Hall's work on representation can be applied on both documentary and fictional films in different ways. Particularly, Hall's concepts discussed here speak to what both documentary and fictional representations do in organising and communicating social messages to the audience. For example, in terms of semiotics, choices of camera angles, frame sizes, wide or close shots; the auditory choices are all signifying indexical cinematic symbols used to convey particular messages within both documentary and fictional films.

According to Nichols (1981), to represent is also to symbolize and symbolization is a basic work of intercommunication which he argues works together with ideology. He argues that ideology arises in association with processes of communication and exchange. For Nichols (1981:1), ideology involves the reproduction of the existing relations of production (those activities by which a society guarantees its own survival) and that ideology operates as a constraint, limiting people to certain places or positions within these processes of communication and exchange. The concept of ideology thus informs us that in both documentary and fictional films, we represent

our perceived realities of the world according to our subjective conception of the world which is influenced by the existing structures of our world.

Nichols reinforces that:

> Ideology is how the existing ensemble of social relations represents itself to individuals; it is the image a society gives of itself in order to perpetuate itself. These representations serve to constrain us necessarily; they establish fixed places for us to occupy that work to guarantee coherent social actions over time. Ideology uses fabrication of images and the processes of representation to persuade us that how things are is how they ought to be and that the place provided for us is the place we ought to have (Nichols 1981:1).

From what Nichols says we can deduce that documentary and fictional films as representations both serve as signifying systems which organise our ideas and thoughts about the world. Most importantly Nichols reminds us that the social and cultural capital is a force of limitation and constraint in aesthetic forms. These aesthetics forms advance certain dominant ideas about the world we live in. Thus I argue that realism and creative imagination which help in constructing both documentary and film are also a product of ideology. This may explain why the boundaries between documentary and fiction continue to narrow as they move towards resembling each other because they are the product of the same process.

The creative imaginative spectrum helps us understand how certain aspects of historical and current situations can be simulated within the documentary representation to create an illusion of the real. Through the use of technology, creative imagination has the potential to simulate the historical, present and future events in a single documentary representation. Creative imagination in the mimicry of the real works in every single documentary and fictional film, however, there

are certain films where its presence abound more than in others. Such films include *The War Game* (1965) by Peter Watkins and *Under the Bombs (2007)* by Philippe Arectingi among others. *The War Game* (1965) for instance, is a 50 minute, television documentary drama which questioned the British domestic policy through a depiction of what would happen in the events of a nuclear war on Britain.

In *The War Game* (1965) every aspect of the documentary is acted and the film utilises different styles which are embedded within the realism style. It switches from news magazine programme, to documentary-style chronology of the main events, then to featuring reportage-like images of war, the nuclear strikes, and the effects on civilians. There are also moments of *vox populi* contemporary interviews with civilians. In this film, two main aspects of realism namely time and space have been creatively and imaginatively deployed to present a futuristic situation which looks almost real. *Under the bombs* (2007) is a drama film set in Lebanon right at the end of the 2006 Lebanon war, and dramatises the 'realities' of life under the war. Told through a Lebanese Muslim, Nada Abu Farhat acting as Zeina Nursrueddi and her son, Karim, we see a dramatic representation of what happened after marital difficulties forced Zeina to send her son to leave with her sister Maha in Lebanon. The documentary drama is highly performative in its nature with a mixture of dramatisation, acting and news reel footages of the actual events of the Lebanon war. In this film, all the aspects of realism namely time, space, character and characterisation have been creatively and imaginatively used to mimic the 'realities' of life under war. In terms of character and characterisation for instance, most of the characters were either professional actors or non-actors who did not experience the war. We see how these characters develop, change and adapt to new demanding situations- a characteristic of how realism treats

characterisation in film. Taken together, both films provide a good account of how creative imagination works with aspects of realism to create an illusion of the real. In both films, we see how the filmmakers have used characterisation – creating characters both to mimic the normal behaviour of actual people. At a superficial level, time is used creatively through manipulating editing devices to reinforce the idea of 'realness' in the films. In terms of space, all the events take place within familiar environments within our frames of references. We hear sounds and see buildings, trees, dogs, cars, houses, sky, the moon, the sun which gives us a sense of space within the material world and this further strengthens the illusion of reality. One may argue that the sites of such materials are normal and can be seen even in science fiction, but that is exactly the point. These sites are selected and purposely displayed in order to help our frames of references to identify with the representation in the films. Both films therefore consciously use realism and creative imagination to manipulate character, characterisation, space and time in order to provide a representation closer to our idea of the 'real.'

Acknowledgment of the role of creative imagination and realism in documentary film construction is necessary because it may help in enhancing the artist's creative representation. It is by knowing what goes in the process of any artistic work that will make an artist to improve, adjust and continue to innovate. Acknowledgment of how creative imagination works with realism may also help evaluate the level of imagination and creativity both in documentary and fiction film. For the purposes of this study, I apply the imaginative approach to combine both fictional and non-fictional forms to represent *The Zulu Mask* a film about the linguistic mask that Zimbabwean Ndebele and Shona economic immigrants have to adopt in order to blend and avoid various forms of marginalisation in Johannesburg South Africa.

Chapter Three

3.1 Background to *The Zulu Mask* documentary Film

A good documentary must be based on a tangible social issue which is either historical, topical or has both elements (Rabiger, 2009). With these characteristics of a documentary, it follows that a proper research on facts around the subject and topic should be conducted to provide a skeleton and structure for the documentary and more importantly to create credibility. Methods and strategies of the representation – which is the main entry point of creative imagination - follow later after a proper background research has been conducted to validate the claims put forward by the documentary film. The film *The Zulu Mask*, explores the role of language in the reversal of fortunes among a particular category of Zimbabwean Shona and Ndebele 'economic exiles' in Johannesburg. As explained earlier, this study adopts the use of 'economic exiles' in reference to Zimbabwean migrants because they do not fit within the classification of migrants, immigrants or asylum seekers because of the peculiarity of their reasons for migrating from their country (McKnight 2008).

The term 'economic exile' is also appropriate because it epitomises the situation facing most of the exiles who fled their country due to economic hardship and not necessarily due to political persecutions. This means that once the Zimbabwean economy gets back on track, these migrants will return back to their country hence the name economic exiles. Indeed, Muzondidya and Chiroro (2008) argue that most of the undocumented Zimbabwean exiles in South Africa are actively remitting money back to Zimbabwe through multiple channels such as banks, post office and through hand delivery. Therefore, in this study, the word migrant will be used in general to

mean those who migrate into a country, but 'economic exiles' will be used specifically to refer to the Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg. *The Zulu Mask* documentary is a representation of the different lives of two Zimbabweans in Johannesburg as observed by Muzondidya and Chiroro (2008). It is also a matter of fact that within the migrant communities, the Zimbabweans form one of the largest communities of African foreign nationals in Johannesburg (van Wyk and Louw-Carstens, 2008; SAPA, 2008; Bloch, 2008).

Core to this documentary is a demonstration of how language may enhance or hinder survival strategies of Zimbabwean economic migrants in Johannesburg. The following section therefore reviews literature on language and survival. This will be followed by a look at the Zimbabwean Shona and Ndebele history. This background is important because it provides insights on how language can reverse historical socio-economic dynamics of ethnic/linguistic groups.

3.2 Language and Survival

> If you talk to a man in a language he understands, that goes to his head. If you talk to him in his language, that goes to his heart.
>
> Nelson Mandela

Research has established that knowledge of local languages accentuates migrants' integration into new communities. Mongwe (2006, 136) emphasises the role of language in constructing social identities. According to Thornborrow, "[L]anguage is … important in the construction of individual and social identities. It can also be a powerful means for exercising social control. Identifying yourself as belonging to a particular group or community often means adopting the

linguistic conventions of that group, and this is not just in relation to the words you use, but also in the way that you say them (Thornborrow 1999: 136 quoted in Mongwe 2006: 126).

Language enhances communication and understanding within communities and as such, acts as a very important tool in the survival of every human species. For the migrant communities, especially those migrating to hostile environments such as South Africa, being able to be mutually intelligible with local people through language and other cultural aspects reduces the danger of isolation and rejection. As a survival tool, language may help an individual to ask for the most basic needs, detect when in danger by hearing what the other groups are planning and counter strategies (Mongwe 2006). My own experience in South Africa confirms this. In a taxi, locals will react antagonistically and even refuse to assist a person who speaks a language they do not understand. For instance, if you ask for directions in English some locals can even retort that they did not go to school. Indeed one may simply become a target of xenophobia and hate for not speaking the local language.

Ochs (1993) examines how language influences socialisation among migrant families in the United States. In the article: *Constructing Social Identities: A Language Socialization Perspective,* Ochs (1993) provides a theoretical perspective on circumstances in which language acquisition is closely tied to social identity. In this context, Ochs considers 'social identity' as a cover term for a range of social personae, including social statuses, roles, positions, relationships, and institutional and other relevant community identities one may attempt to claim or assign in the course of social life (Ochs 1993). Linguistic construction at all levels of grammar and discourse, Ochs (1993) argues, are crucial indicators of social identity for members as they

regularly interact with one another. Complementarily, Ochs (1993) adds, social identity is a crucial dimension of the social meaning of a particular linguistic construction.

But Ochs (1993) warns us that no matter how crucial language is for understanding social identity and social identity for understanding the social meaning of a language, social identity is rarely grammaticized or otherwise explicitly encoded across the world's language. That is, Ochs 1993:288) argues, "the relationship between language and social identity is predominantly a sociolinguistically *distant* one" Ochs therefore suggests that speakers' attempt to establish their social identities and those of others through "verbally performing certain social *acts* and verbally displaying certain *stances"(*Ochs,1993: 288). Just as in the context of Ochs, so it is in this context, that 'social acts' means any socially recognised, goal-directed behaviour, such as making a request, contradicting another person, or interrupting someone (Ochs 1993). 'Stance' means a display of socially recognised point of view or attitude (Ochs 1993). Stance includes display of *epistemic* attitudes, such as how certain or uncertain a speaker is about some propositions and displays of *affective* attitudes, such as intensity of emotions or kind of emotion about referent or proposition (Besnir 1990, Ochs & Schieffelin, 1989 in Ochs 1993:288).

Whereas a number of studies on how language affects the migrant communities have been done in other continents such as Europe, America (Ochs 1993) and Asia (Myhill 2010), a few have been conducted within the African continent. Katende (2006) has looked at how language affects the livelihoods of migrants and their use of social networks for income generation in Johannesburg. However Katende's study focused on Cameroonians, a community constituted by two main linguistic groups: Francophone and Anglophones. I am yet to come across a study on how language works as a survival tool among the Zimbabwean economic exiles in Johannesburg.

This study therefore endeavours to fill this lacuna. This study is different because it focuses on two tribes from Zimbabwe who speak different languages. One tribe, the Ndebele has ancestral linkage to the Zulu tribe. On the other hand, the Shona tribe has no link with any language in Johannesburg other than English. Furthermore, this study differs from the others in the sense that it is accompanied by a documentary film titled *The Zulu Mask* to show how language works as a survival tool among the Shona and Ndebele tribes in Johannesburg. As the research established, many people speak more than one language in Johannesburg such as isiZulu, isiXhosa, seTswana, seSotho, seTsonga, sePedi and others to survive in Johannesburg among the predominantly isiZulu speakers. However many contends that a lower class foreigner requires understanding and the ability to speak in isiZulu more than any other language because there are more isiZulu speakers in Johannesburg compared to other languages (Katz, 2005). Ochs' (1993) theory of language and identity applies to the socialisation of the Zimbabwean Shonas and Ndebeles into South African isiZulu language. whereas Shona speakers of Zimbabwe normally attempt to learn isiZulu of South Africa, they hardly manage to convince a local isiZulu speaker of their localness and will often be discovered. They have therefore not mastered the social acts the and stances of the isiZulu identity.

On the other hand, the Ndebele speakers from Zimbabwe once in South Africa are not only capable of quickly adapting and fluently speaking isiZulu but, are also able to display social acts and stances of isiZulu speakers. An example of these social acts and stances displayed by the Ndebeles is when they use isiZulu to insult a policeman who challenges them to provide their identity document (Ndlovu, 2010) as done by the Zulu's. Considering that the Shona speakers loathed the Ndebele language back in Zimbabwe (Ndlovu, 2009) a representation of the

experiences of how they cope with isiZulu – a language similar to Ndebele is interesting but first, a brief look at the background of Ndebele and Shona is essential.

3.3 Ndebele and Shona: A brief background

Historically, Ndebele are a tribal group which, while escaping a war from their original land in Southern Africa, entered North into Western Zimbabwe chasing away the indigenous settlers and occupied the Bulawayo area (Lindgren, 2002; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2008). Led by their leader Mzilikazi, the Ndebeles fled the onslaught by Shaka Zulu –Mzilikazi's brother - and settled in North-Western Zimbabwe more than two hundred years ago (Lindgren, 2002). Shona on the other hand, is a formation of different tribes with almost similar dialects which were grouped together by the colonialists in the 19th century (Lindgren, 2001b). Traditionally, Zimbabwean Ndebele and Shona have had ethnic animosity dating back to the pre-colonial period. The animosity between the two tribes has continued and intensified after the independence in 1980 (Lindgren, 2002(a), (b) Ndlovu-Gattsheni, 2001), and is continuing to date.

A number of scholars have contributed this continued state of affairs to President Robert Mugabe's politics of negative ethnicity which, they claim, he uses to undermine one section of the society in order to maintain grip on power (Muzondidya 2004, Eppel 2004, Muponde 2004). Consequently, the Ndebele language is said to have continued to be marginalised at the expense of the Shona language in Zimbabwe (Ndlovu 2009; Makaya 2008). According to a number of writers, the Ndebele group has continued to flee to escape the political persecution which began with the Gukurahundi massacre of 1983 to 1987 in which Mugabe is alleged to have ordered the

killings of over 10,000 Ndebele people (Muzondidya 2004, Muponde 2004, Eppel 2004; BBC Panorama, 1983). The massacre had a devastating effect on the Ndebele's identity and its memory among the Ndebele tribe has continued to create a wall between them and the Shona tribe. More critical analysis on this issue demonstrate that the reasons why Ndebeles and Ndau ethnic group come to South Africa are historical and it may be said that their migration has to do with being a Nguni tribe as much as a results of persecutions by Mugabe's government and the harsh economic imperative (Magure, 2011). However, the Gukurahundi massacre remains a critical component of the Zimbabwean history and its effects is still felt among the Ndebele tribe both in Zimbabwe and in diasporas.

3.4 The Gukurahundi Massacre and the role of Language

Scholarly writings have been done in trying to understand the Gukurahundi massacre phenomenon that took place in Zimbabwe between 1983 and 1987 (Muzondidya 2004; Muponde 2004). Muzondiya (2004) provides an eloquent account of the Gukurahundi massacre and lays blame squarely on Mugabe. He argues that the massacre was carried out by the Zimbabwean government special military wing called the Five Brigade which had been trained by the North Koreans during 1982, and was deployed in Matabeleland North and the Midlands in late January 1983.

Within weeks of deployment, Muzondiya says, its soldiers had massacred thousands of civilians, and tortured thousands more. A conservative figure put the total number of the murdered during Gukurahundi to be over 10,000 people (Muzondiya 2004). As indicated by both Muponde (2004) and Muzondiya (2004), no family in Matabeleland escaped the violence of those years,

and the people of that province were forced to live with their silenced memories of horror and fear. According to Muzondiya, a 1998 survey carried out in affected rural areas indicated that a staggering seventy five per cent of rural civilians interviewed were survivors of state-organised violence, and that eighty per cent of these had suffered violence in the 1980s, rather than during the liberation war.

One of the significant outcomes of this state-led massacre against the Ndebele is that it diminished their identity (Mupone, 2004). Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009: 36) points out that: "Since 1980, the Ndebele identity continued to undergo a continuous process of minoritisation as Shona identity picked the agenda of hegemonic triumphalism". According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni, the post Gukurahundi massacre meant that members of the Ndebele Nation, would rather speak a safe language (Shona) to survive and avoid being considered the 'other' by members of the hegemonic tribe. Language has become one of the key strategies through which the Ndebele nation has been marginalised in Zimbabwe (Ndlovu 2009). In Zimbabwe, researchers have established that a Shona language speaker holds a favourable position due to the current political landscape, while a Ndebele speaker is perceived as the other (Mupone, 2004, Ndlovu 2009, Makaya 2008).

Ndlovu argues that the domination of Shona language does not only operate within the realms of politics and socioeconomics but it is now entrenched even in the education sector (Ndlovu, 2009). In what Ndlovu (2009:36) calls the Mugabe's 'Shonalising of the language in Zimbabwe, he argues that in many instances, Shona language is being taught in Matabeleland, while no Ndebele language is taught at any of the schools in the Mashona-land contrary the Zimbabwean *1987 Education Act* which stipulates that Shona should only be taught in those areas that are predominantly Shona speaking. Ndlovu, quoting Hachipola makes this observation: "Some

schools in Bulawayo (for example Mzilikazi High School and others in some parts of Binga district teach Shona as a subject despite the fact that the Education Act prescribes Ndebele for these areas" (Hachipola as cited in Ndlovu, 2009:37). This view has been challenged by Magure (2011) who attest that at the moment some schools in Shona dominated areas teach Ndebele. He provides example of Umvukwesi Pimary Shool in Mashona-land Central which is teaching Ndebele as a subject. Ndlovu's argument is however silent about the fact that Shona and Ndebele were both being taught at the same school. Subsequently, schools in Matabeleland resorted into learning isiZulu language – a language closely linked to Ndebele due to their historic relations dating back to 19th century. This position however is disputed by some Zimbabwean scholars (Magure, 2011). They point out that Ndebele has been practically compelled to survive by embracing Shona because the Shona has more speakers compared to Ndebele. But it appears the horrifying experience of Gukurahundi massacre, left lasting effects on the Ndebele speakers in terms of their language and identity. On this point, Muzondiya (2004:44) argues: "As they murdered and destroyed, the Fifth Brigade told victims that they were being punished because they were Ndebele".

The language dimension in the Gukurahundi massacre is interesting to look at briefly because it has similarities with what happened in South Africa during the xenophobic attacks on foreigners in 2008. During the Gukurahundi massacre, language was a key component that was used by the Fifth Brigade to identify Ndebele speakers especially in town areas which had a mixture of different tribes. According to one of the survivors interviewed by the BBC (1983) Panorama crew, the soldiers were asking Ndebele speakers to pronounce certain words in Shona and those who could not articulate Shona were considered Ndebele and were subjected to torture and murder. Ironically, this is the same tactic applied by the South African police to test suspected

illegal immigrants' fluency in isiZulu. During the 2008 xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals, locals asked suspected foreigners to pronounce an elbow (*indololwane*) in isiZulu. Those who failed the 'language tests' were severely punished (Ndlovu, 2009:36). Indeed, Shona speakers with little knowledge of isiZulu were the most affected as compared to the isiNdebele speakers from Zimbabwe because they share more similarities with isiZulu language than their differences. Indeed, a number of research has established that due to their historical linkage dating back to the 1822 (Pretorius & Bosch, 2012; Rycroft, 1980), isiNdebele and isiZulu share more aspects of culture and language.

For example, Rycroft (1980) found that Ndebele and Zulu shared more phonetic and tonal features in their languages. This means that these languages are so intelligible to an extent that a Zulu person can hold and sustain a conversation with an IsiNdebele person. It is important to note that Zulu and Ndebele share same meanings of words such as *abantu, abantwana, abantwanyana* which mean people, children and small children respectively in both languages. The same words are also pronounced slightly the same by the two languages. This is however not the case with Shona language which is completely different from both isiZulu and isiNdebele. The irony however is that, (as already indicated in this study) despite the fact that isiNdebele is also spoken as the second largest linguistic group in Zimbabwe, Shona speakers have not taken advantage to this opportunity, which would have brought them closer to understanding and communicating in isiZulu in South Africa Johannesburg.

Thus when Zimbabwe began experiencing economic turmoil from the year 2000 following Mugabe's disastrous land acquisition policy, which seriously affected the agricultural sector, the effect was felt by both Shona and Ndebele speakers. This was mainly because Zimbabwe's

economy was so integrated and diversified and was agro based that once agriculture became negatively affected everyone had to feel the devastating effects. A number of Zimbabweans both Ndebele and Shona were forced to leave the country to the neighbouring countries in search for survival (Gwari, 2004). Again, between the years 2002 and 2008, the Mugabe government carried on a politically instigated violence against the members of the opposition party Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) (Bauman, 2009:3; Culbertson, 2009). These events coupled with increased economic turmoil forced a large contingent of Zimbabweans to seek refuge in South Africa (Bauman 2009:3, Culbertson2009, Pophiwa 2009:9). They have therefore joined the ever-increasing population of migrants in South Africa (Crush and McDonald, 2000; Bauman 2009) which has become the destination (Tarifa, 2010; Katende, 2006) of migrants from outside Africa as well.

Once the Shona and Ndebele groups arrive in South Africa, it becomes interesting to find out how they use language to survive in that the Shona language is not spoken in South Africa and that the Ndebele group is mutually intelligible with isiZulu. Considering that isiZulu is the dominant language in Johannesburg informal sector, a Zimbabwean migrant is expected to interact with Zulu speakers frequently as they negotiate daily (Culbertson, 2009:10). How Ndebele and Shona speakers from Zimbabwe navigate and survive in Johannesburg using language is interesting to find out because of the known hostility the locals have against African foreign nationals.

According to Bekker and Leilde' (2004:149), Johannesburg's majoritarian group is black (74%) followed by 16% white, 6% coloured, and 4% Indian. Johannesburg also reflects a greater diversity of languages with isiZulu having a 26% of this black percentage, seSotho, 11%,

Setswana, 9%, sePedi and isiXhosa, both 8% while English is the mother tongue of 19% of the population and Afrikaans of 8% (Bekker & Leilde, 2004:149). Other Nguni languages in Johannesburg include isiSwati and isiNdebele a South African version of the Zimbabwean Ndebele language. As already mentioned, isiNdebele speakers have historical link with South African Zulu and have their own version of isiNdebele in South Africa which is one of the eleven South African official languages. The existence of isiNdebele in South Africa ideally would therefore make a Zimbabwean Ndebele easily pass as a member of the local Ndebele.

The study on how language works as a survival tool among the Zimbabwean economic migrants is important because their influx into South Africa, between 2000 and 2008, a number of studies have indicated, has not gone down well with the majority of the citizens, triggering tension and violence from the local South Africans (Bauman, 2009:2;Culbertson, 2009). Indeed, locals have accused Zimbabweans and other foreign nationals of taking their jobs, a fact that was blamed for the xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals especially Zimbabweans and Mozambicans in May 2008 (Culbertson 2009, Holaday 2010, Tarifa 2010, Bauman 2009:2). However the economic crisis in Zimbabwe still continues unabated despite the relative stability brought about by the Government of National Unity (GNU).

Most of the Zimbabwean migrants therefore have to continue living in South Africa despite the local displeasure of their presence. Zimbabweans are also blamed for crime in South Africa. Cases such as Ananias Mathe - a Zimbabwean well-known criminal who was charged with 54 counts of robbery, and who in 2006 escaped from the maximum high-security prison in South Africa's Pretoria and other similar criminal cases involving particularly Zimbabwean citizens in Johannesburg- only aggravates the loathing of Zimbabweans by locals. Therefore, a documentary representation on how language hinders or facilitates the survival strategy of the Zimbabwean Ndebele and Shona ethnic groups in Johannesburg is not only interesting but

speaks to the relevance of these events. The next final chapter gives details of the working of creative imagination spectrum, the production process, the analysis of *The Zulu Mask* documentary and the conclusion to this research paper.

Chapter Four

4.1 The Working of Creative Imagination

Even though certain important aspects of creative imaginations have been explained in chapter one above, this chapter endeavours to expand on its actual *mous operandi* in the construction of documentary reality. The chapter then explains the production method and process while highlighting moments in which Creative Imagination was used to manipulate aspects of time, space, character and characterisation to construct a subjective but authentic social reality in *the Zulu Mask* documentary.

Central to the concept of creative imagination is how we make sense of the world particularly methods used to make us believe what is being represented as authentic. creative imagination thus appears to work alongside ideas behind Hollywood cinematic convention which have influenced how audiences interpret scenes. In this sense, shots are referred to here as film idioms which are used in a particular structured system to communicate certain filmic subjective senses. In proposing this creative imagination spectrum, I'm taking the view that its operation may be explained from Searle's (1995) conception of our different senses of world view which he argues follows epistemic sense of objective-subjective distinction and an ontological sense. Searle posits that in the first instance of epistemic sense is the idea that 'objective' and 'subjective' are primarily predicated on judgements (Searle, 1995:8). That is, our judgment of symbolic forms is 'subjective' when we consider that "their truth or falsity is not a simple matter of facts but depends on certain attitudes, feelings, and points of view of the makers" (Searle, 1995:8). In contrast, our judgments of symbolic forms are 'objective' when we consider that the facts in the

world that make them true or false are independent of anybody's attitudes or feelings about them (Searle, 1995:8). In this epistemic sense, Searle (1995:8) contends that we can speak not only of *objective judgement* but of objective facts (Searle, 1995:8). In addition to the epistemic sense of the objective-subjective distinction, Searle, (1995:8) brings in a related ontological sense of 'objective' and 'subjective' which he argues, are predicates of entities and types of entities, which ascribe modes of existence.

In this domain, we find the differences between certain objects which although existing in the real world, have subjective expressions due to their reliance on the human experience. For example, through emotions, perceptions and interpretations. Searle contrasts this to natural things like mountain which he argues, are ontologically objective because their mode of existence is independent of any perceiver or any mental state (Searle, 1995:8). The understanding of the nature of realities thus enables me to explain why it seems that the logic of creative imagination deploys certain strategies in its effort to use both objective and subjective sense of the world to create innovation through a subjective representation.

Even though creative imagination can be explained and described as a spectrum it does not function or operate as one. In other words, when a work is being produced it is not necessarily consciously placed on a scale of creative imaginativeness but when it is complete it can be measured against such a scale or spectrum. The ontology of creative imagination is fluid, complex but relatively flexible. Its main goal is to manipulate time, space, character and characterisation (as explained above) to create an illusion of the real. As already explained above, creative imagination begins from the point of view that there is indeed an objective world out there that exists and whose facts are independent of anybody's attitude or feeling about them

(Searle, 1995:8). It also takes into account that there are other 'subjective' realities out there whose existence depends on various forms of opinions and attitudes. However, the representation of that world through any means (in this case through film) is subjective not only because the director chooses what he/or she believe suites their intention, but mostly because such choices may be influenced by attitudes, feelings and the contexts of their makers. Indeed, Thompson reminds us that "symbolic forms are always embedded in specific social-historical context and processes within which, and by means of which they are produced, transmitted and received" (Thompson, 1995:145).

Therefore, creative imagination begins with the directors' perception of the social world based on their lived experiences and interest, which then informs their intention and imagination of how to represent such a world. This is also as explained by Thompson (1990:138), who says that any work of art, text or meaningful expressions- are: "Produced, constructed or employed by a subject who, in producing or employing such forms, is pursuing certain aims or purposes and is seeking to express himself or herself, what he or she 'means' or 'intends', in and by the forms thus produced" (Thompson, 1990:138). The producer thus has the freedom to use his/her conscious mind to imagine and visualise what kind of a representation he intends to produce. Changes, corrections, additions and subtractions of ideas occur before a director can clearly visualise the entire film from the beginning, the middle and the conclusion.

However, not all the imagined and visualised structure comes through as some unforeseen circumstances during the production may work for or against the primary intention of the producer/director. The implementation of the imagined scenes are then creatively captured on

camera in a structured way since, as Thompson (1990:141) notes, symbolic forms usually display an articulated structure which consists of elements which stand in determinate relations with one another. For instance, during the shooting of a scene, the cinematographer chooses and composes shot sequences which once edited together can communicate a particular intended idea. In that case the shots are normally referential meaning that they typically represent something, refer to something or say something about something (Thompson, 1990:143). Most importantly the process of creative implementation of imagined ideas works within rules and conventions which determined the styles and expressions acceptable within that genre (Thompson, 1990:139). However, it is important to note that within the creative imagination spectrum, certain conventions are challenged and boundaries are ignored but authenticity in the representation is upheld. Thus, classical Hollywood conventions on the use of cinematic space time, character and characterisations which are normally a preserve of fiction films are adopted and implemented within non-fiction.

Character within this spectrum is not conceptualised differently from fiction character in the sense that, our characters are, though non-actors, are real people, experiencing real issues being discussed and are the representatives of the many of their colleagues in Johannesburg. In this case, we acknowledge that as mere representatives, they may not necessarily 'objectively' embody exact realities of what their colleagues experience. Their versions of the issues tackled in the documentary are therefore subjective. This open acknowledgment of subjectivity of characters/subjects is a break from the conventional documentary which is always conceived to be 'objective' and as close to the story as possible (Ally, 2005; Nichols, 2001). Secondly, though our documentary subjects are not like fictional characters in the sense that they are not paid actors, they are have however been directed in certain stages especially where the director

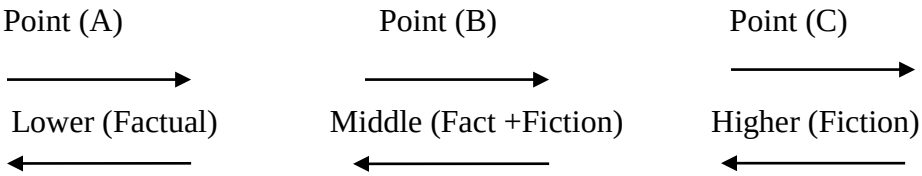
felt that such initiative will enhance the quality of the documentary. Again, this acknowledgment of the subjective process need not render the documentary content invalid, but should be looked at as further proof that we engage in subjective representation of reality in both documentary and fiction.

Characterisation (Ally, 2005) as a cinematic style to allocate characters role, to assign them certain attitudes, and trajectory in order to either draw them towards or away from the audience has not been used within this creative imagination spectrum. However, the fact that these characters were not just randomly chosen, that a criteria for suitable character with good behaviour, articulate and belonging to either Shona or Ndebele tribes were considered points to the subjectivity of their expected roles and identification in the documentary thereof. However, it is important to point out that, using the conventional documentary style characters had minimal direction and were generally allowed to be themselves so that we can experience them as they are. The adoption of the classical Hollywood fiction style - a highly subjective process-was particularly embraced during the editing stage where we manipulate time and space and sound in different ways to express different ideas as will be explained in the subsequent sections.

The creative imagination spectrum therefore, may also be said to rely heavily on the use of what Hall calls the 'practices of representation' during editing because it is at this stage where we see the embodiment of concepts, ideas and emotions in a symbolic form transmitted and meaningfully interpreted (Hall, 1997:10). Thus during editing, meaning is created through the manipulation of spatial temporal elements via camera angles, use of quick or slow pan, long or medium shot, dark or bright light, sound or silence, montage, parallel editing and so on. In

addition to these, the existence of certain shots such as the sun, the moon, the trees, animals, water, lake, sky, human beings and sounds are all used to provide different meanings.

Depending on the level of imagination, creativity and available resources, the final representation has the potential of elasticity. It can contract or expand both in its form and content: that is closeness to reality in a manner closest to the known reality or similar to the world of science fiction. As demonstrated in the diagram bellow (which is my own conceptualisation developed to explain the fluidity and elasticity of creative imagination spectrum), it seems to me that the logic of Creative Imagination spectrum appears to have what can be characterised as three man parts namely: point (A) (which I call the 'Factual'), point (B) the middle (which I call fact plus fiction), and point (C) which I call (the Fictional realm) which further becomes the realm of fantasy.



(Creative Imagination Spectrum Diagram)

As indicted in the diagram above, at point (A), the factual realm, the logic of Creative Imagination endeavours to present a life-likeness closely as possible to the audience's frame of reference. In documentary, this may be seen when we have long takes on shots to comply with the normal rhythm of life which normally takes slower duration than filmic time. This mostly calls for natural sound not additional sound effects. There is also narration by the character to further authenticate the mimicry of the 'real'. If we are to entertain Searle (1995) and Bruzzi's (2002) argument of the epistemology of objectivity, then this stage epitomises what Searle,

(1995:8) calls the area of objective facts represented subjectively (Searle, 1995:8); reason being that through creativity and imagination, the actual, factual real aspects of both institutional and brute realities have been presented through subjective means.

Moving to the second point (B), where we have a mixture of facts and fiction in what has been termed docu-fiction (Mäusli, 2000), the imagination appears to merge aspects of fiction and non-fiction conventions. In other words, at this stage, the logic of creative imagination, though still fascinated with creating an illusion of the 'real', combines some cinematic strategies which have been associated with fictional conventions and those of documentary to mimic the 'real'. Therefore, in this area, time and space are not treated as usual and may appear not to reflect the normal daily rhythm of life. In terms of editing, we may not experience a particular scene for a long time because of the unusual treatment of time and space. Characters may be both real and paid and may rely on both scripted and unscripted narratives. The merging of boundaries may mean that we experience both long takes and rapid editing in the same sequence. This kind of a filmic reality does not normally occur in the real world but except certain sudden dramatic situations which normally last only a few seconds such as confusion caused by an accident. It seems obvious at this point that the divergence between epistemic objectivity and epistemic subjectivity becomes a matter of degree (Searle, 1995:8).

At the third point (C), the logic of creative imagination appears to reflect a cinematic reality which is completely out of the real world experience and far beyond the audience's frame of reference. This is the domain of fantasy. In this area, the filmic treatment of time and space time though has the metaphoric representation of the real space and aspects of real time – what Searle (Searle, 1995), calls objective ontology- does not reflect anything close to normal experiences of

the real world. Everything is exaggerated to reflect the extra-ordinariness of what we may wish for but which we may never experience in the real world. However, since we are aware of the conventions of the fictional genres which employ these strategies, we simply suspend our disbelief and enjoy the experience of film realism because of the fluid nature of simulation of lifelikeness however unrealistic it may be.

As has been indicated by the arrows in the diagram, the logic of creative imagination can also construct the reverse of all the three scenarios. That is, a factual film may be represented as docu-fiction, a docu-fiction may also be represented as factual, as well as a fantasy constructed and represented as factual. In the same light, a factual film may also employ the same creative imagination strategies to construct and represent fantasy film. What matters is how the filmmaker manipulates space, time, character and characterisation during shooting and editing. Most importantly, it all depends on the intention and desire of the filmmaker.

Through a demonstration of my short documentary film The *Zulu Mask*, I reveal how the organising logic of subjective Creative Imagination of the mind enhances the mimicry of the 'real' within the documentary form. In this documentary therefore, I not only use my experience as a foreigner to imagine the different lives of the two characters in this documentary, but I also creatively transform these imaginations into a creative piece of representation through the lens of the camera, editing equipment, characters/subjects, characterisation, space and time to bring forth a tangible product of my constructed subjective social reality in the form of a documentary.

4.2 Producing *The Zulu Mask*- the Concept

In *Directing the Documentary*, Rabiger (2009: 36) reminds us that we use our imagination, and intuition to look for the subject or topic that brings "shock of recognition." *The Zulu Mask* was based on my own experience of difficulties in surviving in Johannesburg without the understanding of the isiZulu language. My primary aim therefore was to produce a documentary that would capture how challenging it was for a foreigner to survive, blend and be accepted by the South African locals without the fluency of isiZulu language. This idea was born partly because of my own experiences about fitting in (both in Johannesburg due to language barriers and in Kenya due to my tribal exclusion. In Kenya shortly after the 1963 independence, the political elite, one particular ethnic group (Kikuyu) developed and entrenched tribalism and politics of ethnicity which forced some members of other economically and politically marginalised tribes (Luo) to acquire different 'masks' in order to survive (Oyugi 1997).

Growing up in this period, we heard of frightening tales of how members of our communities including our close relatives were denied employment opportunities because of their tribe. In order to survive, a new generation of Luos devised methods to navigate the barriers with some Luos resorting to changing their names and learning other languages. Others like me who belong to the Luo tribe, devised a method of acquiring a more neutral name by using only English names such as Clifford Derrick and avoiding Otieno, in most of the transactions.

With this kind of experience from Kenya, there was therefore a fascination upon arriving in South Africa, on how Zimbabwean Shona and Ndebele tribesmen consciously try to speak the local language in order to pass out as members of the Zulu tribe to gain acceptance and to survive in Johannesburg. All these efforts are employed in order to secure employment and basic

services and to avoid xenophobic attacks by locals. South African citizens have always been accused of harbouring high degree of resentment towards foreigners because they perceive foreigners as taking their jobs (Holland, 2010:123). In 2008, this resentment reached its peak and most foreigners living in a number of informal settlements across South Africa were on the receiving end of xenophobic attacks. News reports and studies have been consistent in demonstrating that Zimbabweans and Mozambicans were the most affected during the violence (Steinberg, 2008).

A number of Zimbabweans interviewed stated that during the xenophobic attacks, mastery of local languages particularly isiZulu would save one from a lynch mob. As mentioned earlier in this report, some locals deliberately insisted on speaking local languages to persons perceived to be foreigners in order to identify if indeed they were foreigners. If the locals had some doubt about a person, they would often use certain isiZulu words to confirm whether one was indeed a foreigner or a local.

Again, as discussed before in this paper, certain worlds such as *indololwane* (A Zulu word which means elbow) were used to identify foreigners. Indeed, a number of locals who could not speak isiZulu also suffered and died during xenophobic attacks (Steinberg, 2008). Living in South Africa at the time of the xenophobic attacks and following the events through print and electronic media, the whole experience created a sense of *déjàvu* especially with my previous experience of tribal clashes back in Kenya.

My project began with academic and social research, into the effects of language on survival in a foreign land. I then had to look for the best communities of foreign nationals that could best capture the language phenomenon and settled on the Zimbabwean economic migrants because of their many numbers in Johannesburg. In line with Rabigers' (2009) advice which advises a

filmmaker to hang around with the documentary subject to gain deeper understanding about them, I made several visits to the Methodist Church in Johannesburg Central Business to make contacts with possible documentary characters and also to experience their plight.

I spent several hours per day for a period of one week from the 15th to 21st of March 2011 visiting, familiarising myself and experiencing how Zimbabweans were surviving at the Methodist church. In the process, I heard first-hand narratives from Zimbabwean economic migrants about their plights. One key theme emerged during my visits to this place and that is, the language factor. One of my interlocutors lamented several times that if only he could speak isiZulu, then his problems would be over because it did not matter whether he had valid documents or not. He said that Ndebele speakers from Zimbabwe who report to Methodist church on their first arrival from Zimbabwe use the same 'trick' because their isiNdebele language gives them advantage because of its intelligibility with isiZulu.

I therefore decided that producing a film juxtaposing two Zimbabwean economic migrants who speak different languages – isiNdebele and Shona - back in Zimbabwean would be a good idea .I then decided to look for the best Zimbabwean characters both Shona and isiNdebele speakers who could best represent and articulate the issues and through whom we would see the difference of the role of language in the survival strategies in Johannesburg.

For the role of the Shona character, five candidates did not fit my subjective criteria and were eliminated. Apart from being a Shona speaker, other criteria included: having been in Johannesburg from 2005, the character had to be between 20 and 30 years of age with primary or secondary education qualification. This was to ensure the character could communicate in

English. They had to be camera friendly and not camera conscious; they also had to be presentable and articulate.

I settled on one character, King Chamba, a 26 year old Shona speaker from Harare who fitted most of the criteria. King Chamba escaped economic hardship in Zimbabwe in February 2005 to seek greener pastures in Johannesburg (See figure (1) Appendix (A) - King Chamba, the Shona character). Once in Johannesburg, things did not turn out as expected as King Chamba ended up at the Methodist church. The Methodist Church is situated in Johannesburg Central Business next to the South Gauteng High Court. The church is headed by Bishop Paul Verryn. Since the beginning of the economic turmoil in Zimbabwe in 2002, most of the Zimbabweans fleeing their country have found refuge inside the church, a situation that has led to over-congestion in the building forcing some Zimbabwean migrants to sleep on the streets. It is this environment that King Chamba found himself in once in Johannesburg. Since he had no relative to go to, could not speak any local language to enable him secure a job and could not walk on the streets freely, he settled at the Methodist Church.

The criteria for locating a Ndebele character was similar to that of locating a Shona. In terms of age and the year of migration to Johannesburg, I wanted to ensure that I had proper comparable variables within the characters. A total of fourteen Ndebeles who were selected at different times did not honour their pledge to participate in the documentary. Some would appear once then disappear the following day. Others would not pitch at all, while others demanded hefty amounts of money for their participation. However, since I wanted to be true to the idea of Creative Imagination at its factual end, I did not consider paying any of the characters.

I finally managed to locate a good and reliable Ndebele character after eight months of searching, but I was still patient to give him time and to study him so that I could confirm that he was indeed from Zimbabwe and could clearly mimic the reality of the isiZulu language and cultural advantages over Shona speakers in Johannesburg. Nkosinathi Mabetha, is a 27 year old isiNdebele speaker from Zimbabwe who arrived in South Africa in 2005 June and who, because of his historical connections with Zulu tribe of South Africa, has been able to learn the language and culture of the locals and is living in the suburbs of Newlands in Johannesburg (See figure (2) Appendix (A) – Nkosinathi Mabetha, the Ndebele character).

Comparatively it took shorter time to locate and select King Chamba, a Shona speaker and character, than to locate an isiNdebele speaker. This was chiefly because, as the title of this film denotes – *The Zulu Mask* - most of the Zimbabwean Ndebeles in Johannesburg are trying to wear the Zulu identity so that they can be accepted and accommodated by the South African locals. As Och (1993) noted, Ndebele speakers from Zimbabwe once in Johannesburg deploy various strategies to assume the identity of the isiZulu speakers. Some of their strategies include staying away from the Shona speakers and befriending isiZulu speakers. This serves them in two ways, they avoid being recognised as Zimbabweans and secondly, by befriending isiZulu speakers, they are incorporated into local social networks easily.

For instance, Nkosinathi said that because of these friendships, apart from fitting into the local networks, one of his key strategies was to master the key differences in their two languages so that he does not make a mistake in his conversation with the isiZulu speaker. Nkosinathi also said that in his experience, he realised that they have very few differences with the Zulu and that

some of the differences are in pronunciations. He also noted that Zulu and Ndebele have similar names for all the human body parts

A Ndebele person also befriends a Zulu to learn his/her social stances especially their attitude towards the police, foreigners and anybody who does not belong to the Zulu nation. For example, Nkosinathi mentioned in the documentary that since he had mastered the Zulu social stance towards the police, he does not hesitate to display a dislike attitude towards them once challenged to provide his identification documents.

Nkosinathi also claims that he has since mastered the names of most of the rural villages in KwaZulu-Natal and therefore, it is not a problem for him to rebuff the police by claiming that he comes from a particular village in KwaZulu-Natal whenever confronted by the police. In terms of the Zulu culture, Nkosinathi said that he deliberately wears a goat skin bangle on his hand as a Zulu man to convince locals that he is indeed a Zulu. He has also learnt the Zulu cultural explanation for the goat skin which he says, "is given by one's parents or guardians to bring good luck."

4.3 *The Zulu Mask Documentary*: A brief Introduction to the film

The *Zulu Mask* is an authentic experiential documentary representation about the role of language in the survival strategies of two Zimbabwean economic immigrants in South Africa who speak isiNdebele and Shona. The documentary exposes the dichotomy of the irony of language and power, where Shona, a hegemonic language in Zimbabwe (Ndlovu, 2010) becomes the language of the oppressed in Johannesburg. On the other hand, isiNdebele, the once and still oppressed language in Zimbabwe (Ndlovu 2010) regains power in Johannesburg because of its intelligibility with isiZulu- the dominant language in South Africa.

Nkosinathi Mabetha, an isiNdebele speaker from Zimbabwe who says that he is unable to secure a job and lead a decent life in Zimbabwe because of his isiNdebele language and identity among other reasons, is better placed to secure a job and by extension lead a better life in Johannesburg because he can speak isiZulu. On the other hand, King Chamba, of Shona formation in Zimbabwe whose language back at home could smoothen his ways because of the Shona dominance finds himself confined inside the Methodist church because he cannot speak isiZulu and English. King Chambas' only means of communication-Shona language-is loathed by majority of the South African blacks on the Johannesburg streets.

The concept of the 'mask' is taken from a theory by Irvin Goffman (1922-1982) and describes the way people encounter one another in a social situation. Goffman was a Canadian-born sociologists whose work focussed on peoples' interpersonal communications in various social settings and who held the view that people have both inner self and the (public) selves which they present in given situations (Steinberg, 2006:183). According to Goffman, in order to perform a credible performance, a person has to act the role of whoever he/she has chosen to be

in a way that is acceptable to his or her culture and society (Steinberg, 2006:183). Goffman used a dramaturgical performance metaphor to explain how individuals behave so as to safeguard their social role play.

Thus, to Goffman, theatrical activities of role play in the stage and scripts of performance best captures how individuals communicate in real life. In other words, he viewed communications as having a performance of a 'script' by a 'team' during which we act out roles which are defined according to shared social meanings (Steinberg, 2006:183). These roles, Goffman argues, are part of our ritual codes which have become parts of our cultural behaviour. Goffman believed that for each role we play at any given time, we put on a *front*, or a *mask*, which hides our real identities. What we wear in the mask is what we want our identities to be but our real selves are concealed beneath the masks. I find Goffman's work valuable in this study because his conception of the mask helps in a way to understand why the two characters in the film experience life differently in Johannesburg. On the other hand, Goffman's conception of the mask also and most importantly, exemplifies the capacity of a reasonable person to imagine and conform to a favourable characteristic required to survive in a particular situation. In other words, we use our cognitive ability to understand the realties within our social worlds and imagine and construct our own identities which we believe may help us adapt to those realities.

The 'Zulu mask' as a word however, just like the mask, is not a new concept since a number of people have looked at the words in different context. Luthuli Mhlahlo's conference paper work *titled: 'Black skin, Zulu mask': the mimic 'cousin immigrants' response to a new 'Apartheid '(2009)* is relevant to the extent that it also looked at how migrants survive in Johannesburg due to language and other cultural similarities and dissimilarities. However, whereas Mhlahlo's work

broadly looked at migrants from many Southern African countries, this work focused on specifically two individuals from one country- Zimbabwe. Secondly, this research is different because it uses a documentary methodology to represent the role of language in the survival strategies of these two Zimbabweans in Johannesburg.

As explained above, Goffman's theory of the mask is relevant in this current work because it captures the dualities of my current task. The title, *The Zulu Mask* is strategically chosen both as a title of the film and research report for two reasons, firstly it is metaphoric and relates to the unmasking of the documentary, and the second one is symbolic and describes the situation of Zimbabwean Shona and Ndebele speakers in the county.

Therefore, at the metaphorical level, I believe that though non-fiction films deploy fictional strategies such as creative imagination to represent the world, yet they mask themselves by insisting that they are more 'truthful' and 'objective' than fictional films. This project though does not pull punches on documentary conservatism but attempts to contribute towards the unmasking and democratising of the conception of documentary film so that filmmakers can take the advantage of this expressive form in the era of creativity and performativity. The symbolic reason for using the 'Zulu Mask' is to look at an attempt by the two characters to mimic the ways of the Zulu people including their culture, language, behaviours and their social stances in order to gain acceptance by the locals. Whereas Nkosinathi, the Ndebele character succeeds in his imitation of the Zulu ways of life, King Chamba, the Shona character is unable to 'wear' the mask and is constantly at loggerheads with locals due to his propensity to slip into the English language. In the film therefore, we are shown how these two characters experience their world

differently with one character finding it easy all the way while the other struggles from the beginning to the end of the film but is still hopeful that one day he will make it.

The film is set in Johannesburg, South Africa and uses two main locations namely; Johannesburg Central Business District where King Chamba lives and the suburbs of Sophia Town where Nkosinathi stays. The other space in the film revolves around the characters early life in Harare Zimbabwe. The film covers the duration, moments and experiences from the characters' childhood and adulthood in Harare Zimbabwe to their migration into Johannesburg between 2008 to 2011. As the film begins, we get to know the two characters through their narratives which take us back to their formative stages in Zimbabwe. Both characters dwell on their different lived experiences in Zimbabwe where we get to know about the role of language back home. Both cite the quest for good life as their major reason for coming to South Africa.

Nkosinathi claims his exit was due to Mugabe's exclusionary politics of ethnicity that made him and his fellow tribes men feel like second class citizens in their own motherland without decent jobs and life. Thus he becomes a victim of not only human rights abuses but also of harsh economic circumstances. King Chamba on the other hand, attributes his decision to migrate to South Africa to the economic meltdown in Zimbabwe thereby rendering him a victim of economic circumstance. In other words both characters migrated due to economic related reasons hence they are classified here as 'economic immigrants'. Through a single scene of re-enactment, we experience King Chamba's tumultuous journey into South Africa which he also eloquently narrates. Once in South Africa, we see through characterisation, time, space the treatment of their different life occurrence. The story ends with a hopeful and optimistic King Chamba reaffirming his resolve to make it in life. He says he wants to learn isiZulu in order to

gain economic freedom. On the other hand, Nkosinathi reinforces his other mask – a goat skin bangle - and retorts that without it, he cannot step outside of his room because that is part of what makes him a real Zulu.

4.4 Producing *The Zulu Mask* Film – Methodology

This self-reflexive study is about a documentary's ability to enhance representation through the organising logic of creative imagination which manipulates space, time, character and characterisation to achieve documentary realism. The following section seeks to explain how the organising logic of creative imagination has been used to mimic the different experiences of two Zimbabwean economic migrants in Johannesburg. But first, some words on the methodology.

This study employed film representation as a qualitative research method primarily because its analysis depends on the interpretation and not the statistical procedures employed by the quantitative research (Strauss and Corbin,1990). Strauss and Corbin (1990) observe that qualitative research refers to research about persons' lives, stories, behaviour, but also about organizational functioning, social movements, or interactional relationships. This study therefore fits neatly within qualitative research because it dealt with the representation of the experiences of how language works as a tool for survival among Zimbabwean economic migrants in Johannesburg. The research report is also part of the methodology working hand in hand with the film. In the section on the production process, we shall see how creative imagination has been used to mimic the 'real' in *The Zulu Mask*.

The film addresses issues of documentary as a way of representing social phenomenon creatively and imaginatively. Strauss and Corbin (1990:19) say that the nature of the research problem

determines the method of the research to be adopted. “Some areas of study naturally lend themselves more to qualitative types of research, for instance, research that attempts to uncover the nature of persons’ experiences with a phenomenon like illness, religious conventions, or addiction. Qualitative methods can also be used to uncover and understand what lies behind any phenomenon about which little is yet known (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:19).The choice of the film and research report as methods therefore is appropriate because in order to address questions of documentary’s flexibility and ability to represent life imaginatively, the best choice is to create an example of such a documentary and then to provide an analytical report about it.

In *The Zulu Mask,* a number of imaginative strategies have been employed. As already stated, Creative Imagination is a spectrum which utilises the logic of cinematic apparatus such as time space, characters/subject , characterisations through cinematic symbols to create an illusion of both fictional and non-fictional illusion of the real. A flexible and fluid concept, this spectrum can expand and contract depending on the available resources and most importantly, the intention of the filmmaker. For this project, we are at the realm of ‘factuality’ in which the organising logic of creative imagination spectrum tries to capture ‘objective’ realities but the process of this representation is also acknowledged to be subjective.

The intention here is to simply conduct a filmic comparative study of how knowledge of a Zulu language may liberate or may confine the two different Zimbabwean characters within the Johannesburg space. This is to be done without exaggeration, while at the same time, some direction and dramatization of certain sequences are done not to exaggerate but simply to dramatize the documentary for visual and sound aesthetic purposes. I take liberty of an artist to do this while fully aware that in traditional domain of documentary, events are supposed to be

left to unfold without the intervention of the filmmaker. This notion though admirable, if over used may result in a dull, interesting piece of documentary which may problematize the lack of urgency of the filmmaker. Through *The Zulu Mask,* I apply creative imagination from its 'factual' extreme with some aspects of fictive traditions in areas where I felt such strategies were needed because my methodology is already subjective.

4.5 Producing *The Zulu Mask* –the Process

The film itself is produced to embody creative imagination. Thus the process of producing the film actively and consciously employs certain aspects of fictional conventions such as re-enactment, parallel editing, the use of subjective camera angles and performance.

In *The Zulu Mask,* the experience of different spaces and moments has been used through the placements of camera angles. For example, high angle shots of the Shona character represent his feeling of low moments while low angle shots of the Ndebele character symbolises his feeling of triumph. Likewise, low angle shots of the buildings have been used to symbolize the dwarfing and intimidating nature of the big city of Johannesburg. Most of these shots are used in King Chamba sequences to represent how the Johannesburg space is intimidating towards him because of the feeling of belittlement imposed by the tall buildings. While Eye view buildings in suburbs shots are used within Nkosinathi's scenes to further accentuate the contrast between their different spaces and experiences (See figures 3, 4, 5 and 6 on Appendix (B and C) for visual representations of different shot positions and sizes).

Close –Up Shots are used to reveal the characters details in order to create intimacy between the viewer and the character. In other sequences especially in those involving King Chamba, the

close ups are used to represent the feeling of lack of space, lack of freedom to move around and a feeling of constant anxiety. On the other hand, Nkosinathi's shots are mostly long and medium, which denotes a feeling of freedom, space and happiness. For example, at Florida Park, where Nkosinathi is enjoying braaing and eating of meet with his friends, the shots compositions are long and medium, which allows us to see his entire environment including the lake and the trees. This is in contrast with King Chamba's sequence outside the Bree taxi rank where he goes for his lunch. Most of the shots are medium close ups and close ups which provide an idea of congestion and intimidation (See figures, 7 and 8 in appendix (D) for visual representations of the above).

The Parallel editing technique is a method of cutting between two or a couple of scenes, stories or events that are happening at the same time to create contrast and sometimes tension. This style assumes that the camera is omniscient – that is the camera is in more than one location at the same time. Parallel editing is normally used in fiction but has been used in *The Zulu Mask* to create a similar experience normally created in fictional film. For example in the film, we show through parallel editing how the two characters experience life in Johannesburg spaces differently. For example, at the beginning of the film, we see King Chamba taking a bath in an open place next to Bree taxi rank. On the other hand, we see Nkosinathi taking a shower in an enclosed bathroom.

Performance in fictional terms refers to ways of bringing to life hypothetical events, characters and situations that have been conceived of in the mind. In the documentary however, the term may be used to refer to the ability (of a character a work of art) to deliberately, actively, strategically create a particular impression –whether true or not. In *The Zulu Mask*, the characters had to perform and dramatise most of the activities to mimic the lifelikeness of their

daily experiences. This is in consistency with Robert Flaherty who re-enacted his subjects' life experiences in *Nanook* of *the North* (1922) (Edmonds 1974). However, there are also certain dramatic sequences and events which unfolded without anyone's intervention such as the Bree taxi rank scene where King Chamba is confronted and eventually chased away by angry locals for supporting Oliver Mtukuzi as a Zimbabwean music icon. Another example is outside the Methodist Church where private security harassed King Chamba for selling on the street.

4.6 Producing *The Zulu Mask* –Summary of Action Sequences

The film was loosely scripted with characters being asked specific questions relating to their names, families, educational backgrounds and family relations back in Zimbabwe. This was meant to give us a basic idea of their experiences during their life while in Zimbabwe. The next set of questions inquired about their decision to travel to South Africa and their experience therein. During the interview characters were allowed to speak freely but were guided in terms of the flow of the story, but this did not work out as the characters would sometimes digress and had to be redirected. Having planned that asking questions would establish the authenticity of these characters' claim that they were from Zimbabwe, I then moved to inquire about their experiences in South Africa. The set of questions in this area took the pattern of "a day in a life of" to gauge how they experienced time and space in Johannesburg. They described how they spent their day from morning to evening. I then asked them to describe some of the interesting occurrences that they encounter on the street.

Most importantly, during both the interview and character study, I searched for moments that were to reveal their survival or lack or survival through language. Since this was the main interview of my research, I ensured that my questions were directed towards establishing and exploring more about how language was affecting their survival. During the action sequences, I also ensured that my focus was directed appropriately to capture moments of encounter in which language became a factor. Because the question of language and encounter was crucial for this study, there were moments when I deliberately moved the characters to certain locations with an aim to stimulate certain reactions and responses. Such places include Bree Taxi Rank on Bree Street in Johannesburg, New Town and Florida Lake for example to capture particular defining moments in their interactions with locals in Johannesburg.

Having conducted the interviews, the next process was to transcribe the interviews in order to understand how to arrange the shooting of action sequences that is to say, action sequences in the documentary were based on the logical arrangement of the characters' interview. This helped in time management and in capturing only actions which were to be used during editing. Shooting of the action sequences took a total of seven days. Characters were directed to behave normally without any exaggeration of their actual life. However, King Chamba, the Shona character-behaved normal on the street but once inside Methodist Church displayed some kind of boisterous gestures especially while walking. This may be explained by the fact that King Chamba was more comfortable and free inside Methodist Church but was scared on the street. The feeling of subjugation on the street by King Chamba was mainly because he was scared of locals and the police (See figure 10 appendix (E) King Chamba inside the Methodist church).

This is mainly due to his earlier experience with locals on the street in which he says that he was robbed because he was speaking in English and could not respond in a local language. He also feared that should he be confronted by the South African police, he would be arrested and deported back to Zimbabwe. King Chamba alleged South African police have employed some Zimbabweans within their ranks, who can easily detect Zimbabweans living in Johannesburg without valid documents. Since he did not have valid refugee documents because his asylum papers had expired and had no money to renew his status, he would have no way of pretending to be local when confronted by the police.

The shooting of confrontation at the Bree Taxi Rank was a culmination of a strategy developed three months before the event, though I had no idea it was to turn the way it did. I decided to visit and eat the cow heads in that shade just to fit in and familiarise myself with the Zulu boys manning that place. I then asked one of my local guides, Andile Stalli- a Xhosa man – to ask the Zulu boys if they would mind us shooting one of our documentaries at their selling spot and they responded affirmatively. I selected the Zulu boys because one day, while eating at a different open spot in town, I witnessed how some of the meat sellers roughed up and chased away a foreign national who apparently spoke to them in English. I therefore wanted to find out if a similar a response would occur if King Chamba spoke English to this other group of Zulu boys.

Therefore, one day before the shoot, Andile and I visited the place and informed the Zulu boys vaguely that we may pop in at their selling spot to shoot anytime that week and they welcomed us. So on the shooting day, we requested those who did not want to appear on the documentary to get out of the camera view but all present had no problem with appearing on camera after I

explained the purpose of the research. My friend Andile did the translation in isiZulu for those who did not understand English and they all agreed to be part of the documentary.

The scene worked very well for my purposes of mimicking the real because it demonstrated how difficult it is for a foreigner to access services or to participate in any discussion with the locals while speaking English. The scene begins when King Chamba asks one of the Zulu boys – Dlamini- about the price of their food. Dlamini ignores him and continues with what he is doing as if he did not hear King Chamba. The next customer – Moyo - arrives, greats Dlamini in isiZulu and requests to be served with a plate of (pap) porridge and cow head and he is immediately served.

We see a frustrated King Chamba who turns to Moyo, speaking to him in English, complaining that he does not know why he is not being served. He then requests that Moyo intercede on his behalf. Moyo then asks King Chamba why he is not being served by Dlamini but King Chamba responds that he has no idea. Moyo then asks King Chamba which language he speaks but King Chamba lies and says he is a Xhosa. Dlamini disputes this claim and says that 'he comes from the other side', meaning across the border, meaning he is a foreigner.

Moyo then challenges King Chamba about why did he not speak to Dlamini in isiXhosa, if he indeed he speaks isiXhosa. At this point, King Chamba gives up and admits that he is not a Xhosa, but still does not disclose where he comes from. King Chamba then discloses to Moyo that he comes from Harare Zimbabwe. The trouble then begins when King Chamba continues to engage Moyo in a conversation in English prompting one of the locals to aggressively confront King Chamba in isiZulu reminding him that he is a foreigner. It is at this point when we see all

the locals who have been quiet turn against King Chamba shouting at him using abusive words. His lunch is cut short when he is finally chased away.

This scene demonstrates that the inability to speak a local language can make a foreigner become a target of xenophobic attack. This scene also may enable us to study the nature and characteristic of a Zimbabwean Shona as represented by King Chamba, particularly on why he may be seen to struggle with fitting in or wearing the 'Zulu mask'. Though King Chamba has learnt that the people are hostile and would not serve him because he speaks English, he continues to engage the locals in English because he is a friendly, social and outgoing young man with the desire to make friends and engage in topical discussions. However, his lack of isiZulu language identity stands on his way to fulfil this (See figure 11, appendix (E) and figures 12 and 13, appendix (F) for the visual representations of confrontations at the Bree Taxi Rank).

The next action sequence of interest which is worth mention is the confrontation outside Methodist Church where a group of private security personnel confront King Chamba and question him why he is selling "in their place?" We had planned to capture how security officers normally harass Zimbabweans selling their goods outside Methodist Church. King Chamba wore a lapel microphone and I was recording from a distance to try to capture the real confrontation that they were normally subjected to. While King Chamba was selling his merchandise outside Methodist Church, some private security officers confronted him. The security officer, spoke in isiZulu and demanded to know why King Chamba was selling in 'his place' but King Chamba could only respond in English even. The officer then switched to English and demanded a bribe of 'cool drink 'from King Chamba for him to be allowed to sell outside Methodist Church (See

figure 14 and 15, appendix (G) for the encounter between King Chamba and the private security outside the Methodist church).

In terms of the film, this scene worked perfectly well because despite its spontaneity, it demonstrated once again why King Chamba fears the street. This time around, it was because of the harassment by local civilian security officers. The scene also established how some local South Africans particularly security officers benefit from the Zimbabweans in South Africa.

The third confrontation which needs explanation is the re-enactment at a bar in Hillbrow. Andile was crucial in organising this because he happened to know the manager. However, during the shoot, the manager wanted to appear in every scene which spoilt the aesthetics of realism in most of those appearances and thus some interesting parts were not used in the final documentary. Though I shot all the scenes in the bar, it was not however convincing during editing that one person wearing the same dress appears in almost all four scenes with the character. Since it was not convincing to my logic, which forms part of creative imagination, I had to discard some parts to remain with those that appear real.

Another significant action sequence that needs explanation is the one where we see footsteps and hear breathing of a person running in the night. This was meant to represent King Chamba's experience when he had to run through the forest, crossing the border through river Limpopo at night on his way to South Africa. This is one of the two scenes in which the documentary has used non-conventional techniques normally associated with fiction. This was done with the conviction that through creative imagination a filmmaker has the liberty to re-enact certain scenes. This strategy is also cost effective and time saving because the filmmaker does not need

to travel to the actual location of the original incident. I went to a location that would symbolise a jungle because of the rocks and the tall grass.

Action sequences of Nkosinathi – the Ndebele character – were less dramatic for a number of reasons, chiefly, I had very little shooting time with him. Because of the nature of creative imagination however, it did not matter. The principle of creative imagination enables one to be able to work with as few resources as possible. Some of the interesting action sequences with Nkosinathi however were at his house in Newlands. As he prepared to leave the house, one of his cultural identity's mask- the goat skin bangle broke and he became devastated and tried to fix it amid pressure from his colleagues to hurry up (See figure 16 appendixes (H).

At the same time, I asked him to speak about the importance of that goat skin in relation to Zulu culture. What followed later when his friends decided to storm the room and force him out of the house was also spontaneous, but it worked very well for the creative imagination. The scene showed us that Nkosinathi depended on his bangle to appear like a local Zulu and therefore could not accept to leave the house without the bangle. To capture this properly, I creatively used the editing technique to reverse the moments when Nkosinathi was being dragged out of the room by his friends to appear as if he forced himself back to the room in defiance. The resultant effect was that by the end of this sequence, we can we get the impression that Nkosinathi refused to leave without the bangle. Yet, the reality is that his friends actually forced him out at that particular time. Even though he later returned to the house and fixed his broken bangle, the filming representation of his return is not the actual way in which he returned

The whole story started when Nkosinathi informed us during the informal interview that he learnt from Zimbabwe that for a Ndebele to survive in South Africa under the disguise of being a

isiZulu speaker, he must first make friends with a Zulu man. This he said had numerous benefits as explained. One of the lessons he learnt was that he had to buy and wear a goat skin on his wrist as a bangle which he wears every morning before he leaves the house. On the day of the shoot, his bangle broke luckily on camera. This was one of the incidences where an action occurred without planning but was made to work for the documentary. After trying for a few seconds to fix it without success, Nkosinathi decided to abandon the goat skin. I then directed him to continue trying to fix the goat skin.

4.7 Producing *The Zulu Mask* - Editing

It is in editing where the real logic of creative imagination manifests itself. The editing took two months especially since I could not understand some of the words spoken in isiZulu by Nkosinathi; I had to rely on a translator to understand some parts of the interview.

Most importantly, during editing, the purpose was to construct a narrative that would show the parallel between the Shona and the Ndebele characters both in Zimbabwe and in Johannesburg. For that matter, the first sequence serves to introduce the characters and allows the audience to establish the fact that they are authentic Zimbabweans from two different tribes. Within this sequence, it can be established that their early lives were not as different because they did not know much about the world. Both Nkosinathi and King Chamba had similar childhood experiences and both experimented with stealing. Through parallel editing, we hear Nkosinathi's revelation on how he used to pilfer books and other stuff at school. Nkosinathi's disclosure is strategically juxtaposed with King Chamba's nostalgic memory on how he used to deep his

hands into peanut butter sugar jar, which earned him some spanking by his grandmother. Cutting these two narratives close to each other did not just happen; it was planned through the logic of creative imagination to reflect the general childhood experiences. Thus the idea here was to capture the aesthetics of the real through the portrayal of character in these two people at their formative stages.

The archive is intercut with King Chamba- the Shona character explaining how the Ndebele tribes frustrated the indigenous Zimbabweans when they invaded the country in the 19th century. Within this part, we also hear King Chamba explain how Mugabe frustrated the Ndebele by directing developments to the Shona only. However, this is not necessarily correct because people from other Shona dialects are equally marginalised (Magure, 2011). The issue of language and how Mugabe Shonalised Zimbabwe is also discussed by these characters in this section. The section was strategically edited in a manner that was to demonstrate the beginning of a clear distinction between the two characters as they go through their journey into Johannesburg. Again, this follows the same logic of creative imagination which seeks to establish and maintain believability using common everyday logic of cause and effect.

The differences between the two characters continue to manifest as we hear the tumultuous journey of King Chamba from Zimbabwe to Johannesburg. After arriving in Johannesburg, he heads to the Methodist church because he has no connections in Johannesburg. On the other hand, Nkosinathi says he had no problem coming and settling in Johannesburg because his uncle- a Zimbabwean Ndebele was already in town. This confirms the historical root of Ndebele speakers in South Africa. Once the characters arrive in Johannesburg, they face challenges of hostility from the locals. The archival footage from the CNN (CNN News, 2008) is used in this

part to confirm the historical fact of the 2008 xenophobic attack on foreigners especially Zimbabweans. As explained above, creative imagination utilises the common historical logic to authenticate its construction of the 'real'.

The film concludes with the two characters charting their way forward. While the Shona character says he wants to learn isiZulu language so that he can go out and make it in life, the Ndebele character says he cannot leave the house without his goat skin wrist lest he be discovered. This conclusion resonates with the title and the intention of the film which sets out to display the concept of the 'mask' and how language and culture plays a crucial role in the survival strategies of the two Zimbabwean economic migrants in Johannesburg. Through the logic of creative imagination, the filmmaker has used time, space, character and characterisation to mimic this 'reality' of how language can act as a survival strategy.

4.8 Film Analysis

In the following section then, I try to demonstrate this subjective manipulation which I contend, takes place both in fiction and none fiction.

In this analysis therefore, I begin by a reminder by Thompson (1990) of the fundamental role played by intentional, contextual and conventional aspects of symbolic forms- that is any work of art. In order to understand symbolic forms it is important to be conversant with the social historical context of the producer, the context of the subject and the social political contexts of the producing period.

Using Searle's conception of objective and subjective realities, one may argue that here we are dealing with two kinds of realities, the first one being objective in the sense that the two

Zimbabweans characters do actually exists in real life and that they are representative of existing population within Johannesburg. However, how language affects their survival falls under subjective reality in the sense that they are all not affected in the same way. For instance, it will be fallacious to assume that all the Zimbabwean Ndebele's understand isiZulu language, and that they all imitate the native isiZulu speakers in exactly the same way. On the other hand, we cannot assume that all the Shona speakers do not understand isiZulu language and that they all

This analysis therefore uses features of space, time character/subject and characterisation as a criteria of assessing the *modi operandi* of creative imagination hence this section attempts to deconstruct these terms further into their smallest components to fully understand how they work in themselves then demonstrate moments of their application in the *Zulu Mask* documentary.

4.8.1 Space

Using Searle's conception of objective subjective realities model, space here can be seen to be an objective reality in the sense that it is a known fact that there is a physical space that exists in the real world; a place where all the human and non-human activities exists, a site in which we can contextualise different sorts of realities. In other words this is the physical terrain on which life events play out and on which the characters perform their daily functions/activities.

However how the film represents this space is subjective because the director makes intentional and deliberate selection of which spaces to depict. We see in this film city space, rural spaces, township spaces, urban spaces, natural spaces, concrete spaces. These are subjective manifestation of subjectivity and creativity based on the imaginations of the idea that the director

intends to express in the film. In *The Zulu Mask* therefore, we see the film opening sequence which begins with images of infrastructures of Johannesburg such as the Mandela Bridge in Braamfontein, Vodacom and Telecom Towers in Hillbrow. Mandela Bridge symbolises a concept of movement because there cannot not be a bridge if it is not used for that purpose. Vodacom and Telecom Towers on the other hand, symbolises hurdles that one may encounter in life as we try to navigate our lives around this site of Johannesburg. The film then cut to images of Johannesburg at night and ends with a sunrise which fades with King Chamba bathing out an abandoned building near Bree Taxi Rank.

These infrastructures are deliberately chosen and placed at the opening sequence to give the viewer an idea of the location of the film. It is a fact that these infrastructures do exists in Johannesburg and they are indeed distinctive to that place. However choosing these particular infrastructures point to the subjective nature of the filmmaker. The Mandela Bridge for example also symbolises in this case a link from past to present. It symbolises the reversal of fortunes of the two documentary characters from Zimbabwe who upon arriving in South Africa are experiencing different lives due to their different languages as has been explained above. The tall buildings such as Telecom Tower and Vodacom Towers in Hillborw also symbolises the subjectivity of our experiences. Whereas Ndebele character may regard the Towers as aesthetics of Johannesburg, for some Shona character, the tall infrastructures may be intimidating to him because they remind him of the challenges of the city. In terms of creative imagination, I wanted to begin a film with the idea of the journey because I believe that life is not static but is forever evolving.

Therefore, the beginning of the film works better with my imagination in the sense that it represents the idea of movement which passes in the middle of a bridge full of small metals and as it advances it encounters tall beautiful but to some people, intimidating buildings. The night shots and the opening of the sun represents also the rhythm of life in the sense that nothing remains permanent in life and that after a very dark moment in life, there comes a sunshine which represents a new dawn and a new beginning full of opportunities depending on how one views it. Thus, it was intentional for the sun to rise with King Chamba having a bath as he introduces himself. creativity and imagination therefore helped shape this scene and as can be scene, created a subjective reality which is tangible because the sequence in the film now has a life on its own. Using cinematic encoding, I was able to bring this subjective meaning into life.

4.8.2 Visual Treatment of Visible Space

Loewy discusses the concept of magical space which he argues transcends both the uniform space of geometry and the sensual space of perception. Film, he argues organizes a journey into a world of "magical intertwining", into a different kind of time with no seconds and no hours, into a space that knows no specific locations but only settings full of meaning (Loewy'1976: 74). Space in film therefore comprises of aspects of the environment or prop that a filmmaker subjectively chooses to present. "Spatial regions of interaction can be rooms, scenarios, or regions that have distinctive features that can be discriminated from alternative spatial settings in a story (Zwaan et al., 1995 in Mangliano et al, 2001:535). Again, we see the subjectivity of the manipulation of the space to reflect the intention of the producer. The end result is a subjective reality be it documentary or fiction film

In analysing filmic treatment of visible space, it is important to note that this treatment is achieved by camera through various strategic means. This idea follows the perspective of film semiotician Christian Metz, who argues that the primary way in which cinema uses close-ups, dissolves, fade-ins, fade-outs, pans, tracking shots, and montage determines the structure of all films, fictional and documentary (Mishler, 1985: 168). Metz maintains that such "so-called filmic procedures are in fact filmic-narrative" (Metz 1974:106 in Mishler, 1985:169) since they are what indicate succession, causality, spatial proximity, and consequence. creative imagination strategy therefore works within this understanding and therefore deploys specific methods in the use of space through camera angles and positions, shot sizes and also specific editing styles in order to encode deferent meanings and attitudes within the film.

For example in the documentary uses natural lighting throughout the film including shooting inside Methodist Church and inside Nkosinathi's room. The opening shot of the film (with a sunrise) represents a new dawn and great expectations. Both characters came to Johannesburg hoping for a better life therefore, as the film begins, we show an expectation of this hope. The dark shots in the film especially inside the Methodist church, the residence of King Chamba represent the bleakness of Johannesburg and the challenges it represents to Zimbabwean economic exiles. This is, however, different from Nkosinathi's room that, though not so-bright, has more bright elements such as a television set for entertainment

The film also adopts the use of wide and long shots to express ideas and feelings of freedom and intimidation and confinements respectively. It is mainly because the key inquiry in this film is to compare the kind of life these two characters live in Johannesburg given the fact that King Chamba cannot communicate in isiZulu as compared to Nkosinathi. How then can this abstract

concept be represented filmically? The use of wide angle shots therefore communicates the idea of space in two ways. In terms of King Chamba, the Shona character, wide angle shots in this case expose him as a lone ranger in a hostile environment. On the other side, wide angle shots make us feel like Nkosinathi is popular and seems to enjoy the company of his friends. In the film this though is not seen at the beginning sequences but only in the middle sequences of the film when we explore the daily survival of the characters. For instance, in the film between (*The Zulu Mask*,09:58) and (*The Zulu Mask* ,10:35), we have a wide shot which shows King Chamba being harassed by private security officers for selling outside the Methodist Church. We also see in the film between (*The Zulu Mask*,13:00) and (*The Zulu Mask*,13:30) a wide shot of a lonely King Chamba parking cars along Prichard Street near South Gauteng High Court. In contract to this, wide shots of Nkosinathi are deliberately chosen to depict his state of freedom and happiness in Johannesburg because of language. For example, in the film sequences between (*The Zulu Mask*, 17:16) and (*The Zulu Mask*, 17:36), (*The Zulu Mask*, 17:40) and (*The Zulu Mask*, 18:03); *The Zulu Mask*, 18:54) and (*The Zulu Mask*, 19:13), we experience Nkosinathi enjoying himself in the company of friends including his 'local' 'girlfriend'. In this case, creativity imagination utilises shots composition which are edited together with certain audio accompaniments to express desired ideas and different emotions.

Creative Imagination also manipulates space to juxtapose certain abstract ideas and feelings such as freedom, intimidation, fear among others. This is done by using strategic shot compositions such as tighter shots which compress space and whose effect communicates different ideas. For example interms of film language, tight shots are always used primarily to give finer detail of a subject. The moment where tight shot communicates intimidation and wearisomeness is at (*The*

Zulu Mask,16:26) when King Chamba is confronted by local South Africans outside Bree Raxi Rank.

The camera is zoomed tight into the details of his face with his eyes rolling right and left in an expression of timidity. The shot communicates a squeezed space for King Chamba, his rolling eyes suggest that he feels he has been enclosed in a cage and is looking for a possible way out of the tightened space. This shot thus communicate an idea of a lack of freedom. This scene is followed closely by a sequence at (*The Zulu Mask*,17:15) in which medium shots have been used to capture Nkosinathi having a good time roasting meet outside Florida lake with his three friends. In this scene unlike the previous one, we see the idea of a free space full of life. We see trees, the lake and a jovial Nkosinathi who is even making a phone call to his friend isiZulu. The strategic choices made to juxtapose these two social spaces using different shot compositions was creatively and imaginatively executed to demonstrate two different experiences by the two characters. King Chamba's social space is smaller and because of his language it is even getting tighter compared to Nkosinathi's social space which is free and wider. Thus, tight shots may always be used to give meanings such as feelings of intimidating social space, as opposed to medium shots used to indicate a feeling of free social space. It is important to note also that camera angles are used also to indicate feelings of power. For example, low angle shots may communicate feelings of authority while high angle shots demonstrate powerless status of characters.

In the film, *The Zulu Mask*, Nkosinathi's interview has been mostly taken using a low angle camera position to communicate how language has elevated his position in Johannesburg. There is no better place to demonstrate this as in a scene in the film during an interview in North Cliff

where he is pointing towards and commenting that "even you see, here men is my Joburg…Joburg is my place and I fear nothing here (*The Zulu Mask*,19:24)." Other images of Nkosinathi are mostly taken from a low angle as compared to King Chamba whose most images are taken from a high angle camera position to give a meaning of powerlessness. For example, in the film at point (*The Zulu Mask*, 02:40), we see a high angle shot of King Chamba who is walking alone on the street. We see the dwarfing effects imposed by the tall Johannesburg buildings. These are some of the operations of subjective creative imagination strategies used to manipulate space in order to communicate certain subjective realities.

In *The Zulu Mask* there are both natural and artificial sounds which are also used to give a sense of space. Natural sounds come in the form of interviews and ambient sounds of the environment. Artificial sounds have been used in the form of sound effects and music that accompany the documentary at different stages. The natural sounds and the artificial sound tracks help in moving the story line because they create the necessary mood required within each and every sequence. Most importantly, the sound also has been used creatively and imaginatively to communicate different spaces. The noise and chaos of the Methodist Church, the Hillbrow Tavern, the police siren of Johannesburg streets among others indexes our own knowledge of the existence of these spaces thereby compelling us to believe that the documentary is real.

4.8.3 Time

Time manipulation in film is not only meant to provide an illusion of continuity but also provide the illusion of discontinuity because, just as in real life, nothing can be said to be constant. As such, the film *The Zulu Mask* simulates this discontinuity as well. Mangliano *et al,* (2001:535) makes an observation that these conventions operate almost exclusively to create continuity or

discontinuity between a series of shots which are part of structured scenes. Time is one of the concepts which may fall within institutional facts or realities in the sense that even though we know it to exist, we are all very subjective about it.

However, there are rules and conventions that allow us to have some sort of understanding on how to interpret time. Therefore, we may say that time indeed objectively exists and that representation of that time remains subjective regardless of its objective existence. Time is also an idea that is difficult to discuss away from place because time does not exist in a vacuum but in a space. As has been already discussed in this paper, Bergson's provides distinction between two kinds of time: chronological time measured in more or less discrete units, as in clocks and metronomes; and psychological time which depends or compresses in consciousness and appears in continuous flux (in Bluestones, 1962:311). On his part, Loewy (2006 :72) explains that the feeling of time is evoked in a film through the montage of images and the rhythm of movement through space. Quoting Balaz (1924), Loewy explains that the passage of time in film is indicated by spatial symbols: The actual duration of sequences and cuts says little about the temporal impression they leave behind.

In *The Zulu Mask* film we have the above category of times in the sense that, the film was shot within a particular duration of time. It took several hours to plan and shoot the two different characters separately on specific days. This denotes chronological time. In addition to this, the film also tries to capture different times such as the historical times of the characters back in Zimbabwe, their journey into Johannesburg and their present life in the same space. These are three different kinds of times. The fourth category of time is the duration of the film which is 22 minutes. Thus we can divide the various times into two: the first one being the real time and the

second one being dramatic time. The end result of these times reflects subjective time because we cannot account for all the other times in just a matter of 22 minutes of film time.

The film uses visuals, sound and texts to compresses life events into very short moments which can be strung together as clips in a film. Different strategies have thus been employed to capture both the historical and present times using different creative strategies. The historical time in the film has been compressed using video filters which such as 'film grain', 'disachurate' and 'tint' filter. These are filters which are capable of turning coloured images into black and white thereby giving an impression. To achieve a sense of historical time in the film , I used wide close up shots of legs of young children in Soweto mixed with other medium shots of children I filmed in rural Kwa-Zulu Natal. In the film (*The Zulu Mask,* 02:51) when King Chamba speaks about his growing up in rural Zimbabwe, these images are used to give an impression of that time. Likewise, in the film (*The Zulu Mask,* 2:20), we see a filtered image of Mfundiso, a young Ndebele boy whom I used to give an impression of Nkosinathi's childhood time and experience. The historical time has also been compressed using archives particularly of the BBC. These can be seen in the film (*The Zulu Mask,* 03:32) which begins with the Gukurahundi Massacre of 1980-82.

The present time has been compressed and manipulated using camera shots, editing and various video and filmic images and transitions. The first strategy used to compress present time in film is through selectivity of the shots by a camera and the operator. The camera director does not always record everything but only the most dramatic parts of the action or space (Aigrain and Joly, 1994). In this case, we creatively collect only aspects of the world and the subject which can best certify our imagination of the word we are recording. For example, the shot of Mandela

Bridge was selected and shot four times and was about three minutes in duration. However, only about seven seconds of the entire footage was used in the film.

The second most crucial time compression technique is editing (Aigrain and Joly, 1994). Motion editing is the act of manipulation of motion and sill images in order to not only achieve the desired impression of time but to construct narrative (Aigrain and Joly, 1994).Within editing a number of strategies are creatively used to manipulate time, and to indicate different lifelike times.

For example, parallel editing helps in compressing time in the sense that though characters may be living their different lives separately, this narrative strategy enables us to almost experience their lives alongside each other. This is done by an omnipresent camera which seems to be capturing both lives together and the editing which compresses the two lives into one screen thereby enabling us to experience their lives simultaneously. In *The Zulu Mask*, parallel editing strategy has been used to enable us to experience the two characters simultaneously. From the opening sequence, we see King Chamba who introduces himself to us and informs us that he comes from Zimbabwe. In the next sequence, we are introduced to Nkosinathi who also informs us about himself.

The rest of the film is developed along this narrative strategy which simultaneously gives us bits and pieces of these characters' experiences and we are able at the same time to see how language helps Nkosinathi to survive in Johannesburg because he always has friends, and he is living in a house however small and he communicate mostly in isiZulu. On the other hand, King Chamba is mostly confined outside the Methodist Church in Central Johannesburg, and whenever he leaves

that place he encounters some kind of trouble. His misfortune is mainly because he always speaks English because he cannot speak the isiZulu language.

Optic transitions such as fade outs which indicates a transition from an image to the blank and fade in which indicates a transition from a blank into an image are both used to index transitions times in a film. Fade outs are used to mark the end of a sequence of events hence time, while fade-ins are used to mark the beginning of a sequence {of events}, hence time. In the film *The Zulu mask*, this strategy has been used to mark different filmic times of the characters from their early childhood life experience in Zimbabwe, to their journey into Johannesburg and their different life experiences in Johannesburg. Most importantly, this film deploys different transitional strategies to mark beginnings and ends of different times. Some of these strategies include the use of indexes of natural sunset, clouds, trees and buildings. A few examples suffices such as at the opening sequence in the very beginning at (*The Zulu Mask*, 00:59) we see the transition from the night shots into a sunset communicating the idea of not just morning time but also passing time.

The idea of a moving time has been indicated through the treatment of their story through filmic conventions such as narrative that both characters discuss in the film. After introducing themselves, they embark on telling us their history from the childhood to the journey into Johannesburg. This is a crucial method through which we make sense of a moving time within the film.

4.8.4 Character

Character is the third element of analysis which demonstrates the working of subjective Creative Imagination. In documentary film character refers to representations of individuals in a narrative. As has been mentioned in previously in this paper, documentary film conventions conceptualise characters as 'real'. For that manner, characters are normally indexed as subjects as opposed to fiction which calls them 'characters'. Again in documentary, the term assumes a "social actor" in documentary (Nichols, 2001) one who is real whereas in fiction it assumes one who is 'imagined' or created. However in documentary, individuals can be treated both as "characters" and "subjects" in the sense that they are usually considered 'real' people not 'imagined' and also in the sense that they can be directed and instructed to perform certain tasks like fiction actors. For example they may be directed to walk down the road, cook, read, sit still, sing, and speak certain words for the purposes of achieving certain filmic intentions, feelings and experiences.

For the purposes of this paper and analysis, character here is conceptualised using aspects of both documentary and fictional conventions. In the first instance, the characters/subjects are real people not cartoons. In addition to the above, both characters are real Zimbabwean of Shona and Ndebele descendants, a fact that also make them the objective subjective representative of the population sample under comparison. However ,as has been argued here before, because they are representatives, it means that they may not necessarily represent exact experiences of how language affects the survival of the members of their community. This therefore renders their existence and representation subjective. In addition to this, the treatment of these characters as will be demonstrated here again reinforces the subjectivity of their representation.

In the *The Zulu Mask*, these characters are represented as individuals who are living in a Johannesburg space but who are originally from Zimbabwe. We see this through the introduction of both King Chamba and Nkosinathi in the first sequences of the film. Thus they are represented as 'real' people according to documentary tradition. We see also other moments in the documentary when the characters assume the documentary conception as 'subjects' when for instance, both narrate their early lives, in Zimbabwe which helps in allowing us to know more about them and identify with them. Nkosinathi informs us of his primary school life back in Zimbabwe and we hear how he is reminiscent about things in Zimbabwe: "that time when I was still young everything looked okay and you know when you are still young you think everything is going to be fine…" (*The Zulu Mask*, 01:58).

On the other hand, we hear King Chamba speak about his relationship with his grandmother and how his mother ran away and that he does not know his father (*The Zulu Mask*, 02:34). We feel some realness in the kind of narrativesWe also experience these characters as fictional film characters. These occur in particular moments when the film is dramatized to create a particular experience or feeling. For example, King Chamba's night trip from Messina (*The Zulu Mask*, 07:04) in which we see some dramatized point of view shots of running and movements has been used to capture his experience which was not possible to capture in real life and which could only be dramatized using aspects of imagination and creativity. This was therefore achieved by recording his POV running shots which and edited using strobe and disachurate filters to create some dramatic night elements in order to enhance the feeling of fear. The drama in this sequence is also enhanced with the sound effect which gives a feeling of danger.

4.8.5 Characterisation

Characterisation as a fictional film strategy has also been used in this documentary film to show yet again that documentary can merge all the fiction strategies in its representation. Just like in fiction, documentary filmmakers are required to study and carefully chose their subjects (Rabiger, 2009). This helps in determining if they 'fit' the category or the character of the documentary subject. In film convention, characterisation comes about as a result of a script, the way that people are represented in a film a play or book (Cohen, 2001; Bandura et al, 1963). Characterisation therefore also assumes the normal behavioural traits of human beings and takes emotions of happiness, arrogance, peacefulness, calmness, selfishness and generosity into consideration in order to be identified by audiences (Bandura et al, 1963). These characters are normally developed and they go through changes in time and space and the viewer is allowed to identify with them in the course of their journey in the film's duration (Cohen, 2001). As stated earlier we get to experience and understand a character by their characterisation in other words, the way in which their behaviour has been characterised as the film progresses due to how they deal with different situations which they encounter within the life of a film.

These properties of characterisation are present in the documentary *The Zulu Mask*. In terms of 'objective' 'subjective' reality, characterisation falls into the subjective reality category whether used in documentary or in fiction film. This is because, within fiction film, characters acquire certain identities and follow certain trajectories as prescribed by the filmmaker. In *The Zulu Mask*, there are moments when subjects were directed to take particular actions and also reminded of what they had previously informed the director during the informal meeting with them**.** Besides, during the interview with the characters, they were often reminded to stay within

a particular line of discussion. Though no word was written to them to say, the fact that the director was interested only in particular topics point to the characterisation because such preferences ensured that the audiences experience these characters in a particular manner.

Visual representations and audio choices used in different characters also played a role in characterising the subjects. For example, King Chamba was portrayed as somebody not having very good experience in Johannesburg as opposed to Nkosinathi whose visual and audio representation of himself and his locations depicted a jovial free and likable person. One examples of King Chamba reinforces this suggestion. First is at *The Zulu Mask* (10:22) when King Chamba is approached by the private security officers outside Methodist church in Central Business District. The officers demand to know why he is selling illegally on the street. In this instance his characterisation appears to reflect a person who is operating against the law and one who is also ready to get involve in corrupt activity in order to survive. Though this scene was not planned to take the trajectory it took, the results of it and the fact that I have chosen to include it in the film point to the subjective characterisation within documentary film.

There are also moments of Nkosinathi which demonstrated aspects of characterisation. A good example is the eating scene (*The Zulu Mask*, 18:51) where we see Nkosinathi having a good time with his friends surrounded by ladies. This scene therefore represents Nkosinathi as a likable character.

Documentary, just like fiction, this analysis has attempted to demonstrate, share more in common than what. Fundamentally, as this work has tried to show, they both use our conscious minds to creatively and imaginatively manipulate space, time character and characterisation in their efforts to make a subjective sense of various aspects of the world

4.9 Conclusion

"It is so good that whether it is fact or fiction becomes secondary" (Karin Barber, 14:2009).

"*Ukiona vyaelea , ujue vimeundwa*" (If you see vessels float, remember that they have been built) (a well known Swahili Proverb).

The first quotation by Barber, though taken from a different context, can be applied within the understanding of the logic of creative imagination and realism. I understand this quote in the context of film construction to imply that filmmakers of both fiction and documentary attempt to use the everyday events within their frame of reference to produce films or documentaries that resonate with audiences' knowledge of life. To achieve this, filmmakers must think hard, plan meticulously and execute their concepts with little error in order for their films to be convincing. It does not matter therefore whether what has been represented is fact or fiction as long as it persuades and conveys the message of life likeness. This quote therefore appreciates the role played by our creative imaginative mind in shaping a film according to a filmmakers' frame of reference. The second quotation too reminds us that each and every good product that is appreciated has been made and that the process of making that kind of product does not just happen but it requires a thoughtful creative imagination. In this paper, I tried to put an argument that the fundamental link between documentary and fictional films is their quest to represent the real. To achieve this goal, both forms utilise the logic of Creative Imagination and realism. I demonstrated this hypothesis through a short documentary film *The Zulu Mask* which attempted

to represent the role of language in the survival strategies of migrants in Johannesburg. The Creative Imagination spectrum, I argued is fluid, flexible and elastic with three parts; two extremes and the middle, that is Fact, Fact +Fiction (Docu-fiction) and Fiction. Each of the three parts can play any role according to the creative imagination of a filmmaker. That is to say, fictional film can be made to look like docu-fiction or factual film, docu-fiction can be made to look like fiction or factual film and factual film can also be made to look like docu-fiction or fictional film. This because, as I have argued above, the logic of Creative Imagination spectrum manipulates time, space character and characterisation to resemble and to mimic the 'real' and this mimicry can take any shape depending on the wishes of the filmmaker. What matters at the end of the day, is how convincing a filmmaker has managed to use his/her logic of creative imagination and realism to mimic the real. A powerful and innovative concept, creative imagination imaginatively configures people as both subjects as actors and infuses a sense of creativity and invention through time,space character and characterisation in the construction of film reality.

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Flaherty, R. 1922. Nanook of the north.*(DVD)*

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Appendixes

Appendix (A)

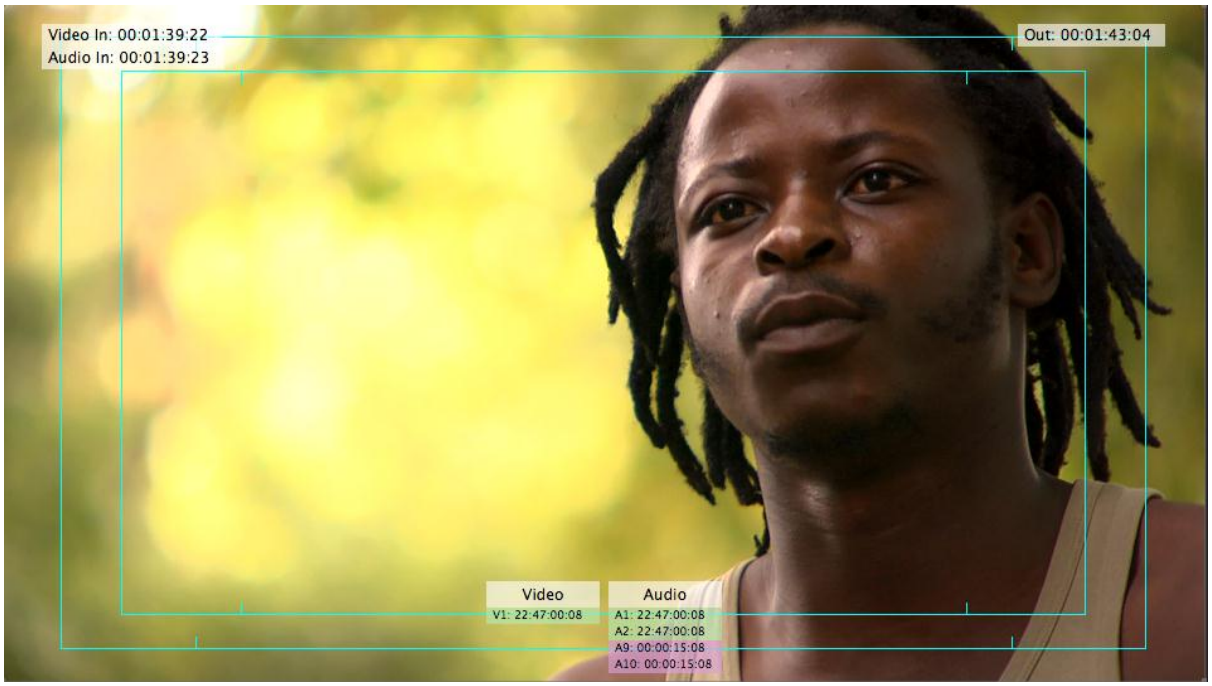


Figure 1: King Chamba- the Shona Character.



Figure 2: Nkosinathi Mabetha, the Ndebele character.

Appendix (B)



Figure 3: High-angle shot of King Chamba- depicting him as feeling low



Figure 4: Low angle shot of Nkosinathi Mabetha depicting him as upbeat and towering.

Appendix (C)



Figure 5: High angle shot of King Chamba, walking on the Johannesburg streets. The high angle shot dwarfs him.



Figure 6: Low angle shot of Nkosinathi Mabetha walking along the Newland's suburbs streets. The shot depicts him as confident, and concurring, with a bottle of beer in his hand.

Appendix (D)



Figure 7: Close-up shot of confrontation between King Chamba and a local at the open eating place outside the bree taxi rank, Johannesburg central business district.



Figure 8: Medium Close-up shot of Nkosinathi Mabetha enjoying meet with his friends at Florida lake, in Johannesburg.

Appendix E



Figure 10: King Chamba inside the Methodist church, Johannesburg central business district.



Figure 11: A local confronts King Chamba at the open eating place outside the bree taxi rank, Johannesburg central business district.

Appendix (F)



Figure 12: King Chamba is chased away by a local from an open eating place outside the bree taxi rank, Johannesburg central business district.



Figure 13: A humiliated King Chamba walks away from the angry locals who have chased him outside bree taxi rank, Johannesburg central business district

Appendix (G)



Figure 14: King Chamba- in blue top selling socks outside the Methodist church, as private security approaches him.



Figure 15: King Chamba is confronted by the private security outside the Methodist church for selling on the street.

Appendix (H)



Figure 16: Nkosinathi Mabetha, moments before his 'mask' of a skin goat wrist broke as his tries to wear it inside his small house in Newlands.



Figure 17: Nkosinathi Mabetha accidentally breaks his 'mask' of a skin goat wrist as he tries to wear it inside his small house in Newlands.

Appendix (I)



Figure 18: Nkosinathi Mabetha tries to mend his 'mask' of a skin goat wrist inside his small house in Newlands.



Figure 19: Nkosinathi Mabetha is forcefully dragged from his house in Newlands by his impatient friends who have waited for him for long as he tried to fix his broken 'mask' of skin goat wrist.

Appendixes (J)



Figure 20: Nkosinathi Mabetha, is surrounded two ladies as they drink and braai meet outside a tavern on Ontdekkers road



Figure 21: Nkosinathi Mabetha, is hugged by lady friend as they drink a tavern on Ontdekkers road

Appendix (K)



Figure 22: King Chamba plays pool at a tavern in Hillbrow



Figure 23: King Chamba is shouted at as they differ over pool game with locals inside a tavern in Hillbrow.

Appendix (L)



Figure 24: Nkosinathi Mabetha in bed with a lady friend inside his Newlands house.