Is *Tsotsi* (2005) a South African film? Implications of a Transnational Film theory for stylistic analysis in South African Film Studies.

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I declare that this assignment is my own work an work of others. This dissertation is in accordanc School guidance on good academic conduct (and assessment irregularities).	e with University of KwaZulu-Natal and
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Abstract

The aim of this dissertation is to explore the question: "Is Tsotsi (2005) so Hollywoodised as to be unrecognisably South African?" It is a question that relates to the style of *Tsotsi* from a perspective of a national paradigm. Using Appadurai's (1990) global flow theory that shows the flow of money, people, technology, media and ideology across and through borders, this dissertation begins to question the limitations imposed by a national framework. In the first chapter, the history of South African cinema shows that film emerged in a relationship with audiences as a transnational medium from its inception. Themes that emerge are those of hybridisation, indigenisation and a porous Hollywood/World cinema binary. The audience can be seen as active, and as supported by Hall's (1973) theory of reception, they contest, negotiate or accept dominant encodings. Various readings of Tsotsi are investigated highlighting the contestation that emerges from critical discourses involving race and Third cinema. These discourses themselves are subject to global flows as is Hollywood cinema that shows hybridisation and heterogeneity through the impact of various flows. A textual analysis of *Tsotsi* using the transnational methodology of directing craft, reveals that the film uses a sophisticated and heterogeneous style that is indigenised in many ways through the mise-en-scène, sound and lighting. Other cinematic codes, such as narrative structure and editing, show conventional approaches that are at times challenged by the breaking of rules. In conclusion, the dissertation finds that films allow for audiences to emotionally engage and transform themselves through "a series of elements (such as character, plots and textual forms) out of which scripts can be formed of imagined lives, their own as well as those of others living in other places" (Appadurai, 1990:299). This provides the final challenge as to whether Tsotsi is a South African film and the final answer can only be that it resides with the audiences of transnational cinema.

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Introduction

In 2006, *Tsotsi* (2005) won the Best Foreign Film award at the annual Academy Awards. It was an achievement that seemed to signal the coming of age of South African film. No other film from South Africa had won such a prestigious award or received such international acclaim. On returning to South Africa the cast and crew were greeted by many enthusiastic locals. For some it was a yet another reason to celebrate the transition to democracy. For others, however, this was evidence of something more troubling.

Apartheid-era South African films have a problematic space within film history, and have been routinely excluded from accounts of African cinema. Since the end of apartheid, South African films have circulated more widely and have attracted much more international interest (although even then, not always without controversy: when *Tsotsi* won the Academy Award for Best Foreign Language Film in 2006, many in its home country considered the film, which was directed by the white South African Gavin Hood, to be so 'Hollywoodised' as to be almost unrecognisably South African) (Ezra, 2007:168).

In this context, Ezra (2007) uses *Tsotsi* as an example that highlights the sometimes divisive and contradictory nature of the National film paradigm. *Tsotsi* certainly appears to be "South African" on the surface. The director, the cast and the crew are South African citizens. The story is set in South Africa and is written by South African Athol Fugard. The locations, production facilities and much of the equipment are all locally sourced. Even at the level of sound, the kwaito music and the dialogue are unique to South Africa. It is only when looking at the financing of the film that links to other countries become apparent, in this case the United Kingdom. This, however, is not what Ezra is referring to, but rather to the reaction of

Tsotsi's perceived "Hollywoodisation" in terms of the film's style.

Film style may be considered as the way a film is made using the narrative and dramatic subtext as a blueprint to articulate the basic building blocks of film – shot lengths, angles, lenses, staging, performance, lighting, sound and editing. For many filmmakers, educated in film schools, the interpretation of a narrative involves breaking down the screenplay into moments called 'beats'. The beats as explained by Proferes (2005) in his book *Film Directing Fundamentals* may serve a purely narrative function, or they may serve a dramatic function whereby various elements of style are used in simultaneous ways to express the sub-textual meaning in the imagery and sound. Adding further complexity to this understanding of style is the way different audience members may respond to it.

The aim of this dissertation is to foreground Transnational Film Studies in an effort to understand the style of *Tsotsi* (2005) not through a National film paradigm, but rather as a local film exhibiting global flows. It is a paradigm that encompasses the context and creative processes involved in working with the medium and that acknowledges the fluidity and disjunctures that may occur. Transnational film theory does not dismiss the value of National film but rather extends it by considering the multiple ways in which people, money, media, ideas and technology flow through the medium of film, and how these flows may impact on and influence the style of a film.

What follows is a brief summary of the various chapters. In Chapter 1 the challenge is to understand how developments in South Africa, seen through the lens of Appadurai's (1990) transnational scapes reveal cinema as being part of a global mediascape and a transnational medium from its inception. To this end the work of Thelma Gutsche (1972) in *The History*

and Social Significance of Motion Pictures in South Africa 1895-1940 (1972) is invaluable. The second major goal of this chapter is to explore the origins of classic Hollywood cinema both in terms of the developments in style but also as a response to audiences using cinema as a means to understand modern life. Here, Tom Gunning's theory of a 'Cinema of Attractions' and Miriam Hansen's theory of 'Cinema as vernacular modernism' are used to integrate Appadurai's transnational scapes within a framework that incorporates the movement of ethnoscapes, technoscapes, mediascapes, ideoscapes and financescapes within a transnational context. The goal is to acknowledge that cinema has always existed beyond the borders of the national.

In Chapter 2 the aim is to explore the prevailing contemporary critical theories used to understand films made in South Africa and to consider these theories in the context of global flows. The objective is not to replace National cinema with Transnational film theory but rather to circumscribe it, reaching beyond national borders and the structuring dichotomy of Hollywood versus World Cinema. It is not a utopian theory suggesting equal flows and directions: rather, it reveals many disjunctures. It does, however, allow for considerations, beyond the national, which are based on actual human activity and social agency as described by Appadurai (1996). In keeping with the findings of Chapter 1 that show global audiences, even from the earliest days, drawn to cinema's technology, its attractions, its ways of helping negotiate modernity and its use as an alternate public sphere, this chapter foregrounds audiences expressing their social agency through dominant, negotiated or oppositional readings of local films, in particular *Tsotsi* (2006). In addition this chapter explores the current state of the South African film industry and the hybridisation that has occurred in Hollywood films through the impact of transnational flows emanating though shifts in technology for example, and influences from other nations and directors such as Akira

Kurosawa.

Chapter 3 briefly outlines the production context of *Tsotsi*, highlighting the transnational dimensions and indigenisation inherent in the making of the film before providing a more detailed approach for the textual analysis of style. The methodology of directing craft is used as it flows through and across the Hollywood/World cinema binary and the various discourses that attempt to define a national cinema. More specifically, directing craft entails using various cinematic codes to articulate dramatic beats (Proferes, 2005) and is an approach used in many film schools and universities across the world to both encode and decode the style of a film.

Chapter 4 involves a textual analysis of *Tsotsi* (2005) using the cinematic codes of cinematography, mise-en-scène, editing and sound as applied to each moment of the film. In terms of cinematography, the important elements are shot lengths, camera movement and lighting. Shot lengths are examined as to how they work in relation to each other and whether they reveal a stylistic tendency. In terms of camera movement the goal is to identify the different types of movement such as craning, tracking, Steadicam, pans and tilts and to see how these are used to articulate dramatic beats. The lighting and colour is analysed to see how and when this reflects the mood of different scenes and if there are lighting or colour motifs. The predominant focus on the mise-en-scène is in terms of performance and staging. For visual editing the focus is on the continuity editing and how this is adapted over various scenes, particularly in terms of pacing and whether certain rules are broken. In terms of sound editing, the offsetting of audio used to create seamless transitions is also looked at. The final area of stylistic analysis focuses on the use of sound, particularly music and sound effects, and how they are used in combinations and separately to create thematic resonance.

Chapter 5 refines the findings of the textual analysis related to the structure of the narrative and various stylistic codes. The textual analysis of *Tsotsi* reveals many examples of indigenisation that occur especially through the mise-en-scène, lighting and sound. There are also aspects of the style that follow conventions, particularly in the editing where there is shot/reverse shot patterning, analytical editing, intercutting and offset sound editing used to create seamless transitions. However, there are also numerous breaks with convention such as the absence of establishing shots in some scenes, the use of jump-cutting, the limited use of intermediary shot lengths and camera movement, the breaking of the 180 degree rule and so on. Overall, the findings reveal that cinematic codes are used in multiple, diverse and sophisticated ways in an attempt to emotionally engage viewers. For these reason *Tsotsi* can be viewed as a film that exhibits heterogeneity, a feature of Appadurai's (1990) global flow theory.

The final chapter is a summary of the various chapters that have gone before and reconciles the heterogeneous style of Tsotsi with the notions of an active audience suggesting that the answer to the question – "Is *Tsotsi* a South African film?" – is finally dependent on the varied readings by the audience who are able to contest, negotiate or accept the dominant encoding.

Chapter 1 – The transnational beginnings of film in South Africa

The aim of this chapter is twofold. Firstly the challenge is to understand how developments in South Africa, seen through the lens of Appadurai's transnational 'scapes reveal cinema as being part of a global mediascape and a transnational medium from its inception. To this end the work of Appadurai and Thelma Gutsche in *The History and Social Significance of Motion Pictures in South Africa 1895-1940* (1972) is invaluable. The latter is the only work that covers the early period of South African Cinema and is acknowledged as such by key South African film scholars as Tomaselli (2007), Maingard (2007) and Masilela (2000a). The second major goal of this chapter is to explore the origins of classic Hollywood cinema both in terms of the developments in style but also as a response to audiences using cinema as a means to understand modern life. Here, Tom Gunning's theory of a 'Cinema of Attractions' and Miriam Hansen's theory of 'Cinema as vernacular modernism' will be used to integrate Appadurai's (1990) transnational scapes within a framework that incorporates the movement of ethnoscapes, technoscapes, mediascapes, ideoscapes and financescapes within a transnational context. The goal is to acknowledge that cinema has always existed beyond the borders of the national.

To begin with, it is worth exploring how Appadurai (1990) views cultural flows. His anthropological approach details actual human activity within the constraints of global flows, placing social agency at its center, challenging the fears of homogenization that invariably end up as either an argument about Americanization or commoditization. He believes that as rapidly as the forces from various parts of the world are brought into new societies, they tend to become indigenized in one way or another. This he mentions is true of music and housing

styles, science and terrorism, spectacles and constitutions. Another point that Appadurai (1990) makes is that indigenization can happen between dominant and other countries outside the scope of America and he gives the example of the "Japanisation" of Korea. For him there is always the fear of absorption by polities of a larger scale – "One man's imagined community is another man's political prison". According to Appadurai (1990), polarization models (producers/consumers; center/periphery) can no longer be used to explain the global cultural economy. Rather, Appadurai (1990) looks at global cultural flows. He explains them as follows:

Ethnoscapes – "Ethnoscapes are landscape[s] of people in constant motion such as tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guestworkers and other moving groups and persons. These 'people in motion' constitute an essential feature of the world and appear to affect the politics of (and between) nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree" (Appadurai, 1990:329).

Mediascapes – Appadurai (1990:330) notes two main characteristics of mediascapes. The first characteristic involves "the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information," (newspapers, magazines, television stations and film production studios) and the second involves "the images of the world created by these media." Mediascapes are deemed to provide 'large and complex repertoires' of images and narratives to local groups around the world, which are used in creating local narratives, and providing metaphors through which people live.

Technoscapes – Technoscapes refer to the "global configuration...of technology, and the fact that technology, both high and low, both mechanical and informational, now moves at high speeds across various kinds of previously impervious boundaries" driven by "increasingly

complex relationships between money flows, political possibilities and the availability of both un- and highly skilled labor (Appadurai, 1990:329).

Financescapes refer to the flows in "currency markets, national stock exchanges and commodity speculations" (Appadurai, 1990:330).

Ideoscapes "are often directly political and frequently have to do with the ideologies of states and counter-ideologies of movements explicitly orientated to capturing state power or a piece of it" (Appadurai, 1990:331).

The nature of these flows cause us to question ideas surrounding the explanatory power of the national sovereignty model and this leads to the exploration of the traditional Hollywood versus 'Other' dichotomy and the solidity of the borders between these two categories.

Traditionally the 'Other' has been conceived of as World Cinema defined more specifically as various National Cinemas. Transnational film theory problematises the binary taking into account the border crossing that Appadurai (1990) refers to in his scapes.

In its simplest guise, the transnational can be understood as the global forces that link people and institutions across nations. Key to transnationalism is the recognition of the decline of national sovereignty as a regulatory force in global coexistence. The impossibility of assigning a fixed national identity to much cinema reflects the dissolution of any stable connection between a film's place of production and/or setting and the nationality of its makers and performers. This is not in itself a new phenomenon; what is new are the conditions of financing, production, distribution and reception of cinema today (Ezra and Rowden, 2006).

It could be argued though that the "decline in national sovereignty" is not something new and that cinema has been a transnational medium from its inception as Gutsche's (1972) writing reveals.

Gutsche (1972) begins her history of cinema in South Africa by detailing the events that led up to the first public screening that happened a few months after the Lumière Brothers' famous screening in Paris, December 1895. In 1896, Carl Hertz, a travelling magician, acquired a projector from Robert Paul in London along with five films. He wanted to take the new invention to South Africa as part of his magician's repertoire. Unfortunately, after arriving in Johannesburg he realized that having only 5 films running at around 30 seconds each was insufficient to warrant a change in his programme. He then hastily acquired more films at a Kinetoscope parlor but the sprocket holes didn't fit Paul's machine. Hertz then came up with the idea of cementing fresh film over the Edison films and then punching new sprocket-holes. Luckily for Hertz it worked and on 11th May 1896, four and a half months after the Lumière Brothers' screening in Paris, Hertz showed his films to the public in South Africa.

"The five films taken by Paul in London were ludicrous in the extreme. They consisted of *A Highland Fling* danced by a Scottish couple, *Street Scenes in London* (always a topical favorite to many exiled Londoners), *Tommy Atkins with his Girl in the Park* (which was merely a scene of a soldier flirting in Hyde Park), *A Military Review* and *A Scene from Trilby*. The twenty kinetoscope films which had been much used and were scratched and blurred, suffered also from the effect of the new sprocket holes Hertz had grafted on them. They were mostly of Dickson's manufacture and included the famous slapstick *Scene in a Barber's Shop*,

Carmencita's Skirt Dance, The Tide Coming In, A Fireman saving a child (which always caused great excitement amongst audiences), A prize Fight etc., etc."

(Gutsche, 1972:13).

Hertz went on to show these films throughout South Africa, to almost always full houses.

In documenting the audience response to these films, Gutsche (1972) mentions that viewers were intrigued by the movement that they saw on the screen, especially the pedestrians and cars in London and the fluid motion of waves breaking upon a shoreline. In London the affect was the same as noted by the following review:

The most successful effect, and one which called forth rounds of applause from the usually placid members of the "Royal" was a reproduction of a number of breaking waves, which may be seen to roll in from the sea, curl over against a jetty, and break into clouds of snowy spray that seemed to start from the screen (Review in Thompson, K. and Bordwell D. 1994:10).

This is the first indication that narrative wasn't the main concern of audiences during the early days of cinema rather, it was the ability to 'see' something and the technology that enabled it. In the advertisement for his shows in South Africa, Hertz gave the projector top billing¹ (Gutsche 1972:13). This was happening in other parts of the world too.

¹ As Edison's kinetoscope had not been patented outside of the United States, numerous inventors across Europe came up with their own inventions. In South Africa, the first machine used was a modification of Edison's kinetoscope which Robert Paul had turned into a projector. It was sufficiently different from other inventions to enable him to get a patent for it. Even though it was based on the kinetoscope it was unable to play these films because of the different sprocket holes. This required the further intervention of Hertz who managed to adapt the sprocket holes. To further complicate things Hertz called his projector a Cinematographe in his advertising due to the popularity of the Lumiere brothers' invention (Gutsche 1972:13).

Early audiences went to exhibitions to see machines demonstrated (the newest technological wonder, following in the wake of such widely exhibited machines and marvels as X-rays or earlier, the phonograph) rather than to view films. It was the Cinematographe, the Biograph or the Vitascope that were advertised on the variety bills in which they premiered, not *Le Dejeuner de Bébé* or *The Black Diamond Express* (Gunning, T. 2006:383).

The projector was the 'technological wonder' that created the illusion of movement by taking 16 individual frames every second and passing them in front of a lamp. One of them, the Cinematographe, based its technology on the same mechanisms that were found in sewing machines (Thompson and Bordwell, 1994). The technology used for some projectors, however, was far from perfect. The ability to operate these new machines was to provide a major challenge for many early projectionists. Gutsche (1972:19) writes: "If an operator were able to get a film engaged on the cogged wheels of his projector and kept straight during its mad rush without breaking, he might count on a respite of 30 seconds". Film would pour out of the projector and land up in a box or bag on the floor. Also, the lack of electricity in some locations meant that gas had to be used which "emitted flashes of light and small explosions"- which meant the quality of the projections varied wildly. Gutsche (1972:19) adds, "The early machines clanked, rattled and whirred and audiences were in constant danger of the whole thing exploding". In 1897, disaster struck in Paris when 121 people perished at a Charity Bazaar due to a projector causing a fire (www.moviesite.com, 2017). For the sake of audiences, there was an obvious need to better the quality of the technology and these changes were to come from all over the world or from what Appadurai (1996) would call a global technoscape.

one moment when the cinema emerged. Rather the technology of the motion picture came through an accumulation of contributions. (Bordwell and Thompson, 1994:7)

Appadurai (1996) writes that the scapes indicate irregularity and fluidity because they are all in constant change and this leads to heterogeneity and indigenisation. For example, as people move, ethnoscapes change; as technology is moved around and invented, technoscapes change. Changes in the reach and the extension of different media from different places make the mediascapes change. For Appadurai (1996) these scapes are the building blocks of multiple imagined worlds of historically situated people and groups around the world. As people encounter the flows, they do so from their own historical context so worldviews that are constructed are dependent on who people are, where they are, what scapes they see and how they interpret them (Appadurai, 1996). An example from the early days of cinema in South Africa shows how the reception of film technology becomes indigenized by referring to Mrs. James and her touring bioscope projector (Gutsche, 1972:27). Because of the quality of her shows, the experience of watching films became popularly known as "going to bioscope," a phrase that became unique to South Africans and that lasted well into the latter parts of the 20th Century. In England and France audiences remained faithful to the experience of the "cinematographe" which became shortened to "cinema" whilst on the rest of the continent the "kinematograph" became "kino." In America "moving" and "motion pictures" eventually became shortened to "movies". Powell and Steele (2011) writing about Appadurai (1996) and his 'scapes note that:

Ordinary people can and do imagine themselves in different circumstances and different places, due to the increased rates of migration and the technologies that

transmit images of other lifestyles and other places. He emphasizes that these lifestyles and places are not fantasy, but are more properly imagined than fantasized. The mediascapes that people are exposed to stimulate agency and the imagination (Powell, J. and Steel, R. 2011:76).

Jumping forward in time to the late 1920s allows one to see sound technology as part of the global technoscape allowing for new 'imaginings' derived from the repertoire of images in the mediascape, and is revealed in Gutsche's (1972:217-227) discussion on the arrival of the sound-film in South Africa. Intriguingly this seems to have facilitated a convergence of what can be termed the 'elitist theatre audience' with the middle and poor classes that made up film audiences of the time. On the 13th September 1929, Kinemas showed the first feature length talkie called Syncopation (1929). It was "rapturously received", running for 63 consecutive performances in Johannesburg (Gutsche, 1972:209). The challenge to theater, still popular with the elite classes, lay on two fronts: firstly, the great literary works of the theater that relied on dialogue could now be effectively shown through the medium of film. Furthermore, sound opened up possibilities for both old and new genres such as musicals and the screwball comedies that would become extremely popular during the 1930s and 1940s. The other major benefit to film was that performance styles could evolve more realistically away from the pantomime and slapstick comedy of early film. Although these styles had reached acclaimed heights with the work of Chaplin, Keaton, Pickford and others, sound offered an "unbounded range of expression" (Gutsche 1972:221). During the period 1931-1937, the status of the cinema in society fundamentally changed. Previously it had been a very popular form of entertainment but the advent of the talkie films enhanced its status and prestige, so much so that every sector of the public began to patronize the cinema. It is worth noting here that Gutsche (1972:385) writes very little about the segregation of audiences,

although she mentions, "it became general practice to admit non-Europeans, regardless of race, either to the gallery of 'bioscopes' or, when such did not exist, to the front seats at especially low charges".

Gutsche (1972: 245) also writes of the effect that the talkies had on language itself, saying that the predominance of American film at the time introduced "both slang and mispronunciation as well as catch phrases such as 'O.K', 'Sez you', 'Oh yeah' etc. instead of King's English or pure Afrikaans. Initially this seems to support the cultural imperialism argument, but Gutsche (1972:245) writes that the American accent was later modified to become more of a hybrid combination of English and American as "the twang had no universal appeal" and furthermore certain different pronunciations "produced only amusement in Union audiences". In this example the negotiation between viewers and the medium, central to reception theory and Appadurai's (1990) notions of heterogenisation and indigenization, appear to be at play.

The disjunctures that occur between Appadurai's (1990) scapes, in this case the technoscape and mediascape, become apparent as sound technology not only provided liberating possibilities as mentioned earlier but also imposed restrictions, initially limiting the movement of both actors and the camera, leading to images that were predominantly static and films that became known as 'teacup dramas'. Parkinson (1996:85) writes, "so limited was the range of the earliest microphones that performers had to deliver their dialogue directly into them thus restricting intra-frame movement to silent passages." Coupled to this were the limitations imposed on camera movement that, along with the operator, had to be enclosed within a large booth. Later innovations such as soundproofed housings for cameras and the boom-pole microphone enabled movement to be restored to the film images that

circulated in the mediascape.

Before returning to the mediascape it is worth considering movement and flow as an underlying theme in the ethnoscape that shaped early cinema in South Africa. Initially films were shown as novelties, as a 'turn' within vaudeville, touring variety parties, circuses and skating rinks (Gutsche, 1972:31). The advent of the Anglo-Boer War in 1899 and its impact on the movement of people was, however, to change the nature and status of exhibition in key ways. Gutsche (1972: 48) writes: "The immediate effect of the war was to reduce the entertainment world to chaos from which the established exhibition of films was to emerge." Initially the war meant that the professional touring theatre parties that were comprised of mostly overseas players from England were discouraged from coming to South Africa leading to a large void in entertainment for people in the towns such as Cape Town and Durban. Johannesburg, Pretoria and the then Transvaal, which had been largely abandoned. The influx of refugees from affected areas and the arrival of thousands of Imperial troops in Durban amidst the general state of tension created a demand for distraction. On 23d May 1900, W. Wolfram ²rented out the Masonic Hall in Smith Street, Durban and began showing mostly topical Boer War films shot by the Warwick Trading Company. It wasn't long before 'Wolfram's Bioscope' was playing to full houses, the audiences impressed with the clear and almost flicker-less films along with the cheap prices for admission. He then went on a tour of Natal before arriving in Cape Town where his films were also greeted by enthusiastic audiences. At the same time the Biograph had left Johannesburg and arrived in Cape Town. "The superior merits of the Biograph films, their extraordinary size, clearness, stereoscopic effect and lack of flicker assured it of appreciative audiences anywhere; but in Cape Town, tensed and craving distraction where none was available, it had unprecedented success"

² Very little is known of the personal life of Wolfram, although he was of German origin (Gutsche: 1972:60)

(Gutsche,1972:50). Like 'Wolfram's Bioscope' the Biograph went on tours to various towns but was limited to some degree by its need for electricity. Unlike Wolfram's programme, which later began to include the imaginative films of Méliès (often in colour), most of the Biograph films were patriotic films from England. It was these two enterprises that popularized cinema in South Africa not as a 'turn' within a variety or vaudeville show but as a legitimate form of entertainment that could stand on its own in the context of the evolving ethnoscape of the Boer War. Although the itinerant showmen would later disappear from the landscape, it is intriguing to note how they themselves form part of a transnational nomadic group, facilitated and constituted by a technoscape. Gutsche (1972:67) provides a colourful description of some of the lesser known showmen who travelled the small towns and 'dorps'³.

At such places, the wagon was outspanned, a native was hired and, equipped with sandwich boards and a bell, was sent through the dorp advertising the show. Sometimes 'dodgers' or hand-bills were printed and distributed; and sometimes the small children who came to stare at the strangers were induced to sell tickets, small prizes such as twisted wire bangles with imitation bone pigs attached, being given to the seller of the largest number. Almost invariably, practically the whole population attended the show – it was the only kind of 'sensation' that ever came their way (Gutsche 1972:67-68).

Although not mentioned by Gutsche (1972), Tomaselli (2006:121) writes about Sol Plaatje, the African National Congress secretary who endeavored to bring the visual technology of modernity to black South Africans. Plaatje used a Ford motor car, a generator and a film projector to travel to rural areas and towns in order to educate people about the political

³ Afrikaans word for "small town".

situation in South Africa and the New Negroes in the United States. His story was later made into a film called *Come See the Bioscope* (1997) directed by Lance Gewer, the director of photography for Tsotsi.

Returning to the mediascape of early film from 1896 to 1906 reveals a remarkable heterogeneity of films throughout the world (Gunning, 2006). Heterogeneity is at the heart of Appadurai's theory of global flows and examining the mediascape of early cinema provides a further understanding of style that transcends the bounds of the national and also what Gunning (2006:381) terms "the hegemony of narrative cinema." For Gunning (2006), the emphasis on narrative distorts the actual forces that were shaping cinema at the time. He writes that until 1906, in the United States the most dominant films were actualities and this was also the case in South Africa⁴ (Gutsche, 1972). A key feature of many of these actualities was literally the movement within the frame: *The Arrival of the Train at La Ciotat*⁵(1895) showed a train that moved towards the audience, *Rough Sea at Dover* (1895) showed the motion of waves breaking and Gutsche (1972:24) refers to *Serpentine Dance* (1896) as "so true to life and with so marvelous and beautiful movements that the spectators forgetfully applauded not the exhibition but the graceful artiste herself". Gunning (2006) adds to this fascination with movement by suggesting it was the cinema's ability to "show" something that attracted audiences. Examples of this are the frequent engagement of actor's

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⁴ Gutsche (1972) writes that in 1906, Charles Urban managing director of the Warwick Trading Company sent a team of cameramen to South Africa to cover an ambitious project called *From Cape to Cairo*. The series of short films played to packed houses in London. "A large number dealt with Natal – life in Zululand, the whaling industry, Hulett's Tea Plantations, the Mahurram Festival, ricksha riding, the Durban beach etc, etc" (Gutsche,1972). Rufe Naylor from Africa's Amalgamated Theatres began showing topical films shot in Johannesburg. By 1913 items were being shot from all over the Union. These short films were combined in the first newsreel, The African Mirror, which became part of the African Films Trust. Joseph Albrecht was part of the team that took these films and later became known as "the father of the South African film production industry" (Gutsche, 1972).

⁵ The popular myth that surrounds this film is that when audiences saw the train moving towards them they were shocked and instinctively moved away from the screen (Gutsche, 1972:21).

eyes with the camera, the knowing looks of comedians to their audiences and the bowing of performers. "This is a cinema that displays its visibility, willing to rupture a self-enclosed fictional world for the chance to solicit the attention of a spectator" (Gunning 2006: 64). One of the examples used by Gunning (2006), The Bride Retires (1902) shows the tensions between a simple narrative and exhibitionism. In the film a bride undresses while her husband peers from behind a screen, yet it is the audience that the bride addresses as she smiles and winks towards the camera. Gutsche (1972:27) referring to films of this nature reveals her own classism and conservativism, shared by some of the public and media of the time, when she writes that "[t]he cinema's potentialities for good were, however, completely overshadowed by its potentialities firstly for vulgarity and then for what was considered downright evil." Referring to the film *The Kiss* (1896), Gutsche (1972:28) writes that it bordered on the immoral, although it raised cheers from what were considered "the lowminded audiences." This reveals a clear disjuncture between notions of morality within the ideoscape and the images circulated within the mediascape, and shows the beginnings of censorship that would eventually drive this form of exhibitionist cinema underground. Thompson and Bordwell (1994) write that these tensions arose in America as well.

"The quick spread of nickelodeons led to social pressures aimed at reforming the cinema. Many religious groups and social workers considered the nickel theatres sinister places where young people could be led astray. The movies were seen as a training ground for prostitution and robbery. French films were criticized for treating adultery in a comic fashion. Violent subject matter such as reenacted executions and murders were common fare early in the nickelodeon boom" (Thompson and Bordwell, 1994:36).

Nevertheless, Gutsche (1972:68-69) affirms Gunning's (2006) views when she discusses

newspaper reports that described audiences who "were easily entertained by the many 'sensations' that were possible such as oncoming locomotives, galloping horses and of course the numerous tricks."

The most popular of the trick films in South Africa were those made by Méliès (as was the case in many other countries). Gutsche (1972:52) writes that "these amazing films with their 'dissolving views' and spectacular trick effects fascinated the ingenuous public of the time and served to pack Wolfram's shows nightly". For Gunning (2006), even the 'trick' films that had a semblance of narrative such as those made by Méliès, can be understood in similar ways to those without narratives. "One can unite them in a conception that sees cinema less as a way of telling stories than as a way of presenting a series of views to the audience, fascinating because of their illusory power (whether the realistic illusion offered to the first audiences by the Lumière brothers, or the magical illusion concocted by Méliès" (Gunning, 2006:382). This view of cinema is supported by Méliès himself.

As for the scenario, the 'fable' or 'tale,' I only consider it at the end. I can state that the scenario created in this manner has no importance, since I use it merely as a pretext for the 'stage effects' or for a nicely arranged tableau. (Méliès quoted in Gunning, 2006:382).

Although the Lumières and Méliès were French, the diversity of their films shows no inherent French style. Rather, the heterogeneity of their films shows that they were largely influenced by their own specific choices and the response of transnational audiences made up of different classes and nationalities that sought the sensation offered by a cinema of attractions.

The nature of these early screenings themselves were further diversified by shifting ethnoscapes in the form of itinerant showmen who would edit and order their program of films and provide their own unique sound effects, commentary and/or music to accompany films. In many ways each screening across the world was unique and indigenized to some degree. This needs to be understood in conjunction with the technoscape where the novelty of the projection itself attracted audiences. Gunning (2006) refers to these modes of exhibition in his writing, which are a key feature of the mediascape and technoscape. One example is the Hale's Tours which were more akin to fairground attractions than to going to the theatre. Hale's Tours became the most popular chain of cinemas at the time that showed films exclusively. The films were shot from actual trains and then projected within a venue that resembled a train carriage with sound effects of a train and a conductor to take the tickets. According to Gutsche (1972:20) these shows were often remembered as people's first experience of the cinema.

As the novelty of "animated pictures" gradually began to wane, other genres began to proliferate especially short comedic films, Westerns and melodramas. "A bewildering heterogeneity followed on the widespread popularity of the fiction film and the products of every European and American producer were shown in South Africa" (Gutsche, 1972:105). This said, a number of identifiable features were developing. Firstly, the length of films had increased to an average of 1000 feet (approx. 15 minutes); secondly because of the large variety of films, audiences had to become more discriminating and tended to favor the American productions "with the superior technique and comparatively innocuous excitement" (Gutsche, 1972:108). American production companies such as Vitagraph, Edison, American Biograph and Imp began to attach their names to their films as the first inklings of what would eventually become an all-embracing studio system. Thirdly, the

incipient film industry began to introduce the "star" film player for the public's attention.

Amongst the early stars appreciated by South Africans were Maurice Costello, Florence

Lawrence ("The Imp Girl"), Mary Fuller and others. The fourth and final feature identified by

Gutsche (1972) was the consolidation of the topical films into newsreels, the *Warwick*Chronicle and the Pathe Gazette being two examples. By 1910, the bioscope was becoming

firmly entrenched in the social lives of people in the big towns.

By the middle of 1910, the importance of the cinema as a popular amusement was such that the Press throughout South Africa daily devoted columns to the opening of new theatres, the changing of programmes in established 'picture palaces', the advent of new films, etc. An element of surprise that the 'bioscope' should continue its popularity infused such comment; but there was no gainsaying that the 'bioscope' had intruded itself on the notice of a far wider public than previously (Gutsche, 1972:108)

To this point what has been considered has largely been the technoscape, the ethnoscape and the images provided by the mediascape. However, Appadurai's (1990) notion of a mediascape also involves "the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information". In the following section the establishment of permanent cinemas and the formation of global film circuits are dealt with.

Gutsche (1972) writes that in 1908, Frederick Mouillot visited South Africa and decided that the development of permanent cinemas would be a viable proposition. He had formed a company in England entitled "Electric Theatres Ltd" that created the opportunity for the movement of films through a circuit of cinemas. On the 29th July 1909, the first "Electric Theatre" in South Africa was opened in Durban. This theatre proved very successful and for

weeks at a time, it provided the only entertainment in town. A further "Electric Theatre" was opened on the 11th December 1909 for "Coloured People Only" on the corner of Grey and Alice streets in Durban. The success of these ventures led to further outlets in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Germiston (Gutsche, 1972).

The Electric Theatres Company did not last long due to the short-term outlook of the enterprise and the fact that South Africa was being used as a dumping ground for films worn out on the English circuit. The opening of the "Theatre de Luxe" in Cape Town had, however, inspired others to take up the challenge. Woolfram, who had been successful in Natal, moved to Cape Town and opened his own permanent theatre in the form of "Woolfram's Bioscope" which seated 565 people, and that later became an institution in Cape Town. His only other major competitor was "Fisher's Elite Bioscope" which rivalled Woolfram's in popularity and reputation (Gutsche, 1972).

By the end of 1910 there were numerous bioscopes across the country. Initially films were imported directly from overseas and when combined with elements of live vaudeville theatre were known as bio-vaudeville. Gutsche (1972) writes that this proved to be a costly exercise coupled to the low entrance fees and ended up put immense pressure on cinema owners. Rufe Naylor, who had set about building the Orpheum picture palace (seating 1500 people) in Johannesburg, found the going difficult and merged with the Union Bioscope Company, which then became known as Africa's Amalgamated Theatres. The Empire Theatres company was another powerful combine of the time that formed through various mergers between smaller companies. The competition, however, reached "suicidal proportions' and on 13th March 1913 it was announced that the Empire Theatres Company had gone into

provisional liquidation. "Many individuals interested in the salvation of the bio-vaudeville business decided to approach Mr. I.W. Schlesinger, a Johannesburg financier (an American by birth) whose success in the insurance world, had gained him a considerable reputation for business organisation and financial acumen" (Gutsche, 1972). Schlesinger formed a company called the African Theatres Trust on the 16th May 1913 and proceeded to acquire the Empire Theatres Company along with Africa's Amalgamated Theatres and numerous other struggling enterprises. In a very short space of time, African Theatres Trust had become a monopoly that circulated both its vaudeville players and films throughout the country. "With almost all the important exhibitors under a single control, it was no longer necessary to import so many programmes" (Gutsche, 1972).

During the First World War, the feature film emerged (running on average about 75 minutes) along with the popularity of stars such as Chaplin and Pickford, directors such as D.W. Griffith and genres such as the slapstick comedy. The innocuous humor of Charlie Chaplin had considerable influence in breaking down the cinema's disrepute and the famous and much-lauded epics, *Cabiria* (1914) and *Intolerance* (1916), through magnitude and lavishness, impressed the public at large (Gutsche, 1972). An interesting example of Appadurai's notion of indigenization occurred amongst black audiences in South Africa where Chaplin became a favorite and was given the name 'SiDakwa' meaning 'little drunk man' (Maingard, 2007). Miriam Hansen (2002) suggests that one way this notion of indigenization can be understood is that Hollywood cinema succeeded not because of its universal narrative form but rather because films meant different things to different people all over the world. Hansen (2002:341) writes that "We must not forget that these films, along with other mass cultural exports, were consumed in locally quite specific, and unequally developed, contexts and conditions of reception". Hansen (2002) goes on to provide

examples of the reflexive potential of slapstick comedy by suggesting this can often be seen through the plot, performance and mise-en-scène that articulates and plays games with the violence of technological regimes, mechanization, clock time and the terror of consumption. She also suggests that comedy was a vital site to engage with multi-ethnic conflicts and pressures of modern life as well as dealing with the anxieties over changed gender roles and new forms of sexuality and intimacy.

Despite the audiences' agency reflected within the visuals of the mediascape, American film was beginning to exert its dominance within the financescape. Prior to 1912 most American film companies were concerned with their own domestic market. However, the beginning of World War 1 caused the cessation of much European film production, and American film production stepped in to fill the void⁶. After the war, the United States maintained its position chiefly due to economic factors that are explained by Thompson and Bordwell (1994).

Up to the mid-1910s, when most of an American film's income came from the domestic market, budgets were modest. Once a film could predictably earn more money abroad, its budget could be higher. It could then recoup its costs in the United Stated and be sold cheaply abroad, undercutting local national production. By 1917, Hollywood firms estimated costs based on both domestic and foreign sales. Accordingly, producers invested in big sets, lavish costumes and more lighting equipment. Highly paid stars like Mary Pickford and William S. Hart were idolized around the world. (Thompson and Bordwell 1994:55-56)

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⁶ The First World War provided the impetus for South Africa to begin making its own fiction films, the two key reasons being that there was a disruption to the regular supply of films and secondly, America was now forcing the prices up on its own product. "It was therefore proposed to make 'South African films for South African audiences which could also be sold on the overseas market" (Gutsche, 1972). From 1916 onwards a steady stream of short fictional films were produced by African Film productions along with the epic *De Voortrekkers* (1916) which Gutsche (1972) suggests "would have demanded the full resources, both financial and technical, of the best equipped Hollywood studio of the day".

Clearly a global financescape is evident in these early days of cinema and has persisted into contemporary times. These unequal capital flows have caused contestation within ideoscapes. In the early 1920s, for example, there was a developing backlash against American films due to the scandals involving the stars and the predominance of stereotypes involving the "vamps", "sheiks" and "dope addicts" amongst others which were thought to reflect the real lifestyles of the stars. Gutsche (1972:178) explains that "the Arbuckle Affair ⁷substantiated much of this disrepute and accentuated apprehension concerning the growing 'Americanisation' of dominion and colonial audiences". In 1926, Schlesinger joined the Board of British International Pictures tasked with attempting to break the American monopoly. The focus at that stage was not so much on quotas, but rather on trying to produce sufficient and suitable British films that could compete with the American output. Gutsche (1972:180) writes, however, that "the question of a government subsidy of the British film industry was tempered by the fear of 'endowing incompetence,'" a reference most likely to the challenges of emulating classic Hollywood style.

Although classical film style was considered as being the approach Hollywood used to make films, many of these narrative devices had in fact emerged in different countries from across the world, suggesting that they can be understood as being part of a global mediascape.

By 1917, filmmakers had worked out a system of formal principles that were standard in American filmmaking. That system has come to be called the classical Hollywood cinema. Despite this name, many of the basic principles of the system were being worked out before filmmaking was centered in Hollywood, and indeed,

⁷ In September 1922 Roscoe (Fatty) Arbuckle, one of the most popular comedians of the day was arrested on a charge of murdering Virginia Rappe, an actress who died after a party at Arbuckle's apartment after he allegedly raped her. He was later acquitted.

many of those principles were first applied in other countries (Thompson and Bordwell, 1992:39).

With classic Hollywood cinema, narrative events are organised around a basic structure of enigma and resolution (Kuhn, 2007:45). Events typically play out in a cause and effect chain so that each event is linked with the next, exhibiting a temporal and spatial coherence. "Moreover, events are propelled forward through the agency of fictional individuals or characters" (Kuhn, 2007:45). These central characters have specific personalities, goals, motivations and desires and it is their resulting actions that constitute the chain of events. Another noteworthy feature of the classic narrative is the high degree of closure that it exhibits. Kuhn (2007: 46) explains that applying classic narrative to film means that certain demands are made of the cinematic codes. The first demand is that the narrative is continually propelled forward, and then that each causal link between each event is clear. Thirdly, the fictional world needs to be credibly constructed from the film location, and finally the agency of the central characters needs to be established and maintained throughout the narrative process. Cinematic codes that strive to make the narrative more comprehensible are evident in cinematography, mise-en-scène, editing and in later years sound. One of the key features that distinguished the early days of Hollywood style was continuity editing which could also be considered as part of a broader mediascape.

In this following section Thompson and Bordwell (1994: 41) explain the foundations of the continuity system that was to form the basis of classic Hollywood style and how it was present in other nations across the world. They begin by quoting Alfred Capus, a French screenwriter in 1908 who said: "If we wish to retain the attention of the public, we have to maintain unbroken connection with each preceding [shot]". By 1917, this system of editing

had come together in three different ways – intercutting, analytical editing and contiguity editing. Prior to 1906 most films were put together in a linear fashion, mostly one action comprising the entire film. If more actions were involved then one would be completed before moving onto the next. A style of editing that began appearing early on, was the use of intercutting, where scenes happening concurrently but in different locations, were edited together by going back and forth between the locations. A good example was *The Hundred to* One Shot (1906), a film by Vitagraph that dealt with a last minute rush to pay rent before a family were to be evicted. The last four shots entail a car driving down a street, then a cut to inside a house where a landlord is trying to evict a man, then a cut to outside the house and a car pulling up with the hero, and then the final shot inside the house where the hero arrives and pays the landlord and the eviction notice is torn up. This type of editing was often used in rescue sequences and refined later to great effect by D.W. Griffith in his dramas (Bordwell and Thompson, 1994). Another example is from a French film that used intercutting in a slightly different way. In *The Runaway Horse* (1907), a cart horse is seen eating a bag of oats while his owner delivers laundry inside a building. In the first shot the horse appears to be very thin and the bag of oats is full. In the following sequence of shots, intercut between the owner and the horse, the horse has been replaced each time by a more robust horse and the bag of oats empties. At the end of the scene the horse appears very healthy before it runs away and a chase occurs. By 1912, various forms of intercutting were evident in films from across the world (Bordwell and Thompson, 1994).

Two other forms of editing were also being developed at the time, analytical editing and contiguity editing. Analytical editing involves showing a single space through different shots. It was motivated primarily to give audiences extra information. Typically this would involve establishing a location with a long shot and then cutting in to reveal expressions and small

objects that were pertinent to the scene. This form of editing became common by the mid-1910s. (Bordwell and Thompson, 1994). The concerns of contiguity editing involved movement through sequential shots. In a chase sequence for example, characters would enter on one side of the frame and exit on the other. The next shot would be from a different locale and the characters would enter and exit the new framing in the same direction. An example from the Netherlands that used this style was the chase film *The Misadventures of a* Frenchman without Pants on the Beach of Zandvoort (1905). Prior to contiguity editing, the direction of movement through the frames was not always in the same direction which led to audience confusion. Filmmakers then began to adopt a single direction of movement. One of the best examples of this clear storytelling was Rescued by Rover (1905) that was produced in England, where a dog chases after a kidnapped baby. In the shots of the dog racing towards the baby, the dog continually moves towards the left foreground. Maintaining this consistent screen direction became an implicit rule in classic Hollywood style. Another way to show two contiguous spaces was to have a character look off screen in one direction and then cut to a shot of what the character sees. In the earliest cases, the cut was from a shot on a character to a shot that showed an optical point of view. These shots simulated the views through binoculars, microscopes, telescopes and so on. By 1915 though, a character could simply look off screen and the audience would assume that the following shot (even if it wasn't an optical Point-of-view shot) would be what the character was seeing. This became known as an eye-line match and was dependent on the 180 degree rule, meaning that both shots had to be taken from one side of an imaginary axis line. Double eye-line matches that involved one character looking off-screen in a certain direction and a cut to another character looking in the opposite direction suggested two people facing each other and became later known as the shot/reverse shot which was used in conversations, fights and other interactions between

characters. Today it is the standard way of showing conversations between two characters in most films, TV shows and documentaries from across the world.

Along with these editing conventions considered as part of classic Hollywood style are the changes that occurred in camera placement. Initially characters were shown from head to toe, but around 1909 the shot length began getting closer to the actors, showing them from the waist up. Some critics felt that this was an unnatural framing but others praised the performances in the Vitagraph films that pioneered the technique. Of course, being closer to the actors allowed audiences to read the facial expressions of the actors. Griffith, in particular working with actresses such as Blanche Sweet and Lillian Gish, managed to tone down the big elaborate pantomime gestures and work rather with more subtle facial expressions. There are also examples of tighter framing in Indian filmmaker D.G. Phalke's *Raja Harischandra* (1912), once again suggesting the transnational beginnings of film style.

Another technique that was adapted during this period was the use of high and low angles after most films had been shot at a chest high level. This enhanced the drama in certain shots. Along with different angles the camera could be moved by panning (pivoting the camera sideways), tilting (pivoting the camera up and down) and tracking (the movement of the camera) that allowed for reframing within a shot to keep the action centered, facilitating the audience's comprehension of a scene. These cinematic codes that are part of the mediascape provide a multitude of ways of constructing a scene.

For Hansen (2002:340) a key question arises and that is to what extent and how the concept of classical Hollywood cinema "can be used to account for Hollywood's worldwide hegemony". One reason she suggests is that it was because Hollywood film focused primarily on a domestic level in its home county:

Regarding classical cinema, one could take this argument to suggest that the hegemonic mechanisms by which Hollywood succeeded in amalgamating a diversity of competing traditions, discourses, and interests on the *domestic* level may have accounted for at least some of the generalized appeal and robustness of Hollywood products *abroad* (a success in which the diasporic, relatively cosmopolitan profile of the Hollywood community no doubt played a role as well). In other words, by forging a mass market out of an ethnically and culturally heterogeneous society (if often at the expense of racial others), American classical cinema had developed an idiom, or idioms, that travelled more easily than its national-popular rivals (Hansen, 2000:340).

For Hansen (2000:341) the classical film paradigm offered a global vernacular that played a key role in "mediating competing cultural discourses on modernity and modernization" and that "globalized a particular historical experience". She argues that the popularity of classical film is because it meant different things to different audiences both in America and across the world. These films not only challenged prevailing social orders but provided opportunities for new social identities and cultural styles, and the films were also changed in the process.

Sometimes these changes were literal in the form of changed endings, censorship or the addition of subtitles, but changes were also visible through the conventions of reception and exhibition in the context of local film cultures. Hansen (2000:341) writes that "the international history of classical American cinema, therefore, is a matter of tracing not just its mechanisms of standardization and hegemony but the diversity of ways in which the cinema was translated and reconfigured in local and translocal contexts of reception".

For Hansen (2000:342) the cinema was capable of a reflexive relation to modernity by allowing audiences to "see with an added eye", not simply on an individual level, but on a mass scale which becomes key to the claim by Siegried Kracauer in his writings of the 1920s

and 1930s, that cinema represented a modern type of public sphere — 'a social horizon of experience' where the "mass public could have functioned as a discursive form in which individual experience could be articulated and find recognition by subjects and others, including strangers". This alternative public sphere, alternative to bourgeois institutions and to traditional arenas of politics, provided a form of cultural democratization by making visible to itself and audiences a heterogeneous mass public ignored by the dominant culture. Hansen (2000:342) writes that "the cinema not only traded in the mass production of the senses but also provided an aesthetic horizon for the experience of industrial mass society".

In conclusion, this chapter has traced various global flows in the form of financescapes, ethnoscapes, technoscapes, mediascapes and ideoscapes as explained by Appadurai in the early days of film in South Africa, revealing it as a transnational medium from its inception. The writing of Gutsche (1972) provides many examples of this, in particular her focus on the ever evolving technology of the projector and the beginning of sound films, the shifting ethnoscapes of itinerant showmen and women along with the impact of Imperial soldiers during the Boer War and later the establishment of the first cinemas as part of the mediascape. Gutsche (1972) goes on to show the beginnings of a finanscape dominated by American film and the resultant backlash through ideoscapes that challenged the classic Hollywood system. Gunning's (2006) cinema of attractions though, provides an alternative view to images of the mediascape simply being used to further narratives as in classic Hollywood paradigm. Rather, film sought the attention of viewers through its very images and this is what led to a wide heterogeneity of films. The writing of Bordwell and Thompson (1994) shows that the beginnings of classic Hollywood style was formed in a transnational context with many of the narrative devices emerging across the world at the same time. Finally Hansen (2000) provides an understanding of cinema not bound by national paradigms but rather as a way for audiences to negotiate with and understand modernity. It is in these ways that cinema has existed beyond the borders of the national from its inception.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework and Problems with Current Film Theory

The key aim of this chapter is to explore the prevailing contemporary critical theories used to understand films made in South Africa and to consider these theories in the context of global flows, namely financescapes, ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes and ideoscapes as explained by Appadurai's (1990) global flow theory in Chapter 1. The objective is not to replace National cinema with Transnational film theory but rather to circumscribe it, reaching beyond national borders and the structuring dichotomy of Hollywood versus World Cinema. It is not a utopian theory suggesting equal flows and directions, rather, it reveals many disjunctures. It does, however, allow for considerations, beyond the national, which are based on actual human activity and social agency. In keeping with the findings of Chapter 1 that showed global audiences, even from the earliest days, drawn to cinema's technology, its attractions, its ways of helping negotiate modernity and its use as an alternate public sphere, this chapter will foreground audiences expressing their social agency through dominant, negotiated or oppositional readings of local films, in particular *Tsotsi* (2006). In one of the few books that explore contemporary South African cinema, namely South African National Cinema, Jaqueline Maingard (2007:13) argues that many critics working in the National Film paradigm are "concerned primarily with broad-based economics and politics, culture and aesthetics" and that "this challenges the notion of a 'national cinema' and its ongoing relevance". Maingard (2007:15) continues to grapple with the question and suggests that we should be looking away from the "South African" descriptor and rather to "the cultural effects of a particular film or practice". Thus our focus, she concludes, should rather be on a cinema's audiences. In the following paragraphs Appadurai's (1996) writing situates the audience within a global context.

For Appadurai (1996:4), electronic mediation and mass migration are not new forces, but rather "impel (and sometimes compel) the work of the imagination". The images circulated by the mass media, along with the viewers, are in simultaneous circulation and cannot easily be bound by the national or the local. Even localized media has influences from further afield and there are few people in the world, that if they are not themselves travelling, do not have friends, families or co-workers who are moving across the world bearing new stories and possibilities. For Appadurai (1996:4) these ethnoscapes and mediascapes meet in unpredictable ways outside the "certainties of home and the cordon sanitaire of local and national media effects". This relationship between the mass media and migratory audiences is at the core of the link between globalization and the modern. "The work of the imagination in this context, is neither purely emancipatory nor entirely disciplined but is a space of contestation in which individuals and groups seek to annex the global into their own practices of the modern" (Appadurai, 1996:4). For Appadurai, societies have always used imagination in their understanding and creation of art, myth and legend and in these ways could transcend and reframe their ordinary social lives, but what he suggests is significant about imagination is based on three distinctions. Firstly, "the imagination has broken out of the special expressive space of art, myth and ritual and has now become part of the quotidian mental work of ordinary people in many societies" (Appadurai, 1996:5). For Appadurai (1996) imagination resides in increased levels of migration at every level of social, national and global life. This may involve people imagining themselves or their children living and working in places other than where they were born, or it may involve refugees from Syria, Palestine and elsewhere forced to imagine new ways of life in other countries. And yet for others it may be because their lives have become intolerable and they seek work, wealth and opportunity across the globe.

We may speak of diasporas of hope, diasporas of terror and diasporas of despair. But in every case these diasporas bring the force of the imagination, as both memory and desire, into the lives of many ordinary people, into mythographies different from the disciplines of myth and ritual of the classic sort. The key difference here is that these new mythographies are charters for new social projects, and not just a counterpoint to the certainties of daily life...For migrants, both the politics of adaptation to new environments and the stimulus to move or return are deeply affected by a mass-mediated imaginary that transcends national space (Appadurai, 1996:6).

The second distinction that Appadurai (1996:6) highlights is that between fantasy and imagination. Appadurai (1996) contests the ideas of the Frankfurt School scholars who predict that imagination will be limited by the forces of commoditisation, industrial capitalism and the secularisation of the world leading to a move away from religiosity (towards greater scientism), less play (more regimented leisure) and a generally inhibited spontaneity at every level. Appadurai (1996) writes that there are two fundamental problems with this type of thinking. First he suggests that it is premature to believe in the death of religion and the victory of science since there is vast evidence that people are finding new religiosities and that religion may be more consequential than ever in a world that is highly mobile and interconnected by global politics. The rise of fanatical groupings in the guise of religion seem to confirm Appadurai's (1996) views. Second, Appadurai (1996:7) states, "there is growing evidence that the consumption of the mass media throughout the world provokes resistance, irony, selectivity, and, in general agency". Social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter are good examples of this. For Appadurai (1996:7) this extends to people reacting to their own national electronic media and on these grounds alone the theory of the media as the opium of the masses needs to be "looked at with great skepticism". He

does not suggest that consumers are free agents but rather that where there is pleasure in consumption, there is agency. Appadurai (1996:7) goes further and suggests that fantasy creates connotations that it exists without projects or action and that it is individualistic as opposed to imagination that "has a projective sense about it, the sense of being a prelude to some sort of expression, whether aesthetic or otherwise".

It is the imagination, in its collective forms, that creates ideas for neighborhood and nationhood, of moral economies and unjust rule, of higher wages and foreign labor prospects. The imagination is today a staging ground for action, and not only for escape (Appadurai, 1996:7).

For a brief moment it is worth digressing from Appadurai's (1996) theory to show it's resonance with the findings from reception studies in terms of active audiences able to contest, negotiate with, or accept the images that they see. These ideas of social agency can be found in the work of Tomlinson (2002) as he explores the issues surrounding cultural imperialism in his discussion of Ang's (1985) research on the TV series *Dallas*. *Dallas* was watched in over ninety countries in the world during the late 1970s, including South Africa. It was immensely popular with audiences but was regarded by some cultural critics with hostility as an example of American cultural imperialism. The question Ang (1985) asked in her research was what did the audience think?

The evident popularity of *Dallas* juxtaposed with its hostile critical reception amongst "professional intellectuals" and the linked charges of cultural imperialism poses for us nicely the problem of the audience in the discourse of media imperialism. For the cultural critics tend to condemn Dallas with scant regard to the way the audience may read the text (Tomlinson 2002:45).

Cultural imperialism was seen as being part of the text itself with all the beautiful properties, cars and expensive clothes being examples that celebrated the power and wealth of Western capitalism. Tomlinson (2002) writes that Ang intended testing her hypothesis from her own experience of watching *Dallas*. She found that her enjoyment of the show was not aligned to her critical approach to it as an intellectual or feminist. Rather, she derived pleasure from engaging with its melodramatic narrative structure which had no necessary connection to the values of consumer capitalism. "What the cultural critics overlooked was the capacity of the audience to negotiate possible contradictions between alien cultural values and the 'pleasure of the text'" (Tomlinson, 2002:46).

Ang's (1985) research which was fairly informal, involved the readers of a Dutch women's magazine responding to the question about what they liked or disliked about Dallas. Ang found a wide range of responses – some were highly critical of the cultural values espoused by Dallas. Others were similar to Ang, embracing a critical stance towards the series but also expressing the ability to enjoy the series on different levels and yet others who seemed to refuse the ideology of mass media as paternalist and elitist and took a populist view insisting "on their right to their pleasure without cultural 'guilt'" (Tomlinson, 2002:47).

Ang's analysis of the ideological positioning and struggle around the text of Dallas is not without its problems. But her empirical work does at the very least suggest how naïve and improbable is the simple notion of an immediate ideological effect arising from exposure to the imperialist text. The complex, reflective and self-conscious reactions of her correspondents suggest that cultural critics who assume this sort of effect massively underestimate the audience's active engagement with the text and the critical sophistication of the ordinary viewer/reader (Tomlinson

This research, done in the early days of reception studies, begins to indicate that audiences cannot simply be viewed as an homogenous group and that viewers are not simply 'cultural dopes' as suggested by behaviorist theories like the "hypodermic needle" model.

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Wojik (2007) writes in her article *Spectatorship and Audience Research* that different approaches have been used to understand spectatorship and the ideological effects of cinema, how pleasure can be derived from viewing and how some spectators are able to resist ideological positioning. One of the most important studies on audiences was done by The Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) that had aligned itself with Gramsci's work on hegemony where cultural domination is not achieved through force or coercion but by a process of gaining the consent of subordinated groups. These groups view the world as presented by the dominant group as being 'common sense'. Some of the most influential research done by the CCCS using the encoding/decoding theory of Stuart Hall (1973) was the study of the *Nationwide* television audience from 1975 to 1979. Hall's (1973) theory looks at how messages specifically within television are produced and disseminated within four different stages – production, circulation, consumption and reproduction (Hall, 1973). For Hall, messages have a complex structure of dominance because at each stage they are 'imprinted' by institutional power relations, but Hall (1973) also mentions the following:

Further, though the production structures of television originate the television discourse, they do not constitute a closed system. They draw topics, treatments, agendas, personnel, images of the audience, 'definitions of the situation' from other sources and other discursive formations within the wider socio-cultural and political structure of which they are a differentiated part. Philip Elliot has

expressed the point succinctly within a more traditional framework, in his discussion of the way the audience is both the 'source' and the 'receiver' (Hall, 1973: 3).

Of relevance to this dissertation, is Hall's (1973) argument that meaning is not fixed/ determined by the sender, it is never transparent and that the audience is not a passive recipient of meaning. The meaning of the text is located between its producer and reader. The producer (encoder) frames (encodes) meaning in a certain way, while the reader (decoder) decodes it differently according to his/her personal background, various different social situations and frames of interpretation. The subsequent research on the *Nationwide* audience revealed three broad positions used by the audience whilst watching the programme (Morley and Brunsdon, 1999):

- Dominant (or 'hegemonic') reading: In this case a viewer shares the programme's 'code' (its meaning system of values, attitudes, beliefs and assumptions) and fully engages with the text's 'preferred' reading (a reading which may not have resulted from a conscious intention by the makers).
- Negotiated reading: The viewer partly shares the programme's code and broadly
 accepts the preferred reading but also adapts it to reflect their own position and
 interests.
- Oppositional ('counter-hegemonic') reading: The viewer does not share the
 programme's code and rejects the preferred reading bringing to bear an alternative
 frame of interpretation.

Commenting broadly on research traditions that have converged on reception studies,

Livingstone (2002) explains:

Thus most importantly, reception studies have made visible an audience which has hitherto been devalued, marginalized and presumed about in policy and theory. As Allor (1988) comments, whichever social theory we draw upon, the concept of audience represents a theoretical pivot around which key debates concerning individual and society, agency and structure, voluntarism and determinism oscillate (Livingstone, 2002: 240)

In concluding this brief focus on reception studies a number of key observations can be made, the most important of which is that the audience is not a homogenous group of people engaging the media in passive ways. The agency of the audience members frees them to react in differing and sometimes oppositional ways when engaging with a text. This clearly resonates with Appadurai's (1996) second key distinction about active imagination and its difference from passive fantasy.

The third key distinction that Appadurai (1996:8) makes about mass audiences is the difference between individual and collective senses of the imagination. For him the mass media make possible a "community of sentiment" where a group begins to imagine and feel things together. He uses Benedict Anderson's (1983) exploration of print capitalism as an example of groups who have never met face-to-face that can begin to think of themselves as part of a nation-state. For Appadurai (1996) though, other electronic media such as film can have even more powerful effects because they work beyond the level of the nation-state. "Collective experiences of the mass media can create sodalities of worship and charisma" (Appadurai, 1996:8). He uses the examples of fan clubs and political followings, and nowadays these groups are evident across social media and the Internet. Appadurai (1996:8)

refers to these communities as 'invisible colleges' capable of moving from shared imagination to collective action. "These mass-mediated sodalities have the additional complexity that in them diverse local experiences of taste, pleasure and politics can criss-cross with one another, thus creating the possibility of convergences in translocal social action that would otherwise be hard to imagine" (Appadurai, 1996:8). He goes on to argue that the pivot of his theory is not so much about social engineering but rather the impact of everyday cultural practice caused by the joint force of electronic mediation and mass migration that transforms the work of the imagination, and in this sense is explicitly transnational (Appadurai, 1996:8).

Appadurai's notion of ethnoscapes with their own active imagined lives is partly derived from the images of the electronic media or what he terms the mediascapes. These 'scapes are "image-centered, narrative-based accounts of strips of reality, and what they offer to those who experience and transform them is a series of elements (such as character, plots and textual forms) out of which scripts can be formed of imagined lives, their own as well as those of others living in other places" (Appadurai, 1990:299). This takes us to the heart of this dissertation and the exploration of style within *Tsotsi*. In keeping with the findings from reception theory three different readings of *Tsotsi*'s style will be examined. The first reading comes from the website The Case for Global Film (2008) which could be viewed as a dominant decoding that seems aligned with the filmmakers' intentions and with *Tsotsi*'s reception at various film festivals and award ceremonies as 'a South African film'.

It helps to have some distance from the films we study and one way to do this is to study films that are 'not Hollywood' in order to make comparisons... *Tsotsi* is in every way a South African story –even though the film is technically a South Africa/UK production. Previously important South African stories have been made

in the country by British and American producers using British and American stars, often producing films, which apart from the setting look much like other Hollywood films⁸ (The Case for Global Film, 2008).

It's interesting to note here that that the globalizing dimension of the financescape for *Tsotsi* is viewed as being "technically a South African/UK production" and that the film is not viewed as being 'Hollywoodised' in any way. Judith Gunn writing in her book *Studying Tsotsi* (2009) takes a more negotiated reading of the narrative:

The Hollywood redemption narrative, even at its most complex, still tends to the neat solution. The narratives in world cinema, independent film and *Tsotsi* are not so neat (Gunn, 2009:11).

Gunn (2009) suggests that death for Tsotsi at the end of the film would have been the cleanest resolution but instead Tsotsi is forced to face the consequences of his action, although there may be hope for him. She suggests that *Tsotsi* falls somewhere between the clean ending of Hollywood films and *The Kitchen Toto* (1987) which "makes no such use of the positive properties of death and no one in the film, including the innocent, is redeemed or saved" (Gunn, 2009:10).

An oppositional reading comes from Maingard (2007:164) in her book *South African*National Cinema where she takes an alternative stance towards the style of *Tsotsi* by claiming that it has a "Hollywoodesque resolution that the film's mainstream conventions portend". In her final chapter on New South African cinema, she seems to have abandoned the idea of focusing on audience responses as mentioned earlier, and focuses rather on a structuring

⁸ Many critical histories of South African cinema highlight the fact that the majority of films prior to 1994 were part of a racist and exploitative ideology. This stretches as far back as *De Voortrekkers* (1918), a film that is severely criticized by both Maingard and Dovey (2007) for its representations of race. More recently, Jamie Uys's *The Gods Must be Crazy* (1980) is viewed by Davis (1996) as an exploitation of the local San community. Hamilton and Modisane (2007) suggest that even overseas funded films like *Zulu* (1964) and *Zulu Dawn* (1979) focus on white protagonists whilst portraying the local black population as a homogenized mass. Although it appears in these latter films that the filmmakers challenged the imperialist ethos, very little was done to portray the point of view of the indigenous people.

binary that of 'Hollywood versus National Cinema' revealed in her views on Zulu Love

Letter (2004) and Tsotsi. For Maingard (2007:178), Zulu Love Letter is an example of "a new cinematic space for representing historical truths and suggests that it "transcends

Hollywood's aesthetic and stylistic strictures'. Part of her claims rest on her exploration of what has been termed "interludes" within the film. These scenes shot at 16 frames per second are both dream sequences and flashbacks that deal with individual and collective memories of the past. Maingard (2009) argues that this filmic device differs from the 'classical flashback' of Hollywood cinema which is:

easily assimilated by the viewer, the film usually providing cues that there is about to be a flashback. Time is not disrupted and the shift from the primary narrative into the flashback and out of it again, back into the narrative stream is seamless (Maingard, 2009:9).

The film's director, Ramadan Suleman, signals his intent on a more pragmatic level when he states that "[t]he challenge became how we could ensure that the interludes were shot and constructed so that viewers would be able to distinguish them from the 'realism' of the main narrative" (Peterson and Suleman, 2009:29). Apart from the "interludes", however, it appears that the film uses many stylistic conventions such as shot-reverse shot patterning and a clear adherence to editing for dramatic beats as observed in the confrontation between the protagonist Thandeka (Pamela Nomvete) and her editor/boss. In the scene's dramatic high point, the film cuts to a close up, a familiar strategy seen in films not only from Hollywood but from cinema around the world. Within a transnational film paradigm Maingard's observations about the 'interludes' could be viewed as a form of indigenization of style rather than as evidence of the film's authentic South African identity. The use of other conventions would be considered as part of the global mediascape and allow for *Zulu Love Letter*'s other important transnational dimensions that impact upon style to be incorporated such as its co-

production financing from South Africa, France and Germany (IMDB, 2011), its international film crews and its use of technology from the technoscape. The issue of culturally 'correct' cinema though, reveals disjunctures between mediascapes and ideoscapes that are worth exploring from within the context of globalization:

A certain anxiety of authenticity underlies the notion of culturally "correct" filmmaking, which assumes a heightened representational access by ethnic and cultural insiders to a stable and culturally distinct reality. But because transnational cinema is most 'at home' in the in-between spaces of culture, in other words between the local and global, it decisively problematises the investment in cultural purity or separatism (Ezra and Rowden, 2006).

Oppositional readings of film style, for films from South Africa like *Tsotsi*, come into focus through two complementary lenses. The first is the radical ideoscape espoused by Third Cinema and the second is a perspective emanating out of the apartheid past. These two perspectives underpin, to various degrees, ideological approaches that move towards defining what a South African film should be and how it should be made. Dealing with the latter, Maingard (2003) writes that in many ways apartheid is the only feature that distinguishes South African National Film. The issue of race is explained by Cham (2009) in the foreword to the *Zulu Love Letter* (2005) screenplay.

The historically advantaged white filmmakers, most of whom have the advantage of better training and experience, continue to enjoy relatively easier access to resources, as limited as these are for all. The relative absence of black filmmakers making films on 'black' subjects has produced a situation in which white filmmakers, at present, are the ones making the majority of films about black people and experiences. (Cham, foreword in Peterson and Suleman, 2009: ix)

This has led to a marked absence of South African films from Ukadike's (1994) well known survey of black African cinema⁹. These issues are now being addressed by the National Film and Video Foundation (NFVF) and other organizations such as Dv8 with many more films being made by black directors. Tomaselli (2006:99-100), writing about race in South African cinema, provides some interesting observations from a Marxist standpoint. He mentions that in South Africa, apartheid involved subjugation through both race and class. Anti-apartheid movements such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) were mobilised primarily against apartheid capital "whereby a minority were using a brutal ideology to accumulate wealth". Here the battle was against class rather than race. Tomaselli (2006:99) goes on to explain that the UDF believed that "the experience of being human is elevated and race is seen more in terms of an accident of birth, with its inevitable links to ethnicity, culture and history". One of the most well-known examples of collective imagining and expression of social agency for black audiences within a transnational framework comes from the engagement with Hollywood gangster films in Sophiatown. White film stars like Humphrey Bogart, Richard Widmark (known to Sophiatown as "Styles", James Cagney and Edward G. Robinson were "revered idols" and the film Street with No Name (1948) had a cult following:

Whenever it played, the movie-house would be packed with tsotsis. When the supposed heroes, the F.B.I. were on screen, the tsotsis would jeer, but as the scene moved to the gang's hideout, there would be a hush from the audience. When Richard Widmark, the gang boss would appear, the whole audience would shriek, "Styles! Go it, Styles!" (South African History Online, 2017b).

Research done on audience responses (both black and white) to *Mapantsula* (1988), a film about a black gangster directed by the white Oliver Schmitz, confirm that the ethnicity of the

⁹ One film that Ukadike (1994) does mention is *Last Grave at Dimbaza* (1974) and refers to it as "such an educational lightning rod as to leave one gasping at the evils of apartheid" but then mentions "as an independent film it is rarely seen".

filmmaker had little impact on how the film was received (Tomaselli 2006:95). Other films such as *Jump the Gun* (1996) and *Hijack Stories* (2002) which have been made by multiracial crews have also been positively received by black audiences. Tomaselli (2006:107) is also critical of Peter Davis's *In Darkest Hollywood* (1996) that sees all South African films in black versus white terms. "[It] is simply counter-productive to the purposes of moving towards a non-racial South Africa, which may in any case be unattainable as new class forces unleash themselves in the age of globalisation as the new (black) class replacing the white Afrikaner one that emerged after 1948, politically connected, avaricious and power hungry"

In perhaps the most extreme of the oppositional readings of *Tsotsi's* style, Laura Dovey (2007, 2009) aligns herself with Third Cinema ideology. The term Third Cinema was first used by Fernando Solanas and Actavio Getino and originated in Latin America. Gabriel (1989a, 1989b) regards Third Cinema as not being restricted to any part of the world but rather as a form of filmmaking that takes an ideological stance against cultural imperialism and focuses on sociopolitical realities. Murphy (2008) explains that at a meeting of the federation of African filmmakers (FEPACI) in 1975 there was a commitment from those present to represent Africa from an African point of view and to reject all commercial Western film codes. This fear of cultural imperialism and mainstream style appears in Dovey's (2007) article in the *Journal for African Cultural Studies* where she claims that Hollywood is being institutionalized within the South African film industry. Commenting on the National Film and Video Foundation's (NFVF) 2011 mission statement promoting "a quality South African film and video industry that mirrors and represents the nation, sustains commercial viability, encourages development and provides a medium through which the creative and technical talents of South Africans are able to reach the world" (NFVF, 2011),

Dovey (2007) states that the emphasis on quality by the NFVF, namely high production values, is what ties South African cinema to the Hollywood aesthetic. She suggests that this is the only defining feature of contemporary South African cinematic style. The alternative proposed by Third Cinema adherents is to create a didactic "cinema of impoverishment" that focuses predominantly on social realism, an ideal that has not been taken up by mainstream audiences. It appears now that most African filmmakers have retreated from this facet of Third Cinema, "worried far more about forging a popular African cinema and creating a viable African film industry" (Murphy, 2008:27). The flourishing Nollywood film industry is a clear example of this, as is the rise in popularity of locally made mainstream genre films in South Africa (Pillay, 2017). Acknowledging transnational global flows, Murphy (2008) writes that "Africa and the West are not mutually exclusive worlds that possess their own authentic and unchanging identities; they are hybrid entities that influence and modify each other, and this process of exchange applies to cinema (although in the current world order the West remains the dominant force in this process of hybridization)" (Murphy, 2008:28). Returning to Dovey (2009), aside from her more general critique of South African film style, she reserves her harshest criticism for what she sees as Tsotsi's exploitation of social realism and its handling of violence. In her book African film and literature: Adapting violence to the screen (2009) Dovey initially looks at the issue of rape as handled in the book and the film. In the book *Tsotsi* by Athol Fugard, the protagonist, after beating Boston, finds himself in a grove. There he meets a woman and although not explicitly stated, the suggestion is that he wants to rape her, until he hears a baby cry out. This enables the woman to escape and Tsotsi is left with the child. In the film this does not happen and although Dovey (2009) is critical of Fugard, she is much more adamant in her argument that *Tsotsi* (2005), the film, should have dealt with the issue of child rape due to its prevalence in South African culture. Dovey (2009) refers to Hood's displeasure (at criticism from real-life gangsters suggesting that

Presley Cheneywaygae's performance was inaccurate and too 'soft') as evidence of his intentions to make a realist film. Dovey (2009) then goes on to question the filmmaker's credentials by referring to Hood's UCLA scriptwriting education and his slick production values. Dovey's insinuation of Hood's exploitation of 'social reality' reveals a clear disjuncture between an ideoscape and the images within the mediascape that for many other audiences could be interpreted in multiple other ways through the lenses of different genres.

Whatever sense audiences make of Tsotsi, it will to some extent depend on how they approach the film. This refers to the concept of categorizing or classifying films and, based upon the choice of category, developing expectations of what might happen and how it might be presented. Tsotsi is interesting because it doesn't clearly suggest any single category (The Case for Global Film Website, 2008).

Stafford (2008) points out there are many different interpretations used by the industry, audiences, critics and scholars. For example, *Tsotsi* is described on its UK DVD cover as "a riveting *drama*" (Stafford, 2008:1). This broad categorisation of '*drama*' emerges from the industry as a way to entice audiences through its non-specificity. From territories outside of South Africa, *Tsotsi* may be viewed as a *foreign language film* and it is in this category that *Tsotsi* won an Academy Award. The film mostly uses 'tsotsi-taal', a combination of local languages, and this necessitated the use of subtitles. For some audiences, subtitles indicate that it is part of 'art-cinema' or that it reflects an 'other-ness' (Stafford, 2008: 5). Although *Tsotsi* is predominantly a character study, it is not intellectually demanding or opaque in meaning and therefore does not sit easily in this category. This does not deny its serious tone or that it deals with important social issues. Furthermore, it is based on a book by a renowned anti-apartheid author and Stafford (2008) suggests that it could be considered as part of the *adaptation genre* or from a more local perspective as a *township film*, similar to *Mapantsula*

(1988) or *Sarafina* (1992). *Tsotsi* also shares elements of the *gangster genre* with the 'set-up' of the old man's attack at the beginning of the film, the squabbling of the stereotyped secondary characters and a gang leader who undergoes an emotional transition influenced by a woman (Stafford, 2008). Stafford (2008) goes on to show that *Tsotsi* is also structured like a *coming-of-age drama* that deals with rebellion and the dismissal of the 'adult' world. Typically, this genre also entails a few days or weeks that involves self-discovery in the protagonist's life as is the case in *Tsotsi*. There are also elements of the melodrama in *Tsotsi* such as nurturing and family relationships. Overall, the presence of all these features from diverse genres indicates that *Tsotsi* is not simply formulaic, but rather attempting to appeal to a broad cross-section of people, both locally and globally.

Of course there are many other ways of reading the film, but these brief descriptions of genre bring into focus a limiting dimension expressed in the writings of Dovey (2009) in terms of her privileging and prescribing 'social reality' as the only means to read *Tsotsi*. South African film scholars Van der Hoven and Arnott (2009) express their frustrations dealing specifically with 'the melodrama' and the Truth and Reconciliation films:

In our view, this failure to engage with film melodrama is symptomatic of South African film studies in general and a particular, modernist, tradition of critical realism with which it is strongly allied. This tradition, which has been particularly influential in South African cultural studies, emphasizes the power of critical discourse – its ability to penetrate through obfuscations of ideology and to produce a 'true' account of current or past social structures and experience. It has typically (though in varying degrees) been linked to anti-apartheid positions adopted by many intellectuals before 1994 and generally continues to be regarded as politically progressive (Van der Hoven and Arnott, 2009).

Reading Dovey (2009) and her use of Third Cinema ideology placed within a National cinema paradigm, reveals an approach that yields a prescriptive analysis. Dovey's views though, are not excluded within a transnational paradigm, as she reveals an important disjuncture between an ideoscape and the mediascape as she reflects the active resistance of an oppositional reading by an audience member. Third cinema theory, however, appears to have evolved in an era of global flows as explored in the following paragraph.

One feature of Third Cinema concerns the ideal of recuperating the idea of a culturally authentic past to critically examine current political and social processes. Post 1994, many films sought to reformulate local histories that had been previously denied. Films such as *Red Dust* (2004), *Forgiveness* (2004) and *In my Country* (2004) deal with the themes of truth and reconciliation and question these ideals. In one way these films can be aligned with the goals of Third Cinema because they attempt to rewrite the history of a colonized people and redefine the nation. In the present context of globalization, however, it appears that the delineation of colonizer/colonized is more pertinently imagined as those whose human rights are marginalized across the spectrum of society. This is viewed as a new mode of reterritorialization by D'Lugo (2003) who argues that the universality of human rights undermines the presumed exoticism and difference between the developing world and other Western nations. Botha (2007), localizing this notion, notes the increased focus on and importance of 'marginal lives' in his survey of contemporary South African film, highlighting the continued presence of the Third Cinema ethos bound up in the notion of the national.

Since 1994 South African audiences have been exposed to certain marginalised communities, such as the homeless in Francois Verster's remarkable documentary

Pavement Aristocrats: The Bergies of Cape Town (1998), the Himbas of Kaokoland in Craig Matthew's Ochre and Water: Himba Chronicles from the Land of Kaoko (2001), AIDS victims in Shouting Silent (2001), the gay subcultures of the fifties and sixties in The Man Who Drove With Mandela (1998), street children in Hillbrow Kids (1999), prison inmates in Cliff Bestall's Cage of Dreams (2000) and the San in the Foster Brothers' visual poem The Great Dance (1999) (Botha, 2014).

Stam (2003:290) elaborates that "any definition of filmic nationalism must see nationality as partly discursive and intertextual in nature, must take class and gender into account, must allow for racial difference and cultural heterogeneity and must be dynamic, seeing 'the nation' as an evolving, imaginary, differential construct rather than an originary essence". These more fluid conceptions of Third Cinema begin to merge with elements of Transnational film theory, particularly in terms of borders becoming indistinct.

In the second part of this chapter the hegemony of Hollywood through the financescape and the mediascape will be investigated. When Bordwell and Thompson (1992:56) write that "much of the history of world cinema has been bound up with the struggles of various national industries to compete with Hollywood's domination", they are referring here specifically to a context created by a global financescape. As explained in the previous chapter, it was during World War 1 when Hollywood began focusing on international markets, filling the void left by countries involved in the war. Initially film budgets were modest but once a film could "predictably earn more money abroad, its budget could be higher" (Thompson and Bordwell 1992:56). A film was then able to recover its costs domestically and be sold cheaply overseas, undercutting local national production. This vicious cycle is explained in The Cultural Industries Growth Strategy Report (1998):

The more opportunities that a company has for recouping costs and increasing its profit margin on a certain production, the more money they have to reinvest in other productions and increase their budgets. Bigger budgets in turn provide more opportunities for reaching greater markets, because producers can afford bigger stars, more special effects and better locations. These movies also generate revenue across a number of different delivery channels which leads to greater profit margins. This can sometimes make the difference between a profitable movie and one that generates a loss (Cultural Industries Growth Strategy Report, 1998:28).

In South Africa, a survey of the 2015 box office (NFVF, 2016b:2) reveals that the total gross was around R1.2 billion. This comprised of 243 films that were released in South Africa, of which only 22 were local. The market share for local South African films was just 6%, compared with 11% in the UK, 55.4% in Japan, 35.2% in France, 25% in Germany and 18.9% in Spain. These statistics for South Africa have remained fairly consistent over the years 2010 to 2015 (NFVF, 2016:2). In 2015, the top two films in South Africa were big-budget Hollywood productions *Star Wars: The Force Awakens* (2015) and *Fast and Furious* 7 (2015), both earning well over R50 million. Clearly, big challenges lie ahead for the local industry if it is to gain a bigger piece of the box office pie.

Kerrigan (2010) in her book *Film Marketing* explains that one of the challenges is to change mindsets about film, from being a purely artistic endeavor with a 'production focus' to one that also has a commercial 'distribution focus'. Kerrigan writes:

The failure to recognise this duality has resulted according to Buscombe (1977) in the concentration of studies upon the artistic aspects of film, to the detriment of an examination of the underlying industrial mechanisms which produce such art.

While this imbalance has been addressed by the rise in academic interest in the commercial side of filmmaking (Elberse, 1999; Eliashberg and Shugun, 1997;

Litman. 1983, 1998), this failure to attach equal value to these two elements which constitute the film, culture and economics, can be viewed as partially responsible for the failure of non-Hollywood industries to sustain their industries (Kerrigan, 2010:21-22).

In the US, up to 7% of a film's total budget is spent on development, making sure that the script has a market, whereas in Europe only 1 to 2 % of the budget is spent on development. European films continually find themselves at a disadvantage because of this lack of market direction (Finney, 1996, cited in Kerrigan and Culkin, 2000) and as a result films often fail to secure distribution deals with major US distributors thereby limiting their potential for financial success. Tuomi (2006) sees the South African film industry operating like the UK model where few South African films are commercially successful.

Historically, both government and producers emphasised the production of the film, and effectively ignored distribution and commercial elements. The few South African films that do make money generally only recoup their outlay after a substantial time lag. Some films only start making a return after 15 years, though a few successful ones have generated profits after three years. (Tuomi, 2006:12-13)

The National Film and Video Foundation has estimated that of the films produced between 2000 and 2007, 50 per cent failed to recoup even ten per cent of production costs at the local box office. (NFVF, 2008: 25). Part of this problem is also due to the lack of development of South African audiences especially within rural areas and many townships so that there was no substantial tradition of film going amongst South Africa's largest population group.

More recently, however, it appears that a number of South African films have been faring a lot better at the box office. In the first half of 2016 for example, the top 3 grossing local films were *Vir Altyd* (R15.5 million), *Happiness is a Four-Letter Word* (R13.2 million), and *Mrs*

Right Guy (R4.2 million) (NFVF, 2017). Nicola Rauch quoted in *Variety* notes that there are a growing number of South African "crowd-pleasers" being marketed at Cannes 2017, a sign that local filmmakers are pushing back against the perception that South Africa produces only sober apartheid dramas for festival audiences (Vourlias, 2017).

As in the dual Hollywood model of art and industry mentioned earlier, the transnational dimensions of the financescape need to be considered along with the global flows through mediascapes and the images that they circulate, shifts in technoscapes and the audiences created by ethnoscapes. In the case of *Tsotsi* (2005) and the quote that inspired this thesis, namely that the film was "so Hollywoodised as to be unrecognisably South African", it appears that many of these contextualising dimensions are missing. Considering the financescape for instance reveals that Tsotsi (2005) was funded through a co-production deal between South Africa and the United Kingdom¹⁰. Tomaselli (2006:29) notes the importance of such deals by saying that "it is chiefly through co-productions and partnerships with other film industries that South African filmmakers are able to fund quality feature films for cinema." On the other hand, critics like Treffry-Goatley (2010) see the use of English as the predominant language within co-productions as problematic, explaining this as evidence of the homogenisation of globalisation. She explains that many of these co-producers come from dominant regions of North America and Europe. Her alternative to co-productions is using low cost digital technology¹¹. These differences between Tomaselli and Treffry-Goatley reveals an important feature of Appadurai's (1990) global flow theory, namely

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¹⁰ Over the last few years South Africa has signed co-production treaties with Canada, Germany, Australia, Italy, United Kingdom, France and others. (NFVF Annual Report, 2010).

¹¹ The South African Dv8 initiative, sponsored by Ster-Kinekor, SABC 2, The Rand Merchant Bank and the NFVF, is an example where low budget films are produced for local audiences using digital technology that reduces the costs and time involved (Tomaselli, 2006). *Max and Mona* (2004) originally slated to be shot on 35mm film would have cost around 12 million rand but shooting on HD digital helped reduce the cost to around 5 million rand (Dv8 presskit). Reproduction is also less costly and, very importantly, has allowed the growth of film industries across the world.

disjuncture, in and through which the global flows of people, money, technology, ideology and the media continually flow. In this case the disjuncture occurs between the financescape of co-production and an ideoscape expressing the threats of homogenisation which is then resolved for Treffry-Goatley (2010) through another dimension of globalisation that is the technoscape. These opposing views from Tomaselli and Treffry-Goatley about sustaining national film, however, have ironically not been confined within national boundaries but have played out through transnational scapes. These scapes as part of a transnational film paradigm remind us that local film is shaped by actual human activities that flow though and across borders, a feature that is often obscured by a national film paradigm. Of course the fears of global homogenisation as expressed by Treffry-Goatley (2010) are ever-present for some film scholars. However, Appadurai (1990) believes differently:

Most often the homogenization argument subspeciates into either an argument about Americanization or an argument about 'commoditization', and very often the two arguments are closely linked. What these arguments fail to consider is that at least as rapidly as forces from various metropolises are brought into new societies, they tend to become indigenised in one or other way: this is true of music and housing styles as much as it is true of science and terrorism, spectacles and constitutions. The dynamics of such indigenisation have just begun to be explored in a sophisticated manner (Barber, 1987; Feld, 1988; Hannerz, 1987, 1989; Ivy 1988; Nicoll, 1989; Yoshimoto, 1989), and much more needs to be done. (Appadurai, 1990: 296)

Considering the first two categories mentioned by Appadurai (1990) in the above quote, namely music and housing styles, it is possible to see how indigenisation is expressed within *Tsotsi*. In terms of the latter, there is not only heterogeneity showed through each of the main characters' approach to housing but also a dichotomy shown between wealth and poverty. For the rich minority in South Africa, living standards can be compared to their counterparts in

North America and Western Europe. The wealthy suburbs, once white enclaves during apartheid, are now home to an emerging black middle-class, represented in the screenplay by John and Pumla. Their home is vast and opulent, yet surrounded by high walls, security gates and alarms, a feature of South African middle-class and affluent suburbs. This contrasts starkly with the ramshackle homes of the townships, reflecting the tough conditions in which the working class and unemployed live. Tsotsi's shack is made from waste materials - old corrugated iron sheets, plastic and bits of wood that are typically found discarded in the South African landscape - while Miriam in her home is more artistically inclined with her use of rusted tin and broken glass used to create mobiles that reflect her emotions. Art, utility and socio-economic factors embedded within the local landscape thus serve to shape this indigenisation. Hybridity is also evidenced in the music style of *Tsotsi*. Producer Fudakowski (2006) explains the choice of music for *Tsotsi* by saying:

It's a dark story but we need to make it entertaining and accessible to a world audience. With this pumping kwaito music, it will have energy and pace. It will be a vibrant counterpoint to the story and help young audiences empathise with Tsotsi (*The Making of Tsotsi*, 2006).

Explaining the beginnings of Kwaito music DJ Oscar "Warona" Mdlonga mentions that in the late 1980s South African DJs started remixing international house tracks "to give them a local feeling" (South African History Online, 2017a). He adds that they slowed the tempo down and then added piano, percussion and African melodies. The lyrics were a mixture of English, Zulu, Sesotho and Isicamtho (which is a modern version of 'tsotsi-taal' that was spoken in the townships). The language is made up of Afrikaans and a mixture of all other vernacular languages. Intriguingly 'tsotsi-taal' used throughout *Tsotsi* (2005) has deeper connections to Hollywood film:

Gangsters of Sophiatown not only adopted the styles of gangsters in American movies, but also used the language. Lines from movies were incorporated into the slang of the day – 'tsotsi-taal'. For example, "Remember guys, I'm de brains of dis outfit!" (South African history online, 2017b)

These examples of indigenisation are a reflection of global flows that are reinterpreted in localities and that then flow back through the various 'scapes, in this case, the images in the mediascape.

Ezra (2007:168) highlights the issue of hybridity when she suggests that national cinema "is a relational, conceptual category, constructed in response to the domination of Hollywood film, which is often conceived as the only truly globalized cinema". However, this dichotomy between Hollywood/World Cinema is challenged by the deep hybridisation that exists in almost all cinemas today.

The widespread adoption of foreign film genres and narrative strategies complicates attempts to associate national cinemas with indigenous characteristics. For example, Nigerian films often incorporate Bollywood-inspired tales of good versus evil, but they also employ indigenous folkloric motifs and fames of reference...Palestinian guerilla films of the 1960s and 1970s were inspired generically by American westerns, but they were clearly not inspired by American politics (Ezra, 2007:169).

Hollywood cinema itself shows evidence of hybridisation through global flows. Since the 1950s a wider range of cinematic codes have appeared within classic narrative cinema that appear to fall outside the bounds of the conventional classical style. Some examples given by Kuhn (2007) are *River of No Return* (1954) and *Klute* (1971). In *River of No Return*, Kuhn (2007:48) attributes the change of style to the advent of widescreen film, a development in

the technoscape that changed the screening format from the traditional ratio of 1:1.33 to 1:2.35. The change in the shape of the screen called for new ways of composition, editing and narration. In particular, instead of using typical shot/reverse shots for conversations, these would be allowed to play out in 2-shots and 3-shots in long continuous takes often involving mobile framing. For some critics this conferred a greater sense of reality. Another example used by Kuhn (2007:48) is when Calder (Robert Mitchum) talks to a storekeeper, then moves to a window and picks up a rifle for Mark (Tommy Rettig) and chats to him. Calder then looks out the window, moves forward and is joined by the storekeeper as they look out onto the street. All the actions and the revealing of the location are done in a single shot by 'composing in width' and using mobile framing. This is atypical of the analytical editing of classical style that would first use an establishing shot before cutting to different shots both to break down the space and highlight the actions 12. Kuhn (2007:48) then moves on to Klute (1971) as an example of New Hollywood Cinema that allows for ambiguities within the narration that "would certainly have been inadmissible in the classic era". She writes that the film uses a classic 1940s film noir framework dealing with a mystery that gets investigated and that leads to resolution. The style, however, presents enigmas in the presentation of the characters. Whereas detective-hero Klute is seen in close ups with an intense look on his face, Bree Daniels (Jane Fonda) who he falls for, is occasionally represented as an object of the gaze of an unknown and potentially threatening intruder. Also, when Bree discusses events with her therapist, revealing her cynicism, her voice continues under the following romantic sequence creating dissonance between the images and the sound. These few examples show the classical Hollywood style has been open to innovations, sometimes even presenting ambiguity, as opposed to the clarity demanded by classic narrative structure.

¹² A much more extreme version of this is Hitchcock's *Rope* (1948) which was shot on a single location with reel-length takes.

In more recent times the borders between independent films and Hollywood have become more indistinct in what is known as Indiewood features. As Geoff King (2007) writes, in the 1980s and 1990s some films began mixing alternative and distinctive ideas with more conventional and mainstream style. These films were often motivated as having cross-over appeal from niche to mainstream audiences and were epitomized by many of the films made by Hollywood studios such as Miramax (owned by Disney). One such film is Lost in Translation (2003) written and directed by Sofia Coppola. It's the story of two individuals Charlotte (Scarlett Johansson) and Bob Harris (Bill Murray) who meet at an expensive Tokyo hotel and take refuge in each other's company. "The film is primarily a mood piece, a wry and quite touching observation of fleeting moments of human connection amid the various alienating aspects of each character's life, he an actor overpaid to endorse a Japanese whiskey, she the philosophy-graduate wife of a photographer with whom she seems to have little in common" (King, G. 2007:59). The film hints at a romance between the two characters but it is never consummated and ends with them going their separate ways after Charlotte whispers something in Bob's ear. It is inaudible to the audience and creates an ambiguous ending. At the same time the film has more conventional aspects of narrative with the familiar story of two lost souls finding solace in each other's company, and much of the humor comes from the stereotyped clash between Eastern and Western culture. Of course the presence of two major film stars also points to the film's commercial objectives: however, the insertion of a minor character within the film, a crass and superficial Hollywood actress, suggests Coppola's intent to position the film as a critique of the dominant system (King, 2007:59). This blurring of borders reflecting style and narrative happens not only at the level of opposing approaches to filmmaking in America but also through other transnational dimensions as evidenced by the cross-fertilization through the films of Japanese director,

Akira Kurosawa, considered by many critics as one of the greatest filmmakers ever (Bordwell and Thompson, 1994:500).

Bordwell and Thompson (1994:500) suggest that Kurosawa has throughout his career been viewed as one of the "most Western" of the filmmakers from Japan, due to the accessibility of his films to foreign audiences. However, it is also important to consider his influences on Hollywood. Initially Bordwell and Thompson (1994:500) focus on Kurosawa's use of stories from western literature: Throne of Blood (1957) as a retelling of Macbeth, Ran (1985) inspired by King Lear and High and Low (1963) based on a detective novel by Ed McBain. They observe that Kurosawa's films have strong narrative lines and sometimes dynamic action-orientated scenes more similar to Hollywood than typical Japanese films. His admitted inspirations are well known Hollywood directors Wyler, Capra, Ford and Hawks. Some auteur studies have also found that underlying thematics in his films rely on a heroic humanism where the hero-character has to overcome his own selfish desires in order to work for the good of others, a moral framework that resonates with western values. Focus on flows in the opposite direction, however, show that Kurosawa's films have also contributed to Hollywood cinema in various ways, particularly the Western. Rashomon (1950) became The Outrage (1964), The Seven Samurai (1954) was turned into The Magnificent Seven (1960), and Yojimbo (1961) was remade into A Fistful of Dollars (1964). His film Hidden Fortress (1958) inspired part of the plot for Star Wars (1977). Stylistically his use of slow motion to depict violence has now become a cliché in many action films (Bordwell and Thompson, 1994:500). Indeed on a broader scale Asian/Hollywood hybridisation is evident in the intertextual style of American directors such as Quentin Tarentino and the Wachowski brothers, contributing an "otherness" and novel approach to familiar Hollywood genres. Films like Kill Bill Volume 1 and 2 (2003/4) reference Southeast Asian Martial arts films, and the visual style in *The Matrix* (1999) is influenced by Japanese anime films. These flows within the images of the mediascape are also visible in the ethnoscape where Asian directors and actors such as Ang Lee, John Woo and Jackie Chan have made their presence felt in Hollywood, aside from the many Asian technicians working within various film departments. Of course these flows do not always happen without controversy or disjunctures. When Scarlett Johansson was cast in the Hollywood remake of Ghost and the Shell (2017), there was "an immediate outcry because an Asian or Asian-American actress hadn't been cast to play a character who was Japanese in the original, even if her identity involves a brain implanted in a cyborg's body" (Kilday, 2017). Some groups like the Media Action Network for Asian Americans objected, others such as Care2 petitioned to have the part recast. Care2 received more than 100,000 signatures and is a great example of Appadurai's (1996) notion of the collective imaginary being used for resistance. True to reception studies though, there were others who agreed with the dominant reading such as Mamoru Oshii, director of the original film and Sam Yoshiba from the original publishing company who told The Hollywood Reporter (2017), "We never imagined it would be a Japanese actress in the first place."

In conclusion, Ezra and Rowden (2008:2) write, "It is important to recognize the impossibility of maintaining a strict dichotomy between Hollywood and its 'others' even though issues of cultural imperialism arise". From its earliest days cinema has drawn audiences to its technology, its attractions, its ways of helping audiences negotiate modernity and its use as an alternate public sphere extending the social horizons of audiences in and through the perceived homogenizing tendencies of Hollywood film and other World cinemas. Cinema has provided through the images of the mediascape a means to inspire the collective imaginary to action, to resist, to negotiate or to accept. For now, from a National film

perspective, the answer to the question "Is *Tsotsi* a South African film?" might depend on who you ask. But other questions remain as to *Tsotsi*'s style viewed in a transnational context. How was the making of Tsotsi impacted by Appadurai's global flows, and to what extent does it conform to classical Hollywood style or reveal indigenization? These questions will be answered in the following chapters.

Chapter 3 - The Context of *Tsotsi* (2005) and a methodological approach to stylistic analysis

From the perspective of Appadurai's global flow theory, the initial research question that asked whether Tsotsi was so Hollywoodised as to be unrecognisably South African has been challenged by the instability and porousness of the dichotomy between Hollywood and World cinema. A further challenge to this binary is evident in the work of Proferes (2005), Weston (1996), Clurman (1972) and Mamet (1991), amongst many others, who focus on directing craft. Directing craft forms part of film school and university curriculums around the world and focuses on a methodology for turning screenplays into films. Evidence of this methodology's application in unpacking the style of many forms of global cinema is provided by Proferes (2005:240-256) in his analyses of Tokyo Story (1953. Japan), Some Like It Hot (1959, USA), The Battle of Algiers (1965, France), Three Colours: Red (1994, Poland, France and Switzerland) and *The Celebration* (1998, Denmark). This methodology is able to transcend limitations and discourses imposed by a national film paradigm revealing what Proferes (2005:240) calls "a director's vision of the universe" which is generated though cultural frameworks. This resonates with Hall's (1973) notion that production structures, of which the director is a part, are not a closed system. These production structures "draw topics, treatments, agendas, personnel, images of the audience, 'definitions of the situation' from other sources and other discursive formations" within the wider socio-cultural and political structure of which they are a differentiated part" (Hall 1973:3). Hall goes on to write that the audience can be seen as both the 'source' and the 'receiver'. This emphasis on the audience underlies the central goal of directing craft and that is the emotional engagement of audiences through every moment of a film.

Athol Fugard's novel *Tsotsi* was first published in 1980. Prior to this, Fugard, a well-known South African playwright, had written several plays dealing with the injustices of apartheid. *Boesman and Lena*, is arguably his most well-known play and was adapted into a film in 1973 (Stafford, 2008). In the United States, many producers had shown interest in adapting *Tsotsi* to film. However, the narrative, based on an inner psychological journey had proved problematic and difficult to fund. When British producer Peter Fudakowski first came across the novel, he saw its potential and decided to secure the film rights (Stafford, 2008). He contacted South African filmmaker Gavin Hood in Los Angeles and commissioned him to write a first draft script.

Hood, it appears, was well aware of the tensions inherent in writing for a diverse audience necessitated by the financing of the film and the potential dangers of stylistic homogeneity. Earlier, Hood had grown up in South Africa and had briefly practised law in the early 1990s, before his desire to pursue acting and a career in film led him to the University of California in Los Angeles (UCLA)¹³. While studying various aspects of filmmaking craft at UCLA, he learnt about screenplay structure. Hood in an interview with Dercksen (2015) explains that:

If you don't have a great story, it doesn't matter how beautifully you shoot it, it doesn't matter how great the music you compose for it, it doesn't matter how good individual performances are. It is about the structure of the story, not just the story, but the way the story is told. (Hood quoted in Derksen, 2015)

¹³ Having completed his studies at UCLA, Hood returned to South Africa and worked on the television series *Soul City* (1994), before embarking on his film career with *The Storekeeper* (1998) and *A Reasonable Man* (1999). Fudakowski admired these two films and when Hood returned his first draft of *Tsotsi*, Fudakowski was so impressed that he secured the rights and began to source funding for the project (Stafford, 2008).

Hood explains that the novel, set in South Africa during the 1950s, is "an internal psychological dialogue" that focuses on an inner journey of awakening through the rediscovery of lost memory and humanity (*The Making of Tsotsi*, 2006). Hood and Fudakowski both felt that these universal themes of self-discovery and redemption were timeless and that this would translate well into a contemporary setting, resonating strongly with modern audiences as well as saving on the costs for the period costumes and sets (*The Making of Tsotsi*, 2006). Even though it seems that the global financescape exerted its own pressures upon the filmmakers, it appears that Hood in some ways attempted to subvert the classical paradigm as evidenced in the following paragraph.

Hood made two major decisions that would indigenise Tsotsi to a great degree and that was in his use of language and in the casting of the actors. In the quieter moments of the film, Hood wanted audiences to empathise with the characters by feeling the intimacy between the players (*The Making of Tsotsi*, 2006). In order to do this, he wanted to cast local actors and have them perform using "tsotsi-taal", an amalgamation of various South African languages spoken in the townships. For the major financiers, The Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa and The UK Film and TV Production Company, this was a huge risk as the film had no marketable international stars, and they urged Hood at least to meet a few overseas actors. Even though the roughly 3 million dollar budget of the film was relatively small¹⁴, Hood and Fudakowski spent three weeks in Los Angeles meeting various actors

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¹⁴ The acquisition of new technology shows how developments in the technoscape can ultimately help low budget films. During the shoot, The Video Lab in Johannesburg acquired Lustre technology that enabled the filmmakers to do a digital intermediate (DI). This allowed for the delivery of multiple versions of the film including an HD 16x9 version, a 4x3 version and subtitled and non-subtitled versions. Although Gewer shot the film with a photochemical grade in mind, he was able to enhance some scenes within Tsotsi's shack during the digital grade as well as even out the harsh sunlight on the day exteriors. He mentions that not many filters were used on the lens. The DI was also helpful in creating lighting continuity during the day exterior with the children at the stormwater pipes. In this case, the filmmakers were running out of time and had to shoot even after the sun had set. Overall the grade took 12 weeks to complete before recording out to film for the general release prints (Bosley, 2006).

before returning to South Africa. During the local casting, Hood was helped by South African agent and casting director Moonyeen Lee who suggested that they look for someone in their early twenties to play the lead role. The thinking was that it was unlikely that audiences would have sympathy for an older character who committed such heinous crimes (*The Making of Tsotsi*, 2006). In this sense, the emphasis fell on a coming-of-age story where the audience would forgive a boy trying to figure out who he is, rather than a violent man set in his ways (*The Making of Tsotsi*, 2006). Initially Hood saw dozens of actors whom he felt did not quite manage to portray the character before settling on Presley Chweneyagae, whom Hood found "riveting" (*The Making of Tsotsi*, 2006). Hood went on to cast Terry Pheto as Miriam along with a host of other South African actors including Kenneth Nkosi as Aap, Zenzo Ngcobe as Butcher and Mothusi Magano as Boston. Kwaito musician Zola was also cast in a supporting role as Fela, a township hoodlum, along with Rapulana Seiphumo as John and Nambitha Mpumlwana as Pumla, who are the parents of the kidnapped baby. In this way, *Tsotsi* had avoided a more typical scenario where the financescape dictates having major stars and the use of English as a means to tell local stories.

The challenge of appealing to audiences beyond the borders of South Africa meant that Hood had to engage audiences emotionally and for this he drew on his directing craft. He mentions that he needed audiences to focus intensely on the 'emotional beats' of the story so that every nuance and implication could be caught (Bosley 2006:33). Hood outlined some of these emotional beats through storyboards and goes on to say that he felt shot lengths are one of the most effective ways of articulating how emotion is conveyed through a performance. He explains: "There's a time when you know you want to be in tight and a time you really want to back off; that decision is emotional, and out of that decision you then compose the image"

(Bosley, 2006:33). These units of dramatic action (emotional/narrative beats) are seldom referred to in much of the academic writing on South African film as they emerge from directing craft which privileges the production process rather than the more familiar decoding discourses based on National film theory.

Using dramatic beats as a way of encoding a film finds its roots in performance-based studies (Weston, 1996), where each moment of a screenplay is understood as an action verb (e.g. to beg, to plead, to demand and so on). The strength of these verbs and their relation to each other provide a means to map out an emotional trajectory for a scene. In his book *Film Directing Fundamentals* Nicholas Proferes (2005) outlines some of the key features of this process that apply to both Hollywood and World Cinema. He begins with what he calls "a spine" which is the main action within the film. Proferes (2005:14) describes it in the following way: "The armature of dramaturgy is the spine – the driving force or concept that pervades every element of the story, thereby holding the story together". He goes on to say that once the main spine of the film has been determined, it is necessary to find the spines of the main characters.

It is the goal that each character desperately desires, aspires to, yearns for. It should be extremely important, perhaps a matter of life and death. The character must save the farm, win her love, discover the meaning of life, live a life that is not a lie, or any of the countless wants we humans have. And the more a character wants something, the more the audience will care about whether or not she gets it (Proferes, 2005:14).

Most importantly, the main characters' spines should be contained within the film's main spine and emerge from the main action of the screenplay. When this is achieved the film

achieves a "thematic unity" (Proferes, 2005:15). David Mamet (1991:15) in his book *On Directing Film* reiterates the idea by saying, "It consists of the assiduous application of several very basic questions: What does the hero want? What hinders him from getting it? What happens if he does not get it?"

Proferes (2005) suggests that the focus on characters and what they want is also evident in the way a director would approach a dramatic scene. Many scenes can be broken down into dramatic blocks which Proferes (2005) likens to a paragraph. These dramatic blocks normally contain a central idea. He uses the following ideas "to reason", "to seduce", "to threaten" and "to beg" to illustrate how a director would approach the different dramatic blocks. As one can see from the above ideas (action verbs), the character gets more desperate in each dramatic block. By creating a different spatial rendering for each block the increasing desperation becomes clearer to the audience and more palpable. The shift between the blocks would involve staging (the movement of the actors) and then camera movement or lens changes would be added to this. Proferes (2005) explains that most dramatic scenes have a fulcrum point, a moment when a character will either achieve or not achieve what they set out to do. The narrative beats (action verbs) are designed to heighten the emotional intensity towards the fulcrum point and the task of the director is to visually and aurally reinforce these beats through cinematic codes. An obvious narrative device could be music that may rise in intensity as a scene reaches its fulcrum point. Another way of articulating beats may be by gradually using shorter shot lengths (from a Medium Shot to a Medium Close-Up to a Close-Up) inviting the audience to engage on a stronger emotional level with characters through the duration of a scene. This could also be achieved through staging, the use of the camera or a combination of both. In *Tsotsi*, South African cinematographer Lance Gewer mentions that the camera movement is based on the staging of the actors, and for the most part the camera

is kept quite still, either shooting very wide or very tight with nothing much in between (Bosley, 2006). Hood elaborates by saying:

As a director I generally favour camera moves that are motivated by a character's own movement rather than the need to do something cool with the camera. I think excessive camera movement in movies is often motivated by a fear of intimacy with the actors and a concern that the audience will become bored if the camera is too static (Gunn, 2009:49).

This restraint allows the audience to study the characters and get to know them intimately. It also means focusing intensely on the emotional beats of the story so that every nuance and implication can be caught (Bosley 2006:33).

There are six different variables a director can control with the camera: angle, image size, motion, depth of field, focus and speed (Proferes 2005:40). Another stylistic element is editing and of course these different narrative devices can be used in different combinations. The director is thus able to visually and aurally narrate and adjust the engagement of the audience with the performances and the relationship between the performers, moment by moment. The concept of multiple cinematic codes converging on a single beat, however, does not exclude varied interpretations by an audience. David Mamet (1991) focuses particularly on the relationship of beats to each other. He makes the point that good filmmaking craft entails capturing the beat economically and distinctly, and that once this beat is understood, the audience combines this with the preceding beat to form a third idea. This creates an interactive relationship with the audience until the super-objective (at the fulcrum) of the scene is realised. The freedom of audiences to interpret a scene is thus not closed down but is

rather guided on an emotional trajectory. Overall, dramatic beats show the close ties between filmmaking and theatre and the importance of directors' understanding the subtext of a scene.

The nature of a scene's construction, however, does not always move in a linear emotional path towards a climactic point (the fulcrum): instead, the scene can be modulated through a process of building and then releasing tension through the use of dramatic blocks (Proferes, 2005). An example of this is where two characters in a restaurant may be involved in an intense discussion but are then interrupted by a waiter before continuing with their discussion. (The waiter is likely to intrude after a key dramatic beat). The coverage of this scene would involve either a gradual tightening of the shots through the editing process and/or the tracking camera and movement of the characters, before releasing to a wider shot by editing/tracking/staging to show the interruption of the waiter. In the following part of the scene (second dramatic block), the coverage would most likely involve a similar style, although with a tighter series of shots, and then release the tension again by going to a wider shot. The scene may involve a number of these modulations before reaching the fulcrum point. At a broader level, Proferes (2005) writes that these modulations may also occur between scenes to avoid predictable patterns and to enhance the cinematic appeal and power of scenes in relation to each other. A scene that involves rapid editing, for example, may be followed by a scene that involves a tracking camera or actor staging. Proferes (2005: 23-29) illustrates this by looking at the work of Hitchcock's scene construction in *Notorious* (1946). There are also variations between scenes that are dramatic and scenes that purely provide plot information. It thus becomes important to consider the scene that comes before and after the scene being analysed and to note how these may be different.

In terms of an approach to the analysis of *Tsotsi*, the length of this dissertation determines that an exhaustive analysis of every scene is not possible due to the multitude of variables. It is important, however, that every scene is covered in some way due to the factors mentioned in the above paragraph. As mentioned earlier there are four key areas of style that will be looked at, namely cinematography, mise-en-scène, editing and sound. In terms of cinematography, the important elements are shot lengths, camera movement and lighting. For shot lengths, the strategy used for dramatic scenes, and scenes used only to further the plot will be examined as to how these shot lengths work in relation to each other and whether they reveal a stylistic tendency. In terms of camera movement the goal will be to identify the different types of movement such as craning, tracking, Steadicam, pans and tilts and to see how these may be used to articulate dramatic beats. The lighting will be examined to see how and when this reflects the mood of different scenes and if there are lighting motifs. The predominant focus on the mise-en-scène will be in terms of performance and staging. In scenes where specific props, costumes, sets and colours play an important part in articulating beats, these will be noted. For visual editing the focus will be on the continuity editing and how this is adapted over various scenes, particularly in terms of pacing and whether certain rules are broken. Also the analysis will focus on intercutting and modulation between scenes as explained by Proferes (2006). In terms of aural editing the offsetting of the sound used to create seamless transitions will also be looked at. The final area of stylistic analysis will focus on the use of sound, particularly music and sound effects, and how they are used in combinations and separately to create thematic resonance.

In conclusion, this chapter has outlined a methodological approach to analyse the style of *Tsotsi* based on directing craft that privileges emotional trajectories. This approach evolves from a director's immersion within particular culture frameworks that feed into the

production process (Proferes, 2005). As mentioned by Hall (1973:3), the production structures "draw topics, treatments, agendas, personnel, images of the audience, 'definitions of the situation' from other sources and other discursive formations" within the wider sociocultural and political structure of which they are a differentiated part". In this way directing craft can become indigenised in different localities as Hood's use of 'tsotsitaal' and local actors shows. At the same time, this methodology recognises the importance of audiences, not only as a "sources but also as receivers". Finally, directing craft provides a means to analyse the style of a film unrestricted by the binary of Hollywood and it's "Others", a dichotomy that has proved to be porous in the face of transnational flows.

Chapter 4 - Textual Analysis of *Tsotsi* (2005)

The following textual analysis uses directing craft to analyse the style of *Tsotsi*. As mentioned in the chapter on methodology this is an approach that flows through and across the Hollywood/World cinema binary and the various discourses that attempt to define a national cinema. Directing craft embodies an emotional engagement with audiences (Proferes, 2005), and is an approach used in film schools and universities across the world to both encode and decode the style of a film. From this perspective it is transnational, and flows are evident from both production (encoding) to audience (decoding) and vice versa. Encoding using directing craft is an integral part of the mediascapes that exhibit flows and disjunctures, and for Appadurai (1990:299) these scapes are "image-centered, narrative-based accounts of strips of reality, and what they offer to those who experience and transform them is a series of elements (such as character, plots and textual forms) out of which scripts can be formed of imagined lives, their own as well as those of others living in other places" (Appadurai, 1990:299). Directing craft also "draw topics, treatments, agendas, personnel, images of the audience, 'definitions of the situation' from other sources and other discursive formations" within the wider socio-cultural and political structure of which they are a differentiated part" (Hall 1973:3). Thus the audience can be seen as both the 'source' and the 'receiver'.

There are four key areas of style that will be looked at, namely cinematography, mise-en-scène, editing and sound. In terms of cinematography, the important elements are shot lengths, camera movement and lighting. Shot lengths will analysed as to how they work in relation to each other and whether they reveal a stylistic tendency. The following shot length notation will be used. In a Close-up (CU), an actor's face fills the frame as in Fig. 2 and Fig.

4. In an Extreme Close-up (ECU) just a part of the face fills the frame such as the mouth or eyes (Fig. 1). Both these shot lengths can be used to focus on props too (Fig. 3). The Medium Close-up (MCU) shows the actors head and shoulders (Fig. 6). The Medium shot (MS) shows the actor's head and torso cutting the actor at waist level (Fig. 7). In a Full shot (FS), the whole body is shown from head to feet (Fig. 8). In a Long shot (LS) the actor is revealed within a much bigger landscape (Fig. 10) and in an Extreme Long shot the actor is shown as a minute figure dominated by their surroundings (Fig 12). There are two pairs of shot sequences that will also be looked at: the shot/reverse shot (Fig. 20 and Fig. 21) along with the shot/Point of view shot (POV) as seen in Fig. 22 and Fig. 23.

In terms of camera movement the goal will be to identify the different types of movement such as craning, tracking, Steadicam, pans and tilts and to see how these may be used to articulate dramatic beats. The lighting will be examined to see how and when this reflects the mood of different scenes and if there are lighting motifs. The predominant focus on the mise-en-scène will be in terms of performance and staging. In scenes where specific props, costumes, sets and colours play an important part in articulating beats, these will be noted. For visual editing the focus will be on the continuity editing and how this is adapted over various scenes, particularly in terms of pacing and whether certain rules are broken. Also the analysis will focus on intercutting and modulation between scenes as explained by Proferes (2006). In terms of aural editing the offsetting of the sound used to create seamless transitions will also be looked at. The final area of stylistic analysis will focus on the use of sound, particularly music and sound effects, and how they are used in combinations and separately to create thematic resonance.

1. INT. TSOTSI'S SHACK - SUNSET (0.01 – 1.12)

The purpose of this scene is to introduce both the major characters and Tsotsi's shack as part of the setup. The main action that occurs during the scene is a dice game and this is strongly introduced in the first few shots with CUs of the dice and the playing area. This avoids the more conventional establishing shot that is used to introduce scenes and captures Hood's idea of "there but for the roll of the dice go I" (The Making of Tsotsi, 2005). This is the first evidence that the film breaks with classical style. Gradually, Boston, Aap and Butcher are introduced in their own MCUs. Boston is wearing glasses and reading a newspaper, suggesting that he is more educated than the others. Butcher wears a leather jacket, has an earring in his ear and rings on his fingers. His violent character is expressed when he stabs a wad of money in a CU. This shot also introduces the sharpened spoke as a key prop and that shall later be used in a murder (Fig.3) Aap is a bulkier man in overalls and his jovial expression reveals him as the friendly although buffoonish foil to the other characters. Other elements of the mise-en-scene (Fig.15) such as the beer bottles, the marijuana joint, the smoky atmosphere, along with the notes of money and the dice game provide a typical setting for "rebellious youth."

There is no camera movement or any complex staging in this scene except for a quick tilt up on Butcher to highlight his violent action of stabbing the money. It is this comparative stasis that elevates the movement in the following scene and makes Tsotsi's entrance all the more stylistically powerful. Rather than simply revealing Tsotsi, this scene is used to delay his entrance, which occurs in the final shot. Prior to this in the relatively few WSs, Tsotsi has his back to camera and is framed within the doorway. This frame-within-a-frame composition draws our attention to him and is reinforced by his positioning in the upper part of the frame

and the use of a strong backlight (Fig.15). The orange sunset behind Tsotsi also draws attention to him, as the rest of the colors in the image are muted earthy tones made up of browns, blacks, blues and greys. These compositional elements heighten our curiosity but it is only in the final shot that Tsotsi turns towards camera. This turn happens on the cut and is an example of staging and editing working together to create a strong kinetic movement. This movement, coupled to the harsh guttural sounds of the non-diegetic Kwaito music track, and the use of a long lens that separates Tsotsi from his background, strongly identifies him as a major protagonist (Fig.4). This emphasis on the entrance is a key indicator of the film's dramatically inclined structure using directing craft.

2. EXT. TOWNSHIP STREETS - SUNSET (1.12 - 2.00)

The second scene of the film develops Tsotsi's entrance and also introduces the township as a key location. In the first shot, the camera tracks and cranes as it follows the gang out of the shack and down into the township streets. This appears to adhere to the formulaic style of having a wide establishing shot at the beginning of a scene before going into tighter shots and is an example of analytical editing (Bordwell and Thompson, 1994). This scene has Tsotsi walking slightly in front of the other gang members. He is positioned as the leader and his red T-shirt stands out amongst the more muted colours (Fig. 46). The rest of the scene reiterates his power as the camera continually tracks back as Tsotsi walks towards it. (This relationship between Tsotsi and the camera is shown in many later scenes when Tsotsi is stalking various victims).

Within the sequence, POV shots are also used to introduce Fela to us. Later the POV shots will become an integral part of the station sequence as Tsotsi searches for a potential victim. In this scene the cut is from a tracking frontal MS on Tsotsi to a tracking POV that focuses on Fela and his entourage. After Fela insults Tsotsi his response is to give Fela 'the finger'. This

is followed by a cut to a closer shot on Tsotsi, which heightens the dramatic beat that expresses his attitude to Fela and the world in general. The Kwaito music is mixed in at a high volume and the guttural hard sound resonates with the powerful and uncaring nature of Tsotsi. The scene ends with a WS that cranes up from the level of the street to a high-angle looking down at the township. Miriam is seen collecting water in this shot but the audience is not aware of her significance at this stage. Although the style here is more typical of mainstream film in terms of the establishing shots and the continually moving camera, the scene is also strongly indigenised by viewing the street life in a typical South African township along with the high volume of the Kwaito track.

3. EXT. RAILWAY LINE - SUNSET (2.00- 2.07)

This shot is a high-angle establishing shot of the exterior of Park Station and is used as an establishing shot for the following scenes. The Kwaito track continues underneath.

4. INT. PARK STATION / SIDING AND STAIRS - SUNSET (2.07 – 2.48)

This scene involves the arrival of Tsotsi and his gang at the station. The scene begins with a sideways tracking and craning movement (Fig.34 – Fig.36). It appears that these tracking moves are sometimes used for the top and tails of various scenes throughout the film and this could be viewed as formulaic or adhering to a "Hollywoodised style". This, however, does not happen all the time, in fact, sometimes establishing shots are not used at all. In this particular case, this shot serves a very particular function in that it establishes 'a familiar frame'. It is a concept that Proferes (2005) uses to explain how a dramatic moment can be heightened by having the audience familiar with the mise-en-scène so that they are not distracted and can focus on the drama. The pay-off for this shot occurs in the first shot of the third act when Tsotsi decides to pay his respects to Morris and to return the baby (Scene 103).

This is a key moment for the audience and the familiar frame helps to elevate the moment.

This points to a sophisticated level of directing craft used to engage the audience.

Apart from introducing a new location, a key function of this scene is to introduce Morris, the beggar who appears at the top of the stairs. Morris, will later play an important role in the film. Slowly the sound of the Kwaito music fades out leaving only the diegetic sounds of the station. The first few shots in the station are all WSs, establishing the busy environment and the fact that everyone is on the move. This transient location resonates with the idea of homelessness that is a feature of Tsotsi's past and is reiterated later in the film through many of the locations. This is a key feature of Appadurai's (1990:329) notion of the ethnoscapes that "are landscape[s] of people in constant motion such as tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers and other moving groups and persons. These 'people in motion' constitute an essential feature of the world". The final framing shows a huge HIV/AIDS related billboard and reflects the social impact of HIV/AIDS in a South African context. This is a form indigenisation of the image on a socio-cultural level.

5. INT. PARK STATION - SUNSET (2.48 – 3.22)

This scene involves Tsotsi seeking out a potential victim. The stylistic approach to this involves a sequence of shots of varying sizes on Tsotsi from MS to the first and only ECU of the film that focuses on his eyes (Fig.1). The first shot of the sequence shows the gang members in a 4-shot MS and then introduces a key stylistic strategy. The foreground continually has people passing by, sporadically obscuring the gang members POVs as they seek out a potential victim. This creates the impression of a busy and realistic environment. It also allows selective focus and depth of field to emulate the sense of seeking. There are a

number of pans and whip-pans to suggest the movement of the eye. Non-diegetic sound effects are used to enhance the whip pans. When Tsotsi finally finds an ideal victim this is shown by a cut to an ECU on Tsotsi's eyes (Fig.1) and then a cut onto an envelope of money that an old man is holding (Fig.19). This, the fulcrum moment of the scene, is further reinforced by an ominous rattling sound coupled to a deep base percussion sound that becomes an aural cue for danger throughout the rest of the film. The soundtrack is also filtered of the typical sounds one would hear in a busy station. This selective sound resonates with the idea of selective focus.

6. INT. PARK STATION - NIGHT (3.23 – 3.36)

This is a bridging scene showing the gang watching the old man as he is about to board the train. The old man is framed with a MCU that has a very shallow focus. The same shot is used three times in the sequence intercut with wider shots of the gang suggesting that they are now all focusing on him and that this is their POV. The color within the shots of the gang is desaturated except for red that "punches" out of the background (Fig.14). This is possibly used to convey the imminent danger presented by the gang. Once again the sound is selective and muted as compared to the sound one would expect to hear on a station platform.

7. INT. TRAIN - NIGHT (3.36 – 5.05)

The stylistic treatment of this scene contributes to making the murder of the old man particularly shocking through its focus on the intimacy of the act. Apart from the final two shots in the sequence, there is nothing wider than MCU and there are many CUs creating an "in your face" feel. Three of the gang members are shot in separation allowing the audience to read their emotions. This is important for developing the idea of violence and ruthlessness associated with Butcher, the nervousness of Boston, the uncertainty of Aap and the intensity

of Tsotsi. This makes the characters more 3-dimensional and foreshadows the upcoming scene in the shebeen¹⁵. For the victim, the tight frames suggest his entrapment. The editing is very rapid in this sequence made up of over fifty cuts in a short space of time. Although there are relatively few setups when compared for example, to the shower sequence in *Psycho* (1962), the rapidity creates a jarring and somewhat disorientating feeling. This is also generated by the sway of the train.

The soundtrack, like in the train station, is very sparse with the predominant ambient sound being the "clickety-clack" of the train. There is also a low and eerie industrial sound coupled to this. When the victim dies there is a rapid drumbeat that is repeated when Boston lets the dead victim go and he drops out of frame. This is also dramatically enhanced by the sound of a rattle similar to that of a rattlesnake.

8. EXT. RAILWAY STATION STAIRS - NIGHT (5.06 – 5.13)

This is part of a bridging sequence between the station and the tavern. Boston stands up after vomiting in CU, showing his revulsion at the murder. This is solidified by the audio of his vomiting offset into the preceding shot of the previous scene. This is not only used dramatically in this instance, but off-setting is also a key continuity device that helps with bridging and is used frequently within classical filmmaking style. Notable here is the greenish light that is used on the staircase and that will reappear in the shebeen as a 'kicker' light on Boston. Offset in this scene is the sound of thunder.

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¹⁵ A township bar/club

9. EXT. TOWNSHIP STREET/ TAVERN - NIGHT (5.14 – 5.18)

This involves the re-introduction of a familiar frame seen in Scene 2, which is the high WS overlooking the township street. In the background there is lightning and a storm develops over the following scenes symbolising Tsotsi's internal conflict.

10. INT.TAVERN - NIGHT (5.18- 8.32)

This scene takes place in a tavern and shows the aftermath of the murder and in particular its effect upon Boston. He, unlike the other three members of the gang, is revolted by their actions. This separation from the gang is clearly set up in the staging. Boston is situated a few meters away from a table and he is standing while the other three members are seated around the table with Tsotsi in the middle. The initial approach to the framing of the shots is to have the MCU of Boston at a slightly lower angle whilst cutting to a WS of the gang members, which is a strong POV shot – Tsotsi, Butcher and Aap are looking into camera. This clearly sets up the tension between him and the others and we are invited to see things from his POV in this particular scene. As Boston begins directing his anger towards Tsotsi, we cut to an MCU of him. These three setups form the bulk of the early part of the edit. Aside from isolating Boston, the WS serves as a mechanism to modulate the increasing tension that is growing from Boston's probing of Tsotsi. In addition to this modulation through the edit we have the introduction of Soekie who acts as 'the waitron' – a pressure relieving, yet suspense building device. Proferes refers to Hitchcock's use of the waiter in *Notorious* (1946) for these same purposes. The early part of Boston's dialogue questions Tsotsi's identity and then he goes on to question his lack of decency. Judith Gunn(2009:99) suggests that this is Tsotsi's dramatic need – 'decency'. This throughline or spine as Clurman (1972) calls it becomes the inner journey of the character. In terms of lighting it is interesting to note a green 'kicker' light coming off the side of Boston's face. Green is often associated with sickness and at this

point Boston is both physically and emotionally sick. The lighting on Tsotsi appears very similar to the lighting treatment that is used in *The Godfather* (1972) (and many subsequent gangster films), with a strong key light coming from overhead creating dark shadows under his chin.

The simple move of bringing Boston a few steps forward towards the table increases the tension after Soekie serves the drinks. When he then breaks the bottle and cuts himself, the scene moves into a sequence of OS reverse shots that then begin gradual zooms into CUs of both Boston and Tsotsi (Fig. 26 – Fig. 29) This visual treatment serves to isolate Tsotsi and Boston in their own world and resonates with the tension created in the performances. To this point in the film Tsotsi has still not uttered a word. He has convincingly portrayed emotion through his eyes. When Tsotsi snaps, the explosion is physical and involves three quick cuts in succession as Tsotsi punches Boston and he goes flying. The initial part of the beating happens in WS with the camera moving for the first time towards the actors. Tsotsi turns over a table, which hides Boston from us. Being unable to see the blows however does not make the beating less brutal. The final reveal however shows that Boston has been wounded badly.

11. EXT. OPEN EXPANSE - NIGHT (8.32 – 9.25)

In this sequence of there is a creative use of editing, camera movement, lighting, shot size variations and slo-motion to capture the dramatic moments. One of key stylistic features of this scene is the editing that uses the unfamiliar jump cut. The jump cut's violence becomes symbolic of the psychological fissures within Tsotsi.

The use of location is also important here as we move away from the crowded environment of the tavern to the large empty expanses between the township and the city. It is a type of no-man's land ideally suited to resonate with Tsotsi's isolation and alienation. These transient spaces are a feature of *Tsotsi* as evidenced by the scenes that take place in the station, on railway tracks, under highway bridges and the abandoned storm water pipes. It is also the space he disappears into when he decides to take the baby. This space speaks of homelessness and yet it in the past it was also once 'home' for Tsotsi. The lightning and rain symbolically echo the fractures and sadness evident within Tsotsi.

Two shots are used to bridge between the tavern and the empty expanse. One shot shows

Tsotsi running towards us and exiting frame. The following shot is a steadicam that follows
from behind the protagonist. This angle in then picked up in a third shot by a craning camera
that allows Tsotsi to move into an ELS – clearly rendering his isolation. The lens is wide
allowing Tsotsi to move quickly through space, thereby heightening the sense of his flight.

There is a similarity here to Tsotsi's entrance earlier as the camera tracks back as Tsotsi
moves towards us. Both scenes are also accompanied by harsh Kwaito tracks. The
circumstances within these scenes are however completely different. In the entrance
sequence, Tsotsi is an arrogant leader; in this sequence he is an isolated weeping individual.

This difference in dramatic tone is evidenced in the lighting as well as the camera angle. In
the entrance scene he is bathed in daylight and shot from a low angle; in this sequence he is
lit by moonlight, half of his face in complete darkness and shot from a high angle (Fig.9). We
begin to see and feel a weakness within the violent and assured criminal and this appears to
emanate from his repressed past.

This idea is also evident in the editing that shows a flashback of a young boy covered by the moving camera in exactly the same way as the adult Tsotsi. Because the frames showing the past and present are virtually the same size the edit appears as a harsh jump-cut. This can be interpreted symbolically as there is no forewarning/signposting of this editing approach. The

fulcrum moment is not delivered by cutting closer to the players but is rather delivered by a shift in pacing. The extremely rapid jump-cuts between the old and the young Tsotsi are finally given emphasis by using slow motion and holding the later shots for much longer, allowing the audience time to contemplate their significance. The final high angle shot shows the youngster running away from us and not the older Tsotsi. As the pacing slows, the Kwaito track begins to fade out replaced simply by the sound of rain.

12. EXT. UPMARKET SUBURBAN NEIGHBOURHOOD - NIGHT (9.26 – 9.48)

This scene is made up of three shots. The first shot is a WS showing Tsotsi walking away from us and indicates very clearly a move into a suburban location (Fig.11). It also reiterates the idea of isolation and is held for quite long compared to the previously established pacing. The cut to the second shot operates dialectically as we jump to a CU that is in front of Tsotsi. It serves as an "awakening from a nightmare" as Tsotsi regains control over the repressed trauma that has broken through the surface. His performance shows a gradual realisation of the present. He looks down in this shot and then there is a cut to his bloody fist visually reconnecting us to violent reality and pain.

At the same time aurally, we get the sound of thunder slowly fading away. There is a musical note that appears near the end of the first shot and the cut to the CU. This note signifies the beginning of a more lyrical piece of music that serves as one of the themes dealing with Tsotsi's past. It prepares us for the next scene, which elaborates on the appearance of the small boy in the previous scene.

13. EXT. FLASHBACK SEQUENCE - NIGHT (9.48 – 10.22)

This scene is made up of three shots that, with economy and elegance, flesh out the narrative of the small boy. The impression in this scene is that Tsotsi is reliving a memory and that

there are strong parallels being drawn between the youngster and the adult who are both isolated and abandoned. In this sense they are the same person. Instead of using the more clichéd device of the MCU/CU with a dissolve or ripple dissolve to signify a memory, the editor cleverly uses a point of view shot. The cut from the initial shot of Tsotsi shivering uncontrollably to a low angle of the rain falling down suggests that this is a literal POV shot but as the shot tilts down we reveal the boy that we saw earlier taking shelter in a concrete pipe. In this case, the link between the past and present, is the rain that works symbolically with the tears on both the small boy and Tsotsi's face (The shot is also returned to in a later scene where Tsotsi explores his past). This POV is not literal but rather emotional and indicates how film can work on multiple layers. The third shot in the sequence is a WS of a number of concrete pipes in which homeless children are sleeping. This is a visually striking shot that can be partly attributed to a very strong backlight that has no apparent source. Not only does the backlight, highlight the rain, but it also pierces the cell like structures of the pipes. This is a shelter but it is bereft of walls and doors. The music that plays during the sequence has reverberation that creates the impression of distance and empty space and the female voice is both like a lullaby and a cry of grief. This is enhanced by the introduction of violins.

Another important aspect to note about the film's stylistic treatment is the modulation between violent scenes and their consequences. This is evidenced by the murder of the old man and Boston getting physically ill. Then it is the beating of Boston and the return of Tsotsi's traumatic past. At this moment we are about to enter yet another scene of extreme violence where Tsotsi hijacks a car and shoots the mother of the baby.

14. EXT. DRIVEWAY - NIGHT (10.22 – 11.41)

The first shot in this sequence is a transition MCU shot that moves us from the memory scene and back to reality as Tsotsi is disturbed by an oncoming car. The following shot is the first time that a circular tracking shot is used. This is a WS that tracks and pans in a semi-circle connecting the oncoming car to an expensive looking house. This becomes the location for a later robbery and the final showdown in the film and is therefore strongly introduced through the movement. This also provides symmetry with the closing shot in this scene when we move from the hijacked car onto and around the injured mother.

The scene continues with a sequence of MCUs on Tsotsi intercut with his POV of the woman – first struggling with her remote and then getting out of the car and trying to get her husband's attention over the intercom. This POV style is similiar to the scene in the station where Tsotsi is seeking out a victim and we are thus visually primed for violence to re-occur. The soundtrack does not exploit the convention of using music to build tension but rather uses a diegetic track that emanates from the car radio. The track is a soft gentle ballad that works in ironic juxtaposition with the ensuing violence.

The first full shot of Tsotsi after the POV sequence has him walk towards camera with the roof of the car in the foreground. This is intercut with a slow inward track on the victim. This moving in was used prior in the tavern scene to show the heightening of tension between Boston and Tsotsi. Once Tsotsi has pulled the gun on her, the editing pace is quicker.

The aftermath of the hijacking is dramatically stylized through a circular track that moves rapidly and through 90 degrees around the injured Pumla (Fig. 37 – Fig. 39). She is also positioned under a streetlamp that supplies a spotlight effect. This is intercut with a WS of the car disappearing in the distance and the arrival of her husband on the scene. This is a

dramatic entrance for John, the husband, who plays a major role in the rest of the film. The soundtrack at this moment comprises four major sounds – the mother's screams, the tyres screeching, the rain and the gentle ballad.

15. EXT. DRIVING MONTAGE - NIGHT (11.42 – 12.11)

The following sequence is a driving montage that uses a frontal MCU of Tsotsi shot through the front window of the car as a hinge shot. This MCU is cut between various WSs of the car traveling through the dark landscape. The driving shots also create a dramatic buffer between the shooting of the mother and the discovery of the baby. On the baby's first cry, the camera is positioned behind the driver's seat allowing us to see Tsotsi's reaction. After he has looked around, there is a tyre screech. This is yet another example of the offset audio edit mentioned previously. In this scene the screeching functions symbolically to highlight the dramatic entrance of the baby. The soundtrack then goes very silent. This is an example of modulation, of moving from a dramatic loud sound to silence. These shifts, whether visual or aural, allow us breathing pace to contemplate and absorb the drama and this is emphasized by the LS being held for a while.

16. EXT. ROADSIDE - NIGHT (12.12 – 14.26)

In this scene Tsotsi's interaction with the baby is dramatically structured through the baby's cries, murmurs and gurgles. The most obvious challenge in shooting the scene would be getting a performance from the baby. This performance is built from very basic facial expressions coupled to expert sound effects editing. The majority of this sequence uses an MCU of Tsotsi intercut with an MCU of the baby. At the beginning the baby's cries are not insistent, suggesting that it is comforted by the presence of Tsotsi. The baby then stops crying altogether. As Tsotsi then begins to leave the car in WS to make his escape the cries return

and become much more insistent. This forces Tsotsi to stop in his tracks and this moment is also visually articulated by cutting from a WS to an MS. He turns and in one of the very few pans in the film, the camera follows him back to the car. His return to the car results in the cries becoming gurgles. What follows is a simple sequence using a MS on the baby and a reverse OS baby MS Tsotsi with an MCU used to dramatically articulate key beats.

17. EXT. ROADSIDE - DAWN (14:26 – 14:59)

This is the first scene in the film in which Tsotsi does not appear. Visually this is different to previous scenes as it is mostly shot with a long lens and apart from the final shot has subtle movement, indicating that it is possibly shot with a steadicam. The main purpose of the scene is to further the plot and introduce additional characters namely Captain Smit and Inspector Zuma. The camera introduces them by wracking focus from a flashing police light to a MS of Captain Smit (Fig. 48 – Fig. 49) and then pans onto a MS of Inspector Zuma checking the abandoned car. The following shot cuts back to MS Captain Smit, pans with him and then wracks focus onto the township in the distance. This then cuts to a craning and tracking shot that moves towards the stripped car (Fig. 40 – Fig. 41) and reveals the vastness of the township that sprawls in the distance. This coupled with the staging of the characters and the high angle looking down on them articulates the beat related to the hopelessness of their task.

18. EXT. SHACK - DAWN (15:00 – 15:03)

This is a tight establishing shot of the shack and follows the convention of having exteriors before moving to interiors. (Fig. 16) As the film progresses though, these establishing shots are no longer used and this helps heighten the pacing.

19. INT. SHACK - DAY (15:04 – 18:40)

The first interior shot is a panning bird's-eye-view (Fig. 42) which is the only time it is used in the film. The shot shows Tsotsi lying on a bed and awakening before revealing the baby under the bed in a brown paper bag. The coverage in the rest of the scene is fairly simple and this is understandable when working with a baby. There are three shots used to cover the bulk of the scene. Firstly there is a WS of the shack that is used to show Tsotsi performing actions that are not in close proximity to the baby. This happens when he interacts with props such as the knife and the radio. A high angle MCU has been used to focus on the baby's reactions and functions in a similar way to a POV shot. In some shots there is a tilt down onto the nappy. The only other change that happens within this frame is when Tsotsi holds the baby while feeding it condensed milk. This brings the baby closer and visually emphasizes a closer bond between the baby and Tsotsi. This is reiterated in the sound treatment as the baby now stops crying. The closer reverse shots on Tsotsi are from a single setup and are either CUs or MCUs dependent on his distance from the camera. These variations are all low angle, showing the corrugated iron roof and a few holes through which light beams down. The tighter shots are used to show Tsotsi's growing emotional attachment to the baby. Later in the scene, Tsotsi puts on music that is meant to both calm the baby and disguise its cries. It is a vibrant track involving male and female vocals and continues through into the following scene.

20. EXT. TSOTSI'S SHACK - DAY (18.41 – 19.49)

The main purpose of this scene is to introduce Miriam who will later become an ally for Tsotsi, helping him to feed the baby and encouraging him to make the right choices. It is also used to show Tsotsi hiding the baby from his gang. Miriam's importance is articulated through a sequence of POV shots from the gang's perspective that moves from a WS to a MS

and then to a MCU. Her displeasure at the gang's jibes about her baby is clearly expressed through her performance. The pink color of her blouse is also notable as it is used in contrast to the darker and more neutral tones in the scene. Color will later become a key way to define her character in opposition to Tsotsi. The lighting also serves to isolate her from the rest of the township folk as she is positioned in a narrow strip of light. The three shot on the gang is maintained throughout most of the scene and is introduced via a small piece of staging used to rearrange the players once Tsotsi shuts his door. Shutting the door allows the music track to be lowered and the cries of Miriam's baby are introduced underneath the shot of the gang. For a brief moment we are uncertain as to whether the cries are coming from the baby that is inside Tsotsi's shack. This uncertainty draws our attention to the cut on Miriam. Once again this is an example of multiple cinematic codes being used to anchor and direct the audience, in this case to solidly introduce Miriam. The other important element of this scene is that it is the first time that Tsotsi has a conversation in the film.

21. INT. SHACK - DAY (19.50 - 19.53)

This is a single MS on Tsotsi lit by a narrow strip of light. This style of lighting is familiar through film noir and reminds us that there is a darker hidden side of Tsotsi.

22. INT. HOSPITAL - DAY (19.54 – 20.32)

The abrupt cut from the upbeat music to the silence of the hospital room is jarring but effective. This is reinforced visually by removing the typical establishing shot that gives an audience time to ease into a scene. The coverage of the scene has a starkness and rigidity, resonating with the position that the father and the policemen find themselves in. The compositions are very formal and the austerity is further enhanced by using the white hospital walls to good effect and by de-saturating the color. When we return to the hospital later, after

being in Miriam's color-filled room, this de-saturated look becomes much more striking. The fulcrum moment of the scene is when John rapidly advances from an MCU into a CU as he challenges the police to get some answers. The soundtrack is made up of the sound of the life support machines resonating with the austere visuals of the scene.

23. EXT. JOHANNESBURG - NIGHT (20.33 – 20.37)

This is a WS showing the Johannesburg skyline at night. The soundtrack has a police siren, which helps bridge this scene with the previous hospital scene.

24. INT. PARK STATION - NIGHT (20.37 – 20.50)

This is a relatively short scene meant to provide us primarily with the plot information that Tsotsi has not arrived at the station yet.

25. INT. PARK STATION STAIRWELL - NIGHT (20.51- 21.25)

This scene introduces us to the feisty beggar, Morris and the fulcrum moment is expressed when he spits on Tsotsi's shoes. Straight after this shot we cut to a reaction shot (MCU) on Tsotsi and there is the familiar ominous reverbed rattle. Tsotsi's silence is used to the same powerful effect as in the tavern scene. This sets up Morris as his next victim and the high angles on Morris and the low angles on Tsotsi show the power relationship between the two.

26. INT. PARK STATION - NIGHT (21.25- 22.05)

This scene builds suspense as Tsotsi follows Morris. The camera follows Morris in FS and cuts back regularly to a tracking shot in front of Tsotsi, initially in MS and then MCU. In these shots the camera tracks backwards as Tsotsi thrusts forward, similar to his entrance.

The shots are also at a low angle reiterating his power. The diegetic sound is similar to the previous station sequences

27. INT. PARK STATION - NIGHT (22.06 – 22.09)

This scene is a single 2 shot MCU showing that both Butcher and Aap are still waiting for Tsotsi.

28. EXT. CITY ROAD - NIGHT (22.10 – 22.27)

This scene continues with the stalking of Morris in a similar style to what has gone before.

29. EXT. UNDER BRIDGE - NIGHT (22:28 -27:49)

The objective of this scene is to show a transition within Tsotsi from violence to curiosity and then to a form of empathy that foreshadows his willingness to deal with his traumatic past.

The great challenge for the filmmakers is to keep the dramatic transitions believable. In order to make the scene work it is broken into dramatic blocks and separated out by character staging.

The first dramatic block involves a movement by Tsotsi towards Morris. At this stage Morris does not know that he is being followed and various devices are used to create suspense. The desolated location and the use of extreme long shots (ELSs) and long shots (LSs) create a sense of emptiness and isolation (Fig. 10 and Fig. 12). This is further enhanced by the low-key lighting, which creates dark shadows and pools of light. The mise-en-scene both heightens the tension and resonates with the theme abandonment that is part of Tsotsi's hidden past. The first dramatic block reaches its fulcrum point when Tsotsi throws a coin at Morris. As the coin lands, the camera rapidly tilts up from the CU of the coin to an MCU of Morris who adds additional kinetic energy to the shot by quickly turning around. On the cut

to Tsotsi, the tension is maintained by a low angle shot of Tsotsi as he moves towards Morris.

As he approaches he appears to grow taller and bigger and this shows how staging can be used to emphasize a specific beat – in this case the ever-growing threat of Tsotsi.

From this point the scene goes into an MCU shot/reverse shot patterning as Tsotsi tells Morris to stand up. The power relation between the two is maintained by having a low angle on Tsotsi as he looks down and a high angle on Morris as he looks up. This part of the scene is also the most quickly edited to maintain tension. Towards the end of this dramatic block OS shots are introduced to re-establish the spatial orientation between the two characters before Morris tells Tsotsi to "Go to hell". From here he turns his chair around and continues on his journey signaling the beginning of a new dramatic block. The connecting shot between the two blocks is a WS that shows Tsotsi running into another confrontational position in front of Morris.

The second dramatic block is covered predominantly with reverse OS/MSs interspersed with two CUs. The first CU is of the moneybox, which Morris slams down. The second is a CU of Morris's paralysed feet as Tsotsi touches them. Both these CUs are examples of plot points being highlighted. Although Morris thinks that Tsotsi is interested in the money, it is in fact Morris's disability that Tsotsi is interested in. The high/low angle relationship still suggests that Tsotsi is a threat and that the confrontation may grow to be a lot more sinister. The reaction from Morris is to pull away by reversing his wheelchair. This leads into the third dramatic block.

At the beginning of this dramatic block Tsotsi begins advancing again and there is a CU of him kicking away the moneybox, meaning that Morris is now his target. This leaves Morris with no option but to fight back and he begins throwing rocks at Tsotsi. This begins a sequence of reverse OS shots. All the shots on Morris are in the MS range while on Tsotsi the

shots move through a range of shot lengths from FS to MS as a way to articulate the escalating threat posed by Tsotsi. The fulcrum point shows a CU of Tsotsi pulling a gun from his pocket. This dramatic block ends as Tsotsi throws away the dustbin lid he used to defend himself and we cut once again to an ELS which reiterates how vulnerable Morris is.

In the fourth dramatic block Tsotsi begins to advance on Morris again and he moves from a MS into a tighter MS as the frame remains static. The reverse MS on Morris has Tsotsi covering part of the foreground, blocking out any escape. What then follows is a combination of actor staging and a camera move that creates a subtle yet powerful reversal of positions. As Tsotsi moves from standing up to crouching down, the camera tilts down with him and his eye-line shifts from looking downwards to looking upwards (Fig. 30 – Fig. 33). The cut to the reverse MCU on Morris shows that he is looking downwards. Another important aspect to note about Morris's eye-line is that it is almost looking directly into camera, the most effective positioning for us to read the emotion in the eyes. In terms of the narrative Tsotsi is genuinely interested in Morris's condition and how he has the courage to go on. This is the first passage of meaningful dialogue in the film to this point and this is covered in OS MCUs. At the end of the scene Tsotsi stands up and walks away. The final shot is a CU on Morris as he looks at Tsotsi disappearing into the darkness. The soft melody that we first heard when Tsotsi remembers back to his youth fades up. This connects this scene strongly to the past and the idea that Tsotsi is willing to revisit his memory. The payoff to this scene comes a little later in the film when we discover the truth about Tsotsi's trauma and the dog with the broken back. Returning to the final CU on Morris - we are strongly reminded that this is Morris's scene and has been his experience of Tsotsi. He, like the audience is slightly bewildered at the turn of events. This ambiguity provides an opportunity for the following

scenes to develop the unknown gentler side of Tsotsi in a believable way and to mark the beginning of the second act of the interior journey towards decency.

30. EXT. RAILWAY LINE - NIGHT (27.26 – 27.49)

This scene entails one shot that is highly symbolic of Tsotsi's situation. It is static and Tsotsi is shown initially in ELS with a wide angle lens to emphasize his isolation as he slowly walks toward the camera, looking down and trapped between the lines of the railway (Fig. 17).

Darkness surrounds him and there is no life around except the lights of the city in the far distance. The mournful soundtrack returns to accompany this shot.

31. EXT. TOWNSHIP - DAWN (27.50 – 28.24)

This is a 3 shot sequence showing the dawn activity in the township as the mournful song continues underneath. Dramatically, it extends the contemplative mood and the transition between Act 1 and Act 2. Gradually the mournful song fades out to be replaced by the sound of voices.

32. INT. SHACK - DAWN (28:24 – 29.30)

The style used in this scene is similar to the previous scene with Tsotsi and the baby in the shack. Tsotsi discovers that the baby is covered in ants.

33. EXT. SHACK - DAY (29:30 – 29:44)

This is sequence of shots taken with a static camera and shows Tsotsi observing Miriam. It begins with a MS of him opening his windows. The action is fast and the movement of the window thrusts out at us indicating urgency. It is also shot from a low-angle maintaining the power that has been associated with Tsotsi. The cut then takes us to a wide POV shot of the

queue that is waiting for water. Miriam stands out as she is wearing a yellow top, which acts as a dominant contrast. This is the only clothing in the scene that is a bold primary colour and as we see later is a key way that defines Miriam in opposition to Tsotsi. The scene develops by cutting to a tighter MS on Tsotsi, indicating his interest. The following POV shot is a tight 2-shot that shows Miriam helping an elderly man. Clearly, Tsotsi has targeted her and this shooting strategy is similar to the scene in the station where Tsotsi recognizes the old man as a victim. This resonance enhances the audience's fear for Miriam. Tsotsi's position, high up in the shack, facilitates a high angle view on her, further expressing her vulnerability. This scene continues in a shot-POV shot pairing until it completes.

34. EXT. TOWNSHIP ALLEYWAYS - DAY (29:45 –30:27)

This is very similar in style to the Morris stalking scene in Park Station but replaces the busy, open environment of the station with narrow and claustrophobic passageways. In this scene there are numerous ominous percussive and rattling sounds juxtaposed with murmurs from the baby on Miriam's back, clearly establishing an aural binary between violence and nurturing that is at the core of the film's themes. The sequence ends in a two shot as Miriam enters her house and Tsotsi pulls out a gun. The familiar rattling sound begins building to a crescendo that reaches a peak in the following scene.

35. INT. MIRIAM'S HOUSE - DAY (30:28 – 34:07)

This is complex scene revealing one of the major characters of the film namely Miriam who acts as a mentor figure for Tsotsi on his journey to rediscover his lost humanity. In terms of shot lengths, this scene uses the now familiar shot/reverse shot patterning with some camera movement and staging as in the confrontation scenes with Boston and Morris. The most

notable feature of this scene though, is the mise-en-scène. For the first time in the film there are a broad range of colors in a scene (Fig. 52), as opposed to the earthy and darker tones of the rest of the film (Fig. 50). This contrast in color becomes part of the dialogue when Tsotsi comments on the two mobiles that are hanging from the roof. Holding one of the mobiles he asks "Why is it rusted?" and Miriam replies "I was sad." These rusted colors are the tones that exist within Tsotsi's dark shack and express his own jaded life. Tsotsi then taps a mobile that is made with different colored shards of glass and asks if she made it because she was happy to which she agrees. The final shots on Tsotsi move from MS to MCU and we see his expression soften, signaling to the audience that there is perhaps an alternative to his current lifestyle. The soundtrack also brings in the soft lullaby-like music that has been used in previous scenes related to his past. Another element that intensifies this scene are the almost direct eye-lines between Miriam and Tsotsi (Fig. 22). This is further enhanced in the reverse shots on Miriam by the blurred mobile in the foreground that appears here as Tsotsi's POV (Fig. 23). Eye-lines are a way for the audience to engage characters on a stronger emotional level as they are more open to us.

36. INT. HOSPITAL - DAY (34:08 – 34:46)

The style is similar to the earlier hospital scene.

37. INT. MIRIAM'S ROOM - DAY (34:47 – 35:36)

It is a continuation of the earlier scene in Miriam's room and its major function is to further the plot and keep the theme of mothers and nurturing alive.

38. INT. MIRIAM'S ROOM - DAY (35:37 – 36:05)

In this scene Miriam washes the baby and this leads to a growing realisation by Tsotsi of his own memories related to his mother. This is articulated simply but very strongly through a

series of reverse tracking shots on Miriam and Tsotsi. For Miriam the camera tracks from a MS to a tight MCU. On Tsotsi it tracks from an MS to a CU. These two shots are intercut with each other and coupled to the dreamlike expression on Tsotsi's face draws us into something that is happening in his mind. Once again the lullaby music returns in this scene and is coupled to Miriam's baby-talk as she washes the baby. This propels Tsotsi into a flashback.

39. INT. TSOTSI'S MOTHER'S ROOM (FLASHBACK) - NIGHT (36:06 – 36:10)

Once again colour plays an important part of the mise-en-scène. In this single MS of Tsotsi's mother lying in bed the colour has been desaturated and this contrasts strongly with the colour in Miriam's house. The candle in the foreground is also symbolic of memory and returns in other scenes. Holding out her arm and smiling she seems to be reaching for him and this is further accentuated by slow motion. Slow motion was also used previously when Tsotsi remembers himself as a boy. The lullaby continues underneath this shot.

40. INT. MIRIAM'S ROOM - DAY (36:11 – 36:35)

The scene returns to Tsotsi in CU. The following cut is to the baby being cleaned by Miriam, which is held for a few seconds before tilting up to Miriam. Once again the tilt is used in a dramatically powerful manner as in the Morris scene, here connecting mother and child. The reverse shot of Tsotsi in CU, shows him with a dreamlike expression on his face. On the return shot to Miriam in MCU she looks up and on the following cut to Tsotsi, his eyes suddenly shift from dream state to the present. Once again this is not a scene that furthers the plot but rather shows Tsotsi retreating to a child-like state. The final profile WS reiterates this with Miriam high up in the frame on the right, and Tsotsi lower down on the left, slouched into the chair so that he himself appears like a child looking up at his mother (Fig. 52). In this

shot one can see the pink widow that was introduced by cinematographer Gewer to suggest the gentler side of Tsotsi. The soft music continues underneath and then slowly fades out at the end of the scene

41. EXT. MIRIAM'S ROOM - DAY (36:36 – 36 -55)

This is a brief scene showing Tsotsi leaving Miriam's room.

42. EXT. OUTSIDE SOEKIE'S TAVERN - DAY (36:56 – 37:17)

This begins with a tracking shot on the pathway to Miriam's house and tracks parallel to the tavern revealing it in a WS. This shot serves three major purposes. Firstly, the wide angle showing township folk releases the emotional intensity of the previous scenes allowing the audience some breathing space and a shift in mood. This works in tandem with the upbeat kwaito track that plays as the shot begins. More importantly for the emotional trajectory of the story, it has Tsotsi emerging from the pathway in a perpendicular direction to that of the track. As we begin to the see the tavern, he has his back to it and walks away from it out of frame. This suggests the rejection of the exterior and all it represents. Thirdly, the shot is an establishing shot for the following scene that happens on the verandah of the tavern and the familiar voices of Tsotsi's gang are introduced reminiscent of the opening scene when they are gambling. The outside world has not changed.

43. EXT. SOEKIE'S TAVERN VERANDAH - DAY (37:18 – 40:00)

Dramatically this scene serves to identify Tsotsi's allies and enemies. It is broken into a number of dramatic blocks. The first block is covered in WS with a wide-angle lens of the gang members seated around a table. The deep focus allows us to read the expressions of the characters even though they are staged at different depths. The shape of the character positioning is triadic with Boston at the apex. Boston however is far in the background and

lower in frame than all the other characters. He is also at a greater proxemic distance to the other characters. He is the moral conscience that initially 'takes a back seat' but comes to the fore in a later dramatic block. Closest to the camera on the left is Butcher, the most vocal, violent and argumentative. His face is in a ¾ turn away from camera and we are not invited to share in his emotions. Seated just beside him on the left side is Fela who was introduced earlier. He is an example of a successful gangster in terms of money and in this scene is holding court with Tsotsi's gang members. He is flashy in his costuming – the only character to wear a tailored suit. He has a gold necklace and is well-groomed indicating a higher status in the gangster world. He is also accompanied by two female 'hangers-on', which are shown behind him. His face is open to the camera and initially he is the central character. Butcher who is closest to him and on the same side of the table is clearly aligning himself with Fela. On the other side of the table seemingly in his own world is Aap. As we shall see later he is the most sympathetic character towards Tsotsi.

The beginning of this scene is a replica of the opening scene with the characters, gambling, drinking beer, smoking and arguing over the dice. This shows that their world never changes and reiterates the challenges that Tsotsi will face. The first cut into this WS is a CU of Boston who questions Fela's status based on his wealth. He is drinking a beer in this shot and we shall see that later that alcoholism has prevented him from realizing his potential. The following cut is back to the now familiar WS but now with Soekie emerging with the identikit of Tsotsi that has been published in the paper. In the second dramatic block, the police are shown as a threat to Tsotsi. The cut in on the WS to show an OS of Aap onto the identikit strongly articulates this. Aap then comes to the defense of Tsotsi, showing that he is an ally, but in his bumbling way makes Tsotsi the object of ridicule because of his driving skills. This allows Fela the opportunity to drive a wedge between the gang members and

Tsotsi by suggesting that they come to work for him. We then cut to a CU of Boston saying that Tsotsi doesn't understand decency along with Fela. This is followed by a CU insert shot on Aap and then a tight MCU 2-shot on both Butcher and Fela. This shot has a shallow depth of field with the focus initially on Butcher who harshly attacks education – "Don't start with your fucking big words". The shot then wracks focus to Fela who turns in to look at Boston. There is an intense look on both character's faces that suggest violence and anger. The CU reverse shot on Boston has him saying that they can't even spell the word. The cut then returns to the long lens MCU 2-shot with Fela and Butcher and Fela repeats the word and then spells it out letter by letter. This repetition highlights "decency" as a theme for the audience. The sustained tight shots and long lens reinforce the importance of this. Finally the focus wracks back to Butcher who has been defocused in the background. The following dramatic block focuses on Butcher as the primary character and his expression of violence. While he talks he holds up the spoke that was introduced in the beginning of the film and that was used in the old man's murder. This sequence is even more quickly cut than the prior sequence and has no releasing wider shots. This focus on Butcher suggests that he will become an enemy of Tsotsi and this is realized towards the end of the second act.

44. INT. TSOTSI'S SHACK - DAY (40:00 – 40.36)

This scene begins with a WS of Tsotsi's shack as he puts the baby on his bed and covers it with a blanket. This scene, intercut with the past reveals to us an internal enemy that Tsotsi needs to face. The most striking element of the mise-en-scène is the lighting, which is film-noirish in style. Two beams of light emanate from the roof creating a cross design which intersects on Tsotsi's face (Fig. 53). There are slats in the roof and a strong beam of light, which shines from the window and falls onto the pillow where Tsotsi places the baby. The rest of the shack falls into deep black. This is the darkest scene that has been used in the

shack interior up until this point and is evocative of the battle of light and darkness in Tsotsi's heart and mind. The scene ends with an insert FS on the baby sleeping peacefully and the gentle sounds of a woman's voice on the soundtrack. In the far background out of focus is Tsotsi in a robe. The same music is used as in the initial flashback to his mother.

45. INT. TSOTSI'S SHACK - DAY (40:37 – 40: 50)

This scene begins slightly later than the previous scene and has Tsotsi seated in a high-backed chair looking introspective. This resonates with the scene in Miriam's house when he thinks of his mother. This is reinforced not only by the same soundtrack but also by having a candle in the left foreground, the same position as the candle in the flashback to his mother. The noir style lighting is very evident as half of Tsotsi's face falls into complete darkness. It is only a beam from the roof that lights his face. There is no illumination on the background except for light coming through a few small holes in the shack that glint off the gun on the table beside him (Fig. 54). This is the most stylized and theatrical moment thus far in the film. Clearly there is a link between the violence and darkness symbolized by the gun and the hope and memory symbolized by the candle. The shot then cuts to a FS of the baby that is asleep. On the return MCU on Tsotsi there is a woman's voice on the soundtrack which preempts the cut and helps smooth the journey into his past. It is also the first time that the audience learns of Tsotsi's real name – David.

46. INT. TSOTSI'S MOTHER'S ROOM (FLASHBACK) - NIGHT (40:51 – 40:59)

This is the same shot that seen earlier in Miriam's room. The shot is now not in slow motion but in real time. The defocused candle in the foreground matches the candle in the previous

scene and the perimeter of Tsotsi's mother's room also falls into darkness although it doesn't have the same 'noir-ish' feel as Tsotsi's shack. The image is de-saturated as before. She calls for David before the cut to a reverse MS on David with his dog. The soft melody continues underneath with the introduction of a male's humming voice.

47. INT. TSOTSI'S SHACK - DAY (41:00 – 41:02)

In this brief shot, the camera begins tracking in on the MCU of Tsotsi, his mother's voice continues underneath telling him not to be afraid.

In this scene David moves toward his mother and touches her hand.

There is cut back to Tsotsi in a tight MCU as the camera continues tracking in to a CU before we hear a man's voice asking him what he is doing.

Tsotsi's father is introduced in this scene and he demands Tsotsi to leave his mother's room.

51. INT. TSOTSI'S SHACK - DAY (41:55 – 41:56)

This is a brief CU of Tsotsi in the shack connecting him to the flashback. The father's voice from the flashback is placed underneath this shot to show Tsotsi immersed in this memory from his childhood.

52. EXT. MOTHER'S SHACK - NIGHT (41:57 – 42:11)

This sequence is bookended by two static wide angle LSs. In the first shot David runs towards us then hides behind a chicken coop showing the fear he has for his father. The final shot returns to the LS shot as we hear the dog yelp. The body of the scene is shot with two reverse shots. The shot on David is an MCU with a shallow depth of field. The foreground elements are wire mesh and a chicken, while another layer of mesh is right in front of Tsotsi. Behind him is more mesh on different layers. This mise-en-scène clearly articulates his entrapment. The chickens moving in the foreground, frequently wipe across the frame adding to the sense of confusion. The reverse shot on the father shows him in a MS framed in a doorway. On the soundtrack, there is a combination of rapid percussion, mixed in with both the dog's bark and the sound of chickens clucking nervously. Off-screen there is the sound of a blow and then the yelp of a dog. The percussion then stops abruptly.

53. INT. TSOTSI'S SHACK - DAY (42:12 – 42:14)

This is a CU of Tsotsi as before. The soundtrack is silent apart from the sound of another blow, a chicken cluck and the whining of a dog. It is a key memory for Tsotsi and the starkness of the sound indicates this.

54. EXT. MOTHER'S SHACK - NIGHT (42:15 – 43: 01)

There are two main parts to the scene. The first part deals with David seeing that the dog has been crippled and the second part deals with his father. The overall editing pace slows down so that the audience can contemplate the violence that has just happened. In the initial shot the whining dog is in a FS at ground level, struggling to crawl through the doorway. The following shot is the MCU used in the previous scene that shows David behind the chicken coop. A tear runs down his face, while the dog continues whining underneath. At this point

somber orchestral music fades in. The following WS of the dog at ground level shows that it has managed to crawl through the door. The reverse MCU on Tsotsi is tighter and shows him moving towards the dog before we cut back to the WS of the dog again. In the following MCU of Tsotsi, he is still moving forward and then stands up. The camera at a low angle, tilts up with him. The reverse shot to the dog is tighter than the previous WS and at a slightly higher angle looking downwards. The following shot on David is a low angle MCU that tilts down as he crouches down. This moment resonates strongly with the Morris scene where the camera tilts down with Tsotsi as he tries to understand the nature of being crippled. The following shot on the dog is a tighter MCU and follows the pattern of moving in, indicating its growing impact upon David. Just at this moment though, his father's voice is heard underneath the shot telling him to leave the dog. The next cut to Tsotsi has him looking upwards in a tight MCU. The DOF (Depth-of-field) is shallow. This is followed by a low angle MCU on the father drinking and swaying. The DOF in this shot is deeper than in the previous shot on David. This shift in angles and DOF indicates the vulnerability of David in relation to his father at this moment. The reverse shot on Tsotsi has him take a step backwards and on the soundtrack the orchestral music fades out and is replaced by the ominous deep base industrial percussive sounds that played under the father in the mother's room. This is followed by the MCU on the father looking at David. The following shot has David stand up as the camera tilts up so that it is in a low angle relationship to him. This indicates his growing rebellion and is reinforced by rapid percussive sounds that were heard earlier. There is one more shot on the father before David backs away and runs into the background.

55. INT. TSOTSI'S SHACK - DAY. (43:02 – 43:04)

In this now familiar intercutting between Tsotsi and his memories the shot returns back to the shack. The shot is a wide-ish MCU showing that Tsotsi is now deeply immersed in his memories and has his eyes shut. The rapid percussive sound continues underneath, mixed in with the sound of thunder.

56. EXT. NO-MAN'S LAND - NIGHT (43:04 – 43:10)

The culmination of David losing his mother and his dog along with the emotional violence of his father forces him to take flight. These repressed memories indicate that Tsotsi has always been running from his past, which the audience now understands. Towards the end of this scene there is a fusion of these memories with the present and this is done mostly through the sound mix. The sequence begins with a LS of David running away diagonally from camera. The following three shots are repeats of earlier shots. The first is the high angle CU on David's legs as he runs towards a backward tracking camera. The second and third shots include the MCU running and tracking shot of David and the FS of David taking shelter in a pipe during a storm. The sequence is filled with kinetic energy (in the final shot it's not the movement of David but rather the streaks of backlit rain) and this resonates with the audio mix that builds to a crescendo (offset into the following scene), effectively capturing the idea of flight. The soundtrack is made up of the rapid percussion sound, thunder, the insistent yelling of his father and in the final shot, the addition of somebody knocking on corrugated iron. There is also a voice that yells "Tsotsi" straight after his father calls "David" indicating a fusion between his past and the present. This is reinforced by the creative audio match-cut between the thunder and the knocking on a door. (Halfway Point)

57. INT. TSOTSI'S SHACK - DAY (43:11 – 43:35)

This is the same MCU shot that was used in the previous scene showing Tsotsi sleeping but now he is violently awoken from his memories. Aap is banging on his door. The soundtrack cuts abruptly at this moment and the violent transition resonates with Tsotsi reaching for his gun. He then covers up the baby in the final WS.

58. EXT. TSOTSI'S SHACK - DAY (43:36 – 45.25)

This scene begins a group of scenes that focus on rejection and abandonment. In this case Tsotsi learns from Aap that Butcher wants to join Fela.

59. INT. TSOTSI'S SHACK - DAY (45:26 – 45:43)

This is a single WS of the shack that begins with a pan before it settles on Tsotsi berating the baby for crying. His inner turmoil appears to be resurfacing.

60. EXT. TOWNSHIP PERIMETER/STORM-WATER PIPES - DAY (45:44 – 48:22)

Prior to this moment the film has dealt with Tsotsi's inner journey into his repressed past.

This scene rearticulates his quest but from a surface perspective as he literally revisits his old shelter at the pipes. Of course the external will resonate with the internal and this is shown stylistically through the numerous BCUs and CUs used on Tsotsi. This is similar to the style of the earlier scenes where we cut from close shots of Tsotsi in his shack to various flashbacks. To emphasise these shot lengths on Tsotsi in this scene, the predominant reverse shot is a wide angle WS that uses staging and composition to express the various dramatic beats. It is also ideal to show the children who live in the pipes functioning as a collective jury, questioning Tsotsi on his initial desire to abandon the baby. Another important aspect of this WS is that the pipes are always shown as a symbolic reminder of abandonment. In terms

of mise-en-scène this WS expresses desolation. Running diagonally across the frame is roughly hewn ditch that appears as a scar on the landscape. It looks like a drainage project, abandoned and forgotten like the rusting car in the middle-ground. There are no bright colours in this landscape where most of the grass is dead. Frequently wind sweeps through the shot, whipping up the dust and the soundtrack brings in the desolate sound of wind. Another interesting element within the soundtrack is the mixture of urban sounds in the form of a train and the rural sounds of cows. This reinforces the idea of the space being in-between and transient – a frequent locale for Tsotsi.

61. EXT. MIRIAM'S HOUSE - DAY (48:23 – 48:44)

This is a single MS shot that has Tsotsi waiting for Miriam.

62. INT.MIRIAM'S HOUSE - DAY (48:45 – 52:47)

This scene at Miriam's house is broken into four dramatic blocks. The first dramatic block deals with Tsotsi urging Miriam to feed the baby. In this scene, the cut is straight into action suggesting urgency as Tsotsi paces while holding the baby and the camera begins a fast zoom in. This is one of the few times that a zoom is used. The cut to Miriam with her back to camera shows that she is taking her time. On the cut back to Tsotsi, the camera rapidly zooms in from an MS to MCU as he asks her to hurry. The shot on Miriam is a static MS. She turns around and has a look of resentment on her face. Her open blouse suggests a vulnerability but also a sexual power. The slow movements by both the camera and Miriam reiterate her defiance. The reverse MCU on Tsotsi shows that he is trapped between two emotions, both a concern for the baby but also a realization that he is being indecent. He is unable to articulate this and stays silent. In the reverse cut onto Miriam in MS she retains her accusatory stare and the silence pushes this point home. On Tsotsi's shot he disengages with her, looking down to

the baby. He then looks up, takes an initial step forward then hesitates, before walking forward and breaking the frame. In the following shot Tsotsi enters the MS on Miriam and holds out the baby to her. This is the fulcrum moment in this dramatic block. She does not react maintaining her defiant glare at Tsotsi. Finally though, she takes the baby and Tsotsi retreats guiltily out of the frame as Miriam continues glaring at him. In the reverse WS, Tsotsi sits down on a chair and looks at her. As Miriam steps back in her shot, the camera tracks in and tilts down with her as she sits down on the bed. It is only now that she breaks her stare and attends to the baby. The cut to an MS of Miriam's own child indicates the end of this dramatic block. The following block begins with Miriam in MS placing her nipple in the baby's mouth. The cut to Tsotsi is an MS with his fingers covering his mouth. From the movement of his throat it appears that he is sucking. In Miriam's MS, she glances at Tsotsi and then back at the baby, continuing to talk to the child. The following cut to Tsotsi is a tighter MCU, still with his fingers over his mouth and a faraway look in his eyes as if he himself is being nurtured. The camera then begins to track in on Tsotsi as Miriam asks what the name of the baby is. There is a beat before Tsotsi, now in CU replies "David" (David is his own name). The tracking camera and his reply indicate that Tsotsi has been drawn into his own emotional world. There is then a cut to the MS of Miriam who looks up before the CU of Tsotsi continues. He pulls his hand away from his mouth and reiterates "Yes, David". His eyes lose their faraway look and he repeats "His name is David", more forcefully but with emotion in his voice. Miriam then asks Tsotsi if he is the baby's father. She still maintains an accusatory stare and the MCU on her is the first time the camera has gone so tight. She appears more intense as she asks if the mother is dead. This is the same question that one of the children at the pipes asked Tsotsi and this is the fulcrum moment of this dramatic block. The return shot on Tsotsi is a slightly elevated MS on him and he looks uncomfortable. He deflects the question by asking where Miriam's baby's father is. He is unable, as before, to

own up to his crime. A wider MS of Miriam indicates that the tension has been released and she glances frame right. Tsotsi follows her gaze turning frame left. This indicates the end of the dramatic block as the following shot is a photograph of the baby's father. As Miriam begins relating the story of the father to Tsotsi, there is a slow track in on her that is intercut with a track in on Tsotsi. This movement indicates a growing emotional intensity between the characters and a growing realization by Tsotsi of the negative consequences of crime. The following dramatic block has Tsotsi walking back to the area of the set with the mobiles and asking Miriam how she earns money. As he surveys the mobiles, Miriam asks Tsotsi for the baby. The sequence is cut in static reverse shots that gradually get tighter on Miriam. At the end of the scene he looks at her intently.

63. EXT. MIRIAM'S HOUSE - SUNSET

Tsotsi leaves Miriam's house and a big orchestral track with a woman's mournful voice fades in.

64. EXT. TOWNSHIP STREET - SUNSET (53:25 – 53:30)

This is a WS of the township that shows smoke and the orange hues of sunset. The orchestral track continues underneath.

65. EXT. TOWNSHIP ALLEYWAY - SUNSET (53:31- 54:02)

In this scene Tsotsi overhears the other gang members who are at Soekie's place. The orchestral track fades out.

66. INT. SOEKIE'S BEDROOM/ VERANDAH - SUNSET (54:02 – 55:37)

In this scene Tsotsi visits Boston at Soekie's place and mentions that he will look after Boston.

67. INT. TSOTSI'S SHACK - SUNSET (55:37 – 56:28)

This scene opens on a 2-shot of Aap and Butcher as he lights his joint on a candle. The candle is in the same frame position as in the flashback to Tsotsi's mother. Here Butcher's action is a subtle symbolic reminder of his lack of compassion. The following shot is the first high angle WS in Tsotsi's shack. The shack is not as dark as when Tsotsi was remembering back to his mother and indicates a growing lightness in Tsotsi as he tries to help Boston. The rest of the scene then plays out in reverse OS/MCU shots on Boston and Tsotsi. As soon as Butcher suggests that they need to do a job, a non-diegetic Kwaito track is introduced propelling the audience into the next scene.

68. EXT. SUBURB STREET - NIGHT (56:29 – 56:38)

This scene is a single shot of the gang walking through the suburbs.

69. EXT. JOHN AND PUMLA'S HOUSE - NIGHT (56:38 – 57:45)

This scene has the gang entering John and Pumla's house.

70. INT. GARAGE - NIGHT (57:46 – 57:53)

This is a single shot that powerfully evokes John's entrapment both through movement and composition. The shot begins over the bonnet of the car as he begins to open his door in a wide MS. As the door opens, the camera rapidly tracks forward and moves upwards matching his movements as he stands up. At this moment Tsotsi appears behind him over his shoulder and quickly raises the gun to his head while whispering "Ssshhh!" This is coupled to an ominous percussive sound that connotes the sound of a rattlesnake. The camera continues tracking in to a CU of John in the foreground and positioned near the edge of the frame. He has no looking room in the frame, reinforcing the idea of him being trapped. Butcher then

appears behind Tsotsi, out of focus. There is a strong diagonal alignment created by the gun and Tsotsi's elbow, mirrored by Tsotsi's head in the middle-ground and Butcher's head in the background. The compositional lines created converge on John's head, trapping him from an opposing direction. The height of the camera also masks Tsotsi mouth behind John's shoulder, drawing our attention to the intensity of his eyes, which are right behind the gun.

71. INT. JOHN'S HOUSE - NIGHT (57:53 – 59:24)

This scene serves three key purposes. Firstly it establishes two key areas of the house namely the kitchen and lounge and secondly it furthers the plot by showing Aap grabbing the telephone cord that he will use to bind up John and which later John will loosen. The scene's main purpose though is to foreshadow the dramatic violence between Tsotsi and Butcher at the climax of the second act. The scene begins on a WS of the kitchen as John is being pushed through the door. Unlike the more intentionally haphazard set dressing in locations that we have seen before, the kitchen is filled with strong horizontals and verticals creating a sense of order and structure - the kitchen walls are decorated with many small white tiles, the windows and door are covered with neat horizontal blinds, the wine bottles are stacked neatly both horizontally and vertically and some thin spear ornaments are arranged vertically. There is a predominance of wooden structures and the kitchen lacks colour beyond white and brown. Once the main action moves beyond the kitchen, the camera 'steadicams' and pans, peering over a balcony that reveals a WS high angle on the dining room below. The colour scheme of the dining room is similar to the kitchen with the predominance of whites and browns and the addition of green shrubbery in what appears to be an observatory. Once again there are numerous strong verticals shown in the curtaining, the various doorframes and the slats in the chair. A sense of order and design is created in the mise-en-scène. This is very

different from the round pipes of Tsotsi's childhood and the lack of order in his shack. This location is also different from Miriam's room that has many bold colours. This is more austere.

The first cut after the establishing shot is to an MCU of John seated in a chair. Apart from a strong kicker light off the side of his face, the image is low key as Tsotsi asks him about his wife. The camera is set at eye level and has John looking upwards towards the top of frame right. He will later share his frame with Butcher's dangerous spoke. The next cut is to a tight MCU of Tsotsi at eye level who is looking straight downwards. This indicates one of the few 90 degree stagings between characters in the film and is used as a way to introduce Butcher in MCU over the shoulder of Tsotsi and accommodate the triadic and intense relationship between John the victim, Butcher who wants to kill him and Tsotsi who is trying to deflect Butcher. The other setup is a frontal WS that shows the positions of all the characters and that is used to punctuate the dramatic action. The first time this WS is used is to show a strong movement from out of frame as Butcher comes towards John. Later it is used to show the release of tension as Tsotsi deflects Butcher for the first time. Butcher though persists and we return to the tighter MCUs as Tsotsi has to think of a stronger reason to keep him alive. It is only when he physically pulls Butcher out of frame that he manages to prevent Butcher's violence. A different WS of the room is shown to articulate this key dramatic moment before returning to the more familiar WS showing Aap tying up John without the threat of Butcher. Aap's kindness comes through as he asks if John is okay. On the soundtrack Butcher's threat of violence is articulated by a single deep resonating drumbeat separated by moments of silence. There is also the addition of the now familiar rattling sound just before Tsotsi pulls him away and the editing of the scene is relatively fast.

72. INT. BEDROOM - NIGHT (59:24 – 59:51)

This scene begins with an MCU of Tsotsi as he opens the bedroom door. The following shot is a POV that shows a WS of the room. The most striking element within the bedroom is the colour red that is seen on the bedspread but also within the unusual décor on the walls behind the bed. The strong horizontals and verticals are once again evident. On the cut back to the MCU of Tsotsi we see his eyes move around before cutting to another POV shot, this time photos of the family that show John and Pumla with their baby on the bedside table. On the return to Tsotsi he has little time to contemplate as Butcher pushes past him and moves across the frame foreground. The following cut is to the wide POV where we see Butcher pick up a pillow. This shot becomes symbolic of events that happen later as behind Butcher the red décor on the wall forms a red splash like blood. The next cut is a more jarring cut to an MCU of Butcher on the same axis as he throws the pillow. The return cut to the MCU of Tsotsi has the pillow hit him in the face. He looks threateningly at Butcher for a beat before we cut to the reverse MCU on Butcher who looks back at Tsotsi. Clearly there is tension between them. Tsotsi then holds his head and turns away. The music in this scene has become fuller and there is a use of violins resonating with the building tension.

73. INT. DINING ROOM - NIGHT (59.51 – 60.18)

This is a simple sequence of shots that has Aap and John seated at both ends of a long table. Once again it reflects a very ordered mise-en-scène and the shots are almost straight-on, showing both characters in MS. Aap is busy wine tasting and there is a certain absurdity to the situation. This is the most humorous scene in the whole film and is likely positioned here so that it can be juxtaposed with the extreme violence that will ensue when Tsotsi shoots Butcher.

74. INT. BABY'S BEDROOM - NIGHT (60.19 – 60.34)

This scene is an introduction to the baby's room and has Tsotsi walking into a CU at the doorway. The shot has a shallow depth of field and is the only instance of a character walking into focus rather than the use of focus wracking. The important elements that have been reserved for the focus up front are the hanging beads that cover the doorway and this resonates with the shot in Miriam's room when he looks through the mobile. Of course the entire scene in this location resonates with the idea of colour and light that are shown in the scenes with Miriam. As he pulls the beads away this is once again an action that is replicated from the aforementioned scene. The cut is to a WS POV of the colourful room that in itself stands out from the other rooms in John's house. Despite the ominous tones continuing, there is a more lyrical and gentle tone added in this scene.

75. INT. JOHN'S BEDROOM - NIGHT (60.35 – 60.40)

This scene has 2 shots and begins with a CU of Butcher rifling through items on the dressing table. The second shot is a WS of the bedroom that continues showing the action.

76. INT. BABY'S BEDROOM - NIGHT (60.41 – 60.58)

The opening shot of this scene is a WS on the baby's room. In contrast to Butcher's more violent kinetic actions in the previous scene, Tsotsi gently picks up a stuffed toy. As opposed to the previous WS, the light has now been turned on in this room showing a kaleidoscope of primary colours – blue, green, yellow, red and orange. The night-light mobile throws patterns across the walls. Clearly the mise-en-scène resonates with Tsotsi's encounters with Miriam. Tsotsi takes a seat on the bed and the following cut is to a tight MCU. Tsotsi has a sense of wonder on his face clearly appreciating the décor of the room as well as showing the shift in his character towards gentleness and appreciation. The following shot is a POV showing an

idyllic African landscape mural painted on the wall. This is complemented by the introduction of a female vocal on the soundtrack.

77. INT. BEDROOM - NIGHT (60.58 – 61.02)

This is the same WS seen earlier of Butcher, dropping a jewelry box and stuffing his pockets with items. The lyrical music cuts abruptly replaced with the harsh sounds of the jewelry and Butcher throwing a box down.

78. INT. DINING ROOM - NIGHT (61.02 – 61.15)

This scene begins with a CU of John's hands as he tries to loosen the telephone wires. This becomes an important subplot within the following scenes. The edit offsets Aap's words underneath the shot, creating a moment of suspense before cutting to an MS of John. There is also the addition of the ominous percussion at this point. Aap tells him that he is hungry and once again true to his more caring character offers John something to eat.

79. INT. BEDROOM - NIGHT (61.15 – 61.17)

This is a short MS of Butcher throwing a magazine out of a drawer.

80. INT. DINING ROOM - NIGHT (61.17 – 61.29)

Once again as we return to the scene it begins with a CU of John's hands fiddling with the telephone cord. Once again the straight on camera treatment is continued between John and Aap, however the setup changes as Aap speaks down at John from the second story balcony. The reverse shot on John is a high angle MCU that articulates a growing tension in the scene. The ominous percussion continues underneath the scene at a low level.

81. INT. BEDROOM - NIGHT (61.30 – 61.34)

Butcher in the same MCU as earlier, throws out another magazine from the drawer before finding a silver gun.

82. INT. BABY'S ROOM - NIGHT (61.35 – 61.39)

Tsotsi is in s WS as he walks away from us towards the mural.

83. INT. BEDROOM - NIGHT (61.40 – 61.44)

This single shot is the MCU used in the prior scene on Butcher and has him cocking the gun.

84. INT. BABY'S ROOM - NIGHT (61.44 – 61.54)

This is an MS of Tsotsi as he picks up a baby bottle and then the milk formula. There is a very clear opposition being setup in the intercutting between these scenes from an object of violence to an object of nurture.

85. INT. DRESSING ROOM - NIGHT (61.54 – 62.00)

In MS, Butcher empties a box. The ominous tone returns.

86. INT. BABY'S ROOM - NIGHT (62.00 – 62.04)

In MS, Tsotsi carefully puts the baby formula in a bag. The action is once again considered as opposed to Butcher's more violent movements. Tsotsi then picks up the bag and walks towards us. The ominous tone continues underneath with percussion that starts getting faster.

87. INT. DINING ROOM - NIGHT (62.05 – 62.06)

This is an extremely short scene made up of 2 shots. The first shot is a wider CU showing both of John's hands and he appears to be reaching in his pocket and we hear the sound of

keys. The following shot is an MCU taken from the side and at eye-level as he looks upwards. The pace of the percussion and the volume increases clearly suggesting along with the pacing of the edit that we are moving towards a climactic moment.

88. INT. DRESSING ROOM - NIGHT (62.07 – 62.08)

This is also a quick MS of Butcher showing him violently pulling down what appears to be a pillow.

89. INT. DINING ROOM - NIGHT (62.08 – 62.12)

Although a longer scene than those that precede it, this scene is made up of three shots. Once again we return to the wide CU on both of John's hands. He manages to pull out his car keys. We then cut to an MCU of John as he looks to the side before cutting back to the CU showing him pushing the alarm button. The volume of the percussion increases during the duration of the shot.

90. INT. BABY'S ROOM - NIGHT (62.12 - 62.13)

This is a jarring cut straight into an MCU as Tsotsi turns around reacting to the alarm. The percussion now adds an additional heavy drum sound that continues underneath.

91. INT. DRESSING ROOM - NIGHT (62.14 - 62.16)

In MS, Butcher reacts to the alarm by pulling out the silver gun. He moves towards camera and breaks frame. The percussion continues underneath.

92. INT. BABY'S ROOM - NIGHT (62.17 - 62.19)

Tsotsi in a FS is rapidly packing stuffed toys into the carry bag subtly suggesting to the audience that he cares more for the baby than his own safety. The percussion continues underneath.

93. INT. DINING ROOM - NIGHT (62.20 - 64. 05)

This is perhaps the most complex scene in the film due to its varied staging, camera treatment and stark shifts in emotion. The scene opens with an exchange of shots that were established earlier. App runs from the kitchen in FS to the edge of the balcony looking down at John reprimanding him for setting off the alarm. This is intercut with MCU high angle on John. Butcher then enters the fray from the side of the dining room initially threatening Aap. Importantly the framing used on Aap will be introduced later to cross the stage-line. This short sequence is shot in reverse OS/MS shots focusing on Butcher and Aap alternatively. Butcher then whips around followed by the familiar frame of the CU on the hands of John. This appears as Butcher's POV here but was set up earlier when John set off the alarm. The next cut is to a low angle OS John /MCU on Butcher who pulls the gun on John. This cuts immediately to a high angle reverse shot MCU on John as he pulls back from the gun that is brandished in the foreground of the shot. This is followed by the same reverse OS/MCU on Butcher as he pulls the trigger. He flinches but the gun does not fire and the rapid percussion cuts off abruptly further dramatizing the moment. The sound of the alarm is also mixed in at a lower level at this point. The following cut is then back to the reverse MCU on John as he turns to face Butcher again and then to the OS/MCU on Butcher who cocks the gun and points it at John again. John screams and turns away before the cut to an MCU of Aap/ OS Butcher who is looking in the opposite direction to the previous shot. The intriguing idea behind this is that the 180-degree rule has been violated in order to jar the audience and

highlight the violence of the moment. This is reiterated in the next shot that crosses the stageline once again by cutting to Butcher in a profile MCU looking in the opposite direction. The camera then whip-pans from Butcher onto John. This whip-pan is a violent motion and resonates with the idea of the gun firing. In fact the sound of the gunshot is placed at the end of the whip-pan as the camera cuts to a tighter MCU on John and blood sprays across his face. The gun then drops out of frame. To this point, the editing has been rapid but for the majority of the following shots the pace is dramatically slower as the focus changes to reactions. The shot on John holds for a few beats in order for the audience to realize that he has not been hit and to contemplate his shock. The question of the blood though is a mystery and this is further delayed by cutting to an MCU of Aap. This then cuts to a tight MCU of Tsotsi using a shallow depth of field showing him pointing a gun. The most striking element of this shot is that Tsotsi appears to be looking directly at the audience. This is one of the few moments in the film that an eye-line has been so close to the lens. It helps articulate the darkest point in the film's narrative as Tsotsi, after making progress on his journey to decency, has had to resort to violence to save the baby's father. The following cut is to an MCU of Aap who looks on in horror. This then returns to the MCU on Tsotsi still holding up the gun before cutting to an MCU of John looking over his shoulder. In the following shot Aap flees. In the MCU on Tsotsi we see him begin walking down some stairs as his eye-line shifts towards the floor. This staging helps to dramatically set up the following FS of Butcher spread-eagled on the floor with a pool of blood around his head. The shot tracks in slowly (probably Steadicam as it is used in other scenes from this location) towards Butcher to emphasise the narrative beat and to simulate Tsotsi's POV as he moves closer. The alarm slowly begins to reverberate and its volume decreases, creating a surreal feeling. The following shot is an O/S John MS on Tsotsi as he walks forward followed by a reaction MCU on John that we have seen earlier. Once again it holds for a considerable length of time. The

following shot returns to Tsotsi as he walks further forward in MCU slowly dropping his gun and then stopping. This followed by the cut to the MCU on John and then back to Tsotsi in MCU who looks up from the floor towards John and raises the gun again in anger. John flinches in his MCU before the cut to Tsotsi who again begins moving forward with his gun pointed at John. In the now familiar MCU of John, the gun enters the frame. In the reverse O/S tight MCU on Tsotsi he is holding the gun close to John's head. He edges forward. The look of anguish on Tsotsi's face resonates with his performance in the final scene of the film when he has to hand over the baby. Slowly he begins dropping the gun and the camera wracks focus onto John's face and begins tilting down with the gun. Tsotsi's hand still holding the gun reaches for the alarm remote and switches it off. The camera then tilts back up to Tsotsi's anguished face, wracking focus again, before a cut to a reverse tight O/S MCU on John's face. The following cut is to the same reverse shot on Tsotsi and then back to John again as we hear Tsotsi's footsteps walk away. Tsotsi then appears in a low angle MS on the balcony, stopping to look at John once more, before a cut to a high angle MCU on John and then a low angle MCU on Tsotsi who then turns and flees. The final shot of the scene is the high angle MCU on John who gasps with relief. The ominous slow percussion begins again.

94. EXT. GATE - NIGHT. (64.05- 65.05)

The following scene deals with Tsotsi and Aap who escape the house.

95. EXT. FELA'S CHOP SHOP - NIGHT (65.06 – 67.02)

This scene deals with the loss of Tsotsi's childhood friend Aap who has decided to join Fela.

96. INT. MIRIAM'S HOUSE - NIGHT (67.03 – 67.30)

This scene is a simple introduction to the following scene.

97. INT. MIRIAM'S HOUSE - NIGHT (67.31 – 69.34)

The scene begins with a WS of Miriam's house. Tsotsi is seated in the background while Miriam cooks at a stove in the middle-ground. The lighting is more low key than the day interiors that we have seen in the location but the room still has colour – the key elements being the Butcher's pink lighting coming from the back window and a blue and red pole in the foreground. Practical lighting in the form of lamps are situated in various areas of the frame. The dominant source of light falls on the table where Tsotsi is seated. Miriam dishes up and takes the plate to the table before we cut to a tighter MS 2-shot from the reverse angle. The camera tracks in once Miriam has taken her seat. The editing is extremely slow-paced and matches the almost mournful non-diegetic soundtrack that first began when Tsotsi left Aap at the chop shop. In the background is the sound of a baby. The following shot is a POV FS of the two babies on the bed before the return to the Tsotsi/Miriam 2-shot that tracks in further before stopping. The music fades out at this point indicating the beginning of the second dramatic block. Tsotsi and Miriam are seated in a 90-degree position to each other indicating a less strong relationship than being face-on. The reason for this is that Miriam has found out about how Tsotsi acquired the baby and the violence that was involved. Initially Tsotsi tries to give Miriam money and this is shown through an insert CU shot of him sliding money towards her. She refuses before we cut to an O/S Miriam MCU Tsotsi as she tells him that she knows how he found David. This strategy of cutting to reaction shots while another character is speaking is used extensively in the scenes at John's house where John's fear is highlighted. In this case it is the impact of the words on Tsotsi that is visually much stronger than simply cutting to Miriam while she speaks. This form of editing relies on the actor's ability to convey shifting emotions through facial expressions. It also delays the dramatic import of certain lines that can then be highlighted by actually cutting to the speaker and here

it is reserved for O/S MCU on Miriam telling Tsotsi than he cannot undo the past but that he can give the baby back. Tsotsi is devastated by her knowledge of his dark past, and he pushes the plate away, retreating to another part of the set in WS effectively separating and distancing Tsotsi and Miriam visually. In the third dramatic block, the camera follows Tsotsi in a wide MCU as he pulls out a bottle and baby formula and asks Miriam what they are for. She replies in her familiar tighter MCU that they are for mothers without milk. When she mentions that this won't make Tsotsi a mother the camera tracks in to a tighter MCU on him and on the soundtrack we hear the sound of violins. He also stops moving around indicating the impact the words have.

98. EXT. DOORWAY. MIRIAM'S HOUSE - NIGHT (69.35 – 71.02)

This scene has Tsotsi leaving Miriam's house.

99. INT. TSOTSI'S SHACK - NIGHT (71.03 – 73.12)

There are quite a few striking elements in this scene that move us towards the end of the second act. Firstly there is a return of the CU candle in frame right that has been seen in earlier scenes. The suggestion made by the candle being lit is that there is hope in the darkness but this also connects us with the memory of his mother and nurturing that is dealt with during much of this act. Secondly, the cut to the WS of the shack shows Tsotsi in FS between two characters that he is now taking care of - Boston who is lying on a bed in frame right and the baby that Tsotsi places and covers up in frame left. The WS is initially held for close on 40 seconds. In this shot, the staging shows Tsotsi dealing with the baby and then walking over to a chair beside Boston's bed. It is the pacing though that makes this scene more contemplative and this is reinforced by its reintroduction at the end of the scene when it holds for a further 17 seconds on Tsotsi sitting on his chair. There is bright moonlight coming

through the window, which was absent in the earlier night shack sequences and suggests that Tsotsi has moved beyond the darkness that was so pervasive. This is reiterated when Tsotsi tells Boston that he is sorry for what he has done in a series of O/S MCU shot/reverse shots. Boston in reply reaches over and holds Tsotsi's shoulder as a sign of forgiveness. Tsotsi is visibly moved by the gesture. The use of minimal dialogue is in keeping with the interiority of Tsotsi's journey and once again silence has been used dramatically here. The last element worth mentioning is the CU of the gun as Tsotsi puts it down. This happens just before Tsotsi engages with Boston and this resonates with the prior sequences in the shack where the gun is symbolically juxtaposed with the candle.

100. EXT.TOWNSHIP - DAWN (73.13 – 73.21)

This sequence has 2 shots. The first shot is an elevated view of the township at dawn and the second, another angle also elevated showing the township filled with early morning activity. This strategy of having a township montage between acts is also evident in the transition between the first act and the second act.

101. EXT. SOEKIE'S VERANDAH - DAWN (73.22 -73.44)

This is a single shot that has Soekie in FS initially answering a phone and then talking to the police.

102. INT.TSOTSI'S SHACK - DAY (73.45 – 74.14)

Zuma and Smit find Boston in Tsotsi's shack.

103. INT. PARK STATION SIDING/STAIRS. DAY (74.15 – 74.50)

One notable element of the mise-en-scène that has changed is Tsotsi's clothing. For the first time in the film he wears white suggesting a shift from the danger of red to the innocence and

purity of white. He also no longer wears a leather jacket or a hoodie that is iconic with gangster figures. Non-diegetic music also plays a role in suggesting a change within Tsotsi. Here there are more upbeat xylophone sounds along with a less mournful female voice suggesting something brighter and more cheerful whilst still retaining a connection to the earlier lullaby-like sound. The camera continues tracking with Tsotsi when he climbs the stairs as was the case when we first saw him at the station. The camera move is familiar with an earlier scene in the film when Tsotsi met Morris and highlights for us the transition that has happened within Tsotsi.

104. INT. PARK STATION - TOP OF STAIRWELL - DAY (74.51 – 75.52)

In this scene Tsotsi meets up with Morris again and the act of him crouching down resonates with the scene (Scene 29) where he first learned about the hardships Morris had endured and was the first glimmering of Tsotsi's journey to decency.

105. EXT. OUTSKIRTS JOBURG - DUSK (75.53 – 76.35)

There is an intriguing binary revealed between this scene and our first realisation that Tsotsi is unable to deal with his violent past in Scene 11. In scene 11 Tsotsi refuses to take responsibility for his actions after beating Boston and runs away from camera down an incline from right to left into a stormy night. In this scene, it is daylight and Tsotsi calmly walks with the baby from left to right, up an incline and towards the camera. Both shots using a craning movement.

106. INT. MIRIAM'S HOUSE - DUSK. (76.35-76.54)

Miriam appears to be thinking about Tsotsi in this scene

107. EXT. SUBURBAN ROAD - NIGHT (76.54 – 77.05)

This is a FS of Tsotsi walking towards camera through the tree-lined suburb.

108. INT. KITCHEN - NIGHT (77.06 – 77.18)

This shot establishes that John now has the police at his house and serves as one of the scenes that set up the geography and players involved in the climactic moments of the film.

109. EXT. SUBURBAN ROAD - NIGHT (77.19-77.36)

This scene has Tsotsi arriving at John and Pumla's house

110. INT. BEDROOM - NIGHT (77.37 – 77.45)

This scene is a single WS showing both John and Pumla lying in bed.

111. INT. KITCHEN - NIGHT (77.46 - 78.03)

This is the same as the earlier shot shown in the kitchen. The policeman goes over to the sink where he realizes something is outside.

112. EXT. SOEKIE'S TAVERN - NIGHT (78.03 -78.13)

This is a wide-angle lens WS of the tavern as Zuma questions the patrons.

113. EXT. GATE - NIGHT (78.14 -79.09)

In this scene Tsotsi puts down the baby in the bag but is then drawn back to the child.

114. INT. BEDROOM - NIGHT (79.09 – 79.13)

This is a frontal WS of the bed with both John and Pumla lying down as John urges Pumla to eat. She says she cannot. The non-diegetic track continues underneath

115. EXT. GATE - NIGHT (79.13 – 79.17)

This is a MCU of Tsotsi outside the gate as he looks around and then pushes the intercom which buzzes in the following shot. The non-diegetic track continues underneath

116. INT. BEDROOM - NIGHT (79.18 – 79.20)

This is the same WS of the bed as John and Pumla react to the buzzer. The non-diegetic track continues underneath.

117. EXT. GATE - NIGHT (79.20 – 79.24)

This is a CU of Tsotsi pushing the intercom again. The non-diegetic track continues

118. INT. BEDROOM - NIGHT (79.24 -79.26)

John answers the intercom in the familiar WS. The non-diegetic track fades out at this point

119. EXT. GATE - NIGHT (79.27 - 79.30)

In the familiar CU Tsotsi looks around, seeming to realize the danger of responding as John's voice is heard over the intercom. A more suspenseful track begins at this moment, shifting the mood and tone

120. INT. BEDROOM - NIGHT (79.30 – 79.31)

The shot in the bedroom has now tightened to a MCU on Pumla as she looks to the right of frame towards John. The suspenseful track continues underneath

121. EXT. GATE - NIGHT (79.31 – 79.34)

In the familiar CU Tsotsi says he will leave the baby at the gate. The suspenseful track continues underneath.

122. INT. BEDROOM - NIGHT (79.34 – 79.36)

John rises up into a MCU asking who it is.

123. EXT. GATE - NIGHT (79.36 – 79.40)

The familiar CU of Tsotsi at the intercom has him explain that he'll leave the baby at the gate

124. INT. BEDROOM - NIGHT (79.40 – 79.42)

John leaves the bedroom. Underneath the now familiar fast percussion begins creating an added urgency.

125. INT. POLICE CAR - NIGHT (79.42 – 79.48)

This is a 2-shot MCU on Smit and Zuma through the front windscreen of the police vehicle as Smit speaks over the radio. The sound of sirens is mixed in at a high level and this coupled to the kinetic energy of the flashing lights elevates the tension.

126. EXT. GATE - NIGHT (79.48 –79.50)

This scene begins with a high angle MS on the baby that is now crying. This adds further dramatic tension. This then cuts to the familiar CU of Tsotsi who bends down. The fast percussion continues underneath.

127. INT. KITCHEN - NIGHT (79.50 – 79.52)

This is the same WS used in the kitchen before. Once again the cut is into action that is already happening as John pushes the policeman out of the way. The fast percussion continues underneath getting louder and more insistent.

128. EXT. GATE - NIGHT (79.52 – 85.07)

The most striking of the stylistic elements within this scene is the complex continuity editing broken into various dramatic blocks and edited to capture every beat along with the sound mix that uses both diegetic and non-diegetic sound to articulate the tension and emotion. What is difficult to explain here is the performance from Presley Chweneyagae who expresses various complex emotions such as fear, desire, sadness and longing through only his expressions as he has no dialogue in the scene. Nevertheless, each shot and sound is documented to reveal how this is applied dramatically as a way to articulate beats. The first dramatic block deals with entrapment. The scene begins with a low angle MCU on Tsotsi who picks the baby up out of the bag trying to comfort it. This is followed by a high angle reverse MCU on the baby in Tsotsi's arms as it quietens down but now the sounds of sirens are heard in the background. This cuts back to Tsotsi's MCU as he hears screeching tires and looks around starting a sequence of very rapid editing, coupled to rapid percussion in order to create tension. The following shot is Tsotsi's POV of a police car coming around a corner to help the audience identify with his perspective. This then cuts to Tsotsi in a FS as he runs with the baby orientating the audience in terms of the location and where the threats are coming from. The camera pans with him as he enters the road and runs towards camera into an MCU. The following shot is his strong POV on a police car that fills the frame and speeds towards the camera suggesting that his avenue of escape is cut off. The camera is unsteady reinforcing the idea that this is Tsotsi's subjective POV. This then cuts back to the MCU as Tsotsi whips around. Another police car cuts off his other escape route as the police jump out of the car. Tsotsi edges towards them into a MS as they draw their guns while dogs begin barking in the background adding to the tension created by the rapid percussion. The camera then whip pans onto an MCU of a policeman with his gun drawn, telling Tsotsi to put down

the baby. The camera is still unsteady with the flashing police light adding to the visual chaos. Another MS of Tsotsi shot through the barred gate shows he is trapped from all sides. Tsotsi's expression shows panic enhanced by the flashing police, shouting voices, dogs barking and the rapid percussion. This then cuts to a POV FS on John as he rushes towards the gate with a policeman who is yelling at him to stay inside. Suddenly the percussion stops. Tsotsi is holding the crying baby in a MS which is followed by an unsteady handheld CU of John as he moves behind the gate. The shallow depth of field privileges John's emotional plea for calm. The pace of the editing slows along with the cessation of the chaotic soundtrack. The cut to a MS on Tsotsi shows the baby has stopped crying and the dramatic block has reached its resolution. This signals the start of a new dramatic block which introduces Smit and Zuma to the scene and the challenge to Tsotsi to submit to law and order. This begins with the unsteady CU of John who looks nervous at the gate and then cuts back to Tsotsi now in a tighter MCU. A police siren is heard growing louder in the background and Tsotsi begins to look tense. This cuts to an MS of Tsotsi at a 90-degree angle to the gate and shows another police car arriving in the background before cutting to CU reaction shot on John. This is followed by an MCU of the policeman that is inside the gate with his gun drawn as tyres screech in the background.

This then cuts to the MS of Tsotsi with Smit and Zuma stopping their vehicle behind him. The doors start opening before a cut to a tighter MS of Smit getting out of the van. He draws his gun and the dogs start barking in the background again. This then cuts back to John's POV of Tsotsi through the gate as Smit shouts in the background. This shifts our identification to John and is important as he plays a key role in the scene. The following shot is back to the MCU of Smit telling Tsotsi to put down the baby before cutting to an MCU of Zuma also with his gun drawn. The tension seems to have intensified again before John tries

to defuse things in his CU from behind the gate. The shot is much more stable now than earlier and adds more gravity to his words as opposed to his panicky entrance. The shot then cuts to an MCU reaction shot on Tsotsi looking towards the gate. The tension seems to have eased as the editing pace slows down. This ends the dramatic block. The following dramatic block deals with Tsotsi's inability to submit to Pumla's demands to hand back the baby. This block is introduced through a WS of the gate with both John and a policeman seen in FS. Pumla calls John and she appears in the background on her wheelchair coming towards the gate. In the cut to the MCU on Tsotsi he begins to look more nervous as he clutches the baby more tightly. The next shot is a panning MS that follows Pumla behind the gate. The return shot to Tsotsi has him in MCU looking increasingly nervous as tension builds again. The camera then whip pans onto Smit in MCU as he tells Pumla to get back. On the cut back to the MCU of Pumla she continues wheeling her way towards the gate. Smit is heard on the soundtrack telling the policeman behind the gate to pull her away. When he tries to grab the wheelchair Pumla reacts angrily. Intriguingly her eye-line is the most direct of all the characters allowing the audience to feel her pent up rage. The camera is also slightly unsteady at this moment. This cuts to a MCU on Tsotsi who is fearful as the pace of the editing slows again. This is followed by the MCU on Pumla behind the gate. She stares at Tsotsi for a few beats before the cut back to the MCU on Tsotsi which is also held for a while until Pumla starts speaking. Cutting back to her MCU, the camera is slightly unstable and matches her emotion as she tells Tsotsi to bring the baby to her. He remains motionless in his MCU before she repeats her request, this time filled with anger. Cutting back to her, the shot becomes a much tighter MCU as she stares out at Tsotsi. This then cuts to the CU on John behind the gate looking down towards his wife. He then turns and faces Tsotsi. In the MCU on Tsotsi he moves his fingers and this appears to indicate that he is wavering, about to return the child (This is the fulcrum point). Just at this moment, however, Zuma shouts and in his MCU he

tells Tsotsi to put the child down. In his MCU Tsotsi pulls back, now clutching the baby more tightly as John's voice is heard reacting angrily towards Zuma. The following dramatic block deals with the confrontation between John and the police. The audience have been primed to share his perspective through the numerous CUs on him and even his POV. This block begins with a CU of John behind the gate continuing to challenge Zuma before cutting to Tsotsi in MCU shaking his head. The following shot is a reaction MCU on Zuma as he looks at John and then retrains his gun on Tsotsi. This then cuts to the CU on John as he demands Smit to tell his men to lower their weapons. This is followed by a reaction MCU on Smit as he listens to John. In the next shot John in CU makes a more impassioned plea saying that Tsotsi is not going to go anywhere. This then cuts to a reaction shot on Tsotsi as he looks at the police with tears in his eyes (This is a fulcrum point). Smit tells his men to lower their weapons. This then cuts to the MCU of Smit who continues to talk and then begins to lower his gun. This is followed by the MCU on Zuma who lowers his weapon and then the MCU on the policeman behind the gate looking around still holding up his weapon. In Tsotsi's MCU he looks at the police before turning his head towards the gate. This then cuts to a CU of John from behind the gate as we hear the baby murmur in the soundtrack followed by the MCU on Tsotsi as his eyes fill with tears. On the reverse shot to the CU of John he turns his head towards the policeman. This then cuts to a MCU of the policeman behind the gate still holding up his gun before returning to the CU of John who asks the policeman to lower his gun. In the following MCU the policeman lowers his gun and the editing pace slows once again. The following cut is to the MCU of Tsotsi watching the policeman and then turning to face John. This begins a new dramatic block that focusses on John allaying Tsotsi's fears and is covered in a sequence of shot/reverse shots on Tsotsi and John. This begins with the CU of John who looks at Tsotsi and then a MCU of Tsotsi looking at him. John begins speaking in Tsotsi's shot and this cuts to John's CU telling Tsotsi that he doesn't want anyone to get hurt

including Tsotsi. This then cuts back to a reaction shot of Tsotsi in MCU before returning back to John's CU where he tells Tsotsi that he is going to open the gate followed by the reaction MCU on Tsotsi while John talks underneath. On these shot/reverse shots the eyelines are almost directly into camera allowing the audience to experience the emotion of the characters to the fullest. This also happens earlier in the scenes with Miriam. The shot/reverse shot sequence continues with the CU of John and the MCU of Tsotsi until the gate begins opening (The fulcrum point). There is a single reaction shot of Pumla in MCU cut into the sequence. The sequence stops with a WS of the open gate showing John, Pumla and the policeman in FS. John begins walking forward before a cut to an MCU of Pumla. John crosses in front of her, covering the frame for a moment as the sound of footsteps continue. The following cut is to a WS but this time Tsotsi stands in the right of frame in profile with the police vehicles in the background. John walks into frame left and continues towards Tsotsi. This functions as a connecting shot to a new dramatic block which is about Tsotsi's submission. The first cut of the new block is to a MCU on Tsotsi, which becomes an O/S John as he walks into the frame. This is intercut with the reverse O/S Tsotsi MCU John. The following cut to Tsotsi is still an O/S of John however the MCU on Tsotsi is much tighter in keeping with the emotional intensity of the interaction. This then cuts back to the reverse shot on John who looks at the baby, and then at Tsotsi. In Tsotsi's shot he looks down at the baby for a few beats before looking back at John as he weeps. He then looks back down at the baby (this is the fulcrum moment of the scene). Orchestral music begins to fade up. In the reverse shot on John, he looks at Tsotsi seeming to understand his emotion as the emotive music increases in volume. This then cuts back to Tsotsi who passes the baby to John. In John's shot he takes hold of the baby before going back to a reaction shot on Tsotsi and then back to John who looks down at the baby and then up to Tsotsi. The reverse shot on Tsotsi has him weeping uncontrollably and a woman's voice is heard humming in the score at this moment.

This then cuts back to John who begins taking a few steps backward and then turns away towards the gate. The following shot is the MCU on Tsotsi who continues weeping and raising his hands in an imaginary gesture of holding the baby. The following shot is the MCU on Pumla as John walks through the foreground and hands the baby to her. At this moment a wailing woman is heard on the soundtrack as Pumla begins weeping. This signals the beginning of the final dramatic block which is about Tsotsi surrendering and begins with the MCU on Tsotsi as we hear Smit telling him to raise his hands. The cut shows a MCU of Smit with his gun raised and is followed by a cut to Tsotsi in MCU who is still looking towards the baby. Once again, Smit orders more firmly, for Tsotsi to put his hands up. Eventually Tsotsi turns to look towards him and the cut is to the MCU on Smit. Cutting back to the MCU on Tsotsi there is a hint of defiance on his face before the cut to a 2-shot MCU of Pumla and John who look towards Tsotsi with a concerned expression on their faces. This cuts back to the MCU on Smit before returning to the MCU on Tsotsi (the fulcrum moment). After a few beats he slowly begins raising his arms and an anguished female voice is heard in the score before the cut to the wide FS of Tsotsi with the police cars behind him. The final shot of the film is a MS of Tsotsi with his back to us and his arms raised. This is held for a while before fading to black.

CREDITS (85.07 – 90.15)

The credits are done in black with white lettering. Three tracks play underneath, two Kwaito tracks by Zola followed by a track by Vusi Mahlisela

This concludes the analysis of Tsotsi using directing craft. Four key areas of style were looked at, namely cinematography, mise-en-scène, editing and sound. The main objective

was to discern how these cinematic codes had been applied to dramatic beats or moments within the film. Overall, it was found that these cinematic codes had been used in multiple, diverse and sophisticated ways in an attempt to emotionally engage viewers. A thorough analysis of these findings will be provided in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5 - Findings

The aim of this chapter was to refine the findings from the stylistic analysis of *Tsotsi*. Using directing craft (dramaturgy) as a method, various key features of style were examined including narrative structure, spines, entrances, shot lengths, the moving camera, colour, lighting, symbolism, editing, sound and music. The main objective was to discern how these cinematic codes had been applied to dramatic beats or moments within the film. Overall, it was found that these cinematic codes had been used in multiple, diverse and sophisticated ways in an attempt to emotionally engage viewers. Key themes that emerged earlier in this thesis such as indigenisation and hybridity also emerged in the analysis.

Tsotsi's narrative structure appears to adhere to a classical 3-act structure, with a clear beginning, middle and end. This said, however, the ending appears more open-ended than is typical of many mainstream films. It is a feature noted by some scholars such as Judith Gunn (2009) covered in the second chapter. Three different endings were shot for Tsotsi. One ending, involved Tsotsi reaching into his jacket for a bottle of milk and being shot dead by the police. The other involved him escaping by jumping over a wall, suggesting a potential reconciliation with Miriam, and the third is the one seen in the film when he surrenders (The Making of Tsotsi DVD, 2005). Hood felt that the ending used in the final film was less tragic and more open-ended, and that it was less sensational and predictable than having Tsotsi die in the end. This ending also generated the most debate as to what would happen to the protagonist when it was shown to test audiences in South Africa. Clearly, in this instance, the audience had an impact upon the final choice of ending and this provides evidence of how the collective imagination may influence the encoding. In this case a central feature of the classical 3-act structure had become indigenised.

Another feature of the screenplay was that the romantic attraction that is hinted at between Miriam and Tsotsi is never resolved, leaving her rather as a character who helps him connect to the memory of his mother. Once again this is atypical of many mainstream films. In addition, the narrative does not always unfold in a linear way. There are numerous flashbacks, which merge with the present. In these flashbacks Tsotsi remembers moments from his childhood, in particular his dying mother (Scenes 42, 49, 51, 53), the cruelty of his father who breaks a dog's back (Scenes 55, 56, 57), and his 'home' in the storm water pipes (Scenes 14, 16, 59). Our first introduction to these flashbacks is when Tsotsi runs across a field after beating Boston. The shot of Tsotsi is intercut with that of a boy in the form of jump-cuts¹⁶. On a first viewing it is difficult to know if this is just how Tsotsi feels, or if this refers to his past. This opens up a space for the audience to explore their own interpretations. Also jump-cutting violates the 30 degree rule of continuity editing. The following flashback is introduced with a subjective Point of View shot that shows Tsotsi staring into the rain. The transition between present and past is not visually discernible, in this instance, as the shot tilts down through the rain revealing children huddled in storm-water pipes that the audience later learns is part of his childhood memories. Also as mentioned earlier in the second chapter, Tsotsi could be viewed through the lens of multiple genres. Clearly at this broad level of narrative structure *Tsotsi* reveals hybridity, indigenisation, elements of classical film narrative and a breaking of certain conventions.

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¹⁶ A jump cut is a cut in film editing in which two sequential shots of the same subject are taken from camera positions that vary only slightly if at all. This type of edit gives the effect of jumping forwards in time. Continuity editing uses a guideline called the "30 degree rule" to avoid jump cuts.

In terms of the film's narrative, the spine could be viewed as "to rediscover lost humanity", stated more explicitly as 'decency' in various scenes. The first reference to 'decency' appears in the shebeen after the murder of the old man (Scene 12) where Boston questions Tsotsi's decency. Later, it is referred to more explicitly in a meeting between Fela and the gang members (Scene 46). Here Boston questions Fela's and Tsotsi's 'decency'. It provides an intense face-off with a close-up (CU) on Boston saying that Fela can't even spell the word. The cut to Fela has him spell it out "D-E-C-E-N-C-Y". This type of repetition within a screenplay is sometimes used by directors to highlight important plot details (Proferes, 2005: 170). For Hood (*The Making of Tsotsi*, 2005), Tsotsi's quest to rediscover his humanity through lost memories becomes central to his redemption. The paths of the other gang members are also informed by this objective with Butcher who defies the need and ends up dying violently, Boston who is encouraged to continue with his education and Aap who leaves the violent world of Tsotsi's gang. Miriam expresses her humanity through nurturing David, the baby kidnapped by Tsotsi and encouraging him to return the child to its parents. It is clear that the character's spines are subsumed by the overall spine, indicating a thematic unity and a clear adherence to dramaturgy.

Tsotsi's Entrance

In terms of findings, the following section will revisit the introduction of the main characters in the film, in an effort to discern the film's realistic or formative tendencies. Typically the first shots in a scene are used to establish a locale. However, this is not used in the first scene in *Tsotsi*. Instead the film opens up on a CU of a hand shaking dice. This fades to black while voices speaking 'tsotsitaal' continue underneath the following shots. The next image that fades up is a slo-motion CU of the dice being thrown through the air. This in turn fades to black, followed by a CU of a bicycle spoke, a key prop used in the murder of the old man a

few scenes later. Proferes (2008) writes that aside from introducing key characters and style early on it, is also important to introduce key props prior to their main function within a film. The spoke's appearance at this point is also symbolic of Butcher's dark and violent character which evolves into the major confrontation near the end of the second Act. These CUs and the ones that follow are interspersed with the opening credits. It is only after the title of the film that we see a Wide Shot (WS) of the scene revealing Tsotsi's gang. The WS appears twice in the scene but is crucial to Tsotsi's introduction due to its composition. In the shot Tsotsi is positioned with his back to camera is in the middle of the frame and he in turn is framed by a doorway. This framing draws our eyes to him and this is enhanced by other cinematographic devices as well. The staging has him standing in the upper part of the frame while the gang members are seated below. Also lighting plays a key role here with a strong key light coming from outside the door which is used to rim-light Tsotsi, pulling him out from the background. Colour in the form of a pinkish/orange sunset contrasts with the desaturated interior of the shack creating a dominant contrast too. The net effect, is that the audience is likely to be drawn to the figure of Tsotsi but are denied access to him. It sets up a key question: "Who is this?" The answer is only revealed in the final shot of the scene. Of course the other objectives of this shot are to resolve the geography of the shack, positions of other characters and to provide information through elements of the mise-en-scène. These latter objectives could be applied in a formulaic way by cutting to a WS and then a sequence of closer shots; however, the intent to guide the eyes of the audience through the frame and set up dramatic questions points to a more formalistic rather than realistic approach to the film. It can be argued that this approach is essential to the film as it involves the interior/emotional journey of Tsotsi that needs to be made accessible to audiences. Dovey's argument (2009) in the second chapter that *Tsotsi* does not adhere to a social realist style is correct but then one could argue that this would impede our understanding of a taciturn

character whose emotions are related to memories of the past. The other characters in the scene are all given their own Medium Close ups (MCUs) and this signifies their importance. What an audience may learn from these MCUs is that Boston seems to be educated wearing glasses and reading a newspaper, Aap is a jovial character and Butcher is aggressive expressed by the only overt camera move in the scene when the camera rapidly tilts up from him stabbing a wad of the table up to his face. Overall, however, the introduction and use of 'tsotsitaal' here gives the film a distinctly local flavour.

The final answer to the question "Who is this?" posed earlier is answered powerfully, also through a combination of cinematic codes. Firstly there is a cut from the WS straight into an MCU of Tsotsi who turns at the same moment. This edit from WS to MCU along the same axis breaks the 30 degree rule¹⁷ and propels the audience forward creating an intensity that is matched by the introduction of the harsh beats of the Kwaito track at the same time. Tsotsi's eyes scan the gang but the camera being straight on, has him looking at the audience before we realise he is looking at the gang. Here the convention of not having actors look at the camera is broken momentarily and also serves to elevate the key moment. This sets up the framing within much of the film that has the actors' eye-lines very close to the camera. From this opening scene we can make some key observations as to style. Even though the film uses classic style framings to introduce characters, these have been put together in an atypical fashion from the opening that uses numerous CUs rather than a WS to establish the scene and of course the ending that almost breaks the fourth wall. The scene also violates the 30 degree rule and suggests that the director is willing to challenge conventional filmmaking style when it works dramatically.

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¹⁷ Proferes (2008:8) notes that whenever one goes from a shot of an object or character, to another shot of that same character or object, the camera should move at least by 30 degrees. "The effect of disobeying this rule is to call undue attention to the camera; it seems to leap through space". He goes on to note that Hitchcock used this effect in *The Birds* (1963) when the body of a man is discovered. The effect can be "dramatically energizing" (Proferes, 2008:8)

Differing Shot Lengths

Most of the film as stated by Hood is shot either on WSs (ELSs and LSs) or a closer range of shots from Midshots (MSs) to Close-ups (CUs) with very little in between (Bosley, 2006). One of the best scenes that illustrates a combination of these shot lengths is the scene when Tsotsi stalks Morris (Scene 29, 22:28). As noted in the textual analysis, the key objective of the scene is to show a transition within Tsotsi from stalking Morris to challenging him and then to curiosity and finally empathy that foreshadows his willingness to deal with his traumatic past. This scene is broken down into dramatic blocks so these changes in Tsotsi can be effectively portrayed. In the opening dramatic block Hood uses extreme long shots (ELSs) and long shots (LSs) to establish the isolated location and to suggest Morris's vulnerability. The profile ELS (22:52) is one of the most distant in the entire film. The following shot is a tighter ELS but shifts on a 90 degree axis followed by a MS on Tsotsi throwing a coin and then a CU of the coin landing that tilts up into an MCU of Morris. What this sequence shows is the tendency to move from wide shots to close shots without using intermediary shot lengths. The following exchange between Tsotsi and Morris happens with shot/reverse MCUs which operate as per the conventions of classical style. Within dramatic confrontations such as this and scenes with Miriam, John being taken hostage, the confrontation between Boston and Tsotsi, the final scene and others, there are often modulations within the dramatic blocks where different shot lengths in the MS to CU range are incorporated as a way to articulate dramatic beats more effectively, either to build suspense and then release it, or to focus on a particular character. In this dramatic block, over-shoulder shots (O/Ss) (23:19) have been used that are wider than the MCUs, momentarily releasing the tension built up in the prior sequence of shots. Moving to the following dramatic block a FS is used as a "connecting shot" before cutting to an MS of

Tsotsi and then an MCU of Morris. This pairing of different sized shots suggests that Hood favours the dramatic emphasis to be on Morris which is reiterated at the end of the scene with a CU of Morris (27:17) looking at Tsotsi as he walks away. Inserted into the sequence are CUs of important props, in this case a moneybox and Morris's feet, which is a feature of analytical editing covered in Chapter 2. In this dramatic block there is also a return to the profile ELS to show the new staging of the actors, particularly Morris who wheels himself backwards in his wheelchair. Later, another ELS is used when Tsotsi throws away the dustbin lid that releases tension to a degree and signals the end of the dramatic block. In the final block, Hood uses a different strategy to change shot lengths by having Tsotsi walk from a MS into an MCU (25:24) while cutting to a static MS O/S onto Morris. This has the effect of raising the dramatic tension by slowly allowing us increased access to Tsotsi's emotional state and on the cut to O/S of Morris the framing closes down the space for Morris to escape (25:29). Another feature added to these shot lengths with staging, are angles particularly on Tsotsi who is filmed from a low angle. Allowing Tsotsi to walk in closer from a low angle, makes him more intimidating with each step that he makes. However it appears that the most crucial reason for this is because Hood uses it later to articulate an emotional shift within Tsotsi (25:40). This happens with a simple tilt of the camera as Tsotsi crouches down to a level below Morris in order to listen to him. In conclusion, it appears that in this scene and throughout Tsotsi the decisions as to shot lengths are based mostly on articulating acting beats by making them narrative beats. Here the editing of different shot lengths, mostly wide and close shots, coupled to staging, camera movement and camera angle, stylistically "narrativise" each moment. Dependent on the emotional arc of the scene, it appears that for more complex shifts in emotion that scenes are broken down into dramatic blocks. These dramatic blocks flow seamlessly together using "connecting shots" (Proferes, 2005:45) and are mostly longer shot lengths used to re-orientate the audience as to where the characters are

within the location. Clearly in this sequence and others there is a clear adherence to a sophisticated style based on dramaturgy.

In less complex scenes Hood does not resort to dramatic blocks but uses different strategies to articulate the main action, for instance the robbing and the murder of the old man on the train (Scene 7, 3:36). As mentioned in the analysis apart from the final two shots in the sequence, there is nothing wider than a MCU and there are many CUs creating an 'in your face' feel. Each of the gang members apart from Aap is given their own separate MCUs/CUs along with the victim who is surrounded by the gang. In each of these separate shots the performance of the actors (acting beats) gives the audience clues as to the emotions of the characters. There are no relieving WSs and the short scene involves over fifty edits. Here it is the editing pace that rapidly speeds up and provides the suspense along with the use of sound effects editing – the "clickety-clack" of the train, an ominous rattle, some percussion, screeching train brakes and a whistle. With scenes involving the baby in Tsotsi's shack, the style is at its simplest. Scene 19 (15:04) is an example where, apart from the opening shot which is an unusual overhead panning shot (the only one in the film), the rest of the three and half minute scene is mostly covered with three setups (camera positions) – a WS of the shack, a high angle MCU to get the baby's reactions and a setup that gets MCUs or CUs on Tsotsi, dependent on his distance from the camera. The choice of such simple coverage is perhaps related to the difficulty of working with babies and shows a pragmatic approach to shooting a scene that relies on editing to capture the key acting beats. The baby's performance in this case becomes reliant on the sound effects editing. A similar simple approach to shooting with the baby is used in Scene 16 (12:12). These findings show that the style can be sophisticated or pragmatic. In this sense the film reveals hybridized style along with the idea that different cinematic codes may be privileged to articulate the emotion inherent in a scene.

The Moving Camera

As opposed to many films where the camera often appears to be continuously in motion, *Tsotsi* uses many static shots, and uses movement more specifically to establish locations, to articulate narrative beats and symbolic binaries and to create familiar frames. Bordwell (2002) writes about the prevalence of what he calls the free-ranging (moving) camera as one of the features of intensified continuity evident in contemporary Hollywood. "Today's camera movements are ostentatious extensions of the camera mobility generalized during the 1930s" (Bordwell, 2002:2). From the stylistic analysis one can see that Tsotsi doesn't follow this trend. Rather the film uses camera movement sparingly.

Scene 2 (1:12) in the film is one of only two scenes that uses a moving camera for its entirety and introduces three types of shots that appear sporadically through the film. The first shot is a tracking and craning WS that is used at the beginning of Scene 2. This provides the first view of the exterior of Tsotsi's shack as he and his gang move from right to left, downwards and away from the camera into the township. The movement of the camera follows the gang. Hood creates a binary opposite of this shot near the end of the film to create a circular style closure. In Scene 105 (75:53) Tsotsi walks alone with the baby from left to right, up an incline and towards the camera as it follows him craning upwards and revealing the Johannesburg skyline in the background. The starkest opposition in these shots is indicated by the color of Tsotsi's clothing - in the opening he wears a jacket and a red shirt connoting danger, in the later shot he wears white, suggesting that he has made peace with the world. Scene 2 also ends with a shot that cranes upwards creating a symmetrical closure to the scene. Craning and tracking are used on only two other occasions. One is when the camera moves over a group of policemen and their vehicles as they look out over the township

(Scene 17, 14:47), articulating the beat "to be overcome" by the enormity of the challenge to find the missing baby. Another is used to narrate the beat "to run away from the world" and is used after the beating of Boston early in the film. Here (8:38) the camera moves and cranes up, following Tsotsi as he flees from the scene of his violent act. A second type of movement introduced in Scene 2 is sideways tracking that serves different purposes for different scenes. In Scene 2 it introduces Fela, a rival gang leader and establishes the POV shot as part of the film's style. In Scene 4 (2:07) the sideways track is used to introduce a new location (Park Station) in a dramatic way as it moves from directly in front of an approaching train (possibly using a jib arm) onto the siding as the train stops and the gang disembark. The shot draws attention to itself. Hood's intention to make the shot memorable pays off in a later scene when the exact same shot is used to show a key transition from 2nd Act to the 3rd Act, as we see that Tsotsi has finally embarked on his journey to return the baby (74:16). Proferes (2005) calls this strategy the familiar frame¹⁸. Sideways tracking is also used to introduce a significant location, namely John and Pumla's house in Scene 14 (10:24). A similar type of movement is used to end that scene. At Soekie's Tavern (Scene 42 36:56), sideways tracking serves as a bridge between the nurturing of Miriam and the harsher, uncaring world of the gang. This type of camera movement though is used rarely in the film.

A third type of movement used in Scene 2 is the backwards tracking movement. Hood uses it to capture various shot lengths on Tsotsi and his gang while maintaining the same frame size through the duration of the shot. The camera is at a slightly lower angle (looking up at the gang) and continuously retreating. This, coupled to the harsh and guttural Kwaito track and Chenwayagae's performance, articulates Tsotsi's sense of power. Intriguingly, this camera treatment is used in an oppositional way in the only other scene that uses movement

¹⁸ When an audience is introduced to an unusual and memorable frame, that same frame can then be used later for a key moment as the audience are familiar with it and are not distracted by the mise-en-scène.

throughout its duration (Scene 11, 8:32).¹⁹ After beating Boston, Tsotsi runs from the shebeen and into an open expanse of land. Once again the camera tracks backwards in front of Tsotsi but in this instance it is high angle that looks down at him attempting to escape the scene of his violent act. The 'violence', however, is inescapable, articulated by a frame that never changes no matter how fast he runs. Editing is used to show the psychological fissures within Tsotsi as it jump-cuts between the adult Tsotsi and the younger Tsotsi (David in a flashback), both weeping and running towards the camera. As in the first scene, a Kwaito track accompanies, the visuals and this along with Scene 2 illustrate opposing features of Tsotsi's personality.

A new camera movement is also introduced in the escape from the shebeen provided by the Steadicam camera which is able to work in more confined spaces than the dolly. It can also be used to create a subtle destabilising effect as evident in some of the most tension-filled scenes later in the film. The Steadicam is first introduced in a shot (8:34) that shows Tsotsi running through the confined alleyways of the township. Later it is used to show Tsotsi stalking victims. On example is at Park Station where Tsotsi follows Morris (21:25 – 21:47). Two types of shot are used in this sequence – a moving low angle MS/MCU looking up at Tsotsi, and a moving high angle POV FS looking down at Morris. A similar treatment is evident when Tsotsi stalks Miriam (Scene 34, 29:52 – 30:28). This scene also uses an aural binary that combines rattling percussive sounds and the murmuring of the baby, suggestive of violence and nurturing - both part of the core themes within the film. Later, Steadicam is used quite extensively in the interior of John and Pumla's house - Scene 70 (57:46), Scene 71 (57:53) and Scene 93 (62:20) along with the final exterior scene at the gate of John and Pumla's house (Scene 128, 79:52). In scene 70, the camera moves in rapidly from a MS on

¹⁹ Although the ending appears to be a static ELS, it is simply the tail end of the craning shot that appears earlier in the scene.

John (as he gets out his car) into a CU as the gang surround him. The movement articulates his shock as expressed in his performance. In Scene 71, the Steadicam provides an establishing shot of the kitchen and the lounge below. In Scene 93 it appears that most of the shots are filmed with a Steadicam. Very subtle movement is evident in the frames and this creates a destabilizing effect; the movement is more pronounced in Tsotsi's frames as he experiences the anguish and tension of having killed Butcher. This anguish resonates with the dangerous final moments of the film when Tsotsi hands over the baby while surrounded by the police. Once again, in this instance the Steadicam appears to create a subtle destabilising effect.

One other tracking device that is used is the frontal track that moves towards a static performer (the 'push-in') to change shot length within a scene. It appears that these moves have been predominantly reserved for scenes with Miriam and connected to the theme of nurture and the memory of his mother. This movement facilitates emotional engagement with the characters and often happens as a precursor to the fulcrum moment of a scene. One of the most dramatic uses of this is when Tsotsi forces Miriam to breastfeed the baby that he has kidnapped (32:28). Here two shots are intercut together. The first is on Tsotsi and begins with a shot length just wider than an MS and that ends in an MCU. The second shot is a POV FS on the baby that becomes much tighter. Both shots use a slow tracking movement towards the subjects and are cut together so that the speeds match. The movement inwards serves to intensify the dramatic moment, and in this case is the first time that Tsotsi is exposed to nurturing. In his performance, Chweneyagae expresses a sense of longing through his eyes. These exact same movements are intercut a little while later (35:40) as the camera moves from an MS to an MCU of Miriam (as she washes the baby), and from a MS to CU on Tsotsi as he watches once again with longing in his eyes. On the soundtrack there is a soft humming

female voice. This progression to tighter shots is amplified by cutting both the inward movement on Miriam and on Tsotsi together, and this triggers the fulcrum moment which is a flashback to Tsotsi's mother. Later in his shack, the movement is once again repeated as he remembers his mother (41:01) and (49:41) when Miriam feeds the baby again, and Tsotsi replies that they should call the baby David (Tsotsi's real name). When Miriam talks about the loss of her husband (50:41-51:02), she hints at the criminal nature of Tsotsi and once again the dual forward track is used.

Other types of movement that are evident in *Tsotsi* are pans and tilts used to reframe actors as they move or to introduce locations (2:37). These type of camera moves, however, have been used in a more stylised way in one particular scene, when Tsotsi and the gang are seeking a potential victim at Park Station (2:52). For Tsotsi the shots are used as Shot/POV pairings and many of the POVs are whip –pans (fast horizontal movements) to simulate seeking. To enhance the impression, extras have been used to cross frame in the foreground, and a long lens has been used to blur both foregrounds and backgrounds. This limited depth of field serves to pull out specific people within the passing crowds. A tilt (downward movement) is used in this sequence to reveal a key plot point as an old man removes an envelope of money from his pocket. The cut to Tsotsi's eyes straight after this is the only Extreme Close-up (ECU) in the film, identifying the old man as the chosen target. The rest of the film has very few pans. Of note here is that the style of shooting is very specific to the scene and doesn't appear elsewhere in the film. Once again, this is evidence of stylistic hybridity.

It is clear that camera movement plays a key role in not only introducing locations but in articulating dramatic beats. In this way, camera movement provides modulation with the more static scenes and provides a wider array of cinematic devices to deal with a complex

emotional arc. Movement though is not an overarching stylistic device as in *City of God* (2002), a film with which *Tsotsi* has often been compared.

Colour, Lighting and Symbolism

The clearest use of colour symbolism can be seen in the contrast between Miriam's room²⁰ and Tsotsi's shack. In Miriam's room (Scene 35, 30:28 -34:07) the walls and curtains are blue and different coloured glass is used in the window frames. One of the windows behind her uses "butcher's pink" (33:06) which is a lighting motif also used in the scene with Morris under the bridge. Intriguingly, Director of Photography Lance Gewer, notes that this colour was found outside a butchery in the township. The colour which he has named "butcher's pink" is meant to suggest "the love and compassion that Tsotsi yearns for in his harsh world" (Bosley 2006: 36). This is an example of how indigenisation occurs in subtle ways in the lighting design. This colour, along with the coloured-glass mobiles and soft lighting, creates a warmer and more colourful space as opposed to Tsotsi's shack, which has a limited colour palette, using mainly rusts and browns reflecting his limited capacity for love. As explained in the textual analysis (Chapter 4), "This contrast in colour becomes part of the dialogue when Tsotsi comments on the two mobiles that are hanging from the roof. Holding one of the mobiles, he asks, 'Why is it rusted?' and Miriam replies 'I was sad.' These rusted colours are the tones that exist within Tsotsi's dark shack and express his colourless world of violence and destruction. Tsotsi then refers to another mobile in the room made with different coloured shards of glass, and learns that Miriam was happy when she made it. A later scene shows Tsotsi's growing appreciation for beauty as he reacts to colour in the baby's room at

²⁰ The interiors for Miriam's house and Tsotsi's shack were built on stages by production designer Emilia Weavind and the art department (Tsotsi Films, 2006). This was mainly to facilitate Hood working closely with the actors and the baby

John and Pumla's house. In Scene 76 (60:41 -60:48) there are a kaleidoscope of colours – blue, green, yellow, red and orange. A night-light mobile throws patterns on the walls and this is resonant with the mise-en-scene in Miriam's room. Once Tsotsi sits on the bed there is a cut to a tight MCU and we see a sense of wonder appear in his eyes as he surveys the décor of the room accompanied by a gentle woman's vocal on the soundtrack. On the wall is a mural of an idealized African sunset, an image far from Tsotsi's world.

The lighting in Tsotsi's shack is determined by a combination of the real and the imaginary.

Gewer elaborates:

It's the place where he comes to terms with himself, and the lighting changes a lot from scene to scene according to his mood. I feel that lighting can be quite imaginary in that sense – it's sometimes about creating what's in the mind of the character as well as suggesting reality. We had to get at what each scene was about: is Tsotsi feeling vulnerable or secure? (Gewer quoted in Bosley, 2006: 38).

After visiting Miriam and reliving the memory of his mother, Tsotsi returns to his shack. In these scenes, as he remembers back to his past, the lighting becomes 'film-noirish' in style as Tsotsi's face is only half-lit by a candle (40:38) with the background fading into darkness. This appears to signify Tsotsi's divided character. This symbolism is reiterated by the use of two key props in the right of the frame - a gun representing violence and a candle representing the memories of warmth and caring embodied by his mother²¹. The only other light in the room emanates from holes in the corrugated iron walls enhanced by smoke, which is both an aesthetic device and a real feature of South African townships. These scenes once again exhibit a unique stylistic approach in the context of the overall style of the film. In this sense they are like the "victim-seeking' scene discussed earlier except here it's not on the

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²¹ A candle appears in all of the scenes with his mother.

level of camera movement and focus. Rather, here it is on the level of lighting and symbolism through the use of props. It's unique for it becomes symbolic of Tsotsi's interior journey, a different register of formalism. Intriguingly this emerges out of a realistic portrayal of township life without electricity, where smoke and candlelight are part of everyday living conditions. Here the lighting becomes an indigenised film-noir style.

There are other examples of symbolism in *Tsotsi* using lighting, color and production design that appear throughout the film. When Tsotsi remembers the cruelty of his father, he is hidden behind multiple layers of mesh (Scene 52, 41:57-42:11), a visual metaphor for his entrapment and inability to react to his father's actions. His only option becomes to run away in the midst of a storm that is itself symbolic of the violent memory. Red, as mentioned earlier, is the color Tsotsi wears in the first two acts of the film as he commits various acts of violence, and red lighting in an otherwise dark and desaturated set signals danger for the old man who is being stalked by the gang (3:23). Later, green, that is often associated with sickness, is used to light Boston as he vomits after the old man's murder and as he confronts Tsotsi in the shebeen (Scene 8, 5:06 and Scene 10, 5:18). It is also used subtly in the scenes with Tsotsi's dying mother. These elements of symbolism are part of a broader lighting scheme that emanates from actual locations. In the townships for example, Director of Photography Lance Gewer used the oranges and greens that emanated from the big security lights. He also noticed that many of the township dwellers didn't have electricity and used coal fires, candles and oil lamps. These elements were mixed to create a gritty texture in the lighting of backgrounds²² while the skin tones were kept clean and natural. Eighty per cent of the scenes in Tsotsi take place at night (Bosley, 2006).

²² Gewer also used the American film 8 mile as a reference for this mixed 'gritty' style of lighting.

Editing

In terms of editing, the stylistic approach used by Gwen Gill is diverse. There is evidence both of classical style continuity editing and also moments when rules are broken. Most scenes are broken into several shots with evidence of establishing shots and many cut-ins to show portions of actions and key props (as in Scene 1), along with shot/reverse shot pairings for dialogue (Scene 97, 68:36 – 69:08 /Scene 128, 81:59 – 82:40) and shot/POV pairings to show us what Tsotsi is seeing, as for example in all the stalking scenes. Reinforcing the impression of continuity is the convention of cutting on actions rather than static moments and the off-setting of audio. This latter device involves not simply cutting as a character finishes speaking, but rather cutting the visual earlier or later while the audio continues (Scene 97, 68:36-69:08 is one example). This along with music, ambient sound and/or sound effects smooths transitions and is one of the features of classic Hollywood style that tries not to draw attention to itself.

Another feature of classical style, intercutting, is evident in some scenes such as in the robbery at John and Pumla's house (59:24-62:20). Here each of the gang members are given their own scenes which serve to create suspense. In Aap's scenes he is tasked with keeping an eye on John in the dining room. He provides some comedic relief as he begins wine tasting and then later asks John for food. These scenes, which are some of the lightest in the film, work because of the absurdity of the kindness of Aap in the situation. They also work initially to release tension in the build-up to the final shooting scene. Embedded within Aap's scenes is also a suspense-building device as John attempts to untie his hands and push the alarm button. The scenes with Butcher in the main bedroom reiterate his violent nature as he rifles through drawers and cupboards and suspense is generated here when he discovers a gun. The third series of scenes that are intercut are the ones with Tsotsi. In these scenes he is looking

for baby food but gets lost contemplating the beauty of the child's room. These scenes all serve to modulate each other and work towards dramatizing the climactic shooting of Butcher in the final scene in the dining room, where they all come together. Another form of intercutting is used to show Tsotsi remembering back to his childhood (40:46). In these sequences, Tsotsi is shown seated in his shack, which is then intercut with the memories of his mother and father and when he runs away from home. Here the sound from his memories is allowed to flow underneath the visuals from the present and the scene ends with an audio match cut between the sound of thunder and Aap banging on his door (43:12). An earlier memory sequence also involves intercutting, but here standard conventions are violated. Similar sized shots of Tsotsi from the present and David as a child are intercut (9:03) to create a very jarring sequence that suggest that psychological fissures are emerging within Tsotsi. Once again, examples here point to hybridity in the overall style with conventions being followed and then being broken.

In the opening scene and in many other scenes later in the film, establishing shots are not positioned up front in the scene as convention dictates and sometimes continuity is disrupted for various purposes. In Scene 1 this is used to withhold information so that the introduction to Tsotsi is more powerful. In Scene 22 (19.54), the cut to an MS of an unconscious Pumla in hospital, along with an abrupt cut in the soundtrack, makes the transition jarring and violent. In Scene (67:04) the abrupt transition to a CU of Tsotsi knocking at Miriam's door creates a sense of urgency. When Butcher attempts to shoot John (62:23), the cut from an O/S Butcher onto Aap has Butcher looking screen right, followed by an MCU that has him looking screen left. This switch in eye-lines is disorienting, but works well to articulate the chaotic moment and is an example of crossing the stage-line when the 180 degree rule is broken.

For the most part *Tsotsi* follows conventional classical editing that is used to articulate acting beats. In many instances and dependent on whether this is coupled to varying shot lengths, for example, the editing is used to narrate beats. Cutting into the closer shots invites us to engage in a more emotional way with the characters. Gewer mentions "If anything was my brief - that was it: we had to see Presley's eyes at all times. His eyes were the world of the story" (Bosley, 2006:38).

Music and Sound

In addition to the Kwaito music of Zola, South African born composers Paul Hepker and Mark Killian worked with Vusi Mahlasela on the score of *Tsotsi*. Their task was to provide an atmosphere to the landscape of the township and to find resonance with the internal and external struggles that Tsotsi endures on his journey to redemption (Carlini, 2013). The initial approach was to focus on sound design, providing aural cues for key moments such as the stalking of Morris and Miriam. Paul Hepker's explains that the approach to the sound mix was to raise the tension without being too obvious or melodramatic (Carlini, 2013). In many cases the diegetic soundtrack forms an atmosphere that is then occasionally punctuated by sound effects. In this sense the sound is indigenised rather than using stereotypical music and sound effects to create suspense.

When Tsotsi begins following Morris at the station, the atmospheric diegetic soundtrack is made up of voices, a P.A. system, Morris's creaking wheelchair and the buzz of passengers. As Morris stops to talk to his friend there are two buskers playing a "bluesy" track in the background. This is evidence on an aural level of the modulation that Hood often uses, in this case creating a lighter moment prior to a more suspenseful one. Morris then continues his

journey, followed by Tsotsi, to the relatively quieter exteriors of the station. Here the diegetic soundtrack is mainly made up of passing traffic, hooters and sirens that are typical of a South African soundscape. This sound is gradually thinned out as he reaches the space under the bridge. Finally the only sound is his creaking wheelchair and occasional passing traffic on the bridge above. This move to a quieter soundtrack resonates with the isolation of Morris expressed in the LSs (see section on shot lengths). It is only when Tsotsi appears from behind a pillar that non-diegetic sound effects are used. First there is a rattling sound (22:45) and then a high pitched note with a single deep bass-drum beat that echoes. The 'rattles' made from various instruments have a more primal sound like a rattlesnake and connote a sense of menace and danger. They are also used in the stalking sequence with Miriam as well as the murder of the old man on the train (4:16, 4:57, 30:03, 30:18-30:30). As Morris continues unaware of the threat, there is a low volume fast-paced drum (resonating with the rattle) that mixes in and out quickly. Finally Tsotsi confronts Morris (23:09), and in this sequence there are occasional low bass notes and a high note when Tsotsi tells Morris to walk (23:18). Morris refuses, turns around and begins moving away. Tsotsi then runs to cut him off and this is accompanied by rapid percussion (22:36) which reinforces the narrative beat. Percussion is also used in the stalking of Miriam, but is built into a longer more rhythmic piece that plays out over a sequence of shots. When Tsotsi touches Morris's foot, there is a distant reverberated moaning sound (non-human) accompanied by a swirling industrial sound effect. It helps articulate the narrative beat that Morris is indeed crippled. Later, when Morris begins throwing stones at Tsotsi there is another burst of percussion that increases in volume as the confrontation reaches its climax. It ends in a 'tinny' rattle as Tsotsi pulls out his gun (24:44). This is coupled to a distant rumbling bass drum. The convergence of these sounds on the single moment signals the height of the face-off which is resolved by the appearance of the gun, something that Morris can't fight against. In the ensuing moments, Morris breaks

down, accompanied by an ominous industrial hum that grows louder. Tsotsi then throws away the dustbin lid which creates a clanging metallic sound (25:08) that acts as an aural cue to end the block. Once it comes to rest, Tsotsi begins moving towards Morris accompanied by distant bass drum beats (like a far-off cannon). As he gets closer to Morris, a mournful orchestral track fades in and accompanies the tilting camera as Tsotsi crouches down. This staging, camera movement and sound articulate the fulcrum moment of the dramatic block (25:34) and is evidence once again of the careful structuring of cinematic codes used to narrate beats. Very soon after this, the orchestral track fades out. This supports Hepker's overall explanation of the sound mix being used to raise the tension without being too obvious or melodramatic (Carlini, 2013).

The stalking of Miriam scene (29:45) works in a different way to Morris's scene as its purpose is to further the plot by getting Tsotsi to Miriam's door, as opposed to a dramatic interaction between characters. It therefore has no fulcrum point and uses a less complex placement of sound effects. The scene begins with a low ominous rumbling as Tsotsi sees Miriam, and this slowly rises in volume, becoming part of a music track that runs until Miriam reaches her door. The music has an ominous feel to it and has some of the elements from Morris's scene, like the quick percussion and the 'rattles' that point to the soundtrack's thematic consistency. This is mixed in with diegetic sounds of a rooster, a dog barking, distant voices and footsteps that are part of the sounds one would hear in a township. This is also mixed in with the baby that gurgles and murmurs. The juxtaposition of diegetic with non-diegetic sound works effectively here to create tension between the ordinary and the ominous. As Miriam is about to open her door, the non-diegetic tracks fade out creating a silence (modulation) between the prior stalking scene and the following confrontation. As she opens the door though, there is a high-pitched tone along with the now familiar 'rattle'

sounds and percussion from a kettle drum. On seeing Tsotsi, she drops her bucket of water that crashes as a diegetic crescendo to the tension built by the non-diegetic sound effects (30:30). This mix between diegetic and non-diegetic is evident in other scenes too, as in the confrontation between David and his father, where the sound of clucking, distressed chickens and a barking dog, coupled to rapid percussion helps to build the tension in the scene (41:46). When Tsotsi runs away a little while later (42:53), the percussion builds to it loudest and most frenetic in the film. This too, however, is coupled to the sound of thunder, which is part of the storm within the scene. Later, the sound of Aap bashing on Tsotsi's iron door is mixed in. On the cut back to the present day, the storm and percussion stop but the banging continues. This audio match cut works as a means to smooth the transition from Tsotsi's dark memories to the present. Another interesting use of sound effects (along with visual editing) is when cries, murmurs and gurgles are used to articulate the baby's emotions in Scene 16 (12:12 – 14:26) and Scene 19 (15:04 - 18:40). Obviously it is difficult to elicit the required beats from the baby on cue, therefore this approach has been used to create the performance. Overall the sound mix resonates a strong local ambience especially so with all the predominating diegetic sounds being used to articulate the drama. Of all the cinematic codes, apart from the mise-en-scene, this appears to be the most indigenised within the film along with the Kwaito and choral tracks that accompany many of the scenes.

Carlini (2013) writes that the composers needed to balance out the darker and harsher elements of the Kwaito music. Kwaito is used in Scene 2/3/4 (1:12 - 2:46), Scene 11 (8:32 - 9:25), Scene 42/43 (36:56 - 37:37) and Scene 60 (45:44 – 46:36). These scenes deal with negative emotions such as arrogance in the opening, despair after the beating of Boston, and the anger that Tsotsi feels at his gang's betrayal. The harsh, guttural sound created by the Kwaito with its insistent beat, are well suited to intensifying these emotions. The film also

has scenes that deal with nurturing, motherhood and the call to redemption, and for these moments the composers used orchestral music with vocals from Vusi Mahlasela (for the flashbacks), Khanyo Maphumulo (for Miriam's scenes), and choirs towards the latter parts of the film. The high-pitched, soft and dreamy voices sound at times like a lullaby and at other times like a 'mournful yearning' or what can be termed a 'call to redemption'. The 'call to redemption' track is first used near the end of the first act after Tsotsi's encounter with Morris (27:21 -28:21) when he reveals that he has some 'understanding' of Morris's predicament. The track continues until after his first encounter with Miriam who is standing in a water queue. The same track is heard a while later when Tsotsi walks through the township after leaving Miriam (53:16-53:55), which is towards the end of the second act. Once again the track indicates a positive movement towards 'decency' as he decides to take responsibility for Boston. The track returns (75:36 – 77:05) when Tsotsi reconciles with Morris, handing him some money while embarking on the journey to return the baby. The last time that the track appears (84:28 - 85:11) is when Captain Smit, the policeman, tells him to put his hands above his head just after he has returned the baby to its parents, and marks the final act of his redemption. This continues through to the fade out at the end of the film. The track evolves with the addition of a choir towards the latter parts of *Tsotsi*. A variation of this music, sounding more like a lullaby, is used is in the scene with Miriam washing the baby (35:40-36:30). Coupled to the tracking-in camera on both Miriam and Tsotsi, this leads to the fulcrum moment where Tsotsi has his first memory of his mother in the film (36:06). The music continues under Miriam later after the flashback and only fades out when she looks at Tsotsi who awakens from his reverie. A similar sounding track fades up when Tsotsi thinks back to his mother while he is seated in his shack (40:18-41:23). The humming starts more high pitched but then begins to sound deeper. This is just before the entrance of his father and the introduction of more ominous percussion. Killian describes the

soundtrack in the following way, "The Kwaito speaks of where Tsotsi comes from, the atmospheric stuff speaks to his immediate life and surroundings, and the melodically stirring vocal stuff is calling Tsotsi all the way from the end of the film" (Carlini, 2013). Overall it appears that sound effects and music are used to create atmosphere and an 'audio bed' that helps facilitate the continuity editing. Most importantly though the use of sound effects and music is geared predominantly towards providing emotional resonance within the film.

In conclusion, having explored the findings of the analysis through narrative structure, entrances, shot lengths, camera movement, lighting, colour, symbolism, performance, sets, props and costumes, editing, sound effects and music it is clear that these cinematic codes are motivated to articulate dramatic beats throughout the film. In this sense the film is designed to follow the emotional trajectories of the characters. Emotion is transnational and this hints at the globalised appeal of films designed in this way. There are aspects that follow conventions, particularly in the editing where shot/reverse shot patterning is used along with analytical editing and intercutting. Also the sound editing involves offset editing to create seamless transitions. There are, however, numerous breaks with convention such as not using establishing shots in some scenes, the use of jump-cutting, the limited use of intermediary shot lengths and camera movement, the breaking of the 180 degree rule and so on. Overall, however, it was found that cinematic codes had been used in multiple, diverse and sophisticated ways in an attempt to emotionally engage viewers. This, along with the indigenisation through the mise-en-scène and sound, revealed the film as heterogeneous in style, rather than being so "Hollywoodised as to be unrecognisably South African.

Summary and Conclusions

This research project began by asking what seemed like a simple question – "Is Tsotsi so 'Hollywoodised' as to be unrecognisably South African". The question which initially appeared in a chapter on National cinema in *The Cinema Book*, seemed absurd, as the cast, crew, locations, story and even the language 'tsotsi-taal', were unique to South Africa. It won best foreign language film at the Academy awards as a South African film and its success was celebrated in roadshows that travelled around the country. It appeared, however, that the question was directed at the narrative and the style of *Tsotsi* and the underlying criticism behind this was that it had been 'inauthentic' in the way it had used Hollywood style. Higson (2002:53) alludes to this type of critique when he writes that the concept of national cinema is often used prescriptively rather than descriptively. It is used to dictate what ought to be a national cinema, rather than describing the actual cinematic experiences of popular audiences. Higbee and Lim (2010:9) categorize three broad approaches taken by transnational film studies. The first approach of which Higson (2000) is a proponent, focuses on the national/transnational binary suggesting that the national model is limiting while the transnational "becomes a subtler means of understanding cinema's relationship to the cultural and economic formations that are rarely contained within national boundaries (Higbee and Lim, 2010:9). The second privileges the transnational in examining shared cultural heritages and/or geopolitical boundaries evident in certain film cultures/national cinemas and the third challenges the western (neocolonial) construct of nation and national culture through narrative and aesthetic formations. The focus here is almost exclusively on exilic, diasporic or postcolonial filmmakers living in the West. A potential problem with these three approaches identified by Higbee and Lim (2010:10) is that the national "simply becomes displaced or negated in such analysis, as if it ceases to exist, when in fact the national

continues to exert the force of its presence even within transnational filmmaking practices". It is for this reason that this thesis used the globalisation theory of Arjun Appadurai (1990) as a lens through which to view *Tsotsi* and maintain a notion of the national through the concept of indigenization.

Appadurai's (1990) anthropological approach details actual human activity within the constraints of global flows, placing social agency at its center. He believes that as rapidly as the forces from various parts of the world are brought into new societies, they tend to become indigenized in one way or another. According to Appadurai (1990), polarization models (producers/consumers; center/periphery) can no longer be used to explain the global cultural economy. Rather, Appadurai (1990) looks at global cultural flows:

- Ethnoscapes "Ethnoscapes are landscape[s] of people in constant motion such as tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guestworkers and other moving groups and persons.

 These 'people in motion' constitute an essential feature of the world and appear to affect the politics of (and between) nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree" (Appadurai, 1990:329).
- Mediascapes Appadurai (1990:330) notes two main characteristics of mediascapes.
 The first characteristic involves "the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information," (newspapers, magazines, television stations and film production studios) and the second involves "the images of the world created by these media."
- Technoscapes Technoscapes refer to the "global configuration...of technology, and the fact that technology, both high and low, both mechanical and informational, now moves at high speeds across various kinds of previously impervious boundaries" driven by

"increasingly complex relationships between money flows, political possibilities and the availability of both un- and highly skilled labor (Appadurai, 1990:329).

- Financescapes refer to the flows in "currency markets, national stock exchanges and commodity speculations" (Appadurai 1990:330).
- Ideoscapes "are often directly political and frequently have to do with the ideologies of states and counter-ideologies of movements explicitly orientated to capturing state power or a piece of it" (Appadurai, 1990:331).

In the first chapter the aim was twofold. Firstly, the challenge was to understand how developments in South Africa, as documented by Thelma Gutsche (1972) in her book The History and Social Significance of Motion Pictures in South Africa 1895-1940, revealed cinema as being part of a global mediascape and a transnational medium from its inception. The second major goal of the chapter was to explore the origins of classic Hollywood cinema in terms of style though the work of Bordwell and Thompson (1994) alongside Tom Gunning's (2006) theory of a 'Cinema of Attractions' and Miriam Hansen's (2000) theory of 'Cinema as vernacular modernism'. The findings from the first chapter clearly revealed the impact of global flows, in particular the evolving technology of the projector and the beginning of sound films in the technoscape, the shifting ethnoscapes of itinerant showmen and women, along with the impact of Imperial soldiers during the Boer War and later the establishment of the first cinemas as part of the mediascape. Gutsche (1972) goes on to show the beginnings of a finanscape dominated by American film and the resultant backlash through ideoscapes that challenged the classic Hollywood system. Gunning's "cinema of attractions" theory provided an alternative view of images from the mediascape simply being

used to further narratives as in the classic Hollywood paradigm. Rather early film sought the attention of viewers through its images and this is what led to a wide heterogeneity of films. The writing of Bordwell and Thompson (1994) showed that the beginnings of classic Hollywood style was formed in a transnational context with many of the narrative devices emerging from across the world at the same time. Finally Hansen (2000) provided an understanding of cinema not bound by a national paradigm but rather as a way for audiences to negotiate with and understand modernity. It was in these ways that cinema had existed beyond the borders of the national from its inception.

Two major themes emerged, best encapsulated in the writing of Appadurai (1996) who suggests that scapes indicate irregularity and fluidity because they are all in constant change and this leads to heterogeneity and indigenisation. For example, as people move, ethnoscapes change; as technology is moved around and invented, technoscapes change. Changes in the reach and the extension of different media from different places make the mediascapes change. For Appadurai (1996) these scapes are the building blocks of multiple imagined worlds of historically situated people and groups around the world. As people encounter the flows, they do so from their own historical context so worldviews that are constructed are dependent on who people are, where they are, what scapes they see and how they interpret them (Appadurai, 1996). For Appadurai (1996) these flows come into contact with each other and reveal disjunctures which was the focus of the following chapter.

The key aim of the second chapter was to explore the prevailing contemporary critical theories used to understand films made in South Africa and to consider those theories in the context of Appadurai's (1990) global flows. The objective was not to replace National

cinema with Transnational film theory but rather to circumscribe it, reaching beyond national borders and the structuring dichotomy of Hollywood versus World Cinema. As explained by Appadurai (1990), his theory of the transnational is not a utopian one suggesting equal flows and directions rather it reveals many disjunctures and it was these disjunctures that the chapter set about examining. In order to provide a framework that allowed for opposing theories and views to co-exist, the chapter began by exploring the transnational audience allied to the work of Hall's (1973) reception theory. For Appadurai (1996) understanding the audience is reliant on three key distinctions. Firstly, he suggests that "the imagination has broken out of the special expressive space of art, myth and ritual and has now become part of the quotidian mental work of ordinary people in many societies" (Appadurai, 1996:5). The second distinction that Appadurai (1996:6) highlights is the difference between fantasy and imagination. He does not suggest that consumers are free agents but rather that where there is pleasure in consumption there is agency. Appadurai (1996:7) goes further and suggests that fantasy creates connotations that it exists without projects or action and that it is individualistic as opposed to imagination that "has a projective sense about it, the sense of being a prelude to some sort of expression, whether aesthetic or otherwise". This has resonance with Hall's (1973) notion of the active audience that is able to contest, negotiate with, or accept the images that they see. In addition Hall (1973) goes on to argue that meaning is not fixed/ determined by the sender, it is never transparent and that the audience is not a passive recipient of meaning. The meaning of the text is located between its producer and reader. The producer (encoder) frames (encodes) meaning in a certain way, while the reader (decoder) decodes it differently according to his/her personal background, various different social situations and frames of interpretation. Appadurai's (1996) notion of ethnoscapes with their own active imagined lives is partly derived from the images of the electronic media or what he terms the mediascapes. These 'scapes are "image-centered,

narrative-based accounts of strips of reality, and what they offer to those who experience and transform them is a series of elements (such as character, plots and textual forms) out of which scripts can be formed of imagined lives, their own as well as those of others living in other places)" (Appadurai, 1990:299). The third key distinction that Appadurai (1996:8) makes about mass audiences is the difference between individual and collective senses of the imagination. For him the mass media make possible a "community of sentiment" where a group begins to imagine and feel things together. Electronic media such as film can have even more powerful effects because they work beyond the level of the nation-state. Appadurai (1996:8), using examples of fan clubs and political followings writes that "collective experiences of the mass media can create sodalities of worship and charisma" (Appadurai, 1996:8). In the book South African National Cinema, Jaqueline Maingard (2007:13) argues that many critics working in the National Film paradigm are "concerned primarily with broad-based economics and politics, culture and aesthetics" and that "this challenges the notion of a 'national cinema' and its ongoing relevance". Maingard (2007:15) suggests that we should be looking away from the "South African" descriptor and rather to "the cultural effects of a particular film or practice". Thus our focus, she concludes, should rather be on a cinema's audiences.

These perspectives on the audience were then used to explore dominant, negotiated and contested readings of *Tsotsi* that emerged from various critical discourses including those that dealt with apartheid, race and Third Cinema. In terms of race, one of the most well-known examples of collective imagining and expression of social agency for black audiences comes from the engagement with Hollywood gangster films in Sophiatown. White film stars like Humphrey Bogart, Richard Widmark (known to Sophiatown as "Styles", James Cagney and

Edward G. Robinson were "revered idols" and the film *Street with No Name* (1948) had a cult following (www.sahistory.org). Research done on audience responses (both black and white) to *Mapantsula* (1988), a film about a black gangster directed by the white Oliver Schmitz, confirm that the ethnicity of the filmmaker had little impact on how the film was received (Tomaselli 2006:95). Other films such as *Jump the Gun* (1996) and *Hijack Stories* (2002) which have been made by multiracial crews have also been positively received by black audiences.

One feature of Third Cinema, is the ideal of recuperating the idea of a culturally authentic past to critically examine current political and social processes. In the case of Third Cinema it was argued that in the present context of globalization it appears that the delineation of colonizer/colonized is more pertinently imagined as those whose human rights are marginalized across the spectrum of society. This is viewed as a new mode of reterritorialization by D'Lugo (2003) and he goes on to add that the universality of human rights undermines the presumed exoticism and difference between the developing world and other Western nations. Botha (2007), localizing this notion, notes the increased focus on and importance of 'marginal lives' in his survey of contemporary South African film. Stam (2003) elaborates that "any definition of filmic nationalism must see nationality as partly discursive and intertextual in nature, must take class and gender into account, must allow for racial difference and cultural heterogeneity and must be dynamic, seeing 'the nation' as an evolving, imaginary, differential construct rather than an originary essence". These more fluid conceptions of Third Cinema begin to merge with elements of Transnational film theory, particularly in terms of borders becoming indistinct.

The second part of the Chapter explored the Hollywood/World Cinema binary, focusing

initially on the financescape, and then the images of the mediascape. The underlying critique embodied in some of the contested readings was the issue of cultural imperialism and global homogenization. In terms of the South African film industry and the financescape, it was found that one of the reasons the local industry struggled to compete with Hollywood was because National film bodies tended to focus more on films as products, rather than on researching markets. Kerrigan (2010:21-22) writes that "this failure to attach equal value to these two elements which constitute the film, culture and economics, can be viewed as partially responsible for the failure of non-Hollywood industries to sustain their industries". One example of stimulating the local industry, however, has taken heed of developing global markets and that is the co-production deal initiated by the National Film and Video Foundation (NFVF). Tomaselli (2006:29) notes the importance of such deals by saying that "it is chiefly through co-productions and partnerships with other film industries that South African filmmakers are able to fund quality feature films for cinema." On the other hand, critics like Treffry-Goatley (2010) see the use of English as the predominant language within co-productions as problematic, explaining this as evidence of the homogenization of globalization. Appadurai (1990) argues against this notion of homogenization saying that this often ends up being an argument about Americanization or 'commoditization'. What is not considered is that "at least as rapidly as forces from various metropolises are bought into new societies they tend to become indigenized in one way or another: this is true of music styles as much as it is true of science and terrorism, spectacles and constitutions (Appadurai, 1990: 296).

Aside from the theme of indigenization, another theme, that of hybridity emerged. Ezra (2007:168) highlights the issue of hybridity when she suggests that national cinema "is a relational, conceptual category, constructed in response to the domination of Hollywood film,

which is often conceived as the only truly globalized cinema. However this dichotomy between Hollywood and World Cinema is challenged by the deep hybridisation that exists in almost all cinemas today. Ezra (2007:169) gives examples of National film hybridisation such as Nigerian films that incorporate Bollywood style stories of good and evil, coupled to indigenous folkloric motifs. She also gives examples of National cinema and Hollywood hybridization such as the Palestinian guerilla films of the 1960s and 70s that were inspired generically by the American westerns though not by American politics. Further exploration of this, using Japan as an example, revealed strong mediascape flows in both directions. Looking at the work of legendary Japanese director, Akira Kurosawa shows that many of his films have provided the plots and storylines for Hollywood films such as *The Outrage* (1964), The Magnificent Seven (1960), A Fistful of Dollars (1964) and Star Wars (1977). In terms of style, his use of slo-motion to depict violence has now become a cliché in many action films (Bordwell and Thompson, 1994:500). Flows in the opposite direction show that Kurosawa was inspired by Shakespearian dramas as evidenced by *Throne of Blood* (1957), a retelling of Macbeth and Ran (1985) inspired by King Lear. Some auteur studies have also found that underlying thematics in his films rely on a heroic humanism where the herocharacter has to overcome his own selfish desires in order to work for the good of others, a moral framework that resonates with western values. On a broader scale Asian/Hollywood hybridization is evident in the intertextual style of American directors such as Quentin Tarentino and the Wachowski brothers, contributing an "otherness" and novel approach to familiar Hollywood genres. These flows within the images of the mediascape are also visible in the ethnoscape where Asian directors and actors such as Ang Lee, John Woo and Jackie Chan have made their presence felt in Hollywood. Of course these flows do not always happen without controversy or disjunctures When Scarlett Johansson was cast in the Hollywood remake of Ghost and the Shell (2017), there was "an immediate outcry because

an Asian or Asian-American actress hadn't been cast to play the main character (Kilday, 2017). These disjunctures are inevitable, coming from various oppositional readings of mainstream film, however, the hybridity between World Cinema and Hollywood cannot be denied.

In the conclusion of this chapter, Ezra and Rowden (2008:2) were quoted as saying "It is... important to recognize the impossibility of maintaining a strict dichotomy between Hollywood and it's 'others'" even though issues of cultural imperialism arise. From its earliest days cinema has drawn audiences to its technology, its attractions, its ways of helping audiences negotiate modernity and its use as an alternate public sphere extending the social horizons of audiences in and through the perceived homogenizing tendencies of Hollywood film and other World cinemas. Cinema has provided through the images of the mediascape a means to inspire the collective imaginary to action, to resist, to negotiate or to accept.

In the third chapter the context of *Tsotsi* within a transnational framework was explored along with a methodological approach that could be used to analyse the film. Director Gavin Hood it appears, was well aware of the tensions inherent in writing for a diverse audience, necessitated by the financing of the film through Great Britain and South Africa, and the potential dangers of stylistic homogeneity. Hood made two major decisions that would indigenise elements of his approach to style and that was in his use of language and in the casting of the actors. In the quieter moments of the film, Hood wanted audiences to genuinely empathise with the characters by feeling the intimacy between the players (Tsotsi Films, 2006). In order to do this, he wanted to cast local actors and have them perform using 'tsotsitaal', an amalgamation of various South African languages spoken in the townships. For the major financiers, The Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa and The UK Film

and TV Production Company, this was a huge risk as the film had no marketable international stars and they urged Hood to at least meet a few overseas actors. In the end Hood chose local actors and used subtitles to explain what was being said in 'tsotsi-taal' (*The making of Tsotsi*, 2006).

The challenge of appealing to audiences beyond the borders of South Africa meant that when Hood looked for a stylistic approach he focused on directing craft that uses the various cinematic codes to emotionally engage with audiences. He mentioned that he needed audiences to focus intensely on the 'emotional beats' of the story so that every nuance and implication could be caught. (Bosley 2006:33). These units of dramatic action (emotional/narrative beats) are seldom referred to in much of the academic writing on South African film as they emerge from a directing craft rather than discourses that emerge within a National film paradigm. Using dramatic beats as a way of encoding a film finds its roots in performance-based studies (Weston, 1996) where each moment of a screenplay is understood as an action verb (e.g. to beg, to plead, to demand etc.). The strength of these verbs and their relation to each other provide a means to map out an emotional trajectory for a scene. The narrative beats (action verbs) are designed to heighten the emotional intensity towards the fulcrum point (objective) of a scene and the task of the director is to visually and aurally reinforce these beats through cinematic codes. An obvious code could be music that may rise in intensity up to the fulcrum point. Another way of articulating beats may be by gradually using shorter shot lengths (from a Medium Shot to a Medium Close-Up to a Close-Up) inviting the audience to engage on a stronger emotional level with characters through the duration of a scene. There are six different variables a director can control with the camera: angle, image size, motion, depth of field, focus and speed (Proferes 2005:40). Editing is another code and of course these different codes can be used in different combinations. The

director is thus able to visually and aurally narrate and adjust the engagement of the audience with the performances and the relationship between the performers, moment by moment. There were four key areas of style that this methodological approach to analysis entailed namely cinematography, mise-en-scène, editing and sound. In terms of cinematography the important elements were shot lengths, camera movement and lighting. The predominant focus on the mise-en-scène was in terms of performance and staging. For visual editing the focus was on the continuity editing and how this worked within various scenes, particularly in terms of pacing and whether certain rules were broken. Also the analysis focussed on intercutting and modulation between scenes as explained by Proferes (2006). In terms of aural editing the offsetting of the sound used to create seamless transitions was a feature of the methodological approach. The final area of stylistic analysis focussed on the use of sound particularly music and sound effects and how they were used in combinations and separately to create thematic resonance. All these cinematic codes were investigated in the fourth chapter that dealt with a textual analysis of *Tsotsi*.

The aim of the fifth chapter was to distil the findings from the stylistic analysis of *Tsotsi*. Using directing craft (dramaturgy) as a method, various key features of style were examined including shot lengths, the moving camera, colour, lighting, symbolism, editing, sound and music. The main objective was to discern how these cinematic codes had been applied to dramatic beats or moments within the film. Overall it was found that these cinematic codes had been used in multiple, diverse and sophisticated ways in an attempt to emotionally engage viewers. This however had been indigenised in many ways.

Indigenisation, is evident in the mise-en-scène that involves South African actors, locations, props and costumes. This comes through strongly in the cinematic codes of sound and music too. Here the dialogue spoken is mostly 'tsotsitaal', and the soundtrack is made up of local Kwaito music tracks along with the voices of Vusi Mahlasela and Khanyo Maphumulo backed by local choirs. The sound effects also emerge from a localised soundscape. Indigenisation in terms of lighting was found in some interesting examples. In one case, the director of photography, Lance Gewer, found a particular colour outside a local butchery shop which he used symbolically to suggest "the love and compassion that Tsotsi yearns for in his harsh world" (Bosley, 2006:36). In Tsotsi's shack when he remembers back to his mother the lighting could be referred to as an indigenised film-noir style with elements such as the candle and smoke emerging from the real life environment of the townships. Gewer, goes on to explain that he used the oranges and greens that emanated from the big security lights (Bosley, 2006). He also noticed that many of the township dwellers didn't have electricity and used coal fires, candles and oil lamps. These elements were mixed to create a gritty texture in the lighting of backgrounds. These are yet more examples of how *Tsotsi's* style had been indigenised.

In conclusion, this thesis found that the binary of Hollywood/World Cinema used in the question "Is Tsotsi so Hollywoodised as to be unrecognisably South African" was flawed. This is revealed through many levels of hybridisation that have taken place through global flows from the earliest days of film through to contemporary times. The use of the binary to support notions of cultural imperialism and homogeneity have been disputed by reception studies (Hall, 1973) and by Appadurai's (1996) notion of indigenisation occurring through the collective imaginings of various cultural groups. A better question to ask from the perspective of Transnational film studies is how does the style of *Tsotsi* show hybridisation

and indigenisation. This avoids the prescriptive approach of a National film theory that defines itself merely in opposition to Hollywood. Using the transnational methodology of directing craft that privileges the use of style as a way to emotionally engage audiences, the textual analysis found many examples of hybridisation and indigenisation. In fact the levels of indigenisation point to *Tsotsi* as a distinctly South African film, a fact not lost on the local audiences who celebrated its victory at the Academy Awards. The hybridisation emanating through global flows and realised through the mixing of genres, an unconventional narrative structure emerging from interactions between the director and test audiences, and the varied and sophisticated approaches used to articulate narrative beats, revealed a remarkable stylistic heterogeneity in the film. For local film and South African film scholars, transnational film theory as envisaged through Appadurai's scapes (1990), provides a way to study the style of films, not as means to prescribe how a film should or shouldn't be made, but rather as part of a complex web of flows and disjunctures that arise in the global, and that eventually converge on singular moments known as dramatic beats. In this way film as a medium, as a provider of images in the mediascape, does not discount the views of an audience that "has hitherto been devalued, marginalized and presumed about in policy and theory". (Livingstone, 2002:240). Rather films allow for audiences to emotionally engage and transform themselves through "a series of elements (such as character, plots and textual forms) out of which scripts can be formed of imagined lives, their own as well as those of others living in other places" (Appadurai, 1990:299). This provides the final challenge as to whether *Tsotsi* is a South African film and the final answer can only be that it resides with the audiences of transnational cinema.

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Fig. 1 Extreme Close-Up (ECU)

Fig. 2 Close-Up (CU) (Chin is at the bottom of frame / Forehead cut off)



Fig.4 Close-Up (CU) of Tsotsi's Entrance



Fig. 6 Medium Close-Up (MCU)

The Style of Tsotsi (2005)



Fig.3 Close-Up of an Important Prop



Fig.5 Tracking Close-Up (Forehead is cut off)



Fig. 7 Medium Shot (MS)



Fig. 9 Another FS after beating Boston



Fig. 11 Another LS



Fig. 8 Full Shot (FS) Body fills the frame



Fig. 10 Long Shot (LS)



Fig. 12 Extreme Long Shot (ELS). Notice Butcher's Pink in the set.



Fig. 13 2-shot MCU on Aap and Tsotsi



Fig. 15 Wide Shot (WS) of Tsotsi's Shack



Fig. 14 4-shot MS on the gang

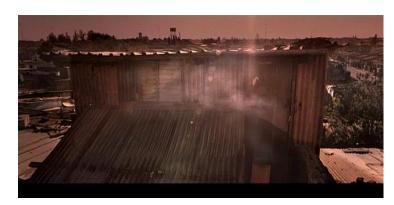


Fig. 16 Establishing Shot of the Exterior of Tsotsi's Shack



Fig 17 A Master shot used to shoot entire scene



Fig. 18 The first shot in a Point of View (POV) sequence showing a character looking



Fig. 20 The first shot of a Shot/Reverse Shot overshoulder (OS) sequence



Fig. 22 The first shot in a strong POV sequence



Fig. 19 The second shot showing what the character is looking at



Fig 21 The second shot in the Shot/Reverse shot sequence



Fig. 23 The second shot in the strong POV sequence showing the blurred mobile in the foreground as if we are looking through Tsotsi's eyes



Fig. 24 The first shot in a shot/reverse shot sequence shot at a low angle



Fig. 26 MCU Boston camera begins zooming in



Fig. 28 CU on Boston camera continues zooming



Fig. 25 The second shot in a shot/reverse shot sequence shot from a high angle



Fig. 27 MCU Tsotsi camera begins zooming in



Fig. 29 CU Tsotsi camera continues zooming



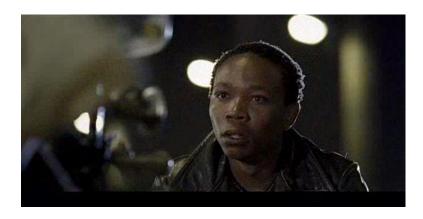
Fig. 30 MCU Tsotsi camera begins tilting downwards



Fig. 31 Camera continues tilting



Fig. 32 Camera continues tilting





An example of a sideways tracking shot fig. 34 -36

Fig. 34



Fig. 35



Fig. 36



Fig. 37

An example of a circular tracking shot



Fig. 38



Fig. 39



Fig. 40 WS Roadside beginning of crane move...



Fig. 41 ...end of crane move



Fig. 42 Bird's Eye View Angle



Fig. 44 High angle WS



Fig. 47 Eye-level angle



Fig. 43 High angle WS



Fig. 45 Low angle MCU



Fig. 46 Low angle 4-shot



Fig. 48 Focus wrack from CU police light to....



Fig. 49 ...an MCU of Captain Smit. Shallow depth of field (DOF)



Fig. 50 A CU on Captain Smit showing the shallow DOF used in many of the police scenes



Fig. 50 WS of Tsotsi's Shack showing darkness and lack of colour (low key lighting)



Fig. 52 Miriam's room that is light and colourful (high key lighting)



Fig. 53 An example of the very low key lighting. Tsotsi is caught in the cross beam.



Fig. 54 The beginning of a slow track in on Tsotsi as he begins delving into his past. This shot is intercut with his memories. Notice the gun and candle as symbols of Tsotsi's life



Fig.55 The shot ends on a CU