'Contemporary African Cities in Postmillenial African Films'

D i s s e r t a t i o n

zur

Erlangung des akademischen Grades

Doktor der Philosphie

in der philosophischen Fakultät

der Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen

vorgelegt von

Addamms Songe Mututa

aus Mwingi / Kenia

2018

Gedruckt mit Genehmigung der Philosophischen Fakultät der Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen

Dekan: Prof. Dr. Jürgen Leonhardt

Hauptberichterstatter: PD Dr. Kai Wiegandt
Mitberichterstatter: Prof. Dr. Fernando Resende
Dr. Chris Broodryk

Tag der mündlichen Prüfung: 01.11.2018

Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen: TOBIAS-lib

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Dual Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Tübingen, Tübingen; and the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at any other university.

Addamms Songe Mututa

-------------Day of -------------------- 2018

For the clan; Ellaine, Branson and Frank.

In memory of my late mum and dad.

ABSTRACT

This study discusses postmillennial cinema narratives from six African cities: Cairo, Monrovia, Nairobi, Kinshasa, Luanda and Johannesburg. It argues that filmic images of street life in these cities can be read as self-narratives in the sense that they index a consciousness of Africa's postmillennial urban citizenship. Within these films, the street is shown as a frontier as well as a shared space that enables the mediation of citizenship narratives in those respective cities. The research straddles two main disciplinary areas: urban citizenship and film theory. Basing my arguments on the way Africa's urban cinematic representations may be comprehended as a blend of both the cinematic form and urban citizenship discourse, I assert that such fusion is most vivid in the images of the street which, I reason, perform three main roles: exposé, reportage and archival. These are defined and briefly discussed at the start of each subsection.

In my analysis, I will show that characters' bodies are used in these films to perform the role of exposure, surveillance and of criticism of politics and history. I suggest that (characters') bodies and space play an important role in explicating covert conflicts between the mainstream and the peripheral. They are also agents that convey the political ordering of the city's experiences of citizenship and thus archives of such politics. This means that discussing political ordering and contestation of space as a strategy for political ordering of bodies to create specific symbolism of citizenship provokes memory of citizenship issues in these cities. From the discussions above, these three terms; exposé, reportage and archival, appear related and somewhat overlapping. I however make distinctions between them as follows. By reading the filmic images of streets and cityscapes as important vignettes of urban citizenship imaginary in Africa, I argue that the films render urban citizenship experiences in Africa since the turn of the millennium more legible. This research will base subsequent discussions on the

meanings of urban citizenship by illustrating the way film form and urban citizenship theory

intersect in street symbols.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This work has been realized because of the effort of many people and institutions. While I cannot mention all by name, I will name a few, in no way using the ordering of the appreciations as a marker of the extent of gratitude and assure those whose names may miss that I wholly appreciate their role and contributions in the project. I first thank God for what is clearly an answered prayer. I too thank my family who survived many long years of my absence and made many sacrifices which I cannot list here. As time goes by, the project has become less my own and more of us all. We struggled together, and each paid a price for it. Now that this time has come, I am humbled to convey my gratitude. God Bless you always.

At this point, I appreciate Der Deutsche Akademische Austauschdienst e. V. (DAAD) and National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) for the scholarship which enabled me to study in Germany. You gave me an opportunity to follow my academic dreams, a priceless gift for which I am always grateful. If it is ever necessary to mention a case where you really helped to bring a dream to reality, that case would be me. Similarly, to Anja Bengelstorff of DAAD Nairobi office and Caroline Wiegand of DAAD Bonn Office, you were so kind and helpful to me in my preparations and study period in Germany. With these few lines, I really thank DAAD and staff in Kenya and Germany and NACOSTI, in Nairobi. I appreciate your kindness and the life-changing opportunity.

On to the study journey, it all started somewhere in a lecture theatre in Kenyatta University, Nairobi. I deeply thank Dr. Emmanuel Shikuku of Kenyatta University, the one who held my hand and showed me the way when I did not know the academic world beyond my nose. You are a very kind and selfless man, with unspeakable goodness. May God bless you, Sir, for lighting my candle, with yours. With equal gratitude, Dr. Mugubi and Dr. Diang'a, the wise and exceptional mentors who strengthened my academic will in my days at Kenyatta

University. You made my pursuit of academic excellence seem feasible and mentored my yet untamed approach to scholarship during my masters study. Thank you for your generous supervision and for believing in me, thus laying foundation for my later academic journey.

A very special thank you to Prof Dr. Dr. Russell West-Pavlov, the Literary guru at the Englisches Seminar, University of Tübingen; Co-convenor, Tübingen Interdisciplinary Centre for Global South Studies; Convenor, Thematic Network Project Literary Cultures of the Global South; and Ph.D. Programme Entangled Temporalities in the Global South. Who can really speak of your greatness and kindness? You believed in me when I was still grappling with my limited view of life and your influence in my academic and personal journey has been phenomenal. From your hilarious emails, to the kind words, encouragement and endless resourcefulness, you have sharpened a mind to see and know better. Through the generosity of your project, Literary Cultures of the Global South, I have accessed opportunities greater than I had ever dreamed of. If it were not for your foresight, I would not have made any meaningful step. Thank you for your exceptional supervision and great mentorship. If I can become a fraction of what you are, that would be a lot. Blessings to you and your family.

Still within the Literary Cultures of the Global South Project, I must express my deepest gratitude to Andrée Gerland, Projektkoordinator who has been very helpful to me. You have generously supported me in many ways and enabled me to be in many useful networks. Because of your kindness, my stay within the project has been great. I am very thankful. I must also acknowledge fellow colleagues in the project, all wo went extra miles to make my stay comfortable. To Vanessa Vogt, Matthias Schmerold, Sara Azarmi, Valerie Müller and Anthony Obute, of the Global South project at the University of Tübingen, I wholly appreciate your kindness. I wasn't available most of the time, but whenever we met, it was great. Each one of you was helpful to me in the various stages of my study. I cannot forget to

thank Karin Klett, the most efficient secretary at the faculty who always provided her administration services with speed and happiness. I thank you so much for the kindness. Clearly, there are many others who I have not mentioned by name. In no way does this construe my lack of appreciation. My heart appreciates all of you.

I am also deeply indebted to my other supervisor, Professor Bhekizizwe Peterson of African Literature, University of the Witwatersrand and the leader of the Narrative Enquiry for Social Transformation (NEST) project at the University of the Witwatersrand. I thank you for your exemplary supervision and academic mentorship. You are a man of exceptional intelligence and your fresh way of seeing things always challenged me to think more. You have been a great influence on me. I cannot forget Merle Govind (Mrs), the Senior Administrator at the African Literature, Media Studies and Publishing Studies, School of Literature, Language and Media, University of the Witwatersrand. You always processed my requests with speed and kindness. I am so grateful for your time and support. I also appreciate the very useful opportunities to participate in and interact with NEST family which you granted me. Here I met great people and learned so much from the summer school in Capetown to the conference on Johannesburg.

Still within the Wits fraternity, I also give special appreciation to Professor Dan Ojwang, the Head, School of Literature, Language and Media, University of the Witwatersrand, for the support during my study at the University of the Witwatersrand. Your kindness and ever-present smile have a way of making life appear beautiful. Your networks with Free University of Berlin also afforded me a chance to participate in their very informative summer school. Thank you so much sir for the great experiences. I also appreciate Professor Muponde, the wise man of Wits, for the many days you allowed us to meet and to celebrate with your

family. It gave my life in Johannesburg a family feeling, meeting and mingling with your family was in fact, more like family.

I would also like to thank the three external examiners who took their time off their busy schedules to examine this thesis. Professor Fernando Resende of Instituto de Arte e Communicação Social, Universidade Federal Fluminense Centro de Estudos Gerais, Instituto de Arte e Communicação Social; Dr. Chris Broodryk, Senior Lecturer, Drama Department Drama and Film Studies from the University of Pretoria; and PD Dr. Kai Wiegandt from the Englisches Seminar, Universität Tübingen. Your keen interest in my work is evident in your extensive reports which are not only deeply informative, but also show genuine concern for my academic development. I thank each one of you very much.

Dr. Josiah Nyanda, a lecturer at the University of Witwatersrand deserves a special mention. No words can ever equal the gratitude that I feel. Every memory of Johannesburg is full of the everyday life we spent there. I wish you God's blessings man. The memory of your kindness will never fade. To Anderson and his wife, I also thank you so much. Anderson you were the first family that I met in Johannesburg. For welcoming me to your family, I am very grateful. Thanks, and God bless you all.

At this point, I wish to thank my third supervisor, Prof. Dr. Susanne Marschall, who accepted to take me as a student at the Institut für Medienwissenschaft, University of Tübingen. I am very grateful. Finally, I thank Dr. Ndeti Ndati of the University of Nairobi, my elder brother who really held my hand since the days at Multimedia University of Kenya. I cannot mention or measure my appreciation to you and I pray that God bless you and your family always. For everyone whom I could not mention here and who in a way way´s part of the journey, I assure you of my deepest gratitude. God bless you always.

TABLE OF CONTENT

CHAPTER 1: POSTMILLENNIAL AFRICAN CITIES: THEORY, CITIZENSHIP and CINEMA

This chapter introduces the study by discussing the various key issues which form the basis of the later arguments raised in the individual chapters. Foremost, it discusses urban theory and shows its trend, narrowing to African context and theorists. It also discusses urban citizenship, urban form and the cinematic representations of the street, the study objectives and rationale of the study. There is also a subsection on methodology where I provide rationale for the selection of the films and the idea of African Cinema (part of Third Cinema) with which I am working. Finally, the chapter summarizes the thesis, ordering the discussions according to parts (exposé, reportage and archival) and chapters where it gives the summary of specific issues addressed in each chapter.

The thesis analyses filmic representations of urban citizenship in Cairo, Monrovia, Nairobi, Kinshasa, Luanda and Johannesburg. It shows the way cinematic representations of these cities articulate concrete issues about citizenship in the respective cities. These include public protest and democracy in Cairo, the patrimonial economic marginalization in Monrovia, corruption and marginalization of street communities in Nairobi, the entanglement of mineral economy and citizenship woes in Kinshasa, the post-war patronage in Luanda and the post-apartheid issue in Johannesburg. Consequently, I speak of the representations of the (acts of) citizenship within these films as contingent to national discourses such as the Arab Spring in Cairo, the end of civil war in Monrovia, the assemblage of informal communities in the proximity of Nairobi's central business district, the survival of street communities of Kinshasa's periphery, the continuing inequalities in post-2000 Luanda and the post-apartheid street life in Johannesburg after 1994. By positioning itself in this space, the study links, on one hand, theories of urban citizenship and on the other, theories of cinematic form.

The research, then, analyses filmic narratives as visual prisms of the continent's problematic switch from colonial framing of 'the other', that is, Africa as "always a pretext for a comment about something else, some other place, some other people (Mbembe, 2001, p. 3)" which has been attributed to colonial and neo-colonial inequalities, to a sort of contemplative self-narration geared towards building a representative self-image of postcolonial urban citizenship in the continent. By self-narration, I suggest that because these films are not just counter-narratives of the problematic representation of Africa and Africans in mainstream global cinema as the overall losers but are rather grounded on significant occurrences. They cannot be dismissed as mere pretext of denigrating narratives about Africa as they are indeed narratives about concrete issues grounded in the continent's urban fabric. I therefore use the term visual prism here to infer the way postmillennial film narratives about African cities constitute useful accounts of Africa's problematic urban citizenship built on cumulative awareness of the continent and its postcolonial problems. Drawing on existing theories of urban citizenship, the study specifically analyses representations of the street as a space rich in metaphors useful in probing the contemporary thoughts of urban citizenship in Africa. To lay basis for this task, the next subsection discusses urban theory and African cities as a starting point for understanding representations of city streets in cinema narratives. The aim is to demonstrate how they are used to enhance the multidisciplinary approach of this analysis.

Urban Theory and African Cities

The advancement of urban theory and how it addresses space, social classes and politics has for a long time been largely a work of the developed world and thus fails to consider its limitations especially when applied to African cities. In other words, the practice of urban theory and criticism is largely an enterprise that is anchored on the so-called western knowledge and cultural systems yet continues to be applied in a sense that suggests its universality in global urban studies even in spaces as different as African cities. For this

reason, this subsection derives its discussion from the global urban theories and adapts it to the African condition. The main sub-thesis is that urban theory needs to be customized if it is to be relevant in the analysis of African cities (and their cinematic representations). In this respect, this subsection thus argues for the specificity of African cities based on their colonial and postcolonial (economic) history that characterizes global South (previously referred to as the Third World) with largely experimental, deficient modes of subsistence (see Fanon (1991)). This subsection further argues for a shift from a simple negation of African cities as sites of disfunction to a keener interest in the historical and political synchrony of these seeming dysfunctionalities, an idea fielded by recent African urban and critical theorists (see Mbembe (2001), Mbembe and Nuttall (2004), Mbembe and Nuttall (2007), Comaroff and Comaroff (2012), and Mbembe, (2014)). Finally, focusing on everyday informal practices of citizenship, the subsection shows how these theories may be applied to analysis of cinematic texts about African cities.

Urban research since the start of the 20th century is well established and has produced significant works. This dates to the days of Park, Burgess, and McKenzie (1925) who are mainly concerned with the geographic formation of the city and the social relations between the inhabitants of its different sections. Subsequent researchers include Lewis Mumford who researched about city and cultures (Mumford, 1942), city and power (Mumford, 1970), city and civilization (Mumford, 1934) and even city infrastructure (Mumford, 1981). Mumford's main concern was existential philosophies of the time and specifically, the need to re-assess cultures and possibly make them less mechanical and more purposeful. Such reasoning has been refashioned into arguments about urban utopias, politics, technology and civilization, the very machinery of colonialism and imperialism by subsequent scholars such as Henri Léfebvre, also another renowned urban theorist of the past century. Léfebvre's acclaimed works focus on spatial theory (Léfebvre, 1991), urban change (Léfebvre, 2003), everyday

practices (Léfebvre, 2002) and various writings about the city (Léfebvre, 2010). Lefebvre's key argument is that space is a social product, which is subject to political sways. It can be influenced by the politics of its habitation and thus it can mediate power and or resistances.

However, it is widely acknowledged that the works by Manuel Castells (1972) and David Harvey (1973) marked the shift of urban theory towards more engaged discussions of class struggle and capitalist machinery, paving way for later understanding what became urban studies. Castells argues that social networks, the ultimate source of power, are also the means for controlling inclusion and exclusion. This spatial model has often been reworked in representational forms such as art and cinema where it manifests the idea of hierarchies between social classes and hegemony. Similarly, Harvey's research on postmodernity and imperialism made invaluable contribution to material analysis of culture. Much of his arguments relate with Marxism theories and material capitalism which, for most of Africa, has become a vignette of a contiguous colonial-postcolonial project.

All these scholars are pivotal to the way global urban citizenship as a sort of global cultural emplacement is understood today because their theorization is not only useful in assessing historical capitalist model that formed and sustained global empires of the medieval Europe and ancient American capitalism, it is also quite useful in understanding the continuing consequences of such models in modern urban studies at a time when modernity and capitalism are inseparable from global politics. This is especially crucial in contemporary studies of African cities (and much of Third World cities) which have been largely missing from this initial theorization. This lays ground to appreciate the need to revise or expand urban theory. One can certainly argue that despite their great contributions identified above, these scholars ought to be seen as the foundation, the starting point for subsequent urban studies and not a closure of urban inquiry. As cities take a more global outlook and

technologies disrupt the hitherto concretized arguments about urban social paradigms, shortcomings arise from the inability to apply these theories in their original form to the study of Global South cities.

The first gap is that, because these scholars mostly focused their research on the cities of the so-called Global North, they left a vast terrain of unexplored urban spaces, mainly those of the developing world. Their theories clearly address conditions of cities of the first world which differ significantly from those of the third world. Consequently, this intellectual marginalization of Global South in urban theory leaves a gap in the general understanding of, specifically, African cities which I am interested in here. Building on this conceded gap, recent African urban scholars have sought theories grounded in the Global South urban paradigm. Comaroff and Comaroff (2012, p. 1) argues that "it is the global south that affords privileged insight into the workings of the world at large", a view that has centrally dwelt on, among others, issues of citizenship. Subsequent scholarship such as collected in Susan Parnell and Sophie Oldfield (2014) respond precisely to this kind of need for a global South theory. For the specific case of African cities, Abdoumaliq Simone and Achille Mbembe, both renowned theorists with extensive research on Africa's urban citizenship, critiques citizenship as the most salient issue of postcolonial Africa's urban theory. Their theories which relate nations and cities marks a turning point in the way the contemporary African city is interpreted and theorized. For this reason, this thesis is influenced a lot from their theories on urban citizenship.

For Mbembe, Africa is a contemplative space, that is, space where emerging meanings of being an African in the contemporary times are most implicit but also not fully acknowledged. He describes the continent as the "last frontier of urban capitalism" (Mbembe, 2014), adding that the African city can be best understood as a space of affect and

imagination where innovation is tied to the need to create one's locality, or ones experiences within that imagined locality. If by urban capitalism he infers the Marxian class struggles, then this idea of frontier can be expanded to mean that urban spaces and especially the streets which I will be discussing in detail throughout this thesis, are indeed sites of displaying inovative and imagined practices of citizenship. The challenge is, however, how to speak of these imaginations as power relations between citizens or between citizens and their states, without heading back to the mere retrieval of the citys' colonial and postcolonial histories. In his cutting-edge work, *On the Postcolony* (2001), Mbembe suggests that in order

> to account for both the mind-set and the effectiveness of postcolonial relations of power, we need to go beyond the binary categories used in standard interpretations of domination, such as resistance vs. passivity, autonomy vs. subjection, state vs. civil society, hegemony vs. counter-hegemony, totalization vs. detotalization. These oppositions are not helpful; rather, they cloud our understanding of postcolonial relations (p. 103).

In this statement, he questions the purpose of pursuing the worn-out issue of binaries and the obsolete idea of colonial amnesia which has dominated North-South relations. This thinking can however also apply to internal relations between subjects who reside in the South. In this regard, the words can be read as a caution that frees new research enterprises from the dogmatic pursuit of a 'post-colonial' as the canonical entry point for discussing Africa and its contemporary realities in every discipline. Especially when the time being discussed is postmillennial, a point at which all African countries have gained independence, such a caution is obligatory for, how else can we evaluate the meaning of (urban) citizenship, and what conclusion do we arrive at when all we do is echo the colonial-postcolonial paroxysms without paying attention to the sophistications of citizenship which are in reality more illuminating? The solution, Mbembe (2001, p. 103) offers, is to find a new approach that will

help us to understand "how the world of meanings … is ordered; the types of institutions, the knowledges, norms and practices structuring this new 'common sense'; the light that the use of visual imagery and discourse throws on the nature of domination and subordination." The allusion to 'new common sense' puts scholarship about postmillennial Africa, including research about urban citizenship, on a trajectory of seeking out in what ways subjects within cities understand their lives, how they interpret and engage with hegemonic practices in ways that have nothing to do with the colonial-postcolonial obscurities but more with the peculiar tendencies that have emerged *in situ*. I use this term here to discourage the tendency to frame everything within the lenses of the colonial or postcolonial, and at the same time to encourage an introspective view of urban citizenship as a process generated by spaces and localities, rather than a temporal contingency that can only be conceptualized in relation to the past. *In situ* accounts for the occurrences that emerge from global connections between spaces yet are actualize due to local circumstances. It situates citizenship within the present rather than the past. This is not to deny the role of history, but to suggest that such a practice must be moderated with extensive understanding of the contemporary situations. This is possible by reading the signs that have become entrenched in ordinary representations of urban citizenship, in my case, the streets which I see as rich sites of contemporary urban experiences. Visual images of the street thus become potentially revelatory of the way city inhabitants interact with and understand the city while simultaneously forming its evolving structures in relation to their spaces and the global modern practices, *in situ,* and not necessarily in response to their history.

Abdoumaliq Simone, in his well-known work, *For the City Yet to Come* (2004, p. 16), calls for identification with the "common cause" of African cities, that is, "using the city as a generator of imagination and well-being, of making links with and operating in concert with the larger world", further adding that "the only way to make such a common cause is to

amplify the sensibility, creativity and rationality of everyday practices and behaviours that either are invisible or appear strange." In this citation, Simone invokes the local-global axis in urban imagination paving way for multiculturalism and pluralism to become a major prism through which urban citizenship in African cities can be discussed. But more importantly, the idea of the 'common cause' and keen interest in the everyday practices within the city, including in the streets where significant interactions take place, alludes to the importance of the practices of *in situ* citizenship in understanding the African city. This kind of thinking parallels citizenship theories already teased out by Mbembe whose thoughts in the imagination, urban sensibility, and the mundane spatial practices has become canonical. Similar thinking is seen in the works by other contemporary scholars on African cities such as Reno W. (2007), Triulizi (1996), Martins (2017) and Hoffman (2007), who show great interest in the way interaction between city residents and the city form may indeed create unique framings of Africa's urbanism. The foregoing scholarship sensitizes us to the issues omitted from earlier urban theories and which are key in understanding Africa's intricate postcolonial urban citizenship, and which will become clearer in the course of my analysis of the streets in subsequent sections.

The second shortcoming concerns the approaches to theorizing urban space, which are changing from historical, spatial, political and even anthropological discourses to citizenship and related global issues. Whereas in earlier theories one sees interest in space, politics, technology and hierarchies; in later researches, the practice of citizenship is becoming an established point of reference (see Comaroff and Comaroff (2012), Koonings and Kruijt (2009), Fredericks and Diouf (2014), Hansen (2008), Hage (2001), Gaffikin (1999), Beauregard and Bounds (2000), and Holston and Appadurai (1999). What makes any city what it is? By what means can we learn of its character? How are we to make sense of African cities when they are overflowing with signifiers? What does this superfluity of

signifiers even mean in relation to the way urban citizens sense of and manifest their spaces? These are the kind of questions that current African theorists are grappling with and which drive this research into filmic narratives of urban citizenship in Africa as potentially contributing to some of the possible answers.

This thesis thus bears within it the awareness shared among these and other theorists such as Gunn (2001), Wacquant (1997) and Foucault (1986), that space and place theories are only pillars within which analysis of power and social processes which constitute social relations and social identities is possible. To become a citizen is thus a complex process which has so far shifted from the nation as the frame in which belonging, rights and entitlement are articulated, to the city as the frame in which rights, belonging and access to resources are articulated (Lefebvre, 2010). The key point raised here, and which is also at the centre of David Harvey's later writings, is that a city life built around centralities and alienation need to be reformed to allow social and better economic relations between those who inhabit it. Yet this thinking appears insufficient to later citizenship theorists who are seeking a more elaborate theory which is not merely based on the rather precarious formula of alienation and rights.

The task then is not to merely affirm these signifiers as proceeds of the colonial era (though clearly, they have a relation), but to find a kind of urban theory that can work for African cities. Edgar Pieterse (2008, p. 85), another renowned African urban theorist, suggests that "symbolic meanings are central to the incessant processes of identity construction and the realm of agency in the spaces of the everyday". We see in this argument a keen interest in the meanings attached to activities as bearing agency to and addressing themselves to interpretations of space. How one lives and processes their actions and activities within any given urban space symbolizes the intricate details of that space, including those tied to

citizenship. Furthermore, the reference to 'incessant processes' may be read as an allusion to what is referred in this thesis as acts of citizenship. Therefore, in respect to Africa's urban theory, it is no longer a question of whether it should shift or has shifted, but more of an inquiry of how to make sense of these shifts in ways that deepen realistic dialogues about these cities in relation to the *in situ* urban operations (governance, infrastructure, economic, social and so on) and the global context (multi-citizenship, global economy, global crisis, global politics and so on).

Because of these shortcomings identified above, the approach adopted here considers urban citizenship through its ability to "DE compartmentalize the discussion of the city to show how its multiple spatial, social and cultural fragments are all tied in a web of interdependence and relationships" (Gulema, 2013, p. 188). For the purposes of this thesis, this phrase 'DE compartmentalize' means to seek the logic linking different segments, both real and virtual, which make up the closed city (Nuttall, 2014) and which work together to give a city its lived character. I see compartments as practices that influence the relationships that are possible within these cities and in turn, the acts of citizenship. As is often the case, the closed city is foremost generated in infrastructure, where the rich and the poor access different spaces with different material configurations, which then translates to unequal ways of accessing opportunities within the city's networks. How to read these compartments together through practices of citizenship is the task anticipated in the idea of DE Compartmentalization which can be read in the experiences within the city spaces and imaginations of those spaces, which in turn enable specific significations of citizenship. The idea of DE Compartmentalization with which I am working goes beyond the rigorous arguments about urban theory to comprise symbolic actions of citizenship enacted within the city form and imaginations arising from its various compartments. I discuss this approach in the next subsection.

Urban Citizenship in Africa

The concept of citizenship is generally defined through membership to the nation institution through which one is guaranteed certain rights and privileges (Johnston, Gregory, Pratt, and Watts, 2000, p. 84). This view generally expresses the traditional concept of belonging which evolved from the village to the greater nation through processes of mobilization and identification with the nation state. As argued by Thompson and Tapscott (2010, p. xii), citizenship is "fundamentally about the 'right to have rights' and thus to be able to claim them through deep forms of social mobilization and action." Citizenship, then, may be conceptualized foremost through the rights guaranteed to individuals within any geographical territory and how they may use such rights to advance individual and national interests.

These scholars further cite Alvarez, Dagnino, and Escobar (1998), indicating that inclusion or exclusion, which means the extent to which one's participation is admissible or questionable, may be an indicator of whether one's experiences construe citizenship or not. In this sense, citizenship is no longer solely tied to the legal definition of belonging which puts the nation as the reference point. There is also the "below-the-radar, ordinary and daily negotiations through which emergent reconfigurations of citizenship" (Fredericks and Diouf, 2014, p. 5) are developing. These negotiations are implicit when we see people going to depths to acquire or fake citizenship, which clearly indexes an urgent need for belonging. They are also implied in the severe surveillance of national territories where inroads are strictly controlled indicating a necessity to quarantine those deemed aliens. Globally, responses to such practices are seen in, for instance, the ongoing immigration situation in Europe and America where foreigners seeking citizenship (asylum or refugee) are increasingly seen as threats, further suggesting the way institutions that offer, or control inclusion and exclusion may indeed be useful sites for understanding the meaning attached to citizenship.

Within the context of cities, this thinking is aligned with David Harvey's (2008, p. 23) thoughts on the right to the city as "far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city". In other words, inhabiting the city is not enough, one must be able to determine what they can do within that city and what can be done to the city in which they live. Rights to the city are rights to exercise citizenship within those cities and they may indicate one's status as either admissible or alienated.

If we are to apply this thinking in the context of the African city where most decisions affecting the public are mostly framed within political interests, we must see such cities as primarily state apparatus designed to control the process of citizenship through administration of social and economic opportunities. The result is the inculcation of a culture of resistance to the alien, whether the process through which such alienation is declared is by itself a contradiction of a natural right to citizenship (such as was the case with segregation against blacks in apartheid South Africa), or whether such estrangement results from a complex process of identification which excludes obvious foreigners (such as marginalization of foreigners who may not participate in economic enterprises or may be subjected to excessive regulations). However, this thesis will not discuss urban crises resulting from such accretions, a task mostly carried out by civil societies. Rather, it will discuss how cinematic narratives of African cities engage with the question of citizenship through acts of citizenship and resistances to such acts. The key question underpinning this thesis is: What does it mean to be an urban citizen in Africa today? Although this question may have been deemed irrelevant in many African cities not so long ago, it is indispensable in conversations about contemporary urban Africa today. This derives from ongoing quest to revise urban studies and urban theory in the 21st century and with this revision, to also find new approaches to discussing urban citizenship beyond the insider-outsider polemics suggested by Isin (2008, p. 24) who frames

urban citizenship through "assemblage of acts, actions and actors in a historically and geographically concrete situation". One notices in this logic the tendency to tie citizenship to geo-political territories, a perception which is unseated by a number of other scholars.

Foremost is Beauregard and Bounds (2000, p. 243 who argues that urban citizenship arises from the need to understand the connection "between the users of cities and the public realm of cities". To be an urban citizen is to acquire usage of the city and be part of its public character irrespective of whether the everyday street life of urban inhabitants fervently conflicts with various social, political and economic institutions. In my analysis of filmic texts and discussions of urban citizenship, I seek to explain this connection based on Isin and Nielsen's (2008) concept of acts of citizenship. These scholars have argued that "what is important about citizenship is not only that it is a legal status but that it involves practices – social, political, cultural and symbolic" (p. 2). The key thing here is their emphasis on the importance of moving discussions of urban citizenship from formal and substantive notions of citizenship, to the practices of urban citizenship. Acts of citizenship, they continue, ought not be confined to "either status or practice", but must be based on "those acts when, regardless of status and substance, subjects constitute themselves as citizens or, better still, as those to whom the right to have rights is due" (p. 2). Citizenship may not be subject to administrative processes, but to intent and motivation to constitute oneself as a citizenship. Clearly, these scholars are responding to the need to focus on underhand negotiations of urban citizenship which is a priori to the political or geographical practice of citizenship. I therefore see Isin and Nielsen's concept of acts of citizenship as important to overcome the problems encountered by spatial and historical theorists who dwell on a binary understanding of citizenship.

It is arguable, then, that such citizenship responds to the postcolonial problems packaged within a concrete historical frame. This frame could be relocation, as argued in the chapter on Cairo where Masry, a character with dual citizenship, alternatingly adopts either of his Egyptian and American citizenship to test the ways in which he can belong in the city. Because of his multiple and dispersed citizenship identities, he inhabits Cairo as a place of dislocation, a space that is not fully his (Hage, 2001). It could also be based on local events such as is the case of civil war in Monrovia and Luanda; or colonial structures such as apartheid in Johannesburg; or material culture such as is the case of street communities in Nairobi and Kinshasa. It must however be noted that it is not all acts of constituting oneself as a citizen may have to do with the colonial history, one's claim to citizenship and the kind of actions involved in this claim in many African cities today have resulted from postcolonial situations despite their similarity to the colonial condition.

In all the six cities, there is the overarching idea that the urban citizen in Africa is a "multi-voiced body" (Evans, 2008, p. 227), fully immersed in the local and the present and thus expressing the tensions of finding unity not as much between historical discontinuities but more so between postcolonial problems. Urban citizenship in Africa is thus about discontinuities (in this case between political standpoints, characters of different tiers and competing claims to rights). It is also about identifying, despite any existing resistances, the framings of belonging sought through the acts of citizenship, which, within the cinematic form, provides a framework within which the study can engage with character's diegetic actions in relation to urban theories and cinema form. This is the sense in which Isin and Nielsen's ideas function as the springboard to understanding the relationship between street acts and discourse of citizenship within Africa's city cinema. In the next subsection, I will discuss the street in relation to representations of urban citizenship in African cinema.

Urban Form, City Street and Cinema Narratives

In this subsection, I start with a brief discussion of urban form, which is used here to mean the same as city form. Karl Kropf (1996), cited by Oliveira (2016, p. 2) identifies "streets, street blocks, plots and buildings" as the elements of urban form. The term urban form is thus concerned with spatial arrangements which give rise to zones within the city, which can be used to create and foment differences between city dwellers. Urban form, Léfebvre (2010, p. 19) asserts, is based on "simultaneity (of events, perceptions and elements of the whole in 'reality') which socially involves the bringing together and meeting up of everything in its environs and urban society as the privileged site of the meeting of the *oeuvre* and the product." This statement is worth more discussion because simultaneity is central to the way city dwellers lay claim to the different forms of citizenship; moving from one class to another, from one group to another, from one experience to another. If we then see the city as the "the battleground through which groups define their identities, stake their claims, wage their battles and articulate citizenship rights and obligations" (Isin 2002, p.50), then simultaneity becomes the lenses though which differentiation is constructed. In this binary view of cities, we see simultaneity as intrinsic characteristic of the city which is inevitable when individuals encounter the city, its regulations and the other inhabitants. Simultaneity is a sort of side-by side mechanism of existence where one aspect is layered or paired with another or others. It means that to be in the city is thus to be part of one group and not another, which makes it possible for social, political and economic differences to manifest more sharply. This differentiation is embedded in the way city residents make use of the urban tissue.

For Vítor Oliveira (2016), urban tissue is "an organic whole that can be seen according to different levels of resolution… (and) correspond to different elements of urban form (2006, p. 2)." He further asserts that "in each city, these streets, street blocks, plots and buildings are combined in a specific way, originating different types of tissues" (p. 2). Tissues are the

morphological units of the city which accrete from the elements of urban form. When we zoom into an image of the city, what we are seeing; the arrangement and type of buildings, the arrangement of streets, the type of spaces and their common usage, all comprise urban tissues.

From this definition, to speak of urban form is also to speak of the way structures come together to generate meanings (of urban citizenship) and modes of being in those cities such as opulence versus poverty, or even freedom versus oppression. The concept of urban tissues as the elements that come together to frame any given urban space (and thus the resulting urban form) is thus important in discussing filmic narratives of African cities as it enables a close reading of filmic narratives of the city space through the usage of the elements which comprise urban tissues: natural context, the street system, the plot system and the building system (Oliveira, 2016). Specifically, for my discussions here, the street life is the most relevant because it allows the analysis of urban citizenship through characters' street experiences. At this point I clarify the usage of the term street and its applicability in my filmic analysis.

For Oliveira (2016, p. 15) the streets are "the public and democratic space of the city, the place where we all met, with all our differences and where we all interact in social terms". Besides this definition which is based on the everyday socializing, he further adds that "streets are the most stable element of urban form… (and) offers greater resistance to this process of urban transformation, attaining a great temporal stability" (p. 15). Following Oliveira, this study considers the street a rich space for analysing characters' everyday encounter with each other, their state, their conditions of life; generally, their proximity to rights they expect of their citizenship. This view affords two forms of discussions which I find useful in this research.

The first concerns the nature of the street as a frontier where various possibilities and fractures become visible. By either promoting or hindering social interactions (and other forms of human interactions including economic and political), the street allows the city's most intimate narratives, or rather its character, to manifest. This is the sense in which I will be discussing the street as a space capable of exposé and reportage in the first and second parts of this thesis. Detailed examples of the former role will be discussed in the chapters on Cairo and Monrovia, while for the latter, it will be the chapters about Nairobi and Kinshasa.

The second point relevant to my discussions throughout this thesis is that streets indeed offer stable representations of the city and maybe more reliable in understanding the relationships that exist between state and citizens, or citizen classes than any other element of the urban form. Their stability makes them suitable sites of a city's citizenship archives whose history accrues over long periods of changing times and is updated many times over. In my discussions of Luanda and Johannesburg, the argument that the streets are most readily available vantage points for mobilizing memory and a resource for these memories, whether they are altered or amplified, will become clearer.

Read as a symbol of Africa's urbanism, the filmic images of the street ratify "the self-help city as a world apart from the planned city (which) provides exemplary insight into the echoes and footprints of a colonial past at play in post-colonial" city (Opondo, 2008, p. 65). What Opondo is proposing is that we see the streets as the "most visible face of public interaction … (and a) means of communication" (Jukes, 1990, p. xiv) and where a people's sense of citizenship in the city space is inscribed. It has "codes and conventions, a language through which different participants perceives and express themselves" (p. xiv). The street makes it possible to engage with the emerging representations of being in the city. The

repertoire of film narratives that I explore here focusses on street symbolism in African cities as a discursive space that enables critical conversations through exposé, reportage and archiving of popular imaginations of the public, the postcolonial condition of urban survival and finally, the interplay between national discourse and private experiences. With the well-worn out argument that self-narration in postcolonial Africa is historically external and taking the contemporary African metropolis as the epicentre of such a standpoint, this research argues that images of the city streets bring out covert urban issues. I make this argument for two reasons.

First, the street in contemporary African city is popularly used to practice various modes of survival. For most of the informal communities, the street is the readily available space where they can set up business to make a living, strike acquaintances and grow their communities. It is also where hostility and control are greatest, especially through rival street communities, city governments and competitors. For this reason, the street is a highly coded narrative space in the sense that it enables, within its daily conveyance of humans and objects, various relations and acts of citizenship to be discernible. The street coding dominates Peter Jukes' (1990) discussions of back alleys as places of memory, the street as a museum, a market, forum and thoroughfare. Jukes defines the street as a "central metropolitan thoroughfare, an arena where strangers encounter one another, come face to face with the size and heterogeneity of urban life" (p. xiv). According to this thinking, the street is a frontier that influences our understanding of cities by mobilizing encounters into illustrative symbols, by availing itself to opposed hierarchies and thus making it possible to decipher the constitution of urban citizenship through such experiences. A discussion of images of the streets in African films is specifically a conversation of the various material and non-material symbols incorporated in the city and which are in conversation with contemporary theory of urban citizenship in Africa.

Second, consequent to the above possibility, filmic images of the street may help us understand "how new territorial forms are constructed politically and reproduced through everyday acts and struggles around consumption and social reproduction" (Jonas and Ward, 2007, p. 170), meaning that characters' interaction with space cannot be isolated from the process of their meaning-making about their citizenship. How much you can do in the streets, who determines what you can do or not do, how such rules are enforced, the opportunistic incidences on the streets, all these issues are in actual sense parameters by which urban citizenship is construed. Consequently, by applying close reading to the street images, I aim to achieve a closer engagement with various symbols of urban citizenship without losing track of such surrounding historical, sociological, political, or even anthropological contexts. These two roles of the street will be the basis for the three objectives that guide this research.

Objectives of this study

This study has three main objectives, which are aligned to the three broad areas of discussion identified within the structure of the thesis: exposé, reportage and archiving. The first objective discusses how film narratives are coded as exposé of the uneasy morphism between the city and its tiers of peripheral suburbia. Here, I look at the way film narratives sensitize the viewer about citizenship categories based on the spatial mappings of inside-outside, center-periphery categorizations and which then becomes manifest in the general representation of difference through the way characters interact with each other in the streets. My discussions specifically focus on representations of socio-economic and political hierarchies and the modes of inhabiting the city in the context of its tug-of-war modernity. Such contentions, I will argue, are exposee of underlying tensions and meanings of citizenship in the cities of Cairo and Monrovia.

The second objective is to generate insights about relationships between spaces, people and strategies of assemblage and hypervisibility as tactics of reportage of the African city space. What dialogues are enticed in, for instance, films about Nairobi city and Kinshasa where garbage and junk (and the communities to which it is indexical) form the bulk of visual street landscape? What important conversations are promoted and enabled, what issues are teased out within such visual symbolism? These questions anticipate the concept of hypervisibility in the city streets. Further, I will also argue that the capacity of junk to exist and achieve new form through assemblage may also be applied to describe the establishment and sustenance of edge communities in these cities.

The third objective is to examine the street narrative as an archive of urban citizenship discourses addressed within the film's diegesis. Treading on the well-discussed historical and political significations within the city, I engage with the filmic use of streets and cityscape to juxtapose the past with the present. One may ask, what is the necessity of talking about the narratives of the present in relation to the past-present continuum which they often entail? For the cities of Luanda and Johannesburg which are the focus of my discussions here, this connection has proved to be ubiquitous. Not only that, but the continuum between these epochs instigates new variations of coding the clearly problematic transition between the two epochs thereby creating counter-archives. These films, I argue, manipulate the city imagery to make serious commentaries of these archived memories with a view of their implications in the present. This is important because it resonates with the contemporary theorization of urban citizenship while building on established traditions discussed in subsequent sub-sections. In the next subsection I provide a rationale for pursuing these objectives and for doing this study.

Rationale of the Study

In this subsection, I provide the rationale for this study. From the discussions of objectives in the previous subsection, I have suggested that the African city is on the frontline of contemporary social, political and economic facets of the continent. Yet, the current problem, as Brinda Bose (2008, p. 38) would put it, is that "despite the significance of 'the city' … there is an odd frugality of serious writing on city life …both scholarly and in public discourse". These words alert us to the need for more effort to research about African cities whose complex ecosystem offer intriguing insights not only about the African situation, but the global dynamisms under which it manifests. Edgar Pieterse (2011, p. 6) makes a similar call, citing the "absence of a more complex and expansive body of thought on the specificities of African urbanism (especially the) insufficient regard for the natural systems and material structures that enable and press down on diverse social formations and identities" within African cities. The terms 'natural systems' and 'material structures' elucidate essential concepts of how the materiality of the city space potentially calcifies citizenship through engagement with the local quotidian experiences and not the global epistemological binary as the very means through which authentic understanding of African cities may arise. This research attempts to study the way various directors use film language to engage with important concepts of space, politics and power as essential framings of urban citizenship in Africa. To this end, the research is justifiable in two ways.

First, is the necessity to engage with contemporary epistemologies on representations of the city in cinema as an emerging research area which promotes multidisciplinary urban knowledge. As recently noted, the city "cannot be encompassed by any single discourse, but constantly eludes the grasp of analysis" (West-Pavlov, 2014, p. 13). This proposition calls for a multi-perspectival approach to understanding the African city as well as a flexible method. Various studies about cities have typically focused on interactions between diverse elements.

Amin and Thrift (2002) envisions the city as a labyrinth of people, various structural forms and residues of multifarious experiences, a place of diverse perceptions. The point raised by these scholars concerns circulation of the urbanites "in (the) complex interchange between (their) senses and the collective processes - social, cultural and linguistic - in which every self participates (Richards, 2007, p. 53)". Yet, in the case of African cities, affect is just one of the issues that may explicate the complexities of urban citizenship. Other more urgent issues have to do with innovation within the city, which is the tool by which urban inhabitants exist within the city (Mbembe, 2014). For this reason, my discussion of urban citizenship is built on the conceptualization of the innovative ways in which these exchanges and linkages are manifest. Consequently, the study is not ancillary to the continent's current urban citizenship theorization but is a source of essential knowledge that emerge from the continent's conversations (in the form of film narratives) with its modernity (in the form of postmillennial urban citizenship). I suggest that postmillennial African urban films use formal elements to code historical, social, political and economic narratives and subsequently intercept recognizable sociological discourses on urban citizenship in Africa.

The second point which justifies this study concerns the relevance of African cinema in understanding Africa's urban studies. Proposing to study film as a source of useful knowledge about African cities is based on Barthes (1997, p. 168) indication that the city is a "discourse and this discourse is truly a language: the city speaks to its inhabitants, we speak our city, the city where we are, simply by living in it, by wandering through it, by looking at it". I agree with Barthes' ideas here, which essentially builds on Michel de Certeau's (1984, p. 91) idea of walking in the city, in the sense that I view the interactions between characters and the city space as constitutive of an essential language of citizenship in African cities. Studying representations of socio-economic structures within the African metropolis and paradigms emanating from the films' framing of the city will generate knowledge that can complement awareness of Africa's postmillennial consciousness while staying on the forefront of

multidisciplinary conceptualizations of urban citizenship. The study is driven by the realization that city cinema, a medium of Africa's post-colonial narratives, speaks of and from within the reality of the continent's view of itself and thus provides a vital perspective on prevailing imaginations of Africa's modernity from a standpoint of its cities, which are also the continent's political centres.

Films fill this gap in that they open new avenues to interrogate and revise what Mbembe and Nuttall (2004) call "social velocity, the power of the unforeseen and of the unfolding" (p. 349), that is, the world of the covert and the transient. The concept of social velocity could logically be extended to incorporate patterns of modernization as a paradigm of social structures within the city so that Africa's cinema narratives are pregnant sites of covert imaginations of the continent's modernity and citizenship in the context of change. Moreover, there is a distinct connection between a film's text and the urban consciousness from which it arises and to which it directs its narration. The African city is an archive of various trajectories of citizenship that are possible within the nation itself. Reading the city within Africa's cinema can "defamiliarize commonsense readings of Africa" (Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004, p 352) by providing multi-sensory concepts of what the city is in the context of its own existence. This is something we do not see normally, as the journey across the city would not open its repository of clues to the casual resident applying classical thinking to the city.

Methodology

As the title of this study suggests, this study is about African cinema and urban citizenship. In this subsection, I will show the methodology used in the analysis of the films. The subsection starts by explaining the criteria for inclusion of the films one, how I have chosen the period covered by the films and two, to clarify the usage of the term (and criterion for) African

cinema in this research. Hopefully, too, such a clarification will make subsequent discussions that I make in the chapters more accessible.

Film Selection

I start with the first issue dealing with the question of selecting films. Here the consideration was regional balance. I chose films representing different cities, from the different regions of the continent: North, West, East, Central and Southern Africa. Khalid Marie's *Bitter Sweet* (*Assal Eswed)* (2010) and Ahmed el Ghoneimy's *The Cave* (2013) for Cairo; Jean-Stephane Sauvaire's *Johnny Mad Dog* (2008), Cary Joji Fukunaga's *Beasts of No Nation* (2015) and Andrew Niccol's *Lord of War* (2005) for Monrovia; Tosh Gitonga's *Nairobi Half Life* (2012), Muchiri Njenga's *Kichwateli* (2012), Nathan Collett's *Kibera Kid* (2006) and Diego Quemada-Diez's *I Want to be a Pilot* (2006) for the city of Nairobi; Djo Tunda Wamunga's *Viva! Riva* (2010) for Kinshasa; José Augusto Octávio Gamboa dos Passos' (Zézé Gamboa's) *O Herói – The Hero* (2004) for the city of Luanda; and Clint Eastwood's *Invictus* (2009) and Gray Hofmeyr's *Mad Buddies* (2012) for the city of Johannesburg. This regional diversity made it possible to generate knowledge of pertinent issues in Africa's postmillennial city cinema and afforded a broader understanding of contemporary thoughts about cities. Analysis of such data also provided a sound basis to discuss how the films ratify, advance, or otherwise alter Africa's narratives of urban citizenship.

As can be seen from the above selection and this is the second consideration for selecting the films, the study focuses on films that make African cities their main setting and narrative subject. The period of these films is postmillennial Africa starting from the year 2000 onwards. The rationale for this choice, which also explains the approach I adopt for the analysis, is two-fold. First, that Africa's postmillennial films give voice to the continent's contemporary crisis of urban citizenship. Second, given the continent's history, post-2000

marks an important milestone in understanding Africa's conflicts, politics and the people in the context of these conflicts.

For Africa, 2000 marked a period when every country had attained independence and thus a moment when the continent's issues could be discussed without pointing figures to the west. However, it also marked increased conflicts about participatory democracy, that is the politicization of rights by sentimentalizing freedom struggle icons at the expense of good governance practices (Nantulya, 2017). In Cairo, tensions arising from such practices led to the 2011 uprising which overthrew the government; in Monrovia anti-Taylor protests swept the country throughout 2000, culminating in his resignation on August 2003; in Nairobi the 2007 – 2008 post-election violence exposed the disquiet among citizens affiliated to different ethnic and political groupings; in Kinshasa, President Laurent Kabila was assassinated in January 2001, not long after he overthrew the country's dictator, Mobutu Sese Seko; in Luanda, 2002 marked the end of civil war and according to CMI Field Notes (2016), led to rapid development, but this gave way to great economic crsis after 2014; and in post-2000 Johannesburg, the ctiy was rebranding, with the symbolic Mandela bridge built in 2003 and the country hosting world cup in 2010. All these events, framed in some cases as political incidences and in others as historical events, attest to inherent views of citizenship in many African cities after the millennium. There is thus a need to discuss citizenship in this unfolding era for Africa's modernization.

African (Third) Cinema

The other issue concerns the classification of the selected films as African cinema and hence their appropriateness in this study. For this specific research, the rationale for the films selected for the study is primarily that they should base their narrative on an African city and in many instances, are directed by an African director. But as the films listed above attest, this

criterion has been severally overruled. The decision to include some seemingly western films as part of my analysis such as Clint Eastwood's *Invictus* (2009) in the chapter about Johannesburg; and Andrew Niccol's *Lord of War* (2005), Jean-Stéphane Sauvaire's *Johnny Mad Dog* (2008) and Cary Fukunaga's *Beasts of No Nation* (2015) in the chapter about Monrovia, thus need to be justified. What makes an African film and what does not fit to be an African film? It is debatable what an African film is and from what reference point is an admissible selection to be made. I should probably note that I use the term African Cinema as part of what has been termed as Third Cinema. The study acknowledges that it is not a straightforward exercise to discuss African city cinema without invoking the rather inconclusive debates about what are First, Second, or Third cinema, which I discuss next.

Originally, the term Third cinema was popularized by Solanas and Getino (1970-71, p. 2), who defined it as "the cinema that *recognizes in that struggle the most gigantic cultural , scientific and artistic manifestation of our time* , the great possibility of constructing a liberated personality with each people as the starting point -- in a word, the *decolonization of culture* ." In this definition, Third cinema is that which is concerned with the discourse of liberation, so that the idea of liberation and not just anti-imperialism, is prominent. By liberation I mean that decolonization did not end with the official end of colonization, but in many cases cintinued in the form of neocolonialism. Freedom in this case has to do with how postcolonial citizens continue to search for liberation from their own rulers. I contrast this with anti-imperilaism which I take to mean the fight against colonial imposition. Third cinema therefore concerns itself also with postcolonial times, addressing itself to the postcolonial constructions of liberation. Form these arguments then, one may associate Third cinema with political struggles, whether these were the anti-colonial or the postcolonial struggles.

I would also like to draw attention to a possible expansion of this definition by later scholars who are linking Third cinema, formally, with First and Second cinemas. According to Mike Wayne (2001, p. 10), Third Cinema

> does not seek, at the level of form and cinematic language, to reinvent cinema from scratch (it is too interested in history for that); nor does it adopt a position of pure opposition on the question of form (it is too interested in communication for that); instead, its relation to First and Second Cinema is dialectical: i.e. it seeks to *transform* rather than simply reject these cinemas; it seeks to bring out their stifled potentialities, those aspects of the social world they repress or only obliquely acknowledge; Third Cinema seeks to detach what is positive, life-affirming and critical from Cinemas One and Two and give them a more expanded, socially connected articulation.

What Wayne is suggesting is that we should not see Third Cinema as opposed to First and Second cinemas. Specifically, at the level of aesthetics (by which I mean the use of formal elements to achieve space, time and motion), these cinemas are all the same. What will differ is however what he calls the dialectic, which is to be found in the four key markers differentiating Third Cinema from the First and the Second Cinemas: "historicity, politicisation, critical commitment and cultural specificity" (p. 14). On history, Wayne further argues that "Third Cinema seeks to develop the means for grasping history as process, change, contradiction and conflict: …the dialectics of history…why we are, where we are and who we are" (p. 14). On politicization, he asserts that for Third Cinema "the key areas of concern …is the process whereby people who have been oppressed and exploited become conscious of that condition and determine to do something about it" (p. 16). On critical commitment, Wayne further argues that Third Cinema shows "'commitment' on the part of the film" (p. 17) in the form of "spectator positioning" (p. 18) to draw sympathy towards the

cause of the characters. This simply means that especially in the use of cinematography, the viewer attains the same point of view as the oppressed characters. Finally, on cultural specificity, Wane argues that Third Cinema shows "intimacy and familiarity with culture – both in the specific sense of cultural production (for example, song, dance, theatre, rituals, cinema, literature) and in the broader sense of the word (the nuances of everyday living… a site of political struggle" (p. 22). The mise-en-scène used, the cinematography, the choice of settings, the actions of the characters, all these may reveal whether the film identifies with the source culture and tow hat extend it does so.

Another interesting reading about Third cinema comes from Teshome Gabriel (nd) who has argued that the

> early, revolutionary period of Third Cinema deserves to be remembered and eulogized. Its spontaneity, ground-breaking formal innovations, political commitment and the visceral impact of these films serve as an archival memory that filmmakers of today continue to draw upon. Yet, while these roots remain important, Third Cinema can no longer be defined solely in terms of its radical beginnings, its ancestry. While we should honor and draw strength from these cinematic inheritance as we do our own flesh-and-blood ancestors, we cannot live in the past. Third Cinema was always a cinema of change; to define it simply in terms of its original ideas is to reduce it to the status of a static historical phenomenon: something past or dead. Third Cinema, however, continues to live on and like all living things, it cannot stay the same.

Gabriel here is advocating for revision of the idea of Third cinema from its static, struggle cinema, so that it can at least reflect the realities of the Third World as it is today. For this

reason, one is compelled to argue that a newer definition of Third cinema may be possible and necessary. In fact, Gabriel makes it clear that these early distinctions are obsolete as is the original definition of Third World:

> With… the collapse and implosion of the Soviet empire, we have been left with an idea of the "Third World" that no longer stands in contrast with a First and Second Worlds. Similarly, at a cinematic and cultural level, the rise of globalization has effaced many of the traditional distinctions between entertainment and art that Third Cinema sought to bring into question. The opposition between First and Second Worlds has given way to a universe in which the forms of capitalist globalization seem to hold sway everywhere. This global universe presents itself as an all-inclusive world, able to encompass all manner of cultural and political diversity.

It is for this reason that I see Third cinema being similar to the other cinemas with which it has gradually been catching up. I will not expand this debate further, as it requires a whole research of its own, but I will use the arguments raised so far to explore a broader and more flexible view of what really is Third cinema today beyond the auteur and formalist aesthetics criticism generally used to render it inexplicable.

Second, the study understands that to discuss filmic representations of the African city invites peculiar criticism which many other cross-disciplinary studies are prone: how to establish a logical exchange between cinematic form (as an art form) and urban citizenship (a social phenomenon). For this reason, it is prudent to state here that the findings of this research are merely critical engagements with filmic narratives of African cities as rendered through cinema. They are neither articulations of facts nor statements of reality but an attempt to show how the two discourses, filmic and sociological, are essentially in conversation with one another within the film image. I situate my arguments on the filmic representation of the street

guided by two questions. What dialogues about cities and citizenship do African cinema's use of formal elements enable? How do such dialogues resonate with other knowledge schemes on Africa's urbanism?

Edgar Pieterse (2011, p. 5), states that a more specialized, "much more differentiated and complex theoretical approach to contemporary African urbanism is required." Subsequently, the choice of a methodology that satisfies this stated focus is based on the recognition that film texts are complex and packed with multiple symbols. Unlike literary texts, the inclusion of visual and audio elements which can be manipulated through a variety of cinematographic and other creative skills means that a film ends up with layered sources of meanings about the city. Resina and Ingenschay (2003, p. xii) notes that an "urban image…insofar as it is always the result of a social process, must be analysed in terms of the dialectic between form and process" and further that such an image "reveals its full sense only as the (provisional) end product of the ongoing dispute regarding the definition of (social) meaning". By tying the image to its social context and dialectic between form and process, Resina and Ingenschay suggest the indispensable need to keenly interpret the filmic image through its constitutive elements as being situated within and in a conversation with social reality. To streamline my discussion to the objectives of this thesis, I restrict my arguments to one point of inquiry: the street in relation to urban citizenship. What framings of Africa's urban citizenship does the street enable, as opposed to other dominant spaces such as the slums (the subject of Davis (2006), Dawson (2004) and De Boeck (2015), for instance)?

To make the discussions even more specific, the study uses close reading as the method of filmic analysis. As Fillmore and Fillmore (2012) argues, the close reading of a text involves the analysis of minute elements, or segments of visual devices, which comprise the whole text. In this method, one needs to link the segments to contexts (Fisher and Fray (2012),

Harad (2010) and Paul and Elder (2003) to arrive at an understanding of the relationship between chunks of the visual text and their functions within the overall film itself. In this study, because the connections sought between urban citizenship theory and film form are representational rather than actual, the analysis will be conceptual rather than thematic.

This approach helps to understand the narrative concepts they adumbrate and how these functions to clarify the subtle nexus between cinema form and urban citizenship. Examples of such nexus are to be seen, during my discussions throughout the thesis, in the way cinema exploits mise-en-scène and composition to generate concepts which in turn render the images as signifiers that can make sense to the viewer. Further, framing is also an important approach to decoding what specific images are doing within a given montage, setting, or narrative. Frojmovic (2007, p. 12) states that the decision of "framing-in or framing-out of marginal spaces of the image are the processes that generate and change our interpretive focus and which change the historical context one might mobilize for an interpretation… (so that) artists may be using framing devices to control the making of meaning by the viewer". This is basically what this study is trying to achieve: to decode and locate film images within the historical, contextual and social, political and economic frames from which they arise. This then calls for a cinema theory which accommodates both. The method of closed reading benefits from such approach in the sense that the film images are considered snapshots of how film language works to enunciate the concepts of urban citizenship. Hermeneutics makes it possible to achieve a closer view of the symbolism arising from within cities without losing track of historical, sociological, political, or even anthropological realities informing the production of the images.

Thesis Summary

This thesis has three sections broadly corresponding to the streets' role in exposé, reportage and archival of citizenship experiences. Every section has two chapters, each dealing with films from an African city. The cities are grouped according to their shared representations of urban citizenship tendencies. PART 1 is titled STREETS AND EXPOSÉ (Cairo and Monrovia in Cinema). In this part, I shall analyse images of the street in the cities of Cairo and Monrovia as symbolic representations of aspirations and difficulties of practicing citizenship. The concept of exposé enables a discussion of citizenship excluded in an impregnable power and to articulate what specific circumstances may mean in the context of the narratives. Here I discuss Cairo and Monrovia.

In CHAPTER TWO which is titled TUG-OF-WAR? STREETS AND SQUATTER CITIZENSHIP IN CAIRO CINEMA, I shall closely read the use of cinematography of the city of Cairo in *Bitter Sweet* and *The Cave* in the context of the recent Arab Spring in the country. It is notable that the street has been used to stage citizenship issues in North Africa's (including Cairo) recent history. The most recognizable incident is Mohammed Bouazizi's act of self-immolation in front of government buildings in the Tunisian city of Sidi Bouzid on December 17, 2010, which is seen as the turning point of public uprisings in North Africa. As a fruit vendor, Bouazizi's act was inspired by diminishing democratic space, an increase in citizens' oppression by the state and its institutions and general condition of difficult citizenship. In effect, by using the city street to protest his denied rights of citizenship, he inspired a series of uprisings which confronted and overthrew political regimes in the Arab countries of Tunisia, Libya and Egypt. This has since been termed as the Arab Spring (also Arab Awakening). These acts of occupying the cities' public spaces, specifically the streets, quickly became a template for national consciousness actuated through the reorganization of hitherto dictatorial political regimes into citizen-oriented systems. As Amin, et al., (2012, p. 1) indicates, the uprising was about fixing "failing public services - what might be called a

growing governance deficit" in the sense of demanding better experiences of citizenship. The protest was "over dignity, fairness and exclusion" (p. 2), the underlying conditions which made it impossible to have decent life.

On this basis, what appears as an ordinary street activity or action is indeed a well-coded attempt to narrativize Cairo's citizenship difficulties. In the films I will be analysing, I will demonstrate that characters' deep-seated disquiets functions as exposé of Egypt's contemporary urban citizenship experiences precipitated by the film's protagonist who has dual citizenship. Further, I explain how the film uses passport as a portable frontier which demonstrate the protagonist's negotiation for belonging within the urban society and the government of the city. To characterize the protagonist as an individual who must "make do in utterly miserable living conditions caused in part by state neglect, skewed economic development patterns, limited resources and administrative incompetence (Pieterse, 2011, p. 5)" illustrates the way the film is invested in the postcolonial discourse of the Western modernity and Africa as a dark continent in need of civilization. In the other film, *The Cave*, I will show that the protagonist's (Adham) life in the streets of Cairo reveal the difficulties of inhabiting the post-revolution Cairo. I argue that showing him experiencing destitution and unscrupulous survival in the streets is the films' way of explicating the complexity of citizenship in Cairo post the revolution.

In the THIRD CHAPTER, titled STREETS, CHASMS and RARRAY CITIZENSHIP IN MONROVIA CINEMA, I discuss filmic representations of Liberia's capital, Monrovia in Jean-Stephane Sauvaire's *Johnny Mad Dog* (2008) andrew Niccol's *Lord of War* (2005) and Cary Joji Fukunaga's *Beasts of No Nation* (2015). The chapter demonstrates the way Monrovia streets these films are visualized as an archive of post-war citizenship exclusion. These films show disenfranchised characters whom I refer by the phrase rarray boys, a jargon

drawn from the city's post-war term for former rebel fighters. The term also connotes the city's history of war documented by various scholars (see Bøås & Utas (2014) and Foster, et al., (2009). Since Master Samuel Kanyon Doe of People's Redemption Council (PRC) led the assassination of Americo-Liberian President, William Tolbert of True Whig Party (TWP) in 1980, Monrovia became a center of many violent wars. While Doe's overthrow of Tolbert marked the end of Americo-Liberians' rule, it quickly gave way to bloody tribal and ethnic violence fueled by political rivalry between Samuel Doe supported by his Krahn and Mandingo and Thomas Quiwonkpa backed by Gio and Mano ethnic groups. After Quiwonkpa's assassination, warlord Charles Taylor continued the rivalry, finding ready support from Gio and Mano ethnic tribes of Nimba County from where he organized his uprising against Doe government. Subsequent political feuds, siege and bloody civil conflicts led to Dakhpannah Charles McArthur Ghankay Taylor's incursion into Monrovia in December 1989, the subsequent capture and assassination of President Samuel Doe by Prince Johnson's dissenting combatants on 9 September 1990 and finally, Taylor's election to the presidency in July 1997.

Soon afterward, political discontent triggered Liberia's second civil war that ended with Taylor's resignation in 2003 (Foster, et al., 2009, p. 183-184). Monrovia's contemporary history that began under Ellen Johnson Sirleaf's presidency in 16th January 2006 is divided whether the warring sides were completely united, or if other forms of disunities exist in the post-war city. It is this convergence of Monrovia's violent political history which is addressed by this chapter, where I posit that the images of the broken bridge and of streets littered with bullets create a motif of violence as a key characteristic of the city. Consequently, the public life of the fighters embodies the political, ethnic and socio-economic chasms in the city and expendable capital of the war. Considering the overemphasis of other west African cities of Lagos and Dakar in contemporary urban research, I find it useful to discuss Monrovia

especially because of its unique history of citizenship problems despite having no colonial heritage (Liberia was never colonized). It is my argument that cinematic characters stripped of citizenship benefits at the end of the diegetic war in Monrovia serve as an exposé of shared memory of citizenship problems in the city.

PART 2 of this thesis is titled STREET AND REPORTAGE (Nairobi and Kinshasa in Cinema). This part covers Nairobi as representative of East Africa and Kinshasa as representative of Central Africa. From the films selected form these cities, I will discuss the images of the streets as some form of reportage of circumstances of marginal characters within these cities. In this section, therefore, I will show that films about Nairobi and Kinshasa use images of garbage to generate metaphors of precarious, redundant, survival within the city space and thus draw attention to the uneasy relationship between the city and its suburbia. Garbage here denotes "stigmatization of urban youth, unemployed and informally employed" and to show these street communities as "nuisance or even more as a socioeconomic and sociocultural menace bent on undermining … the hegemony of the state and its "expectations of modernity" (Gulema, 2013, p. 185). Garbage in this sense characterizes citizenship from whom benefits are withdrawn.

The other argument that I make is that these films use images of street junk as an analogy for the arbitrary and opportune way in which urban communities assemble to mitigate these existential threats. Here, I suggest that street space where marginal urban communities come together is the material that the film uses to comment about the social and the economic marginality of citizenship in the city. I also show that the visibility of these communities within the streets causes a conflict about the city's hierarchical groupings. Street control is the process through which power is exercised and challenged. This argument considers the street as frontier between the various urban groups clashing over "rights of entitlement, residence,

work and leisure" (Gulema, 2013, p. 185), essentially a conflict about who gets access to which social and economic opportunities, where one can make a living and the conditions of life in such a street space as shown in films about Nairobi and Kinshasa.

The title of CHAPTER 4 is BRICOLAGE CITY: HYPERVISIBILITY AND ASSEMBLAGE OF STREET COMMUNITIES IN NAIROBI CINEMA. In this chapter I discuss Tosh Gitonga's *Nairobi Half Life* (2012) and Muchiri Njenga's *Kichwateli* (2012), Diego Quemada-Diez's *I Want to be a Pilot* (2006) and Nathan Collett's *Kibera Kid* (2006), all popular films about Nairobi city. The first is a full-length feature film and the other three are short films. These films use poor characters as protagonists and thus, through the character arcs, give prominence to the image of the poor edge communities within the city. In all these films, I will discuss the motif of garbage assemblage as a manoeuvre which street communities use to survive in very unfavourable conditions. I argue that using junkyard to convey the revulsion associated with garbage enables a conversation of Nairobi's street communities as concrete metaphors of citizenship experiences in the city. The mise-en-scène and cinematography techniques that enable a reading of the city as a "gigantic assemblage of junk continually being re-made and re-inscribed" (Whiteley, 2011, p.3) also enables a discussion of hypervisibility and bricolage as the means through which citizenship is made. Here I maintain that bricolage, in the form of coming together, is a strategy to infiltrate the city's fortified systems of economic and social power. Bricolage is also applied here to persuade the viewer to notice Nairobi's renaissance through such a reinvention of material which recirculates from the city's backstreets to its modern facade. At the same time, I shall discuss the idea of garbage bricolage as a strategy for achieving hypervisibility for the city's poor communities. By re-inserting the image of the slum at the forefront of Nairobi's film narratives and thus disrupting conventional modernist narratives of Nairobi city, these films are essentially about underlying citizenship discourses recognizable in such points of

connection as the streets. In this sense, hypervisibility of the trashed characters confers the narratives with what I see as a form of reportage.

CHAPTER 5 is titled THE CAPITAL CITÉ: STREET AND PARIAH CITIZENSHIP IN KINSHASA CINEMA. In this chapter I will analyse filmic representations of Kinshasa, the capital of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), in Djo Tunda Wa Munga's film, *Viva! Riva* (2010). The chapter critiques the imagery of Kinshasa's street communities as reportage of economic and social problems thriving in the city and of the struggles of citizens making a living outside formal government infrastructure. The idea of the protagonist as a trashed character which I pursue here is based on his alienation from his family and from the city's formal economy, therefore exemplifying precarious citizenship within the city. The chapter makes two assertions: first, that metaphors of a stalled nation and the economic hierarchies that ensue from the master – servant motif within the film conveys what I am calling pariah citizenship within the city; and two, that degenerative tendencies that arise among citizens in building their resilience within this atmosphere of alienation, hierarchical socio-economic structures and unfavourable subsistence conditions, coded in the imagery of garbage, illustrates extremely difficult citizenship experiences, which I discuss using popular phrases such as *tokokufa*, *nzombo le soir* and *Khadaffi*. I assert that these depictions provide the vocabulary to discuss citizenship in relation to Kinshasa's contemporary challenges.

The final section of the thesis is PART 3: STREETS AND ARCHIVE (Luanda and Johannesburg in Cinema). In this section, I shall discuss the way films about Luanda and Johannesburg use streets as repositories of national remembrance. I will show how street images are calibrated by national consciousness and shared history of citizenship inequality, what I cm calling archival. In my analysis, I suggest that the city streets are highly implicated in national discourses of which social, economic and political micro-management are constant

oversight policies which confer power upon the elites while shrinking the influence of fringe citizens.

CHAPTER 6, whose title is CITY FORM AND CITIZENSHIP: STREET AND URBAN NOSTALGIA IN LUANDA CINEMA, is a critique of post-war filmic representations of Luanda, the capital of Angola. In this chapter, I analyse Zézé Gamboa's *O Herói* (2004) and make two arguments. First, that *O Herói* uses the protagonist's struggles while transitioning from military to civilian life as an archive of the detached rapport between the citizen and the state. I am using the term nostalgia to refer to this type of disconnect whereby the character's life in the city is built around his longing for better life prospects, yet he is faced with the reality of lack. Luanda's streets, where he lives, help to highlight his squalor and alienation and enable an exploration of post-war citizenship in relation to the socio-spatial divisions of the city exemplified by the protagonist's life. Second, I suggest that the protagonist's realism of poverty shows the streets as spaces that have supplanted the musseques to become the new archives of the city's citizenship inequalities. My main argument here is that citizenship marginalization is no longer expressed through the dilapidated musseque infrastructures, but through everyday street life which is shown as a more authentic image of the post-war Luanda.

CHAPTER 7, titled AFTER THE STORM? STREET AS APARTHEID REGISTERS IN JOHANNESBURG CINEMA focuses on cinematic representations of Johannesburg, the biggest city and the economic hub of the Republic of South Africa. For Johannesburg, apartheid remains important in understanding the city's unique experiences of urban citizenship. Established and built as a mining centre for the whites and a labour hub for the blacks, the city is mostly remembered for its symbolism of stringent racial segregation. Even in the new 'greyed' South Africa, post-apartheid Johannesburg still suffers from, among other

historical leftovers, the legacy of segregation (Kruger, 2013). The city's boundaries between rich white neighbourhoods, poor black townships and middle-class mixed-race suburbs have sustained their historical symbolism of the nation's unfinished business of race cohesion, potentially creating sites which have, elsewhere, perpetuated continual peripheralization (Fischer-Tahir and Naumann, 2013). With awareness of this history, this chapter analyses Clint Eastwood's *Invictus* (2009) and Gray Hofmeyr's *Mad Buddies* (2012) as filmic narratives of South Africa's unfinished racial cohesion. The films have positive narrative endings and thus seem to bait, yet fail, to conclusively express racial unity in contemporary South Africa. Indeed, both films use the street as a cinematographic landscape to sketch apprehensions of control, deregulation of space and ideology of apartheid being normalized as part of post-independence urban citizenship.

To speak of these films as apartheid registers is to suggest they function as authentic repositories of the specific history of apartheid which they narrate. They are thus archives of the ideology of race separation and subsequent efforts to overcome it. In *Invictus*, this transition is symbolized by images of vacant streets which are gradually populated by both races climaxing with a sequence of mixed races mingling and celebrating after Springboks' victory against New Zealand. One recognizes in this visual style the deployment of characters as archival material of race inequality and streets as the space where the symbolism of their actions is archived. I therefore surmise that this representation is a racial register of a flopped vision of integrated citizenship in Johannesburg, before and after apartheid.

In *Mad Buddies*, Hofmeyr uses dual protagonists, a black (Beast) and a white (Boetie) character, to generate a sense of equal representation of racial coexistence. These characters even get assigned the same task, which is, to walk from Kwa Zulu Natal to Gauteng. However, their journey soon becomes a discovery of their incompatibility and hence that of

the races which they symbolize. Based on the images of the road, the character actions and the use of cinematography to inference the specific issue of racial aversion, I argue that the choice of comedy genre to test racial cohesion also yields a binary coexistence as the symbol of post-independence citizenship in Johannesburg.

The last chapter in this thesis is CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION, which gives a brief overview of the arguments made in the thesis. It breaks down the discussions according to the various chapters and summarizes the various arguments made in the thesis. The main assertion that I make is that the film from the six cities studied here have put the issue of urban citizenship at the centre of their narrative. There is clear representation within these films of the difficulties of urban citizenship in African cities, which are expressed in these films.

PART 1: STREETS AND EXPOSÉ

(Cairo and Monrovia in Cinema)

Introduction

The term exposé is used here to infer the symbolic representation of a truth or reality, a form of disclosure about something subverted. Exposé suggests an attempt to uncover underlying relationships, events and circumstances. In the case of film, the uncovering is achieved through verisimilitude of city street images and narrative story-line with clear relation to known historical realities. Exposé is concerned with how the film's formal elements 'show' underlying citizenship issues; in the case of Cairo, the despair of citizens masked as political subservience, and in Monrovia, the disregard for citizens masked as unresolved political hegemony. The images of the streets and the actions within these spaces construct a syntagmatic relationship between the film language and the narrative it is telling, which can be interpreted within the context of the specific history created within the film's diegesis and its relationship to the history of the city it speaks about. Exposé is best understood as the attempt to decipher urban citizenship through interpretations of sub-discourses that crosscut the various institutions operating within the city, whether these be commercial, regulatory, or social and especially, with a historical view of the realities to which the images are referent. Exposé thus requires, of necessity, an attempt to "historicize … enquiries beyond industrial practices and pursue diachronic meanings not only to better represent the text's social circulation, but to engage fully with the impact historical context has on meaning (Klinger, 1997, p. 113)." The historicized inquiries here could be relationships between the peripheral sections where the urban poor inhabit, to the centre of the city where commerce, politics and strategic authority and power confer upon the elites a jurisdiction over the entire city.

Exposé is treated here as a tendency to use the film elements to unmask underlying citizenship issues. The idea of unmasking is very important here, as it distinguishes the diegetic story as an aperture of a broader issue of citizenship. The street (experiences) in this case help to reveal those underlying problems. In films about Cairo and Monrovia, the study argues that these film narratives are coded as exposé of the socio-political realism of these cities and thus sensitize the viewer about citizenship formed at the interstice of historical injustice and contemporary struggle for better citizenship experiences. In Cairo, what is being exposed through the characters' everyday life is the disquiet with which citizens engage with their government before the revolutions that overhauled political leadership since 2011. The central argument here concerns the practice of what I am calling squatter citizenship. In Monrovia, the tussle for survival and social stratifications embedded in the spectre of the surplus, post-war fighters who occupied the city as stray citizens reveal power hegemonies that characterize the city's citizenship stratifications. I call these surplus characters rarrays.

CHAPTER 2: TUG-OF-WAR? STREET AND SQUATTER CITIZENSHIP IN CAIRO CINEMA

The most significant event in Cairo which shaped citizenship discourses since the turn of the millennium is the Egyptian Revolution, part of the larger Arab Spring, when agitated Egyptians converged at Cairo's Tahrir Square leading to the ousting of Hosni Mubarak from presidency on January 25, 2011. This came after a series of street protests in which citizens fed up with their oppressive experiences mobilized through social media and converged in Cairo (among other cities), occupying Tahrir square and other public spaces to agitate for their rights. Through sheer congregation of citizens in the streets, the city's (and the country's) views of citizenship were exposed and redefined. Through this movement, two issues of post-millennial urban citizenship in the city were brought to the fore: first, the tug-of war between public aspirations towards better urban life and the limitations imposed on them by the city; and second, their condition as squatters based on their collective experience of marginalization.

Yet, if technologies such as social media and journalism enabled activist mobilization and popularized the protest, it is the street that became the surface on which the various practices of protest-citizenship were staged. The street helped to manifest the act of confronting the government as a way of asserting new ways of citizenship not bound by allegiance to the regime. This audacity is the subject of new cinema narratives, both pre-revolution and post-revolution cinema. This chapter discusses cinematic representations of citizenship in Cairo before and after this revolution based on Khalid Marie's *Bitter Sweet* (2010) and Ahmed el Ghomeiny *The Cave* (2013). The former bases its narrative on pre-revolution time and the latter on post-revolution period. These two films use street images to represent tug-of-war and squatting which I shall discuss throughout this chapter. Basing on these representations, one

could begin to think of cinematic representations of Cairo's streets as exposé of the underlying citizenship difficulties within these periods.

Khalid Marie is an acclaimed Cairo-based filmmaker also referred by the alternate names Marei, Merhi and Mara'y. He directed *Bitter Sweet* not so long before the street protests in Tunisia that broke a political taboo setting the stage for the Egyptian Revolution. Before this film, he had built a name for himself in his earlier films; *Taymour and Shafika* (2007), *Aasef ala el-iz'ag* (2008), and *Bolbol Hayran* (2010). Afterwards, he also directed *Tamantashar Yom* (2011) and *Laaf Wa Dawaraan* (2016). Besides directing and editing numerous films, he has also built a name for himself in various television series. *Bitter Sweet* is selected here because of its outright concern with the idea of urban citizenship in pre-revolution Egypt. Here, he tells the story of Masry Sayed El-Araby (Ahmad Helmy), a 30-year-old male character returning to Cairo from the United States of America where he has lived for twenty years. He has both Egyptian and American citizenship, but on this trip, he has travelled on his Egyptian passport leaving behind his American passport.

Bitter Sweet uses Masry's status as a migrant returnee to highlight the difficulties of citizenship in Cairo. Whereas his citizenship is not outrightly disputed, the possibility that adopting either citizenship identity may confer some benefits upon him clearly indicates an asymetrical thinking about citizenship experiences from a native and a foreigner perspective. The film narrative spans across various government institutions, capturing a repertoire of problems and hurdles: the well-oiled corruption machinery, the lengthy bureaucracy, lack of essential services and lack of choices for the citizens regarding how they are governed. It also comments on a range of issues arising from the interaction between the protagonist and these institutions, especially the protagonist's deep feeling of frustration with the city, which in turn define the meaning of being an Egyptian citizen at that point in time as contrasted with being an American. The film's website describes *Bitter Sweet* "as a poignant reminder of our

current times", thereby enabling a critique of the protagonist's experiences within the context of Cairo's history. Consequently, the film positions itself within revolutionary narrative styles in Egypt where films comment on deep-seated issues of citizenship (Schohat, 1983). In Marie's case, Masry's dual citizenship makes him an ideal microcosm of the tug-of-war kind of life exemplified by the expectation of Western efficiency in the city's domineering bureaucracy. In that way, the film provides comaprison and hence grounds to see the difference as an important marker of citizenship discourses within the city.

Ahmed el Ghoneimy is also an acclaimed filmmaker in Cairo. Before *The Cave* which he made as part of the African Metropolis film project sponsored by Goethe Institute, he had also directed two other short films; *El Shater Amr* (2009) and *Bahari* (2011). He was also an assistant director in *Al Alamayn* (2012). After *The Cave*, he has been an assistant director in the globally acclaimed feature length film, *In den letzten Tagen der Stadt* (In the Last Days of the City) (2016) whose main director is Tamer El Said. *The Cave* (2013) tells the story of Adham (Adham Fazary), a frustrated young musician from Alexandria who comes to Cairo to audition with a music studio, aiming to sign a recording deal. He, however, fails the audition and ends up wandering in the streets of Cairo. Through his tactics of survival; mainly petty theft, conning and living with friends, the film offers insight into a city experienced as a captive space. Furthermore, the choice of the film's narrative experiences of gloom and stagnation embodied by Adham, are coded as an aperture into citizens' lives in the aftermath of the revolution. Goethe Institute (2013), the producer of the film, describes *The Cave* as a "slice-of-life" of "the contrasting landscapes of an ever-evolving Cairo", again positioning it within the contemporary quasi-realist film genre and a return to political-conscious narratives that dominated the 1970s era. In this sense, its gloomy view of the city possibly codes decreasing socio-economic inclusion within the context of a city agitated by citizens' protests.

The similarities in the way *Bitter Sweet* and *The Cave* characterizes their protagonists enables a discussion about recurring symbols of tug-of and squatter citizenship in Cairo before and after the revolution, the two issues addressed in this chapter. Both films portray an optimistic protagonist (Masry wants to live a better life with his family while Adham wants to achieve music stardom) who is quickly disempowered once in Cairo (Masry encounters a hostile system which precludes him from citizenship benefits while Adham must face his deficiencies as the barriers that exclude him from achieving music stardom). In this respect, the films position their protagonists as registers of popular discourses of contemporary life in the city. They can, therefore, be read within the purview of Cairo's post-1970s cinema narratives where the realism of anti-Western and in a sense anti-self, led to a stylistic shift from the melodramatic narrative structure to quasi-verisimilitude. But they also establish crucial linkage between the pre-revolution and the post-revolution Cairo. To address these representations, the current chapter is divided into four subsections. The first defines the usage of squatter and tug-of-war citizenship in Cairo cinema, the second discusses how the films use the streets to build the narrative of tug-of-war citizenship, the third subsection discusses the use of the passport as exposé of the tug-of-war between citizens and the state and the fourth subsection will discuss the use of gloom and illusions as metaphors of persistent squatter status of citizens in the city.

Squatter Citizenship and Tug-of-War

This subsection explains the usage of the phrase squatter citizenship or simply squatter, and tug-of-war in relation to the way *Bitter Sweet* and *The Cave*. I use the term squatter here in the same way it is used by Ashley Dawson (2004, p. 19), who asserts that:

> Despite their formal inclusion in the social order as citizens, the vast majority of those residing in the global cities of the South remain squatters, extraneous to established notions of belonging on both a material and symbolic plane. The

struggles of such squatter citizens for resources and legitimacy will define the form and character of the global cities of the South.

This statement points towards the way scramble for urban resources creates constant struggle for survival, and a class of excluded citizens. In respect to the wider Global South, this statement produces an image of chaotic citizenship that has been acknowledged elsewhere in cities like Lagos, Calcutta, Mumbai, Phnom Phen and Jakarta. In these cities, huge populations do not enjoy formal benefits of citizenship including amenities, economic opportunities, social inclusion, and even representation. Rather, through informal networks, these urban residents make their own life outside the systems of the formal government. The city's huge populations make the manifestation of social and economic disparities quite visible. Squatter citizenship in the case of Cairo's cinema refers to the struggles of the protagonists in the selected films whose character arcs and experiences throughout the film illustrate their alienation from the benefits expected from a central government to its citizens.

The idea of squatter citizenship raised by Dawson (2004) can, however, be compared with those of later scholars. Monson's (2015, p. 40) idea of "surplus person", that is, the individual earmarked for exclusion from the city (p. 42), is one such idea built on squatters as individuals whose citizenship is contested by their condition of marginalization. Although the context in which Monson spoke strictly refers to the squatter settlements of South Africa, the idea of squatter citizenship is broad enough to encompass the kind of ideas that I will address in respect to representations of citizenship in Cairo where I assert that squatter citizenship refers to the relatively disadvantaged position of the citizen compared to the regime which he confronts and the city itself. Consequently, squatter is an attribute resulting from the practices of marginality by the citizens residing in Cairo and especially their implied inability to overcome their difficulties, some of which emanate from the government's bureaucracy.

Moving on, I now turn to the definition of the term tug-of-war. In respect to the filmic representation of Cairo's street life, this term designates the various material and non-material conflicts incorporated as part of the symbolism of daily life in the city. Tug-of-war suggests a covert opposition between political regimes and the urban citizens, or between individuals and the city (in which case it is seen as a character and not a space). I shall argue that representations of the street as a space where "the vast majority of existing urbanites make do in utterly miserable living conditions caused in part by state neglect, skewed economic development patterns, limited resources and administrative incompetence (Pieterse, 2011, p. 5)" aptly captures the essence of citizenship tug-of-war. The way citizens respond to this misery constitutes various forms of conflict and alienation. Both *Bitter Sweet* and *The Cave* devote significant effort to represent this form of citizenship.

In *Bitter Sweet*, the overt confrontation between Masry and government institutions, paired with his street encounters with other characters, shows the problem of citizens' over-regulation by the government. This is compounded further by the experimentation with his dual citizenship, the American and the Egyptian, an exercise that posits the film as a narrative about tug-of-war between two civilizations; the Egyptian and the American. Clearly, the film draws on these dual identities to provide comparative narratives built on different citizenship experiences from a native (Egyptian) and a foreign (American) perspective. The film invests heavily in the figure of the dual citizen, American and Egyptian, thus demanding from the viewer a critical engagement with the discourse of contested citizenship as the protagonist must choose whether to assume his Egyptian or his American citizenship, thereby pitting both nationalities against each other. The passport signifies portable citizenship, associating Masry's life in the streets of Cairo with the consequences of assuming either nationality.

Tug-of-war thus assumes the role of enlightenment, that is, helping the protagonist (along with the viewer) to learn about the issues of citizenship. Tug-of-war can thus be attributed to the protagonist's lack of familiarity with the idea that he does not belong enough in Cairo, or even belong in the correct way as he trumpets his American-inspired rights in what is seen as a sign of extreme ignorance. Masry, despite his sense of patriotism, implied when he praises his Egyptian passport and identity in the plane, is in reality out of tune with the meanings attached to his Egyptian citizenship. For instance, he does not know that within the official systems, an American identity affords him less bureaucraic process, something he learns later. He also does not know that among the fellow citizens within the city, the same American identiy is not tolerated, which he learns through an encounter with mob.

For this reason, the choice of the pasport to represent dual citizenship in Marie's film enhances its reading as a visual code for the pluralism of meanings of citizenship in Cairo, described by Omar Kholeif (2011, p. 1) as "sublime features that relate to the culturally specific senses of the Egyptian viewer." The implicit meaning here is that the passport allows rather than disallows Masry to explore, intercept, or confront the conflicts of inhabiting Cairo, a contest I call a tug-of-war. Based on this significant role of the passport, the question that I address here is how the street spaces enable Maria's *Bitter Sweet* to comment on the contest between the American versus the Egyptian citizenships and also that between the Egyptian citizen and his government. In *The Cave*, tug-of-war suggests the difficulties bred from the disillusionment of existing in a post-revolution Cairo where the 'free' citizens are no longer constrained by political ineptitude of the ruling regime, but by the condition of not having enough knowledge to succeed within the city.

The Street in Cairo Cinema

This subsection discusses how the representations of the streets in Cairo cinema contributes to discussions of tug-of-war and squatter citizenship within the city. The street was first used in Egypt's mainstream cinema as a provocative space where characterrs could override existing narrative conventions of the time by staging protests against existing order. It first appears in Kamal Selim's *El Azlma* (*Determination*) (1939-1940) whose deviation from the melodramatic cinematic form of the time birthed a new approach to the cinematic narration in Egypt. Selim's film uses the street as a narrative set to address social problems, especially domination by foreign traders. Ella Schohat (1983, p. 24), a film critic, observes that in this film street life is "presented realistically and contemporary Egyptian social problems form the source of the action", adding that the film "implicitly expresses the urban bourgeoisie's discontent with foreign intervention as well as their will to establish their independence by assuming control of trade and industry." The street thus enters Egyptian cinema as both a venue for contemplating Cairo's social issues from the perspective of its distraught citizenship as well as their possible contestation. This contest between the local and the alien is recalled in Marie's *Bitter Sweet* where street images enable an expression and indeed a debate about a range of issues hinged on citizenship rights. As I will argue, this use of such images makes it possible for the film to expose, notwithstanding its lack of cathartic resolution, the very problems of citizenship that it anticipates.

The most notable use of the streets in *Bitter Sweet* is to stage Masry's experiences of questioning what it means to be an Egyptian citizen in the period narrated by the film. The first time we encounter the street is when Masry meets Radi (Lotfy Labib), the taxi owner who drives him from the airport. In their trip from the airport, he tells him that he prefers foreign customers to Egyptians and extorts him by offering very low foreign currency exchange rates. The scene of the journey from the airport to the hotel, accompanied by changing lighting from daylight ambiance that dominates the scenes of his arrival to a night

ambiance by the time he arrives at the hotel, may gesture to a dimming of Masry's optimism. This changing cinematography of the street scene enables us to see and comprehend his changing worldview. As he encounters ordinary citizens and later also the police, events that highlight his difficulties in accessing his rights, he is also experiencing the tensions which define most of his experiences within the city upto the end of the film. The best example is when he is arrested on the streets as he sets up his camera to take pictures of the city. This incident is significant because it culminates with a scene where he is in jail, thus taking the viewer into the inner workings of the government justice system. He has to call Rady who bails him out. Through this display of street prefecture, the film uses the protagonist's problematic syncrinization of his two worlds; the American and the Egyptian world to identify the shortfalls of being an Egyptian: the surveillance, restrictions harassment and general oppression marked by his homelessness at this point in time. The sequence of his arrest and subsequent incarceration thus opens up Cairo's machinery of oppression and repression for his own scrutiny.

This incident educates him about the many boundaries of his freedom which differ from his exprctations when he arrived from America. It also shows the elaborate system of surveilance within the city where the plainscloth officers arrest him, oppression as he is jailed for photographing his city and corruption seen when he has to be bailed out by bribing the police. The film exploits his innocence to make known that everyday street acts are indeed acts of citizenship in Cairo, a city seen to be extremely lacking in what Masry suggests is an elaborate system of freedoms and rights. Using such experiences as the reference point, one can describe Cairo's streets as what Lehan (1998, p. 3) calls a place of "enlightenment." Since these experiences correspond to his citizenship identity, one may argue that the film is using the streets as a learning space where Masry must unlearn his assumptions of nativity and learn Cairo's interpretation of nativity and foreignness. In this sense, the street enables the viewer

to witness how citizens' rights are besieged and the tensions that result from such a scenario as acts of squatting or resisting squatting.

Furthermore, Masry's conflicting experiences of citizenship oscillating between Egyptian and American identities makes him an ideal channel to narrate the way his opposed nationalities afford him different privileges in the course of his daily street life. Identifying himself as either an Egyptian or American is simultaneously identifying with different tiers of civilization. The former is likened to existing in gloomy, oppressive life while the latter is associated with privileges. Through him, we see the streets of Cairo as a "meeting ground and battleground for two opposed worlds" (Triulizi, 1996, p. 81) emplaced in his forked experiences of citizenship. Such representations, I argue, express the debilitations of dual citizenship. The problems that Masry faces in this film, namely, oppressive government that withholds citizenship benefits and rights, are issues that engage with the recent city protests over stressful conditions. I see Masry's difficulties as construals of the city's consciousness of contemporary socio-political processes and deep-seated questions about citizenship rights, which are foremost articulated through street activities such as which culminated in occupation of Tahrir Square. To suggest that the streets enable the film viewer to see rights being besieged is thus a suggestion that the difficulties encountered by the protagonist are indeed indicative of a widespread phenomenon of citizenship problems, and that street actions illustrate these issues.

If so, then the street plays an even bigger role in explicating the character's experiences of conflicts. Through Masry's street experiences, we see Cairo as an unfinished space, a "city of modernity, (and) also as a modern city of tradition… (negotiating) between its past and the past of the nation on the one hand and the modernist aspirations of its leaders and occupants on the other" (Gulema, 2013, p. 191). This thinking, built on Masry's confoicts with the

govnemnt institutions and various citizens, invoke the conflict between two schemes of citizenship and civilizations fighting each other. I talk of tug-of-war as an integral narrative in this film mainly because I see the protagonist's decision to return to Cairo with an Egyptian passport as an action that catalyzes a debate about what different national identities (and the different civilizations that they embody) mean when challenged by competing allegiances. As we see Masry facing hurdles such as estrangement by hotel staff, police, and government officials for proclaiming himself an Egyptian, the film is establishing a clear preference for the foreigner over the native, as the passports which define these categories signify not just citizenship identities but also civilization models.

Furthermore, Masry's street experiences problematize nativity and citizenship as an issue of the relationship between civilizations, accordingly typecasting the workings of global hegemonic relations. The act of delaying his entry to Cairo re-enacts a peculiar hegemony where the African native seems deficient while the Western citizen easily acquires privileges. This translates to his street experiences where a clear cut preference for the foreigner over the local is maintained. He is delayed at the immigration desk, he is conned of his money by the taxi driver, he is denied better hotel rooms and he is even given bad horse when he identifies himself as an Egyptian. The biggest issue in this film is however not only the problem of his multiple belonging and clashing expectations. Rather it is the issue of how citizens who have the capacity to belong in different configurations of citizenship try to make sense of the meaning of their Egyptian citizenship through their urban street experiences. This kind of approach becomes increasingly interesting as Masry also experiments with his American citizenship where he quickly learns that this too, has its own problems. These difficulties are signified through his passports, which I discuss next.

Passport and Exposé of the State-Citizen Tug-of-war

When we first see Masry, he in inside a plane on its approach flight segment into Cairo. Shortly before the plane lands, a flight attendant is seen distributing immigration forms. While Masry's seatmate (Mohamed Shahin), also an Egyptian, picks the American form, Masry proudly picks the Egyptian one. In many shots of this scene, the camera is positioned near Masry and his seatmate who are seated near the foreground. Their discussion about passports starts here as the seatmate tells him that even though it is not a problem to have traveled with his Egyptian passport, Masry should have brought his American passport instead. Masry's question; "Why should I bring it and be treated as a foreigner in my country?" uses the idea of passports to invoke experiences of citizenship in Cairo.

I transcribe this dialog here because it provides a peek into Masry's consciousness of potential alienation and thus of the different reception he may be accorded in Cairo depending on which nationality he identifies with. Clearly, Masry expects to be treated better in his home country when he travels with his native passport than if he traveled with a foreign passport. By encompassing both Masry and his seatmate in the same frame and differentiating them with the nationalities they identify with, the film establishes tension between the idea of citizenship and consequently the underlying tension between different nationalities. To juxtapose different, opposed civilizations and to tease out conversations about this state of affairs as a way of articulating distraught citizenship is really the subject matter of *Bitter Sweet*.

The choice of a commercial airplane's interior as the setting of the opening shot and two Egyptians identifying with different nationalities significantly gives urgency to the matter of what citizenship entails when you are either a foreigner or a native in Cairo. Whereas the commercial airplane as a form of transport may just construe the migratory aspect of the scene, framing both characters in the same shot and indeed having them discuss their

passports opens up the question of how the passport as a means of control could soon become an important determinant of the privileges and citizenship rights available to them. Furthermore, the conversation prompts the viewer to ask what the meaning of citizenship from the perspectives of both the citizen (Masry) and the government would be. Shortly after landing, as his seatmate who identifies himself with an American passport eases past the immigration desk, Masry is made to wait for a long period and subjected to background checks because he identifies with his Egyptian rather than American passport. This contrast positions Masry as a symbol of the woes of citizenship in the city and his action as attempts to fix this (unpatriotic) system. It imaginatively presents Cairo's government institutions such as the airport immigration desk as a symbol of the confrontation between regime and citizens, and between different civilizations which are brought out through Masry's passports indicating his dual citizenship; an Egyptian and an American.

Masry's contempt for his Egyptian (and subsequently also with his American) citizenship can be interpreted through these relationships that he has with the Egyptian and the American passport. This relationship is illustrated through several actions and symbols, especially in the sequence where he finally catapults his Egyptian passport from the hotel balcony (Figure i) after receiving his American passport through post. This representation, I argue, concretely renders the tug-of-war between the citizen and the state.

Figure i: A normal shot of Masry catapulting away his Egyptian passport in his hotel room balcony after receiving the American one in Khalid Marie's *Bitter Sweet* (2010). Source: screen freeze-frame).

This shot uses a combination of composition and cinematographic techniques to convey Masry's isolation from the city. The background city which appears as a long shot and the foreground medium-framed image of Masry as he slings his Egyptian passport into the city. The railing surrounding Masry is quite helpful in signifying both isolation and security while the open city hints of limitlessness, perhaps gesturing about the continuity of the difficulties it presents. This composition sets him apart from the low-lying city and elevates him above the rest of the city. Further, that Masry appears at a balcony above the city not only designates his sense of superiority as the city is shown at a lower horizontal position, it also gives urgency to this transformation by creating a linear distance between the protagonist and the city he inhabits. The dramatic way the passport is propelled out of this pro-Western space uses the haste to adopt American nationality to suggest its agency in his transformation. Typically, a catapult is a device that throws objects as projectiles, either to hit designated targets or to vanish for good. In this case, the action creates a metaphor of an aggressively discarded nationality, a great contrast to his initial optimism when he arrived in Cairo.

Similarly, the shot uses linear perspective to enhance the perception of separation between the two spaces. It presents the foreground and background as spaces that coexist yet are separated by use of linear perspective. The greater symbolism in relation to this framing is, however, the power differential it produces. Framing Masry in the foreground suggests his dominance and importance over the rather vacuous city in the background which lacks any specific point of focus. This framing of Cairo as a canvas to Masry's world and a dumping site for the detestations associated with his Egyptian passport guide the viewer's perception of

hegemonic discourse and cannot be separated from the narrative of a tug-of-war between his competing citizenships. This shot's meaning arises from contextual interpretation of this composition style of a dominant foreground versus the extensive background within Egypt's revolution-inspired cinema genre of the 1960s as it exalts remarkable Western sophistication (Schohat, 1983, p. 25) through the setting on a hotel balcony (the hotel appears in previous scenes as a pro-Western, anti-Egyptian space) and the framing that eclipses the rest of the city from immediate visual intelligibility. This shot's framing of Cairo as a background connotes its diminished importance as the reference point of the protagonist's citizenship, amplifying his denunciation of the native citizenship.

If we see this kind of framing in the context of cinema of the Arab world which, as Khatib (2006, p. 2) argues, should be seen as "texts …produced by history" and thus resonate with, among others, the political events, the cinematography of this shot should be seen to amplify the political consciousness of the narrative. It enables us to see Cairo as a "visual space of the political" and "the site for the challenge to the political and at the same time the locality for negotiation and agreement" (Triulizi, 1996, p. 81). This self-conscious cinema as Schohat (1983, p. 22) refers to it, is "an attempt to tackle the political dilemmas and social problems of contemporary Egypt", using political discourse as a narrative resource. In recent films such as Jehane Noujaim's *The Square: The People Demand the Downfall of the Regime* (2013), Fredrik Stanton's *Uprising: The Birth of the Egyptian Revolution* (2012) and Tamer el Said's *In the Last Days of the City* (2016), political consciousness provides direction to the story.

The use of the city as experimental space of citizenship invokes the dramatic ways in which citizenship discourse is interwoven with the discourse of Cairo's modernity within *Bitter Sweet*. Masry's action of catapulting his passport intimates a zealous overcoming of his initial constraints in Cairo as the passport he thrusts literally to the streets of the city below spell just

this kind of liberation. He then immediately adopts his American passport to claim instant privileges both inside and outside the hotel. Furthermore, an examination of the tight framing isolating the hotel balcony where Masry is standing while retaining the rest of the city in the background would suggest a visual contrast between the ideas of sameness and difference which the film explores. The essence of deploying such cinematic choices is to highlight the meaning of citizenship in the context of the two worlds that Masry inhabits; Cairo and America. On one hand, the montage allows the viewer to understand the constraints that exist between the protagonist and the government institutions, so that the Egyptian citizenship is seen as a liability. The most important function of this representation is to establish this conflict between the protagonist and the city, what I am calling tug-of-war. On the other hand, the conflict between the protagonist's American identity, and the Egyptian institutions and public which challenges his view of American superiority also enhances the view of conflict between citizens and the state in Cairo. This is seen in the scene immediately after Masry gets his American passport and tries his perceived privileges in the streets. In this scene, he is travelling with Radi along the road when a car hits Radi's taxi from behind.

Yet, a police officer acquits the offender who is seen as a wealthy city resident and pins the mistake on Radi. Infuriated, Masry confronts a policeman whom he accuses of being unfair to Radi. He further confronts a policeman overseeing a mass of street protesters opposing America. Here, energized by his American passport, Masry proclaims himself immune to the crowd, who then encircle and beat him and, in the process, snatch his passport, thus challenging the superiority of his much-cherished American identity. When we get to see him again after the mob has dispersed, the camera hovers above the street to give a high angle shot as Masry lies on the bare street ground among posters, his scattered shoes and his jacket (Figure ii). Next to him is a poster emblazoned with the words 'DOWN WITH AMERICA' while his feet rest on one of the banners left behind by the protesting crowds.

The montage in which this scene appears serves as an exposé of the city's unintelligible system of citizenship. Earlier when he arrives in Cairo, he faces stiff barriers because he identifies himself as an Egyptian. And now he is assaulted because he identifies himself an American. Yet, at a time when his American citizenship should have offered him freedom and rights, this shot instead shows Masry as a disempowered and rejected character with diminished authority and privileges. His representation as a rejected American ostracizes him, further posing the street as a space where contested citizenship is constructed and even enhanced in Cairo. The action of stripping Masry of his American passport and mocking his citizenship by juxtaposing him with a protest banner inscribed 'DOWN WITH AMERICA', expresses the conflict that occur regarding the meaning of Masry being either an Egyptian or an American.

Figure ii: A high angle shot of Masry after being beaten by anti-American mobs in the streets of Cairo in Khalid Marie's *Bitter Sweet* (2010). Source: screen freeze-frame).

This kind of narrative about perpetually disenfranchised citizen constructs an in-between point of reference in which we see Masry as always engaged in a tug-of-war with the state. It is characterized foremost, by the inability to acquire a sense of belonging; always feeling unsatisfied with one citizenship identity, while longing for its improvement. Irrespective of

whether he identifies himself as an American or an Egyptian, neither citizenship identity confers upon him any citizenship benefit. This kind of framing is what I am referring to as the multi-foreign framing of citizenship, a term I use to convey the ambivalence of citizenship irrespective of whether he identifies formally (as is the case where Masry uses passports), or informally (as is the case where he has neither passport, having thrown away his Egyptian passport and the crowds have taken away his American passport) with any of his two citizenships. Consequently, multi-foreign is about Masry's reality of existing tentatively; either as an Egyptian or American citizen. Sequencing the montage of Masry throwing away his Egyptian passport, followed by a street protest where he is harassed because of his American protest has the narrative equivalence of stripping him of the formal identifications which tie him to this crisis of citizenship. To understand the arguments arising from this situation, I revert to the image of one of the posters used by the protestors which shows a gay wedding between American president George Bush and Osama bin Laden.

This image appears to suggest the idea of global America's subjugation by, or complicit to fundamentalism which may be read as a way to recast global view of terrorism. Osama's head has a white religious turban while Bush is adorned in a white wedding gown and a white crown on 'her' head. Clearly, the interpretation is that Osama is wedding Bush. By carrying this banner of the wedding in the streets, the protestors embed it in Egypt's political logic of resisting global domination. In Egypt's national cinema, the "Egyptian nation is symbolized by whole-some femininity, while sexually aloof women are used to symbolize the foreign enemy: Israel and the United States" (Khatib, 2006, p. 12). Reading the image of Osama and Bush wedding in relation to this symbolic representation, one sees Bush as the wayward, aloof global bride who is enticed by terrorist tendencies targeting the Arab world. When the demonstrators use these images in a street protest against America, they are refusing to identify with the geopolitical alliances ensuing from international community, what Dabash

(2012 p. 4) calls the "supreme chimera of all ages, 'the West'", which seem untruthful to the Arab cause, or at least incompatible with it.

By the same thinking, Masry's 'downfall' when he identifies himself as an American challenge the "fictive centrality of that decentering center of the world" (p. 4) called 'the West'. It is an erasure of his (American) perception that Egyptians are global underdogs, demasculinized and uncivilized, which is the position he has nurtured so far. The lieutenant who allows the mob to beat up Masry may not be promoting a popular position of Egyptian citizens as the crowd is noticeably small and the idea of supervised protest cultivated by the presence of the police reminisces of the government's absolute control of public actions, but he is resisting Masry's tendency to cast Egypt as an uncivilized system in comparison to America. By countering this Western subjugation, the scene suggests resistance to make Cairo a laboratory of political civilization (Stoler and Cooper, 1997, p. 5) and sets boundaries of the extent to which one may challenge the government before being countered.

Consequently, the argument that I build around the use of posters in this street, configured to give prominence to Bush-Osama wedding as a collective symbol of the American modernity also enables the narrative to achieve a public outlook and thus support an interpretation of popular protest. For this reason, the shot in Figure ii builds on the rejection of the West's cultural, political and social orientation - the version of modernity represented by Masry's American nationality – as a continuation of the discourse of tug-of-war between citizen and state. The barren ground adorned only by the crashed protagonist, his body wear and remnants of the protestors' paraphernalia enhances this realism of conflict between two façades of citizenship: the privileged foreigner existing in an efficient, progressive world with freedom and support and the Egyptian native who encounters a brazen world engineered to intimidate, exploit and oppress.

At the same time, whereas in using the street as a blockade against global modernity the film influences our interpretation of Cairo's outlook of a conservative city, the idea of resistance that it raises an elaborate system of coercion at play. There are clear disadvantages of being an Egyptian as shown through various incidences: the hotel which Masry had booked with an American passport would not let him check into his room with an Egyptian passport and the next hotel charges him exorbitantly for a room when he identifies himself as a native. Even the car rental company subjects him to excessive leasing conditions when he identifies as an Egyptian – which raises his risk profile, at the pyramids his rented stallion is exchanged for an old one immediately he identifies himself as an Egyptian and the police arrest him for taking pictures of Cairo in the city, an event that culminates with a sequence in jail where police are extorting money from him. This repertoire of difficulties supports a conclusion that Masry's Egyptian citizenship is a liability to him. Reading these occurrences with the street event where he is roughed up by the mob clearly coerces the viewer to understand the need for reforms Masry seeks when he identifies himself as an American and thus claiming a democratic voice necessary to highlight the injustices meted on the citizens in Cairo.

This switch of citizenship thus becomes a way of distancing himself from the Egyptian identity, which in turn spawns another view that Masry's character may be at the centre of a narrative ploy to use protest to further reveal other forms of oppression being re-enacted in the streets. When we see the street protestors, the film uses framing that incorporates the protestors within the same shot, or in contiguous shots in the same scene, thus positioning them in the same space. The presence of the government security officials suggests a supervised or perhaps a stage-managed anti-American protest. For this reason, the street protest articulates the tug-of-war that is not entirely about American-vs-Egyptian incompatibilities, but that explicitly indicates the way citizens may participate in such

supervised acts of patriotism in Cairo while remaining detached. By this I suggest that this film is using this action to counter the anti-government ideas without taking any action to enhance citizenship experiences. This becomes clear in the film's queer resolution shown using an image of a wedding ring (Figure iii) that Masry wears in the final sequences of the film to underpin this dilemma.

Figure iii A close-up shot of Masry's finger after wearing a ring with colors of the Egyptian flag in Khalid Marie's *Bitter Sweet* (2010). Source: screen freeze-frame).

The shot fixes attention to the idea of Masry's citizenship as nuptiality between an individual and his country. The close-up framing used in this shot is a formal device that emphasizes Masry's fingers and the 'wedding' ring. The colours of the ring are those of Egypt's national flag, which indexes his patriotism. However, the colours identifying him as a patriotic citizen intimately connected to his country of birth also articulate the protagonist's contradictory relationship with his two orientations – the American and the Egyptian one. At this point, he has already discarded his Egyptian citizenship (symbolized by throwing away the passport; acquired his American passport (when he receives his American passport through post), lost it as well (when the mobs frisk him and take away the passport; re-registered as an Egyptian (taking a. national identity card); and received again his American citizenship (by re-applying

and receiving another American passport. Based on this narrative plot, the resolution showing Masry wearing a ring with Egyptian colours requires the viewer to ponder what it means to be an Egyptian citizen in circumstances that are clearly repugnant. It is on this basis that I read this image as an indicator of an uneasy moment when the protagonist's tug-of-war between his Western identity and patriotism to his Egyptian roots becomes a key issue in the film.

Using the motif of wedding here as the film's ending can be interpreted as an effort to express the ambiguity with which Masry continues to exist as an Egyptian-in-the-making and an American-in-the-unmaking, existing "somewhere in the middle" (Khatib, 2006, p. 173), what Demetrio Yocum (1996, p. 222) calls a "condition of alienation and displacement from both a native and adopted 'land'". The idea of the middle is very crucial here because it captures, on one hand, the essence of inner conflict between the protagonist and the ideals of citizenship to which he aspires; and on the other, the conflict between the Egyptian state and its citizens in the pre-revolution city. If this resolution is to be interpreted as a sign of his allegiance to Egyptian identity which he tries to cultivate, it means he only achieves this identity with loss of his Americanness, hence a loss of his sense of nationalism (Guibernau, 1997, p. 79). My argument is that the use of the street as the setting for this kind of resolution imbues the film with a sense of public concern so that the vocalization of Masry's precarious belonging and vague sense of citizenship coheres a symbolic reflection of Egypt's contemporary issues of citizenship, foremost of which is disenchantment with the regime and the resulting life of tension and squalor. This closes my discussion of the filmic representations of tug-of-war in the pre-revolution Cairo in *Bitter Sweet*. I now turn to el Ghoneimy's *The Cave* to discuss representations of squatter citizenship in Cairo after the revolution.

Gloom and Illusions as Metaphors of Squatter Citizenship in Cairo

Unlike the pre-revolution period in Cairo which is shown as a moment of agitation and overt conflicts between citizens and the various government institutions, the post-revolution times are shown as moments of gloom and disillusionment. El Ghoneimy's *The Cave* is one such film which focuses on the disillusioned citizens in Cairo. This film was produced as part of the African Metropolis project, an initiative of Goethe Institute South Africa, which brought together filmmakers from six African cities; Cairo, Abidjani, Lagos, Nairobi, Johannesburg and Dakar to make short films narrating various issues within those cities. El Ghoneimy's film which represented Cairo is concerned with the way the city is now experienced as a place of disillusionment, requiring the characters to exist not as individuals who have achieved better prospects, but rather at the beginning of enlightenment.

This film uses cinematography to show illusory freedom and the reality of hopelessness thus posing as a narrative about dismal enlightenment of citizenship in post-revolution Cairo. It starts and ends with darkly lit, neo-noir scenes. In between, it uses mostly daylight ambiance. This juxtaposition of neo-noir cinematography gives the film a structure of transition story, not from darkness to light, but from darkness to darkness. Further, the in-between status of light in the film's time suggests that the director uses cinematography, composition and mise-en-scène to provide visual cues of how Cairo is not only a city where individuals encounter their greatest moments of socio-political insights but also as one where 'darkness' looms instantaneously with such discoveries. My interest is how the director uses lighting and setting to show an "effectively derealized [Cairo], seen as in a dream, resistant to sense" (Prendergast, 1991, p. 192) of the characters who inhabit it. I use the term derealization here in the manner defined by Lickel, Nelson, Lickel, and Deacon (2008, p. 1), as "characterized by the experience of unreality with regard to the … surroundings." Derealization thus has the connotation of illusory place, one where characters' do not seem to comprehend its workings, or how to best inhabit it.

I start with a discussion of the shot of the tunnel (Figure iv) to show Adham's movement out of the underground studio and his retreat to the outskirts of the city as the first gesture that identifies this tendency. In this medium shot, we see Adham at the centre of the frame. He is carrying his cased guitar on the back, walking away from the camera. Surrounding him on both sides are walls which make his path appear as a long, constricted underground tunnel. The mise-en-scène of imposing walls of the tunnel, its linearity and the two different points which it connects at either end (the interior which is the foreground and the exterior in the background) invoke the Platonian allegorical cave and thus show the protagonist as someone emerging from a space of mental confinement towards enlightenment. Underlying this representation is thus the possibility that Adham may not have the correct knowledge of the outside city to which he is headed, which establishes a disconnect between him and the city in which he inhabits.

Figure iv: A normal angle medium shot of Adham, the protagonist, walking along a tunnel from the underground studio in Ghoneimy's *The Cave* (2013). (Source: screen freeze-frame).

The shot's placement in the montage also contributes to its interpretation as a representation of his transition. It occurs after he has failed his audition, at which point he is leaving the underground studio. underground studio, visually represented as a dungeon, is placed off-screen to the camera's foreground. Through this implied spatial extension, the viewers remain off-screen and inside the cave from where they witness the protagonist's journey without stepping out of the 'cave'. In other words, the director recruits the viewers into the same visual space as the protagonist, transforming them from passive non-diegetic elements, to active diegetic actors within the film. The viewer is concurrently part of Cairo's prisoners and part of its freed citizens signified by Adham. This reference is important because it introduces a split of Cairo's metaphorical 'prisoners' so that Adham is a break-away citizen escaping away from the viewers, who remain off screen-foreground, inside the 'cave'. The effect of this style that incepts the viewer into the film's diegesis is that it makes Ghoneimy's film a sort of collaborative narrative where the film audience supplement the protagonist in his diegetic character arc.

As he seeks new opportunities in the post-revolution Cairo, the viewer identifies these actions as an inventory of the successes and failures of the revolution in the city. When we see Adham walking out of the dark studio, it is as if the director intends us to perceive that he has left the darkness and his frustrations of failing the auditions behind. The protagonist's itineration reflects the interim status of the city's continuous transition as experienced by the citizens who have ideologically walked from their political gloom towards an enlightened sense of citizenship and participatory nationalism. But then, even as he moves ahead, the camera follows him from the back. It tip-toes, together with the viewer, as a sentry, behind the protagonist to espy how he would live outside the 'darkness'.

In this film, the use of neo-noir cinematography materializes illusions of pessimism and hopelessness, corroborating the film's motif of nascent gloom. If we look at the tunnel from the foreground, the juxtaposition of the protagonist between the cave's gloom and the distant city's brightness is

indicative of the ambition to achieve self-emancipation. At the same time, it helps the viewer to understand the protagonist's spatial shift as a political idiom of his ascendancy to enlightenment already subtly coded in the preceding shots. Even as he addresses the music promoter, the protagonist stands towards the left edge of the screen which is also the direction of the off-screen light. He is distancing himself from the shot's 'interior' which is the inner-most part of the cave. Noticeably, he never looks to the right side of the screen where his shadow is cast on the curtain but sustains a forward gaze. His aversion to his own 'illusion' thus becomes an act of turning away from the illusion of his constrained political liberty. By this thinking, the dim lighting used to show the character inside the studio represents his pessimism, hinting at the way he remains isolated from mainstream benefits envisioned in the pre-revolution film discussed earlier, *Bitter Sweet*, where Masry pursues inclusion and better services for the citizens. This type of lighting is suggestive that the director is using this tunnel as a chiasmic connection between these two nationalistic nodes: the dark past where he is unable to achieve anything, represented by the underground studio and an unknown future in the streets where the film narrates his life. As Adham zigzags around the city, the camera is positioned as a sentry to witness his survival. The display of disconnect between Adham and the city, show by his inability to succeed in his music audition and to find meaningful work once out in the streets constitutes what I am referring to as gloom and illusions. This illusion is elaborately created inside the underground studio where he has just unsuccessfully auditioned.

From the film's opening scene reconstruct an image of enclosure evocative of the prisoners in Plato's allegorical cave (Plato, 2005, p. 497). The medium shot of the protagonist standing in front of a dark maroon curtain offers the first impression of disillusionment. The neo-noir cinematography, the composition of the curtain wall behind him and the musical instruments in front of him and the underground setting of the scene all invoke the ambience of a cave. The various elements in the shot's mise-en-scène plausibly correspond to the various elements which Plato identified in this allegory. The off-screen spotlight illuminating the scene from the screen top right denotes the fire, the protagonist embodies the prisoners, the maroon

background curtain is the wall and the protagonist's shadow is the subjective perception which is at the centre of Plato's allegory. The director's most peculiar style is the use of lighting as a creative tool to augment the 'oppressive' composition that constricts space around the protagonist in the underground studio. I use the term oppressive here to also indicate how the director personifies the various mise-en-scène elements to achieve a formal relationship between the character and his immediate space. Adham's initial entry to the city of Cairo portrays its uncertainty even after reclaiming itself from successive dictatorships.

This is most exemplified by the opening scene which is darkly lit with off-screen, overhead, spotlight illuminating the protagonist from the screen right. This mono-directional lighting creates shades on the protagonist's left side. His own shadow is cast on the edge of the frame and beyond, accentuating a disconnection between the actual protagonist and his shadow falling on the background curtain. This fixed lighting style guides the viewer away from the character's surrounding to his face and bodily expressions. Essentially, then, the visuality of the shot is restricted to and mediated through the protagonist's persona, who is posed as an escapee from the cave. His anxiety, incompetence and failed professionalism are all attributes which tap into the illusions of his 'progressive space' of stardom. In a way, this use of neo-noir cinematographic style and the resulting motif of illusive heroism subtly mirror the expansive apprehension and political gloom experienced in Cairo. The city's political unrest and the illusions of untruthful regimes provide context for the argument that this visual image of a hideous city, one situated in the underground and composed to accentuate shadows, imagines Cairo's political spectacle during the period in which the film was made.

The change in lighting from dull neo-noir ambiance inside the studio to a bright, daylight ambiance highlights the director's effort to show Adham's changing spaces as an indication of the changing perspectives of the city, that is, Cairo as a place of fruitlessness, then of hope

and finally, of utter futility. In this sense, the cinematographic choices enveloping the protagonist's character arc within a continuum of delusions foster an aura of how the city has transformed through its numerous moments of political darkness. When historicized within Cairo's struggle with national identity and ideologies of citizenship, these visual choices augment the film's overall visuality of entrapment. The remainder of this section discusses the use of neo-noir style and mise-en-scène as visual metaphors that enrich the viewer's comprehension of lingering pessimism about citizens' sense of nationalism, based on the shot's indexicality of the Platonian allegorical cave.

When Ghoneimy produced *The Cave*, Egypt was experiencing a series of persistent post-revolution instabilities. The uprising that ousted Hosni Mubarak and installed Mohamed Morsi had been quickly followed by a military coup that deposed Morsi and granted the country's leadership to Sisi. The logic of the cave and neo-noir cinematography thus carries a significant connotation of the national gloom in this perpetually interim pursuit of freedom. The neo-noir lighting style, indexical of the creepy American film genre, implicates the film within the city's increasing discordance, partly resulting from citizens' ambitions to democratize their nation and partly with increasing frustration with this project. The sense of anxiety, apprehension and even danger invoked by referencing the neo-noir genre style erases optimism within the shot.

Additionally, the hideous studio can be interpreted as a stage where citizens' strategy of collective mobilization is implied. Public protests in Tahrir Square were partly successful because of the invisibility of the organizers. The underground setting feeds to this hideousness and especially the covert ways in which citizens remained in the public domain, yet out of sight of the government's prying eyes, so much so that it was difficult to spot the organizers of the protests. Adham's presence here marks him as an embodiment of this hideous public

figure. To be located within a cave may be suggestive of his diminished, misplaced, or misinformed conceptualization of freedom. The cave motif recreated in this scene adumbrates his obscure citizenship which is both oppressed and militant. As a metaphorical inference of the life of darkness, delusion and lack of enlightenment within the ongoing spate of regime changes, the inference of lack of enlightenment that it construes is an essential symbol of the characters inner understanding of his world. Retrospectively, the entrapment designated to the protagonist implicates Ghoneimy's version of Cairo, one that is dark and whose citizens are out of sync with its workings, within the city's discourse of political agitation repeatedly marred by protests illusive regimes. The connotation achieved by such setup is of alienated, perhaps interim, citizenship and resistance to this form of national identity. In this sense, then, the symbol of the cave is an exposition of both Cairo's disillusionment and its outside imagination. One sees a city disconnected from its realities and whose transition is incomplete.

It is also possible to read the tunnel as a metaphor of interstitial citizenship, that is, citizenship that occupies the gap between Cairo's recent history of revolt and aspirations for yet-to-come better life. Citizenship in Cairo can be metaphorically read as a series of tunnels. From the early revolutionary protests in Tahrir Square, the citizens have undergone various cycles of emancipation, shifting through numerous political regimes. Adham's movement through the tunnel, then, designates both the journey from one political end to the other, as well as the concomitant transition from oppressive life such as narrated in *Bitter Sweet*, to unsure life seen in *The Cave*. Adham's movement through the tunnel from the underground studio into the streets represents Cairo's transition "across multiple sites and permits different kinds of engagements by residents—sometimes here, sometimes there" (Simone, 2011, p. 12). On one end, the foreground, is the interior perspective, *the cave*, representing the gloomy Cairo with frustrations and latent nationalistic impotence. There is a way in which the combination of

various elements within the scene; neo-noir lighting accentuating shadows, interior setting and the continuous gaze of the camera throughout Adham's audition, all connote the citizens' looming sense of oppression. The ambience of anxiety, oppression and subjugation generated by these elements within the shot is the director's way of showcasing Cairo as a "bête noire, [a city] representing all that is backward and undisciplined, the antithesis of what modern Egyptian society should aim to be" (Sims, 2011, p. 3). The 'cave' end alludes to the city's retrogression into perpetual anarchy. On the other end, the background of the tunnel is the brightly lit streets suggesting freedom, hope and a Cairo in which there are hope possibilities. This provides a rationale for the two contrasting lighting modes used to denote the two spaces and the different modes of citizenship they connote.

If citizens' participation in the Arab Spring incorporated them into the city through the symbolic conquest of Tahrir Square, this return to Matareya indicates a partial replacement of this belonging with an illusory form of rebellious citizenship. Matareya, an active site of Muslim Brotherhood protestors sympathetic to President Morsi who ruled Egypt at the time the film was produced, but who was ousted shortly after, signifies an abrasive connection of the city's two competing ideological standpoints: passive protest such as that which ousted Mubarak versus militant which ousted Morsi. On one hand is Cairo's mainstream quasi-democratic political discourse led by General Sisi's military regime and on the other is the peripheral defiance by the deposed political leadership of Morsi which was seen as pro-Muslim Brotherhood. In a sense, Adham's retreat to the outskirts after coming from the underground 'city' emphasizes what I have all along termed as derealization, by which I mean that he exhibits disconnection even with the liberated city and instead prefers to identify himself with post-revolution victimhood embodied by Muslim Brotherhood and Morsi's regime.

The jump-cut transition at the end of the tunnel shot to the shot of Adham in the streets of Matareya suggests instantaneous shift from gloom to marginalization, hence the lack of resolution of a post-liberated city anticipated in *Bitter Sweet*. The jump-cut transition records the haste with which the citizens have continually disconnected from Cairo's successive political administration. The swift takeover of Morsi from the ousted Mubarak after few months of street protest and takeover of Tahrir Square and his swift removal from power by General Sisi can all be read as political jump-cuts to hasty transformations. Through this quick jump cut from the underground city to the dissenting neighbourhood of Matareya, the director expresses a disconnect between citizens in the Greater Cairo from the political liberation symbolized by mainstream Cairo. This choice of transition is a form of truncation, an omission and a significant pointer that the post-revolution Cairo is no longer the main city, but the outskirts where pockets of resistance still prevail. This choice of transition alludes to a hasty retreat into the edge and an authentication of the spirit of revolt as the actual character of Cairo.

Gloom and illusions in this continually transitional status are marked by the revulsion of Cairo and the political barriers it presents to the protagonists of both films. For Masry, the barriers are in the form of bad governance while for Adham, they are shown disillusionment. Poignantly, the film ends with a neo-noir shot of the protagonist inside his friend's car, parked at the roadside. Before this point, Adham has been pestering his employed friend to company him to the edge of the city to buy drugs. Both characters represent two versions of the post-revolution Cairo; Adham, the cynical city with no prospects; and his friend, a city where anyone who works hard can prosper. In this night trip, the two characters represent an attempt to synchronize these two versions of the city. Choosing to end the film at the roadside after Adham's friend gets off the car before they reach their destination poignantly points towards the irreconcilable nature of the two characters and the world-views they represent. It is thus

indicative of the futility of citizens' metaphorical journey to enlightenment which started with Adham's exit from the 'cave'. The resulting change of cinematography back to neo-noir ambiance at the end of the film offers a visual conclusion of how Cairo has not evolved into a modern, post-Islam city such as envisioned by Nasser (Elsheshtawy, 2013). Instead, the city is embroiled between two opposing perspectives; an illusion of a free versus the reality of an arrogant Cairo. In a way, the political connotation of disillusionment suggested by this choice of neo-noir cinematography for the film's ending is the basis of the arguments that Ghoneimy's narrative of Cairo is that it resists sense, and instead many characters inhabit it as squatters: without any binding links or commitment to improve it.

CHAPTER 3: STREETS, CHASMS and RARRAY CITIZENSHIP IN MONROVIA CINEMA

In this chapter I will discuss filmic representations of Monrovia. My focus is on the use of the streets in representations of what I term as chasms and rarray citizenship within the city. At this point, I will briefly discuss the usage of two terms that feature prominently in the title and discussions in this chapter; chasms and rarray citizenship. Chasms, as used here, refers to divisions of citizenship experiences, seen in the simultaneous existence of hierarchies, mostly social, political, economic. By division, I am not exactly referring to the social, economic and political (though those are admittedly there too and cannot be ignored), but the classification of individuals into those who matter and those who do not. Violence in Monrovia, like in many other parts of Africa, was spawned not just by the existence of ethnicities, but by the systematic relegation of certain ethnicities into non-entities. What does citizenship mean, then, when one is seen as not human enough, thus not fit to be accorded humane treatment? I use the term chasms as a concept that articulates the experiences of disconnection and hierarchic existence in the aftermath of the war. Second, I discuss the construal of individual aggrandizement which tends to marginalize ex-fighters in post-war Monrovia. In this case, an inexplicable chasm exists between the victimized citizen and the perpetrators.

The other term I use, rarray, proceeds directly from the concept of chasms discussed above. It refers to the groups of marginalized urban youths, educated and uneducated, who mobilized in Freetown, Sierra Leone. In the beginning, they were considered criminals, "good-for-nothing people (Abdullah, 1998, p. 208)." Rarray Boys was popularized as an identity only when the hitherto criminalized groups had amassed a massive appeal even among the working class and university students, united by their political vision. For Graham (2012, p. vi), these young toughs are "criminal, undereducated, unemployed and unemployable. They lack community and familial ties and are void of political sophistication… In this sense, they

resemble the archetype of the African savage construct." I use the term rarray in this chapter not as much to refer to the criminal mannerisms of the characters within the film narratives I am working with, but essentially to capture marginality as the essence of their identity. This attribute is not dependent on whether they are fighting or not, whether there is war or not, but simply with their designation as people to be avoided at all costs (Abdullah, 1998, p. 208). This isolation then becomes the common-sense material for propelling them into deeper citizenship crisis within the cities and its environs. In this case, the metaphor of disconnection on which the rarray character is established embodies the new form of post-war citizenship and thus enables us to discuss the meaning of citizenship in Monrovia.

This chapter is divided into four subsections. The first subsection discusses Monrovia's cinema history and describes the three films which will be analysed in the rest of the chapter. The second subsection analyses depiction of violence and its iconicity of the expendable citizenry. I discuss the filmic images of the war-torn Monrovia as invocations of the expendability of the civilians and the idea of a necropolis as a tendency to normalize the atrocities of war. In the third subsection, I discuss the visuals of the broken bridges as signifiers of the city's social, political and economic fractures. My argument here is that Monrovians seem to be defined by the continuity and timelessness of carnage and a sense of human calamity in post-war crisis which remain embedded in their everyday street life. In the third subsection, I will discuss how the character of the rarray boys, most of whom took part in the violence, is given prominence to illustrate the exempted citizenship in post-war Monrovia.

Monrovia in Cinema

Monrovia's recent history is undeniably horrifying. Governed through successive insurgences since Master Samuel Kanyon Doe of People's Redemption Council (PRC) led the

assassination of Americo-Liberian President, William Tolbert of True Whig Party (TWP) in 1980, Monrovia has been a war city. However, the city's history of siege and bloody civil conflicts start with Dakhpannah Charles McArthur Ghankay Taylor's incursion in December 1989, subsequent capture and assassination of President Samuel Doe by Prince Johnson's combatants on 9 September 1990 and finally, Taylor's election to the presidency in July 1997. He was ousted in 2003 after Liberia's second civil war (Foster, et al., 2009, p. 183-184), paving way for the subsequent election of Sirleaf Johnson. The reality of mutilation, rape, death, starvation, disease, displacement, kidnappings and other forms of torture and violence in much of this time had become commonplace. The extent of carnage, violence and trauma that resulted from death, displacement and mutilation among other acts of war became globally acknowledged with the arrest and conviction of Charles Taylor by the Hague based International Criminal Court in 2012. This kind of history has had great influence on the experiences of urban citizenship in later years and in the kind of narratives about such citizenship that have surfaced ever since.

As a setting for many globally known films, Liberia is popularized as a shooting location rather than a production industry. Edward Zwick's *Blood Diamond* (2006), Garrett Batty's *Freetown* (2015), Greg Campbell's *Hondros* (2017) and Gini Reticker's *Pray the Devil Back to Hell* (2008) are some of the recent films set there. But one would note, almost sadly, that the catalogue of city films from Liberia, by Liberian filmmakers, is brief. The reason could be perhaps that Liberia's film industry is, like in many other African countries, not quite developed. This means there are not many films being made there. Also, there is less scholarly work of the existing films, thus eclipsing the industry from mainstream cinema research. The films which have become popular adopt a quasi-documentary approach to narrate about society issues such as Ebola (see Mitman and Siegel's *In the Shadow of Ebola* (2014), Darg's *Body Team 12* (2015) and Pandora Hodges' *Understanding Kills Ebola* (2015)

for instance); effects of war (such as Vale's *Small Small Thing* (2013) and Brabazon and Stack's *Liberia: An Uncivil War* (2004)). The award-winning Seema Mathur's *Camp 72* (2015) is perhaps the most recognizable film dealing with the post-war reconciliation efforts in Liberia.

From this list, one would also notice that the high number of especially documentary films which explicitly deal with Liberia's war narratives are directed by foreigners. For my discussions here, I have chosen those films which tell narratives about Monrovia and its recent history and specifically those which have made the street a central motif in the narrative. Among these, I find Andrew Niccol's *Lord of War* (2005), Jean-Stephane Sauvaire's *Johnny Mad Dog* (2008) and Cary Joji Fukunaga's *Beasts of No Nation* (2015), widely recognized feature films, to be relevant in my analyses because their representations of Monrovia overtly engage the streets, the government and the urban citizens.

Niccol is a New Zealand-born screenwriter-director based in America, who has made several internationally acclaimed films. Prior to making *Lord of War*, he had directed *Gattaca* (1997) and *Simone* (2002). Afterward, he directed other films including *In Time* (2011), *The Host* (2013), *Good Kill* (2014) and *Anon* (2018). In *Lord of War*, he narrates about Yuri Orlov's (Nicolas Cage), an American immigrant legally registered as a Jew, but originally a Russian, who runs illegal arms deals with Andre Baptiste Sr. (Eamonn Walker), a Liberian warlord. Yuri buys arms from post-cold war armouries around the world and supplies to war zones in Africa, participating in a network of foreign military armoury bosses, arms dealers, arms traffickers, corrupt military forces and corrupt leaders of African governments. The narrative, whose diegetic setting focuses on the violence that his supplies cause in Monrovia's war, resonate with the city's violent history and politics of citizenship being shaped through a convergence of global players. In this way, Niccol's film is grounded on the accoutrements of

Monrovia's gangster-like leadership and its insensitivity to citizens' needs and as a result, in the discourses of urban citizenship being formed through violence within the city.

Consequently, although recent reviews such as done by Rahul Hamid (2006, p. 53) are concerned about the circuit of violence emanating from America to devastate the world and the role of America's arms industries in African politics; and Newman's (2000) review which focuses on its fetishism of illegal gun-running, I see *Lord of War* as a narrative about an increasing hierarchical chasm in the age of military globalism. Post-war hierarchies in Monrovia are at the centre of the way the film represents the end of this war where citizens remain as expendable objects while their rulers continue to benefit from minerals and commit crimes. The film starts with a sequence of the murder of a young boy, which gives way to a street scene of violence and has a scene of murder in the final sequence where civilians are killed with Yuri's freshly supplied weapons as he watches nearby. This cycle of violence then becomes the narrative template for the other films including Sauvaire's *Johnny Mad Dog* and Fukunaga's *Beasts of No Nation*.

Johnny Mad Dog is an adaptation of Emmanuel Dongala's novel, *Johnny Mad Dog* (Johnny Chien Méchant) (2002) that narrates about Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) child soldiers led by *Johnny Mad Dog* (Christophe Minie), a teenage boy, during Second Liberian Civil War that led to the ouster of Charles Taylor in 2003. The novel features dual protagonists; a 16-year-old girl called Laokolé, who embodies the violent displacement of citizens by a group of child soldiers led by *Johnny Mad Dog*. It has been described as an

> unflinching look at the greed and ignorance that drives fighters like Mad Dog, as well as the fear, desperation and anger of those trapped in the cross fire…
> (and) frames some powerful questions: namely, how humans can be so cruel

and conversely, how do they maintain their humanity in the face of unremitting ugliness? (Publishers Weekly, 2005)

This description aptly reiterates the centrality of violence in determining experiences of citizens, especially within the city of Monrovia where most of the film story is set. Within the film, violence is juxtaposed with the civilian narrative of Laokole (Daisy Victoria Vandy), a young girl the same age as Johnny, who is looking after her ailing father and younger brother as war rages on. The film also uses the character of another teen girl, Fatmata – Lovelita (Careen Moore) who is kidnapped by *Johnny Mad Dog* as his sex slave, to code a range of civilian issues such as vulnerability, displacement, rights abuse and even lack of rights. By following a group of child soldiers matching across the countryside and contrasting civilian and militant perspectives, the film exposes the traumatic experience of citizenship in time of war and conceptualizes a continually disoriented and destabilized citizenship. In this film, we see Sauvaire, a French-born director, as an individual whose film clearly identifies with popular imaginations of Monrovia in the context of Liberia's political violence. Bradshaw's (2009) review of *Johnny Mad Dog* focuses on the cruelty and brutalizing effects of war upon its child victims, summarized in his conclusion where he says: "child soldiers are horrible, but they are simply the evolutionary endpoint of war. War is brutalizing, infantilizing, dehumanizing, requiring the unquestioning submission to authority. All soldiers are child soldiers…" this edification of the war as potentially modelling its spreaders ties such experiences to the idea of rarray citizenship which I will explore in this chapter.

The other film, Fukunaga's *Beasts of No Nation*, is adapted from Uzodinma Iweala's 2005 novel with the same title and tells the story of child soldiers fighting with a rebel group to overthrow the government of an unnamed West African country. This film tells the story of Agu (Abraham Attah), a young boy who flees into the forest after government forces ambush

his hometown, killing his family. He is soon abducted by a rebel group led by Commandant (Idris Elba). Together with other recruits, they fight their way into the city. Though the film only identifies itself as a narrative about an unnamed West African nation, clearly its visual aesthetics which replicate the verisimilitude of Liberia's civil war, the cinematography and narrative images of child soldiers and the general narrative of politics and war suit discussions of Monrovia. For this reason, Fukunaga, despite being a Japanese-American director, benefits the discussions that I make in this chapter as his film easily welds with Monrovia's discourse of political violence. The rationale for including this film is that child soldiers are important signifiers of the form of conflict that this chapter discusses. Using this trope bears considerable historical similarity that justifies an analysis of the film as a narrative relevant to Monrovia's political past.

This film starts with a pre-emptive attack on civilians before the protagonist flees to the forest. Here, the idea of political rifts is more vocalized as government soldiers arbitrarily attack civilians accusing them of aiding rebels and end up as post-war rejects: isolated from the community and the government they fought for. The character of Supreme Commander Goodblood in *Beasts of No Nation* presents this vicious exclusion of rebel fighters from political and economic benefit. Goodblood is a political figure who after victory, builds an enclave for himself in the outskirts of Monrovia. The battle for the city in this film ends with the establishment of political victory, but loss of citizenship rights even for the fighters most of whom flee back to nearby forest. Goodblood's transformation from warlord identity to a political leader does not transform the lull into sustainable peace (Harris, 1999) but endorses widespread "social construction of difference between various groups" (Bøås and Utas, 2014, p. 50), turning political leaders against fighters. Very little about this film has been researched on, except for Ambe's (2004) work which has looked at the dramatic strategies in *Beasts of No Nation*, with the specific focus on shot and stench as dramatic strategies. Specifically, the

way the film is resolved by showing key fighters disowned by the political figure for whom they fought sustains my analysis of the rarray characters who are also expendable citizens.

There are notable similarities between the films discussed here. First, they use quasi-ethnographic approach and verisimilitude to anchor their narratives within Monrovia's contemporary history of violence. Monrovia's streets and spaces provide the setting to the actions of these films and often, the details of the actions are framed in the context of the country's civil war which ended in 2003. Second, the films are told from the perpetrator's perspective and thus raise questions of the city space being used to procure violence and abuse citizens. This narration style eclipses the voices of the victims, some of whom appear as perpetrators. For this reason, the films build an iconicity of chasms and the resulting rarray life, as a discourse of Monrovia's contemporary citizenship in the sense that their resolutions do not open avenues for inclusive citizenship but promote the emergence of politically and economically displaced citizens. By this overture, the films construe a discourse of a city whose residents remain peripheral to its progress, hence 'stranded'. I discuss these characters in relation to the concept of rarray citizenship.

Street Necropolis

Achille Mbembe (2001, p. 199) describes the life of the postcolonial subject as follows:

> Enclosed in an impossibility and confined on the other side of the world, the natives no longer expect anything from the future. A time has got farther away, leaving behind only a field of ruins, an immense weariness, an infinite distress and a need for vengeance and rest. This nameless eclipse is also accompanied by a proliferation of metaphysics of sorrow, of thoughts of final things and days. The proliferation is partly due to the excessive burden of mass suffering and the omnipresence of death. Dying, often prematurely, for nothing, no

apparent reason, just like that, without having sought death, constitutes the soil of recent memory. Through the brutality and uncertainties of everyday existence, the fear of dying and being buried has also become the way the future, inexhaustible and infinite, is foreshortened and accomplished.

For Mbembe, the idea of death is inseparable from the very existence of the postcolonial subject. Death is, in his view, either the physical form, where one may just find themselves in violence, or starvation, or disease and die, "without having sought death". Death is also a condition of hopelessness in life; no future hope and the present circumstances make life very difficult. I have cited these views here because they echo citizenship experiences in Monrovia where the Advocates for Human Rights (2009) reports extensively of the tactics of violence and the desperate conditions in which many Monrovia residents lived during and after the war. Here, citizens trapped within violence in which they had nothing to do with, would usually find themselves casualties and many of them died, "without having sought death".

With this framing of the post-colony, the montage of Niccol's *Lord of War's* opening sequence which is framed from the point of view of a bullet and ends with murder of an African boy in Monrovia caries strong symbolism of the city as a necropolis. The montage progressively shows the lifecycle of a bullet from its manufacture in a Russian factory, through shipping to rebel fighters in Monrovia and ends when it is fired in the streets of the city. In this final shot, it penetrates the forehead of a young African boy, between the eyes. This final shot is framed from within the barrel of the gun, thus adopting the perspective of the killer bullet. That the camera shows the bullet's point-of-view from inside the barrel to the boy's forehead is a way of eliminating doubt that it is that specific bullet from the Russian factory that has killed the boy. The changed point of view also personifies the bullet to embody the attribute of a killer, so that it exemplifies how global arms dealers are directly

culpable for the carnage in Monrovia. In the entire sequence, the bullet is positioned at the horizontal centre of the frame, giving it dominance.

As the bullet hits the boy, the shot is swiftly truncated by a cut-to-dark transition, perhaps cueing the viewer to the instantaneous compulsion to conceal and forget this death. The swift dark transition mimics a rapid blink, maybe even a reflex to close the eye and 'not see' the death and hence the carnage it represents. Again, the swift jump-cut to dark devalues carnage in the city by keeping it out of sight. This abrupt concealment may insinuate the innumerable instances when human violations were randomly committed, yet quickly concealed through propaganda or other tactics. This montage showing Monrovia streets as a necropolis is indeed a strong opening statement that seeks to express the context in which the narrative proceeds. The images set the film's mood to war and makes violence the most visible element through which the narrator engages with Monrovia's urban form and memorializes it.

Niccol's *Lord of War* leaves no doubt that it is grounded on the trappings of Monrovia's gangster leadership and the extreme violence that it entails. Throughout this film, Niccol uses mise-en-scène and composition that downplays civilian deaths in the city. The implication of such a style is that it suggests the triviality of death which at the height of Monrovia's factional wars is well articulated. Foster, et al. (2009) describes how "Prince Johnson reportedly sat in a chair on top of a table, playing a guitar and singing, while his soldiers randomly killed people" (p. 141-142) inside an ECOMOG ship where refugees had sought protection after he assassinated Samuel Doe. This massacre was sanctioned by a rebel faction leader who had fought against Doe's regime because of its atrocities, yet continued, like the other rebel factions, ECOMOG and the government forces, to commit and celebrate horrible human violations. The imagery of the vulture on a lone corpse in front of the dilapidated hotel where Yuri is accommodated by Andre Baptiste Sr. (Figure i) is the most compelling signal of how close death and life are linked in the streets of Monrovia.
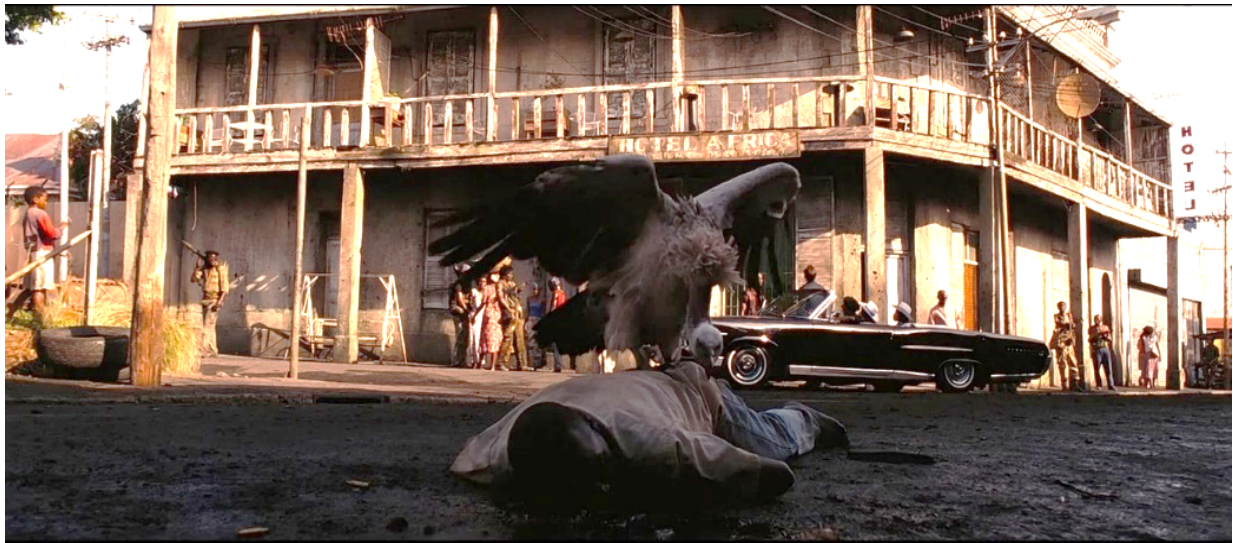
Figure i: A wide shot of a vulture landed on a corpse outside a street of Monrovia in *Lord of War* (2005). [Source: screen freeze frame].

This shot shows a corpse lying on the foreground and a group of people standing around the huge building which dominates the whole background. A vulture stands on top of the corpse whole the people go on with their business, undisturbed. Among these people, some are armed, and others appear to be civilians. The cinematography uses shadows and light to demarcate the foreground and the background. Whereas the corpse is in the dark foreground, the people are in the brightly lit background. Most of the other space in the scene, the streets, are deserted. If we read this scene as a continuity of the initial sequence where the young boy is fatally shot, then this shot signposts Monrovia streets as "the scene of the crime" (Seltzer, 2003, p. 62) alluded to in that sequence.

 The corpse occupies the same visual position as the bullet in the opening sequence – the vertical centre of the screen. Such a cinematography style provides visual continuity to the motif of death, shifting attention from western involvement in Monrovia's bloodshed, to the

normalcy of this death in the city. The image of Andre Baptiste Jr., Yuri and the hotel are relegated to the background while the vulture and the corpse are placed in the foreground. None seems bothered by the vulture devouring the body in front of them. Instead, they are carrying on with their normal daily activities of trade and camaraderie. Thus, the most compelling reading of this shot is not that there is rampant death in the streets, but that life goes on and that no one seems to notice or is bothered by this death. The only people within the shot are relegated in the background, visually isolated from the corpse in the foreground by the cinematography of different lighting. The use of dark lighting in the foreground contrasting the bright lighting in the background helps to ascertain this division of existence. The darkly lit front, where the corpse lies, signifies civilian's violated life. Death appears here as the ultimate symbol of citizenship. Curiously, while a neo-noir ambiance covers the foreground space where death has occurred, the normal lighting at the background distances Yuri and the fighters from this death. This visual composition of demarcation is curious because it appears as a subtle re-enactment of Monrovia's elusive culpability in the aftermath of its armed conflicts.

Again, positioning the corpse at the foreground would signal how the story of Monrovia is foremost about death. The choice of the screen's horizontal centre as the position for the bullet in the opening sequence, the rebel gunner who fires the fatal shot that kills the boy, the young African victim, Yuri in the swathe of spent bullet cartridges and now this corpse, emphasizes the centrality of memory of carnage in understanding Monrovia. The central position of these images of death on the screen also allows the viewer to discover and acclimatize to bloodshed in the city. This could explain the shot's mise-en-scène of armed soldiers positioned at various points around the hotel, again attesting to the centrality and immediacy of violence in the city, herein embodied by the civilian corpse abandoned on the foreground. Neither the characters in the shot are concerned with the corpse or the scavenging

vulture, nor is the vulture bothered by the presence of the people. Consequently, the image of a vulture on a corpse is a snapshot that can be read in two ways.

On one hand Andre Baptiste Sr. is an embodiment of endemic corruption and abuse of power within Monrovia's top leadership (Osaghae, 1996). He is a prey to his own country, looting its resources during its greatest calamity of civil war. On the other, Yuri embodies the link between global arms manufacturing and trade and the factional rebel crisis in Monrovia, thus positioning the war within the context of exploitative global capitalism. Indeed, this predatory global interest in Monrovia's political deals tends to rely on such exploitative deals, so that the war is a necessary façade for the ongoing looting of the country's mineral resources and hence of its metaphorical death and cannibalism (Reno, (1996), Reno, 1997).

The simultaneous existence of life and death, foregrounded by the diegetic relationship of the living and the dead within the mise-en-scène, exemplifies Monrovia's drift to a necropolis city. The dead on the street are presumed buried, invisible and hence side-stepped during the everyday life occurring around the corpse. In these streets, the world of the dead and the living are symbolically merged, yet also separated, as war and politics take centre stage. The warring factions use carnage as a tool to negotiate authority, while at the same time, retaliation carnage such as narrated in Garrett Batty's *Freetown* (2015) becomes a political discourse. The dominant imagery of death confers Niccol's *Lord of War* an ambiance of criticism against carnage in Africa's post-millennial cities. It relates, in the specific case of Liberia, to the country's postcolonial discourse of carnage perpetrated in pursuit of political and economic hegemony. Yuri's gun-running business presents a forked symbol of how his erstwhile persona of a weapon merchant facilitating battle for liberation is concurrently that of a backer of death in Monrovia. The two bullet cartridges besides the corpse, like the copious

cartridges strewn on the streets at the start of the film (Figure ii) and the lone bullet documented in the opening sequence, implicate him in Monrovia's cycle of bloodshed.

On the other hand, this shot of a corpse cannot be read in isolation of the wider scope of carnage as it encapsulates just a fraction of Monrovia's topography of death. If the notion of one bullet, one victim and one corpse map out the sequence of death in this city, the film's opening scene is, as I hinted earlier, equally important in showing the vastness and contiguity of this carnage. This shot opens with a fade-in transition from a black screen as the camera dollies above vast tract of bullet cartridges strewn on the street, finally revealing Yuri in the middle of the shot (Figure ii). He occupies the vertical centre of the screen, the same position that the vulture would occupy as seen in Figure i.

Figure ii: A wide shot of Yuri standing in a vast field of used bullet cartridges in an empty street of Monrovia at the start of *Lord of War* (2005). [Source: screen freeze frame].

This scene is set on a deserted street and the frame is filled with bullet cartridges strewn all over, the background there is smoke, and wires hang loosely from electricity poles. This scene uses the mise-en-scène of fire and plumes of smoke to highlight the imminence and recentness of the war and carnage. Yuri's culpability is heightened by his presence in the middle of this carnage. After the initial high angle craning shot when the camera hovers

closely above the bullet cartridges, Niccol changes the camera angle from high to low just as it dollies to Yuri standing in the middle of the shot. This craning movement prolongs the exposure time of the empty shells, subtly emphasizing the enormity of Monrovia's war. By a similar rationale, Yuri's dominating character and position at the centre of the screen, combined with a low camera angle feasibly signify the centrality of this character in Monrovia's realities of 'liberation' war implied in the shot's composition and mise-en-scène. 'Liberation' is cautiously used here, as this evocative scene of carnage and hence Yuri's continued interference with Monrovia's political conversations, is found at the film's beginning and its end, suggesting the continuity of violence and not its redemptive purpose.

From these two scenes of death in Figures i and ii, the question being pre-empted is specifically the meaning of death in the streets of Monrovia. What do the dead, the victims, symbolize about the life of the living? If Baptiste is the ruler, who does he rule? It appears from the film's use of violence, embodied by the dead body and the bullet cartridges, that such street images use the body as a crypt for the meaninglessness of the urban citizen. Starting and ending the film with shots of streets filled with bullet cartridges eulogizes Monrovia's inability to overcome the initial gloom of its many civil wars, thus remaining in the perpetual interlude between conflicts whose beginnings and endings are uncertain. Even though the central screen position occupied by Yuri overtly frame him as a quasi-warlord, ending the film at the same point and with similar cinematographic elements of immediate carnage accentuates the immutability of this war. This would recall the idea of endless trauma that Waugh (2011) suggests is the very essence of urban citizenship. Positioning Yuri at the centre of the screen in these shots of bullet cartridges, then repeating the shots at both ends of the film symbolically punctuates the film's narrative of violence. Monrovia would seem to be enclosed by violence. But the idea of 'parenthesis' that logically arises from the positioning of these shots may also alert us to the fact that gun-running alliances are an afterthought, hence

secondary in understanding Monrovia's war-scape, which is foremost about its absent citizens.

As the craning camera comes to a halt with a medium shot of Yuri, the shot's framing changes again from low to normal angle, making an exposé of the relationship between carnage and Yuri. The high craning angle showing the cartridges devalue carnage to which they are signifiers, while the low camera angle framing of Yuri magnifies his importance as a key beneficiary in this war. Yuri's presence within the mise-en-scène of the corpse and the armed soldiers and in this swathe of bullet cartridges implicates him in Monrovia's current war. His job is to create equilibrium by arming the unarmed populace. The final medium shot of this scene showing him addressing the viewer is framed at a normal angle, visually persuading the viewer to understand normalcy of Yuri's gun business and the war it perpetuates in Monrovia. If we focus on how the shot's framing changes from long to medium just before Yuri makes this pronouncement, we see in this transformation a gesture to appease the viewer. One can easily draw a parallel between Yuri's indifferent view of the carnage he facilitates in Monrovia and the vulture's quasi-playfulness with the corpse: both are beneficiaries of the carnage yet seem acquitted to the war surrounding them. They could connote the economic predation on which Monrovia's political leadership are made, sustained and overthrown (Atkinson, 1997) with little culpability.

Niccols' cinematography in this shot also seems to illustrate the outlay of power, hegemony and western diplomacy in contemporary Liberia. The opening fade-from-black transition is perhaps a metaphor of the historical dilemma of politics in Liberia and, specifically, the hideousness of violence in Monrovia. Since its founding as a settlement for freed black American slaves in 1847 (Duyvesteyn, 2005, p. 21), the Republic of Liberia has been ruled through a series of what Christensen and Utas (2008) terms as 'politricks' of governance,

randomly effected through factional armed dissident groups and a fragile central regime. The history of the nation is tied to this history of disenfranchising politics that do not address Liberians' most pressing "issues of concern" (Söderström, 2015, p. 158), nurturing an aura of political gloom evident in the city's violently contested leadership. The transition from 'darkness' to 'warscape' may be an allegory of Monrovia's transition from the exploitative and alienating Americo-Liberian leadership to the gangster-like leadership started by Doe. This history makes narratives of Monrovia particularly about the victimization of the citizen as part of the process of political negotiations.

Taylor's invasion on 24 December 1989 to 29 November 1990, then again from 15 October 1992 to 31 July 1993 and even his election to the presidency in 1997, may be indicative of how war (and dead, traumatized, or mutilated bodies specifically) in Liberia usually assumes the place of a political conversation. LURD's and MODEL's armed invasion of 2003 that led to Taylor's resignation is a breach of and a signal of the elusiveness of peace (Duyvesteyn, 2005, p. 27). Still, it may be indicative of the fragility of such peace, so that Monrovia, the main war front in the period from 1990 to 2003, is habituated with "short-lived and uneasy peaces…[and] lulls inaugurated by cease-fires, accords and agreements" (Outram, 1997, p. 355). As the viewer spectates on Yuri's arms deals with both rebel faction and government from the perspective of this uncertain war aftermath, it is evident that political hegemony is at the centre of these wars. LURD and MODEL, specifically formed to oust Taylor, were not factional units to perpetuate war, but revolutionary units to change Monrovia's political leadership. Their stated mission was to make Taylor responsive to the calls for his resignation, thus, again, becoming a forceful precursor to the political dialogue in Accra. Against such images of violence, how can we speak of urban citizenship in a town with almost no citizens? I take on this absence in my analysis of *Johnny Mad Dog* where the idea of violence and death is given a more tentative meaning; to identify and point out the 'other'. Street violence

and the idea of necropolis that it supports, I argue, is the means through which we begin to see chasms between citizens and their political leaders at work. In the next subsection, I focus on *Johnny Mad Dog* to show how it illustrates the idea of enclaves.

Chasms and Enclaves

To speak of Monrovia using the metaphor of chasms is to invoke the political, social and economic trauma carried over from years of carnage, insurgencies and prolonged war. When these post-war narratives are retold in *Johnny Mad Dog*, the contrasting and divergent prospects that political personages and ex-combatants face within the city are at the centre of the image of post-war citizenship in Monrovia. *Johnny Mad Dog* uses street symbols to frame disconnection between spaces in Monrovia. From its start with violent incursions into Monrovia - a city prized for its inherent symbolism of authority and power – which are portrayed as symbolic journeys into political, ethnic and economic inclusion; to a resolution that intimates of contiguity of betrayal and dispossession, this film presages disconnections between places, ethnicities, political groups and socio-economic classes. These are presaged by, among other symbols, the imagery of a broken bridge (Figure iii).
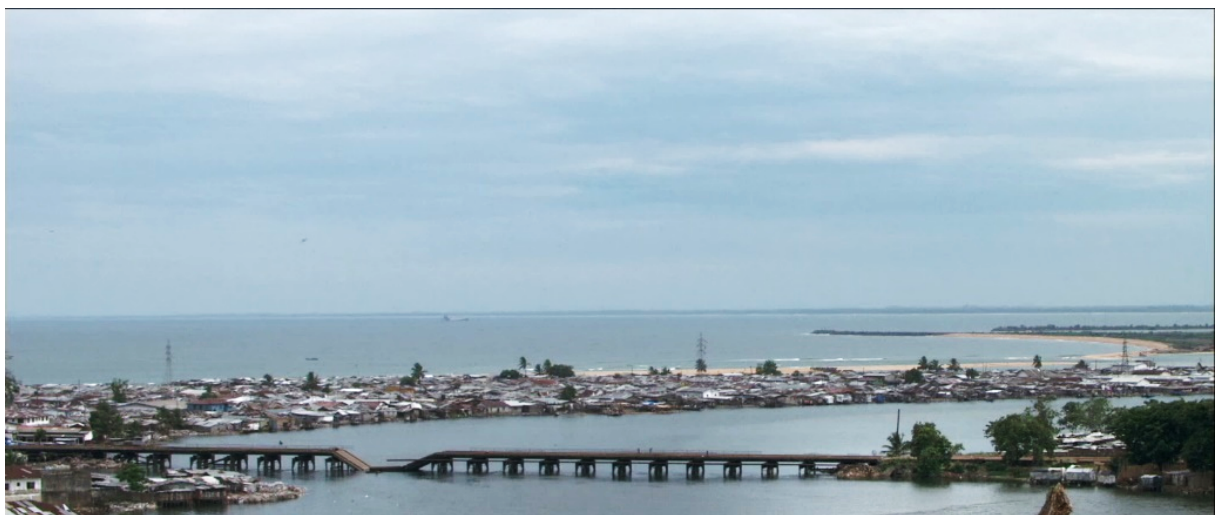

Figure iii: A wide shot a broken bridge in *Johnny Mad Dog* (2008). [Source: screen freeze frame].

In *Johnny Mad Dog*, this image of the bridge (Figure i) dominates the shot where the fighters are about to breach the government strongholds in the city. The shot's mise-en-scène

comprises the waterway in the foreground, the broken bridge and the sprawling shanty neighbourhood in the middle ground behind it. The Atlantic Ocean is in the background. The waterway extending from the foreground separates the slum-like settlement from the mainland, suggesting isolation of the settlement by the vast Atlantic Ocean in the background. The composition and wide-angle framing create an aura of desolation and vulnerability and precarious subsistence. Additionally, the wide framing allows the viewer to contemplate the two spaces previously connected by the bridge and thus become aware of their current state of disconnection. That the shot is framed from a wide angle and hides closer details from the viewer metonymically references a city that conceals its possible social, economic and political fissures from a casual glance. The dominant wide shot of the broken bridge is indicative of a concealed view of a broken city and of the ideological and political fissures which have seen Monrovia, the ultimate prize in the various political conflicts, divided and administered through various ceasefire deals (Foster, et al., 2009, p. 165). Yet, attention is drawn to this symbolism of a chasm between the mainland and the vast slum.

To use such cinematographic style creates a consciousness of Monrovia's history where bridges signify divisions and act as sites of political contests. In the 2003 final combat between Charles Taylor's troops and LURD rebels who had sieged Monrovia, the bridges were fortresses where warring groups had their last stand. Whoever could fight and control the bridge wielded power. Further, bridges mark frontiers of citizenship enclaves which are reinforced by violence. According to CNN (2003) reportage, Monrovia's bridges were often barricaded with razor wire that cut off access to either the government or rebel sections of the city. In this sense, bridges mark exclusion from the physical territory and political and economic participation in opposing territories. It, therefore, makes a significant contribution to the interpretation of the image of the broken bridge in *Johnny Mad Dog* which dominates the film's initial shots of Monrovia.

The shot's mise-en-scène of water invokes Monrovia's history of invasion that started when Captain R.F. Stockton, the leader of the Americo-Liberian settlers moored in the Atlantic coast, ordered King Peter of the Dey and the natives of Montserrado to surrender territory at gunpoint on 15 December 1821 (Waugh, 2011, p. 16). The body of water and the Atlantic Ocean commits the viewer to this memory of Americo-Liberians' invasion that persisted until Charles Taylor's resignation and subsequent incarceration at the International Criminal Court. Sauvaire's cinematography in this shot seems to situate the city within this symbolic disruption, which cinematic choices suggest an undisturbed history of disconnection between tribes and ethnicities, which, in Monrovia, have been most actualized in spatial divisions. Such intrinsic historical connotations can then be read in the context of disruption premised by this shot's geometric figure comprising foreground-background and the left-right axis formed by the intersection between the bridge and the river.

On the foreground-background axis is comprised mainly of the river connecting with the ocean beyond the bridge. Two arguments are possible. On one hand, the continuity between the ocean in the background and the river at the foreground suggests a relationship connected through flows: the former seems as if it is funnelling water into the latter, which could be read as donor-recipient relations. This sort of invasiveness is further illustrated in the channel connecting the ocean, the signifier of western intrusion, to the interior. In this sense, the idea of arrival and penetration built into this symbolism signals a disruption of social, economic and political order. After all, Americo-Liberians viewed themselves as superior to the local tribes and imposed a political order based on this basis. On the other hand, the viewer is faced with the consciousness of a river flowing into the ocean, so that it empties rather than receive. In this case, the river draws an equally important symbolism of retrieval and signifier of plunder; it is a channel through which resources are siphoned from inland and emptied into

the west. My reading of the shot is informed by this reflexive representation of the city's history. I make the argument that, founded at gunpoint, the city of Monrovia cannot be represented separately from the interruption arising from Captain R.F. Stockton's and King Peter of the Dey's rather forceful deal which not only brought freed slaves into Monrovia (the river as inlet) but also took away their freedom and resources at the same time (river as outlet). As *Johnny Mad Dog* and his group move into the city, their modus operandi entails these reverberations of the city's history of intrusion and overthrow. Their marauding actions are juxtaposed with ordinary lives of non-combatant citizens to enhance this aura of disruption.

The left-right axis comprises the broken bridge, which connects two sides of the city, which may be interpreted in two ways. First, the broken bridge signifies the condition of disconnection between the isolated settlement and the rest of the city, so that the shot illustrates the existence of enclaves. The idea of a link is then replaced with an ambiance of peril as residents must navigate unstable channels to reach their destinations. Proceeding from this reading is the second interpretation that the broken bridge is indeed a physical barrier. Without a connection between the lagoon settlement and the city, the water offers fortification to the residents while also taking away their freedom to connect with the rest of the city. These fissures presage the compartmentalization of space which is at the core of Monrovia's representation.

Within *Johnny Mad Dog*, the idea of compartments is part of the ideology of war. The composition and cinematography of the broken bridge enable the viewer to witness the heightened ethnic and political compartmentalization of the city through the battles between the various factions across this bridge. In this respect, the broken bridge is an impression of broken promises, broken pacts, broken expectations and the fake coalitions between rebel factions which culminate in quick political fallout (Duyvesteyn (2005, p. 25-27) and Foster, et

al., (2009, p. 163)). It embodies this perpetual crisis of a 'broken' Monrovia whose factions are irreparably kept apart, which replenishes the historical memory of the failed political deals such as that between President Doe, ECOMOG soldiers and Prince Johnson's INPFL rebels who collectively guarded the city after Taylor's attack (Duyvesteyn, 2005, p. 30). The stated objective of this coalition was not to safeguard Doe's power, but to prevent their mutual opponent, Charles Taylor, from ascending to power. Soon after, President Samuel Doe was tortured to death by the same INPFL fighters (Waugh, 2011, p. 149-152), clearly indicating the political and ethnic chasms which have characterized Monrovia's streetscape for a long time. The notion of disconnection, in this case, assumes an immediate political connotation of detachment from the political cause embodied by the characters fighting to seize the bridge.

From the foregoing two intersecting interpretations of the image of the bridge, the foreground-background and the left-right axis, it is possible to summarize the idea of chasms to which it is indexical, by reading it as a visual cue of the "political and ethnic cleavages that continue to haunt Liberia" (Bøås and Utas, 2014, p. 50). Monrovia is seen as a city where citizens have been historically boxed in immiscible economic, political and ethnic enclaves. The city's elites, mainly Americo-Liberians, were historically secluded from the 'illiterate' native tribes in the hinterland whom they ruled through proxy leaders. Yet, even under native leadership since the ousting of President Tolbert, conflicts have shifted to ethnic hegemony.

The Doe-Quiwonkpa ethnic hatred that started in 1985 created a political chasm that saw the creation of tribal enclaves with Krahn and Mandingo on one side and Gio and Mano on the other side of political hostilities, respectively. Charles Taylor's uprising against Doe government appealed to the oppressed and harassed Gio and Mano ethnic tribes of Nimba County. His annexation of Greater Liberia also known as Taylorland and establishment of a rival National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly Government (NPRAG) administration and a

capital city at Gbarnga in Bong County achieved two results. One is that it earmarked this conquered territory from Doe's government in Monrovia and two it signalled the establishment of competing for political cores, whose ultimate battle saw Monrovia quickly becoming a decisive battleground. In this sense, the breakage suggested by the image invokes Liberia's divisions that have mutated from rebel-government antagonisms to the ethnic rivalry, always encircling interests, ethnicities, political groupings, rebel factions and spaces. The severity of these ephemeral territories is well articulated in a later close-up shot of the bridge (Figure iv). This close-up shot is set on the surface of the bridge, with mise-en-scène of the razor wire on the foreground and explosion in the middle ground.

Figure iv: A wide shot showing a section of the bridge in Monrovia filled with used bullet cartridges and secured with razor wire in *Johnny Mad Dog* (2008). [Source: screen freeze frame.]

Unlike the previous wide long shot of the bridge discussed earlier, this medium shot reveals more grotesque details on top of the bridge. The top of the bridge, a fitting symbol of the city streets, as used here codes a city beleaguered by its extreme violence. The razor wire cultivates the image of demarcations and implores the viewer to notice the symbolism of flight, which in this film is continuously illustrated by displaced communities. The torn pieces of the razor wire, possibly of clothes or other carry-on packages, are suggestive of a hasty escape. The shoe dangling in the razor wire gives urgency to this scene of violence. In the

context of this film where characters are in constant flight from the violent rebel fighters, such composition confers upon this film narrative an agency of being displaced, which is indexical of trauma associated with such violence. The scene draws an anecdotal relationship between the emptiness of the cartridges and the sense of loss with which most characters in the film identify characters. The metaphor of laceration, a violent separation of a usually joined piece, is especially useful in eliciting how Liberians have been violently severed from each other, sometimes through revenge attacks, kidnapping, cannibalism, political oppression and occupation. It is thus arguable that the idea of territorial control and the possibility of siege suggested by this razor wire reconstitute the dialectic of violent demarcation of the city into disconnected groups.

Similarly, the explosion and bullet cartridges emphasize the severity of violence and hence the gaps between the warring parties, that characterize most of the film. These cartridges signify the derisive cost of the Monrovia's war. Throughout this film, the whirring and ricocheting bullets, screams, exploding bombs, delirious shouts, weeping sounds, crying babies and even silence, are used as the backdrop of Monrovia's aural landscape. The aura of derision that Sauvaire cultivates through this fusion of war zone sounds and images of extreme violence can be interpreted as a narrative strategy to enshrine Liberia's contiguous quasi-liberation wars within the enclaves upon which the country's many civil wars have been fought. The rebel-government conflict alluded here signifies a political chasm between the rebels and the incumbent political leadership of Dogo ethnic group. In place of the communities who would otherwise occupy the place and engage in social exchanges, the bullet cartridges clearly exemplify the severing of these ties.

What is achieved by such an image of a vacant Monrovia is "dismissing the [city's] human dimension" (Blanchard, 1985, p. 118) not because it is inconsequential to understanding

Monrovia, but because the street on which the film is set is mainly identified as a place of mass displacements and carnage. The empty cartridges signify miniature graves and colossal loss of life in the city's bloodshed as they endorse the realism of the violence while the absence of direct images of death speaks of a human loss which is not easily expressible. Through the cartridges, we see Monrovia's streets as spaces for "wound…, violence and loss...[and] the city's scarred identity as wound landscape" (Seltzer, 2003, p. 62). Here the film is using the mise-en-scène of bullet cartridges, once portend weapons of war but now postwar debris but which now have assumed a new form of existence as wastes in the city to signify the life of rebel fighters who, at the end of the war, are abandoned as spent 'war' debris and remain irrelevant to the city's political future. Ukeje and Iwilade (2012, p. 346) describes this scenario as politics of "use and dump". The city's post-conflict realism of aversion to the disbanded ex-combatants trying to "escape the city they once sought to control" (Hoffman, 2007, p. 401). This motif of ex-combatants as political debris provides grounding for my discussion of rarray citizenship in the next sub-section.

Rarray Citizenship

Christensen and Utas (2008, p. 517) uses the term rarray boys to refer to a brand of urban castoffs who thrive precariously outside formal political, social and economic circulation. In other words, they pass through the city, temporarily establish themselves as forceful custodians of its streets, but never get to belong to it. Rarray is a condition of citizenship continually characterized by disorientation and instabilities of war. First used to describe the unemployed young toughs in Freetown who survive as hired goons and haphazard underworld deals (Abdullah (1998) and Zack-Williams (1995)) in Sierra Leone, rarray can also be deployed as a concept that explicates the "continued misguided and retrogressive policies of the … politicians who have recklessly governed … [an] erstwhile beautiful country into now wretched, filthy, aid-dependent poorest of the poor nations in the world… [thus reflecting]

chronic corruption, self-centered greed" (Kandeh, 2005). Not only do politics create a perpetual sense of half-hearted expediency, they enforce it by ensuring that ex-combatants remain poor and marginalized. The metaphor of rarray citizenship in Monrovia can easily be understood through the "use and dump" politics" that pushed former fighters back to savage subsistence as they protest against the regime" (Ukeje and Iwilade, 2012, p. 346). In this section, I use rarray as a conceptual term that explicates the representation of ex-combatants as "marginal souls… deported to the margins" (Utas, 2003, p 231), in Fukunaga's *Beasts of No Nation*.

Beasts of No Nation engage with the discourse of political sentiments using visuals of carnage to symbolize the traumatic experiences of citizenship in Monrovia, a city prized for its inherent symbolism of authority and power. In this film, the final scene before Agu's dissident group scatters is remarkable for a number of reasons. First, it concludes the narrative with sadness by showing the unceremonious way in which Agu's rebel faction disbands at the end of the Monrovian war. Instead of celebrating their victorious entry to Monrovia, the director uses cinematography of dark hues, mise-en-scène of incomplete buildings and finally, a maze of trenches in the forest to heighten the perception of betrayal that befalls Agu's faction at the end of the war (Figure v).

Figure v: A wide shot of Agu walking past a fellow soldier with severe hunger as he moves through the maze of trenches in *Beasts of No Nation* (2015). [Source: screen freeze frame].

The cinematography of the continuous shot starting with Agu descending into the labyrinth of trenches filled with brown muddy water from the sentry firing position to when he exits the trenches at the other end where fellow soldiers are busy 'mining' gold is one of despair. The start of the scene shows a lone fighter firing bullets into an open field. In the absence of an enemy, an act suggestive of nostalgia for war which has come to an end without any benefit. His firing, seemingly without motivation, achieves great meaning when he asks Agu for more bullets – which are not there. He personifies the rudimentary post-war life without economic benefits or political belonging. As Agu descended into the trenches on his way to the Commander, we see the rest of the group and their horrendous life.

In this shot we see Agu walking past a fellow rebel fighter in the trench. The camera is positioned to mimic Agu's normal view giving prominence to the brown earthen walls of the trenches. Here, the fact that the ex-fighters are at a depth below the surface is stressed. As Agu walks through the trenches, he is poised as the face of the collective solitude endured by the group. The camera poises him as the diegetic witness of his faction's remarginalization as it follows him, in the process encountering former fighters inflicted by different difficulties. We first see a character with a gun hanging loosely under his arm, a prop that characterizes him as an ex-fighter. The action of squelching as he stands leaning on the wall of the trench and holding his stomach emphasizes his personification of famishment and perhaps also the pain. He has no shirt and his body is framed from near, showing the dirt collecting on his torso and his trouser. Juxtaposed with the enclosing earthen walls of the trench, he is seen as a character inside a grave. Agu continues his journey through the muddy trenches, with the camera reveals the rest of his comrades: the delusional ones smoking as they sit in excavated clefts filled with the muddy water, unbothered by being soaked in the mud; others sitting

chest-deep in the muddy water in complete resignation; and one convulsing, perhaps from hunger.

This maze of trenches is an allegory of the city streets where the fighters were to stay at the end of the war. It thus connotes their life in the context of the 'streets' where they end after the war. This lone machine-gunner refusing to 'get over' the war provides an important paradigm of how the emergence of post-war citizenship in Monrovia can also be interpreted as a return to insignificance. The mise-en-scène and actions can thus be interpreted in the context of Monrovia's war aftermath where "remarginalization and not reintegration, … become(s) the natural outcome awaiting most ex-combatants" (Utas, 2003, p. 250). The images of fatigued fighters are indicative of former fighters being "stuck, unable to go anywhere, make any changes…buried under a pile of obligations, mourning, depleted confidence or just too many expectations" (Simone, 2011, p. 43). Arguably, then, this scene uses the camera as a tool to take inventory of rarray citizenship.

Using the imagery of the trench as a metonymic space of both hope and death, Fukunaga's film paints the picture of an elusive inclusivity. Instead, he illustrates how the war does not elevate the fighters but buries them into perpetual "suffering and sacrifice" (Waugh, 2011, p. 1) irrespective of whether they continue as fighters or revert to civilian life. The concept of betrayal that surrounds this resolution scene suggests a return to nothingness as fighters lose various benefits associated with war (Podder, 2011, p. 57). The image of some young soldiers wishing to continue the war, others in resignation to their fate and others 'mining' gold, constitutes a repertoire of post-war discourses of economic marginality as we see trenches as a figurative mass grave for the fighters. Agu terms his rebel faction as 'animals with no place to go': no war to fight and no political goodwill to incorporate them in the mainstream politics

embodied by Goodblood. Christensen and Utas (2008, p. 531) refer to such existence as "animal life"; trapped at the interstice of ended combat and unattainable civilian life.

The scene also emotes the transition from war to economic liberation as an illusion. While the diminished operational capacity of Agu's rebel faction would signal the impracticality of continuing the war, economic liberation, represented by the make-shift non-productive gold mining venture, remains elusive. The trench and the gold venture are evocative of what Christensen and Utas (2008, p. 522) calls the struggle "to establish livelihoods and to manoeuvre within a strictly limited range of peacetime socio-economic possibilities". Limitation in this film partly arises from betrayal and individual aggrandizement and partly from their perceived status as animals. In these shots, the fighters 'discarded' inside the trench can be likened to the empty bullet cartridges discarded in the streets in Niccol's and Sauvaire's films. The fighters signify a past war but have no use in the current post-war space. The aura of internment which Fukunaga cultivates within the composition of a 'grave' is to some extent an inference to the vanity of conquest. At the same time, remarginalization is seen as ex-post "justifications and rationales" (Reno, 2007, p. 229) for continuity of Monrovia's wars.

The character of Supreme Commander Goodblood acmes a vicious exclusion of rebel fighters from political and economic benefits. Goodblood is a political figure who after victory, builds an enclave for himself in Monrovia while excluding fighters who helped him seize territory and power. The battle for the city in this film ends with the establishment of political victory but the collapse of the promise of post-war inclusive citizenship. Goodblood's characterization does not transform the lull into sustainable peace (Harris, 1999) but we see his characters of privileging foreign businessmen over his own fighters as an act that enables "social construction of difference between various groups" (Bøås and Utas, 2014, p. 50). In

the scenes of Agu's rebel faction at the headquarters of their Supreme Commander stress, the distancing of fighters from the benefits promised to them.

They are humiliated with a lengthy waiting as Goodblood gives priority to foreign businessmen, a gesture of their waning relevance after the political victory and deification of commercial alliances (Reno, 1997). This montage illustrates betrayal in post-war Monrovia so that the scene in the trenches protest despotic political leadership. The idea that streets could be retreat sites for self-reorganization phenomenally alters the way we perceive the fighters and challenges our assumptions about the child soldier. The question, who is the beast? is implicitly coeval with the indecisive way in which this film handles the subject of the rarray citizen.

The hostility that Goodblood shows to his fighters augments the images of famished ex-combatants at the end of the film to suggest that the city, in the illusory sense in which it promises social, political and economic power in the aftermath of the war (Gates and Nordås (2010); Nagbe (1996, p. 53)), rescind on this promise. Instead, the conquest of Monrovia brings, for the ex-fighters and their field Commandants, nothing. Furthermore, the trenches, in the sense that they symbolize graves, draw on a well-established visual trope of death which prevails even in the representations of Monrovia's streets laden with bullet cartridges. The image of the streets littered with bullets is comparable to that of the trenches littered with fighters, a representation that urges us to see this film not just through the motif of violence, but through the public life of the fighters who are themselves expendable capital of the war. These child soldiers embody a form of citizenship that is isolated from mainstream acts of citizenship and deprived of citizenship rights. The trenches are their nation, marking rather than absolving their sense of statelessness.

PART 2: STREETS AND REPORTAGE

(Nairobi and Kinshasa in Cinema)

Introduction

The term reportage here refers to the use of subjective point of view within the films to comment on the city's real issues. Fictional cinema, unlike documentaries, is not objective with realism. Yet one can also relate with some aspects of fictional film narratives, whether these aspects are built through cinematography, mise-en-scène, narration, setting, characterization or temporality. To speak of fictional films as forms of reportage thus requires an understanding of how these elements are functioning to achieve verisimilitude within the films and the issues they address. According to Yair Lev (2000), "'news reports', which deliver "objective" coverage of events" and "'colour reports'… deal(ing) with a variety of phenomena that exist on the fringe of a news event or are generated by them", are the two types of reportage. Further, he also identifies personal report, also known as new-journalism as a subgenre of colour reports which does not adhere to the objectivity expected of news reports, but rather renders "an aspect of life." Based on these definitions, my discussion of reportage is concerned with the issues generated from using filmic images as quasi-documentaries of city life. I use the term reportage here to liken these films' aesthetics with documentary filmmaking in that the directors "look for the subjective point of view from which they can process the material into a personal statement on the reality… (which is) artistically moulded into a cinematic drama." For Nairobi and Kinshasa, the everyday street life within the cities is the material which the directors manipulate to make personal reports about those cities.

Reportage here infers the filmic tendency to use specific images to achieve subjective narration of citizenship experiences. For films about Nairobi and Kinshasa, the thesis argues

that the display of garbage and its associative symbolism of decadence is indeed a useful reportage strategy about citizenship categories based on the spatial mappings of inside-outside, centre-periphery categorizations. Unlike the use of direct referent such as is used in Cairo and Monrovia, these filmic narratives use garbage to create an image of being discarded. In Nairobi, reportage is conveyed through hypervisibility, achieved through manipulation of dominant gaze and choice of shanty settings. The scrap metal dealers constitute what I am calling assembled communities, those who come together after becoming misfits in the mainstream city. Their presence is discussed through the term bricolage, which in this case proposes a view of the city's social groupings as appositions rather than oppositions. In Kinshasa, the subjectivity emerges in the dominance of the edge of the city as an alternative capital for the urban poor, what I am calling the capital cite. The images and activities of the characters in this space reveals the practice of pariah citizenship within the city.

CHAPTER 4: BRICOLAGE CITY: HYPERVISIBILITY AND ASSEMBLAGE OF STREET COMMUNITIES IN NAIROBI CINEMA

In this chapter, I discuss the composition of images of garbage within films narratives about Nairobi as a potential syntax of citizenship in Nairobi city. These films are Tosh Gitonga's *Nairobi Half Life* (2012) and Muchiri Njenga's *Kichwateli* (2012), Diego Quemada-Diez's *I Want to be a Pilot* (2006) and Nathan Collett's *Kibera Kid* (2006). The first is a full feature film which narrates the transformation of a young man, Mwas, from an ordinary city resident to a criminal. This transformation is important because it indexes the ways through which street communities are assembled by bringing together individuals who have been ejected from the main city. The film reconstructs narratives of street communities through an assemblage comprising objects, people and spaces. The other three are short films set in Kibera slums (and other poor spaces within the city) and use the dilapidated landscape as a canvas to draw attention to urban marginality.

I use the term bricolage here as a concept by which marginal characters within the city come together as improvised street communities. It is a concept of the diversity of spaces, materials and humans that come together in the city streets to form new groups or objects. It implies a "'mixity'… an array of objects and textures, social and cultural tensions" (Whiteley, 2011, p. 3) that characterize street communities. Bricolage also explores the pragmatic modes of existence that are possible within the city streets and the porosity of borders between these communities and the rest of the city. Maneuvers of the assemblage can be understood as the strategies used by urban communities to configure their "space, social relations and infrastructure [and] continuously attempt to construct the conditions that enable the city to act as a flexible resource for the viable organization of their everyday lives" (Simone, 2008). To talk of bricolage and manoeuvres of assemblage is thus to talk of the processes through which individuals come together within the city and form functional communities in the streets.

Such adaptation implicitly welcomes new thoughts about the city's margins. Instead of serving as the perfect symbol of marginality, the city's margin, when given prominence in cinematic discourses, provides a vital starting point for understanding and discussing how the modern city in Africa is evolving.

Their assemblage and the visibility that come with it becomes the very means through which they can negotiate for survival within their marginal spaces. Throughout the chapter, I use the terms junk, garbage, leftovers, edge, periphery, slum, margins and junkyard interchangeably, to refer to the city's marginal communities. The chapter is organized in four parts. The first discusses garbage as a metaphor of both regeneration of marginalized street communities and an affront to the dominant gaze, which is that of the elites. The second part discusses how the various films use cinematography of garbage to infer the idea of urban marginality. The third part argues that manoeuvres of 'assemblage' associated with regenerated garbage typifies the strategies deployed by street communities to survive. The fourth part discusses the dominating images on the periphery in the films give rise to the aesthetics of hypervisibility, which confer symbolic power to the peripheral community within the city.

Garbage as a Metaphor of Marginal Street Communities

Images of garbage form, to borrow the words of West-Pavlov (2005, p. 43), a powerful model of leftovers as objects that creatively reconstitute value, phenomenally enabling the formulation of new experiences. The idea of leftovers, or surplus, aptly exemplifies the lives of street communities who, excluded from the mainstream urban structures, exist at the periphery as surplus, as leftovers, of the city. Their existence therefore formulates new paradigms about urban citizenship, which is my argument here. They achieve this through assemblage and hypervisibility, concepts that can be applied in relation to street communities in Nairobi city.

Improvising salvaged pieces of junk offer, in the words of Whiteley (2011), a "perfect analogy for the haphazard and serendipitous nature of one's journey through [city] life" (p. xii). Oftentimes, the outcome may enable new conversations and exchange of ideas. This was the case when Joseph-Francis Sumégné installed *La Nouvelle Liberté*, a sculpture fashioned out of pieces of urban garbage in Douala, Cameroon, in 1996. This junk sculpture is a massive object; twelve meters tall, five meters wide and weighing an estimated eight tonnes. It is erected at the Rond Point Deido roundabout, one of the busiest places in the city. It brought together clashing perspectives of Douala city.

On one hand, city elites felt that "car parts, discarded tires, scrap metals and other various debris" collected from various waste sites in the city and used to make the junk gave "hypervisibility" to aspects of the city they had dodged" (Simone, 2004, p. 114). In this case, the sculpture not only brought to public attention the existence of such junk, it also enabled a discussion about these ignored objects within the city. The sculpture taunts the elite discourse that sees itself removed from such garbage and in such a mentality distance themselves from the trash and the lowly within the city which it signifies. Popular media and mainstream elites have, in a show of solidarity against this new mass of rejects, always referred to the sculpture as Le Nju-Nju du Rond-Point (roughly translates to the monster of Rond-Point).

But on the other hand, the city's junkies recognized the dregs as an affirmation of "a [recycled] way of urban life that people had been reluctant, even embarrassed, to affirm" (Simone, 2004, p. 113-114). In this sense, it reflects the possibility for alternative ways of existing in the city and again nurtures conversations about how such existence becomes possible and its implications for understanding the ways of circulation and existence of those considered human 'junk' within the city. This is the sense adopted by the artist whose choice of the name *La Nouvelle Liberté* (which translates to New Freedom), gives the pieces of junk a positive

tone. Yet the same tone acknowledges rather than dispels the notion that the new freedom in Douala envisioned by this sculpture is indeed indexical of extreme citizenship difficulties: the widening of the distance between the modern downtown quarters such as Zone Nylon and the city beyond (Simone A., 2004, p. 96). Thus, La Nouvelle Liberté is a vortex of the city's hierarchic citizenship manifested in its symbolic assemblage as an art form.

From these conflicting points of view, Sumégné's assembled junk sculpture provokes conversations about the meaning of citizenship through the differences it mediates. By occupying a public space, it brings attention to the salvaged minuscule "traces of [the city's] authentic experience" (Whiteley, 2011, p. 35), establishing stories from the city's less visible edges within its visible centre. In other words, its presence in the streets enable conversations between different urban groups and by this process formulate narratives of Douala's two worlds: the elites whose sensory gratification is attuned to grandeur; and the lowly communities who are often ignored and seen as a nuisance in this dominant view of the city. Such a conflictual possibility applies to Nairobi's visual landscape.

In Nairobi city, one will find the mammoth Kibera slums, one of the world's largest slums, located short distance Southwest of the city's central business district. This slum is home to an estimated one million residents. The visibility of this slum, like the junk sculpture in Douala, constantly elicits conversations about the city's realism of socio-economic boundaries and division of citizenship experiences. However, within the main city, one can also find such a binary in the contrasting lives of the formal city and the informal one, both of which part ways, at least in commercial practices, along Moi Avenue. While the formal city extends towards Uhuru Highway and Upperhill, the informal sprawls towards River road and Kirinyaga road. My interest here is the representation of marginal street communities and their spaces in this informal city.

In various studies of the urban poor, the urban community associated with edge spaces termed as banlieue, slum, favela or even ghetto in various parts of the world has been linked to dispossession, poverty, social immobility, chaos, crime and other social ills (O'Connor, 2001; Davis, 2006). Founded through government-sanctioned repetitive policy actions (Chappatte, 2015; Wacquant, 2008; Rahamimoff, 2005), the city's fringe is stigmatized or even 'forgotten' altogether in the national development policy. But this marginal space and those who live in it do not engage with the city from a point of detachment, but contemplation. Such an approach implicitly suggests a new way of thinking about the city's margins in Africa. Instead of serving as the perfect symbol of marginality, the city's edge provides an important starting point for understanding and discussing the evolving engagement between citizenship discourses and spatial discourses.

The foregoing arguments centre my discussion of the filmic representations of street communities in the four films analysed here. These films explore the ways in which absolute marginality is illustrated using images of junk. They share a common narrative strand that the city is unequally shared between the wealthy upper class and the poor low-class. Beyond the iconoclastic view of the edge, they also show resilience. The edge is where urban dissidents interact with the city from outside its mainstream circulation, exploiting their marginality to claim a stake in the city. I make an argument that bricolage, coded in the images of junkyard, enables these films to construct affirmative narratives of the city's marginalized communities, changing the signification of junkyard from garbage status (Harrow, 2013) to a critical space of salvaging one's status within the city (Simone A., 2008). These films, I argue, use the street communities embedded in junkyards to frame marginality, show the strategies used by street communities for regeneration and explain the role of hypervisibility in understanding urban citizenship. From this point onwards, I discuss these three roles separately and in details.

Framing Marginality

Mbembe (2001, p. 199) has argued that there is a "form of dying, which can be read in the landscape, in the shadow of abandoned worksites, rubbish bins and street corners, digging gashes in the belly of inhabited space." This form of dying is not of the physical body, which in any case may be afflicted by its own set of problems; but it is the idea of decomposition, again not of the physical matter, but of the dreams, aspirations, hope, opportunities and significance. To live in a garbage heap, in a dump site, to inhabit despised sites, this is to die. To be rid of opportunities, to live as a recluse in the city, this is also death. Starting from this framing, this subsection discusses the cinematic representation of three young boys, aged about twelve years, whose lives are framed against the difficulties of being an urban citizen within Nairobi's slums.

These characters are the protagonists in Diego Quemada-Diez's *I Want to be a Pilot* (2006), Nathan Collett's *Kibera Kid* (2006) and Muchiri Njenga's *Kichwateli*, (2012). This decision is understandable because, on one hand, the rusty shacks, spewing sewage and garbage heaps when juxtaposed with the daily life of characters endorse the narrative of the marginalized community to which the slum is symbolic. On the other hand, such images imbue the films with the potential to manipulate various filmic elements and package them for the viewer. In other words, the slum images are powerful codes for the city's multifarious narratives of citizenship. Since the films revolve around the images of garbage spewed all over the slums, my analysis focuses on the idea of assembled marginality as developed as a symbol of the possibilities of citizenship in conditions of marginality.

I Want to be a Pilot premiered at the Sundance Film Festival and was subsequently screened in hundreds of festivals around the world, winning over fifty awards which include the Audience Award at La Mostra Sao Paulo Film Festival. It tells the story of Omondi (Collins

Otieno), a young boy of about twelve years who lives in Kibera slums. Before making this short film, the second in his career, Diego Quemada-Diez had made and won an award for his graduating film, *A Table is a Table* (2001) which is an adaptation of Peter Bichsel's acclaimed writing by the same title. Although both films, *I Want to be a Pilot* and *A Table is a Table* use different settings and make different narratives, the former following the solitary life of the old man in quest for a higher fulfilment and the latter using the garbage heaps of Kibera slums for a setting of the story of a solitary youth aspiring to be a pilot, Quemada-Diez's cinematography valorizes the idea of assembled material becoming the visual code for excluded citizenship.

Quemada-Diez's *I want to be a Pilot* focused on the edge as a place of deficits, using mise-en-scène of junk to represent this worthlessness. Despite that he makes a film about Kibera slums, he does not show any image of the main city. This seems like a brave strategy to counter the modern city's dominance over its deprecated margins. His composition, however, strengthens the worthlessness of the edge with revolting images of garbage and decay. Using a tracking camera and a blend of especially long and medium shots, he guides the viewer through rotten junkyards and the filthy, mud-filled, tiny streets around Kibera slums where his protagonist lives. In the end, his film maps the shortfalls of the edge such as lack of opportunities, life of squalor, habitation of highly polluted environemnt, and lack of basic amenities. Going back to Dingo's shack or Gaza as the director of *Nairobi Half Life* calls it (Figure iii), one notices how the director uses composition to fill the set with debris from various sections of the city. The various junk paraphernalia imbues the scene with an aura of destruction and destitute. This scene underlines the idle youth as part of the assortment of battered objects and to show city's edge as a place of dilapidation. Just as Njenga uses cinematography to ridicule the slum, so does Gitonga use composition to disclose the edge as

a jungle full of risks and opportunities. It is a link that typifies a nostalgic sharing of the city and extreme class revulsion.

Kibera Kid adopts the same style, using the idea of assemblage (of characters and objects) to develop awareness of the symbolism of marginal space. It tells the story of a twelve-year-old orphan, Otieno (Ignatius Juma), who is incorporated into the razor gang in Kianda area, a section of Kibera slums. At first, Otieno lives in the garbage heaps where he rummages for recyclable materials to sell for a livelihood. His character is thus built on his status as an urban reject, with little prospect for success. The film narrative uses his ambition to become a music artist as an anchor point to illustrate his hardships.

This film uses onscreen titles and cinematography to show the slum and Nairobi city as two distinct spaces. He starts his film with a wide-angle panoramic long shot of Nairobi's modern skyline. Then the camera swish pans to a high angle shot of rusted iron sheet roofs of mud-walled shacks in Kibera slum located in the edge of Nairobi city. He uses the subtitles 'Nairobi, Kenya' and '2 Miles South, Kibera' to mark spatial difference and modes of being in the city. Substituting the notion of center and periphery with terms Nairobi and Kibera is a naming strategy that voices marginalization (Chappatte, 2015) of the edge. While Nairobi is iconic of the modern city, the name Kibera invoke the slum's edgy origin from when British colonial administrators allowed Nubian ex-soldiers to occupy the space after the Second World War (Desgroppes and Taupin, 2011). Collett's naming thus codes the separation and ordering of the city space in a way that presumes the slum as a non-place whose residents remain hidden from recognition and participation and hence excluded in the city's mainstream image.

Finally, *Kichwateli* also tells the story of a young boy (Carlton Namai) who comes to Nairobi city and is unable to find a space to settle. He moves from the main city to backstreets where, in his sleep in an abandoned yard, he transforms into a quasi-robotic character and his head transmutes to a television set. The story continues as a dream where he moves to the slums and finally back to the city. During these sojourns, the main focus is his television head which projects various images as he journeys through the slums and finally back to through the city. As Studio Ang (2012) reports, the idea of assembled junk is central to this film's material symbolism:

> The TV-head was constructed at the Maasai Mbili Art Collective workshop in Kibera where I worked closely with visual artist Gomba Otieno. I mixed imagery of a kid wearing an old analogue TV made up of 'digital-junk' such as dead mobile phones, dial-pads, keyboard button, earphone wires etc to symbolize the diversity and misconceptions between the young and old generation within our society. We used recycled carton, tiny timber and parts of an aluminium pan to make it light for the kid to carry on his head. I added hardened Perspex in the front part of the TV so as to help get real light reflection during filming which made the video images that were later 'composited' onto the TV screen in editing look as if they were shot on location. The hanging jack-pins, cables and wires were a subtle metaphor for dread-locked hair representing people of African descent particularly freedom fighters. We stitched them up together onto an apron that had earthy colours.

From this description, we read of assemblage (of garbage) being used to illustrate the combination of different pieces of junk to not only humanize garbage but also to give it character and mobility. The protagonist's journey is part human and part assembled garbage. Njenga's first impressions of the city's edge and so its inhabitants, is that it is inconsequential.

The film starts with a wide shot showing a forlorn silhouette image of a crow perched on a dried tree stump. The camera then pans left as the feet of the young protagonist enter the frame. Silhouette images of some city buildings are visible in the horizon. The second shot is framed at a low angle and zooms out to highlight the rear view of the protagonist's feet as he walks towards the city's modern skyline visible in the background (Figure v). The crow remains at the foreground.

Using a wide angle shot highlights how composition achieves a reversal of fore-hinterland axis. By this gesture, the scene challenges the dominance of the modern city. Yet, if Njenga's disruptive composition of the city grants hypervisibility to the slum over the main city, it does so with noticeable apprehension. In this shot (Figure v), Njenga creates three important arguments that explain the crisis of challenging the city-hinterland formations. First, using the image of the crow in the film's two opening shots signals a wider view of individual's private distress within Nairobi city, connecting to the overall pessimism of the city's edge. The protagonist's nostalgic longing for the city persuades the viewer to see the city edge as a barren site full of privation. I note these two shots because they express the main argument of the film; that the edge is gaining visibility, but it does so from a point of barrenness, or shortages. This composition of a protagonist overwhelmed by his degradation reflects the defeated life of the city's edge, building on the aesthetics of discrimination that make the junkyard a high point of distress. Filming this solemn image from the back builds the protagonist's nostalgic longing for inclusion. Going to the city is his way of rising above invisibility and the limits of uncivilization resulting from competing for connection of the modern city and its hinterlands (Gilderbloom, 2008).

Figure v: A wide composite shot of the protagonist walking in a barren city edge in Muchiri Njenga's *Kichwateli*, (2012) (Source: screen freeze-frame).

Second, in this shot, Njenga suggests there is not one blended city comprising the edge and centre, but only one city; the modern city. The shot erases the city's edge altogether, replacing it with a barren landscape. Unlike in Figure i where the slum is part of the city, this shot shows the edge as a desolate space as a way of proposing there is only one city. This visual comparison suggests the dominance of the modern city over its inconsequential edge. This is the impression that Njenga's simultaneous use of dual camera angles when of showing the city as an intertwined composite (Figure i) elicits. On the one hand, the director mocks the city's edge by giving it visibility. While it seems that positioning the slum in the foreground gives it prominence over the modern city, such framing also heightens the slum's collective worthlessness by highlighting the rusty roofs and its chaotic shacks. The high shot and screen position highlight shortages associated with the slum. Instead of suggesting a connection, Figure i reiterates the city's incompatible outline (Léfebvre, 1991) and the triumph of the capitalist city over its nominal edge. Irrespective of the slum's position, it remains marginalized.

On the other hand, a low camera angle frames the modern city. The main effect of this low angle is that it uplifts the city to dominate the low-lying slum in the foreground. Compared to the high angle used for showing the slum foreground, this low angle framing changes spatial power relations within the shot by giving perceptual dominance to the modern city. While the city's placement at the margin should ideally reduce its significance in the frame, this low angle perspective restores its superiority over the slum. Projecting this dominance from the background, the director is trying to aid the city's defiance in ceding its dominance to the hinterland. The perspective used in the shot stresses convergence of the city verticals as the

wide-angle lens 'pull' the high-rise buildings closer, a figurative gesture of the buildings coming together to counter the encroaching slums. The two concurrent yet contrasting visual perspectives within the shot, high and low angle framing, allude to subjection and dominance within the city as well as the director's hesitation to disrupt this order. It represents an important counterpoint to conversations about Nairobi city's centre and margins.

Finally, Njenga's use of contrasting low-high camera angles (Figure i) visually disconnect the two spaces from each other. Even though it appears that composition gives the edge dominance over the main city, cinematography postpones this effect. Simultaneously using a zoom-in and tilt-up camera movement as he reveals the unified slum-city space changes focus from the slums in the foreground. It highlights the city in the background and the swirling clouds above (Figure vii). The viewer's attention is 'shifted' to the stormy clouds as the slum nearly vanishes from the frame, renewing a post-apocalyptic tension between the two spaces. The final composition after the tilt-up camera movement fully erases the slum's dominance, as the foreground shifts down and off-screen. The clouds visually eclipse the slum-city boundary within the shot and override the new perspective suggested by the shot. From this point forward, the director switches to a rapid montage of the modern city while excluding the slum.

The shot's most important symbolism is this erasure of the margin and restoration of the modern city as the only 'city' and not just one view of the city among many. This shift marks the edge as an inconsequential space as the modern city, clearly expressing the unease of associating the modern city with its hinterlands. The shots, mostly filmed from a low angle, underline the infrastructural glamour of the city; its modern buildings and smooth pavements, showing an optimistic city quickly re-affirming itself. This entangled reversion precisely suggests the nostalgic view of the junkyard and its iconicity of marginalized, inconsequential

place. The omission signals the film's intention to counter visibility with invisibility, regeneration with marginality and power in the city with defeat. The agitation imbued upon the scene by focusing on the storm and the erasure of the slum indicates that for the edge to survive, it must do so in innovative and unobvious ways. As both Njenga and Gitonga indicate, city films have the tendency to imagine the edge as a worthless space.

Figure vi: the last shot of the wide composite of Nairobi's slums and the city center in Muchiri Njenga's *Kichwateli*, (2012) (Source: screen freeze-frame).

Gitonga uses a similar strategy in *Nairobi Half Life*. Christening Dingo's shack Gaza raises connotations of oppression, exploitation, political paternalism and endless turmoil. As I discuss later, the words 'scrap metal' and 'GUNS' haphazardly marked on the rear iron sheet walls add onto the symbolism of the edge as a space of rejuvenating struggle and illicit subsistence. His protagonist refers to Oti's room as 'keja ya ma-rejects', the house of rejects, infusing epithets of marginality to their shared space. Despite continuity of physical space implied by the linear composition of space between city and its edge (Figures i and ii), the first shot of Mwas arrival at the city marks him as an outsider. In the first two medium shots after losing his property to robbery, Gitonga frames the protagonist from front and back, altering depth of focus to isolate him from the city in which he finds himself. Defocusing the space around him restricts the viewer's vision, detaching him from the city space around him.

Further, the protagonist's blurry view of his surrounding suggests disillusionment, identifying him as a misfit. Even when the director shifts to wide shots and deep focus shots of Mwas further in the city, he still uses high angle framing and continuous zoom-out camera movements to show his insignificance. These slow zoom-out camera movements are stylistic choices that show Mwas as an instrument of embarrassment from which the camera retreats. They keep him invisible to underline his insignificance.

Bricolage as Regeneration

Gitonga uses composition and framing techniques in his shot of a junkyard to highlight the workings of bricolage as an urban social concept in *Nairobi Half Life*. The shot of Dingo's shack (Figure i), the first insight into street communities in this film, carries the symbolism of assembled junk to yoke the narrative to the wider discourse of marginalization and visibility. In this image, the director highlights the different broken-down pieces of junk salvaged and re-used to build the shack. Blue painted iron sheets form most of the shack's two rear walls. A discarded polythene paper and crooked wooden poles are partially seen at the foreground as part of the roof. A series of subsequent medium shots show mise-en-scène of vast haphazardly placed leftover repository wrecks from the city's huge leftover market, what Akkerman and Cornfeld (2010, p. 34) calls "street hardware". These include a worn-out car door, mismatching pieces of grill, worn wooden sofa and a cement block, boxes piled on one edge of the room, four motor vehicle reflectors randomly fixed on the iron sheet walls, an old power supply unit nearby, an old wooden seat and what looks like a support column for a once-executive office chair. There is also an old charcoal stove at the edge of the shabby sofa. Such an inventory clearly imbues the space, located in a downtown street in the diegetic city, with an aura of devastation and salvaging. Importantly, the shot recovers the visibility and significance of this junky space and thus enables the viewer to spectate the ignored yet important stories of the city.

Figure i: A long shot showing Mwas arriving at Dingo's place in Tosh Gitonga's *Nairobi Half Life*, (2012) (Source: screen freeze-frame).

While making such a space the main setting in the film makes serious commentary about the city's mixed political economies, the biggest utility is that it enables the story of this marginalized community to be at the fore of the film. Thus, the choice of a junkyard and the words 'scrap metal' written near the furthest corner of the iron sheets of the rear wall advertising the place as a salvage yard alerts the viewer to another covert discourse at work. Identifying the shack (an object fashioned through the accumulation of the city's waste) as a scrapyard, the place where "material refuse of civilization" (West-Pavlov, 2005, p. 42) is curated into useful objects, counters the obvious disdain against the community of crooks inhabiting the space. Here is a place where the city's rejects achieve new value, new usage, new narrative material. The idea of utility is fully developed through the interaction of characters with the materials within the space. The old sofas are now re-used as seats, the old iron sheets are erected as new walls and the crooked poles are now support-columns of the shack. By re-using these pieces of junk, Dingo's shack expresses how salvaged objects

counter their degradation by connecting to form a new bricolage project, the shack, that can provide new use, meaning and camouflage to the city waste. On his part, Njenga uses an old reclaimed analogue TV head (Figure ii) to show renewal.

Figure ii: A photo showing the protagonist's TV head made from reclaimed junk in Muchiri Njenga's *Kichwateli* (2012) (Source: screen freeze-frame).

This shot appears when the protagonist walks along the dusty paths of the slum. It shows the protagonist who is already part human and part assemblage of garbage material, the television head. This bricolage project is made of "'digital-junk' such as dead mobile phones, dial-pads, keyboard button, earphone wires … recycled carton, tiny timber and parts of an aluminium pan (Studio Ang, 2012)." Bringing together such pieces of junk to tell his post-apocalyptic tale of Nairobi city can be critically appraised as an act of resisting worthlessness. The various materials reflect the joining of heterogeneous resources from the marginal residents to achieve survival within a space where their survival is makeshift (Simone, 2011). It is, like Dingo's shack, a metaphor of resilience and regeneration. The director frames his shots to emphasize the head as the focal point of his narrative of exchange between the city and its edge. As the protagonist wanders around the city, it records information about marginality while displaying tailored content to the various audiences. This head is an expression of a pervasive modernity explicating tales of survival out of the city's marginal space.

This reasoning can be extended to suggest that the metaphor of putting garbage to new use and assigning a value to the objects not only applies to the objects, but to the characters embedded within the junkyard as well. Their existence as a community here codes their resilience and ability to adopt new forms of life so as to coexist with the city. At the same time, this community undercuts the modernist narrative of the city by showing the kind of waste that the hitherto modern city produces. Hence, the street at this point becomes a space where opposing narratives and discourses of the city, the modernist affluent and the regressive marginal, claim visibility. The choice of Kirinyaga road as the setting of the gangsters' residence and operations space and the city streets as their marketplace clearly raises this issue.

As recent scholarship of Nairobi attests, this competition between discourses is a significant subject. Katumanga (2005) notes that Nairobi is undergoing "constant de(re)composition… characterized by vicious struggles over spaces for socio-economic reproduction" (p. 518). The notion of 'de(re)composition' here elicits a deictic symbolism to suggest, on one hand, how the city is undergoing degradation of its traditional systems of urban communities. Decomposition also takes the form of lethargic development illustrated through these 'waste' characters, so that Dingo's shack enables one to spectate on his exclusion from the city's affluence. At the same time and this is the second part of the deictic symbolism, these communities use "marginalization as a strategy" (Chappatte, 2015, p. 9) to overcome their perceived decomposition.

Arguably, whereas identifying this group as representative of the city's bandit society serves the purpose of justifying their status as urban junk, the image of the junkyard equally projects a symbolism of socio-economic racketeering necessitated by dispossession, poverty, social immobility, chaos, crime and other social ills (see O'Connor, 2001; Davis, 2006, pp. 32, 111).

The second part of Katumanga's concept, recompositing, thus vocalizes the opportunities which enable these characters to assemble into functional communities and the manoeuvres which make it possible to retrieve themselves. The take home from the shot and the scene is the idea of cunning economic reproduction systems codified in the framing and composition of the shack's rear wall (Figure iii).

Figure iii: A medium shot of a member of Dingo's gang concealing the word 'GUNS' in Tosh Gitonga's *Nairobi Half Life*, (2012) (Source: screen freeze-frame).

In this shot, we see a member of the gang seated on a piece of junk, leaning on the blue painted iron sheet used as part of the wall for the shack. Whereas at first look, Dingo's shack looks like a typical junkyard, an idea supported by the words 'Scrap Metal' seen in Figure i, this perception is altered in Figure ii as we see the name 'GUNS' subtly introduced into the mise-en-scène, partly disguised behind one of the gang members. Despite partially hiding the 'U' and 'S' and wholly concealing the 'N', the framing still makes it obvious for the viewer to guess the whole name. These two names, 'GUNS' and 'Scrap Metal', connote the enigmatic symbolism of the street communities who inhabit the space: "struggle, aggression" on one side and "domination, conquest and servitude" (Mumford, 1961, p. 52) on the other. The word 'GUNS' posit these characters as criminals who use the camouflage of junkyard to sell, hire, or even use guns to commit crimes in the city while the 'Scrap Metal' sign alludes to the

informality of the space. Passing off a crime logistics hub as a scrap yard, the film "stresses the presence of margins without revealing its contours" (Chappatte, 2015, p. 7). We are faced with a narrative of survival which is simultaneously a narrative of destruction. In this sense, Katumanga's deictic metaphor of "de(re)composition" can be applied to the interpretation of the shot as an outline of the way the junkyard is a counter-space and an archive of Nairobi's alienated groups.

Furthermore, the idea of coming together to constitute new meaning is central to such composition. We partially see the word GUNS whose middle letters are masked by the gang member. Yet the meaning is clearly constituted and illustrated in subsequent sequences where Dingo is seen leasing guns to Oti's gang. Masking off part of their activities thus enables the gang to continue their "protracted struggle over the … right to survive in the city" (Simone A., 2004, p. 169) which involves, on one hand, a genuine necessity to survive in the difficulties of their street life and on the other, to also claim importance by positioning themselves as an organized community. That they can network with police because of this communal identity as a gang is quite indicative of the way assemblage of street communities becomes a "vehicle through which …collaboration emerges" (Rahamimoff, 2005, p. 81) and permeating interactions with the city becomes possible. At this point, I can draw a parallel between the gangs and Joseph-Francis Sumégné installed La Nouvelle Liberte at the Deido roundabout in Douala, Cameroon. The questions then become; what interpretations of hypervisibility are being enabled in this representation of a junkyard community? What affirmations about Nairobi's street communities does such hypervisibility facilitate? The answer is to be found in Njenga's *Kichwateli* which I discuss in the next section.

Hypervisibility and Aesthetics of Periphery

Hypervisibility is used here exactly in the sense proposed by Abdoumaliq Simone (2004, p. 114) when he described the mixed reception of Joseph-Francis Sumégné's La Nouvelle

Liberte at the Deido roundabout in Douala, Cameroon. It infers giving prominence to a hitherto non-existent or concealed aspect of the city's symbols and a convergence of clashing views and expectations elicited by such a prominence. In relation to *Kichwateli*, hypervisibility becomes an important concept to understand disruption of the centre-edge city perspective through reversal of space composition. This film has been appraised as a "metaphor for the way we are now all plugged into the same images of global anxiety while at the same time being ourselves subjects of scrutiny of the all-seeing ubiquitous cameras" (MacLeod, 2011), affirming the central role of hypervisibility in narratives of spatial interpenetration. This interpretation can be comprehended further in the sense proposed by Harrow (2013) who argues that junk "must define not only the scraps but the eaters of scraps as well" (p. 1), suggesting that junk spaces could also stand for the collapse of the socio-economic border between opposite ends of the city. Hypervisibility of the junky community could thus usefully position the realities in which the centre and periphery are plugged together, as well as the anxieties that persist and the ways that become necessary to represent and narrate these anxieties. This section argues that making the images of the periphery dominant in this film give hypervisibility to the aesthetics of the peripheral community and facilitate a new view of the marginal communities.

Njenga's use of composition in *Kichwateli* (Figure iv) provides a new orientation to Nairobi's cityscape. This shot is composed from a high angle highlighting the rusty roofs of haphazardly built shacks placed at the shot's foreground. Nairobi's modern skyline is in the background, with various prominent buildings rising high against the overcast sky. The middle ground of the shot is an unremarkable, unoccupied territory, a buffer zone that actualizes a simultaneous metaphor of separation and exclusion. Yet the two spaces are colour-corrected to sepia tone, appearing as a brownish (or rusty) tone. Such cinematographic choices offer several important insights into the discourse of difference and assemblage which

is being deployed in the shot. In the absence of any characters, the viewer is faced with a mosaic of two contiguous spaces with sharp material contrasts. Consequently, several readings emerge.

First, that the shot blends the slum with the main city without losing the informality of the former and vibrancy of the latter expresses the paradox of a marginal city reclaiming visibility (Gilderbloom, 2008). Njenga tucks the city's modern skyline behind the decayed slum, taking on an interventionist approach that disrupts the tendency to efface the slum to show a modernist façade as the 'real' African city. By positioning the slum in the foreground, he guides the viewer to see it as both a "'periphery', but also as a 'forefront' – a starting point" (Rahamimoff, 2005, p. 69) for understanding contemporary spatial intersections typical of Global South cities. By this reasoning, the composition which immediately provokes the viewer to think of the shot as a reversal of the expected city gives hypervisibility to the slum. It thus toys with the idea that the city's centre - edge pattern. The shot can be interpreted as a shorthand for the ubiquitous nature of urban distress. It is important to note that the slum extends beyond the foreground and by this strategy engulfs the viewer within its vastness while also concealing its borders speaks of a continuation rather than encroachment on the city's margins. In this sense, it is not just an alternative city space, but the 'real' face of the city (Pieterse, 2011). The indigent foreground and the rich background signal the city precincts and the rise of its excluded edges as the new centre.

Figure iv: A wide composite shot of Nairobi's slums and the city center in Muchiri Njenga's *Kichwateli*, (2012) (Source: screen freeze-frame).

Second, one may argue that with improved visibility, the shot materializes important theoretical arguments popularized by Africa's urban scholars such as Mike Davis (2006). At a time when slums are an increasingly significant part of the African city, dominating the shot's mise-en-scène with such spaces may as well reiterate the indispensability of the city's marginal space in contemporary discussions of African urbanism. The composition shows the slum's resistance to integration within the city's "aesthetic whole" (Whiteley, 2011, p. 41) which would 'normally' delink it from the main city, but it also designates a confrontation between competing views. On one hand, we can see such hypervisibility as a caricature of Africa's modernity which is often omitted from mainstream representation as cities try to build their identities and brand themselves as globally competitive hubs. On the other, the shot's composition construes an acknowledgment of the limits of modernity which is tied to the extent to which the edge resists gentrification. Here we are faced with a sense of modernity that attracts new urban migrants but also defaces the spaces in which they occupy. These visual strategies privilege the slum to give it a sentimental, nostalgic value that clearly traces its narrative discourse to contemporary urban theory: that slums create the real social, economic and political vibrancy typical to most African cities to the same degree as they constitute a vulnerability. In this sense, the shot calls us to recognize the precariousness of the African city as an institution that creates, side by side, extreme inequalities.

Third, the hypervisibility of the edge offers a graphic representation of how the margin spatially relates to the city centre not just as the isolated space without government amenities and services (which tend to be pronounced in images of the slums but are now concealed through this wide framing and choice of mise-en-scène), but more a subordinated part of the city that participates unequally in the city's sociability (the different materials used in the structures and the open space between the two spaces suggest hierarchic demarcation). To give visual dominance to the edge (and hence its inhabitants) enables the viewer to see the

unequal position from where they engage in the "various entanglements of provisioning and compliance, [and from] where they gain a foothold as normative citizens" (Simone, 2016, p. 139). In the context of Nairobi city, the shot indexes marginal spaces like Kibera, Majengo, Huruma, or Mathare slums one would encounter side by side with the main city, yet, like the other slightly distant edge spaces like Mukuru Kayaba, Kariobangi North, Dandora, Kawangware, Kangemi, Ngomongo, Viwadani and Korogocho, visually offer the viewer a door into the city's elsewhere (Simone A. 2016). From this interpretation, it is arguable that the shot's composition is using the idea of hypervisibility of the slum to illustrate spatial assemblage as a manoeuvre to present the slum as an alternative way of being the city (Roy, 2011).

The revulsion associated with hyper-visible junk is thus overcome as the periphery appears more and more as a transition space, a city in waiting, "one that constantly lives under specific threats and incompletion" (Simone A., 2016, p. 136). Such straddling supposes that slum, the modern city's junkyard, must not in all circumstances symbolize only the city's human rejects. It is also a register for fresh perspectives on the African city (Pieterse, 2011). As argued throughout the chapter, the idea of junkyard enables a conversation of Nairobi's street communities as concrete metaphors of other forces at play within the city. In this chapter, I have discussed how varying mise-en-scène and cinematography techniques show the paradox of a modern city in the Global South. As the various films suggest, a bricolage city such as Nairobi must be perceived from the complexity of its underlying spatial and social contests most recognizable in its virtual points of connection and disconnection. The biggest of these is its marginal space.

CHAPTER 5: THE CAPITAL CITÉ: STREET AND PARIAH CITIZENSHIP IN KINSHASA CINEMA

This chapter is about filmic representations of the street communities in Kinshasa in Djo Tunda Wa Munga's film, *Viva! Riva* (2010). This film follows the life of Riva (Patsha Bay Mukuna) who arrives in Kinshasa from Angola with boatloads of fuel at a time when the city is hit by severe fuel shortage. He soon falls in love with Nora (Manie Malone), the girlfriend of a celebrated *sapeur*, Azor (Diplôme Amekindra). He is pursued by a violent Angolan criminal gang led by Cesar (Hoji Fortuna) which commits murders across the city. Meanwhile, he is disowned by his parents and has no family. His only true friend, Anto (Jordan N'Tunga), is a street kid who has no family as well. After another friend of Riva, J.M. (Alex Hérabo) and an informer prostitute, Malou (Angélique Mbumb) betrays Riva, the gang kidnaps La Commandante (Màrlene Longange) and take the fuel back. But in the ensuing war, everyone dies, and the fuel incinerated by La Commandante who fires bullets at the truck just before her death. In this intricate plot of violence, murder and poverty, the film narrates experiences in Kinshasa's streets as partly an exposé of economic and social tensions thriving in the city and partly an inventory of the struggles of citizens making a living outside formal government. The character of a recluse is at the centre of this narration.

Recent studies have analysed *Viva! Riva* from several perspectives. Labouba's (2012) study of *Viva! Riva* was interested in its technical aspects. She identified it as a borderline attempt to bridge the gap between videastes and cineastes. Frassinelli (2015, p. 299) sees the film as a representation of how Kinshasa's "present detached from the past and represented as its own social and political failure". Further, he is concerned with how the "postcolonial state, or indeed any kind of institutional infrastructure, is only present as a highly corrupt policing and military apparatus, which appears to be uniquely there for the self-enrichment of those who have made their way through its ranks" (2015, p. 299). My study of the film, however,

focuses on how citizens practice their citizenship 'away' from the mainstream, albeit dysfunctional, government, occasioning a redefinition of their city as they experience it. I focus on the crisis of Kinshasa's alienation and exogenous citizenship of its residents, actualized in excluded spaces in the periphery of the main city, what I am calling capital *cité*.

This film is populated with characters who have abandoned the main city and established an alternative centre at the edge, the capital *cité*. Pariah citizenship, the other term used in this chapter, alludes to the mechanisms of being excluded from the main city of Kinshasa through a system of denial of survival infrastructure. The result is the migration to the edge of the city and establishment of alternative means of survival. Such survival is built on acutely insufficient resources, dangerous enterprises such as prostitution and crime, strangulation by hierarchic institutions such as police and military and a horde of other actions which simply designate the characters as actual outcasts with no networks to help them, no real family and no real space to fully exist without facing obstructions. Farber (1996, p. 284) has indicated that "being judged unfit to live in certain neighbourhoods might as well have been considered a form of pariah treatment, particularly given that the exclusion was based on status." While the status he is referring to here is mental retardation and thus the judgment could be medical-based, one may equally apply the same thinking even in contexts where such judgment is implemented on another basis for creating status such as social and economic, which is the framing used in Wa Munga's film.

There are crucial issues raised by Farber (1996, p. 266) which will be helpful in my arguments going forward. The first is that pariahs are not "simply the group at the bottom of the social or economic ladder." Riva, the protagonist of wa Munga's film, is not poor. In fact, he controls the biggest chunk of the edge economy as he possesses huge quantities of fuel at a time whether the market is in dire need of it. In this sense, Farber's caution would guide the

understanding of pariah citizenship without being tied to the idea of economic ability. Second, Farber continues, "to be a pariah is to be shunned and isolated, to be treated as if one had a loathsome and contagious disease." Again, this statement brings to the fore the importance of seeing the inability to tap into useful networks, or, in this case, the existence of a life devoid of such networks such as Riva does to be quintessential to the meaning of a pariah. *Viva! Riva* invests in these two ideas of pariah life. Within the wider history of the Democratic republic of Congo, the idea of pariah has always existed.

Oppong and Woodruff (2007) paint a rather grim picture of the DRC. Calling it "a country of extreme paradoxes" (p. 10), these scholars decry cyclic suffering, plunder, violence and poverty that prevail despite the country's vast mineral reserves. These contradictions are more intense in the city of Kinshasa, where exploitation and plunder are covertly embedded in everyday manoeuvres. Trefon (2002) even suggests that Kinshasa is transforming from "*kin la belle* into *kin la poubelle* (Kinshasa the beautiful, Kinshasa the dump" (p. 485) alluding to a city tending towards degeneration. This observation captures an elaborate history of the country's struggle, manifest in, among others, Mobutu's 1971 and Laurent Kabila's 1997 decisions to change the flag colors can be interpreted as attempted "re-baptism" of the country's postcolonial consciousness by clearing what they perceived as "negative baggage" (Dunn, 2003, p. 110). Mobutu's *authenticité* and Laurent Kabila's 'reroute' strategies were attempts to create the consciousness of true liberation. By this reasoning, the political logic of true liberation in such presidencies is also embedded within the signification of the flags they initiated.

However, contemporary cinematic representations of the capital city of Kinshasa question this notion of liberation by posing ruin and not liberation, as the mainstream experience of citizenship. Images of violence are at the centre of the representation of Kinshasa in this film

which won various awards shortly after its production, including the 2011 MTV Movie Awards for Best African Movie; and Best Picture, Best Director, Best Actor in Supporting Role, Best Cinematography and Best Production Design during the 7th Africa Movie Academy Awards ceremony held at the Gloryland Cultural Centre, Nigeria, on 27 March 2011. As such, *Viva! Riva* commands a lot of attention in contemporary narratives of Kinshasa and equally draws the viewer into the intricate manoeuvres that guarantee an otherwise precarious sense of citizenship indexed by the city's street communities.

The paradox alluded by Oppong and Woodruff (2007) thus assumes the outlook of stasis and violent conditions of making citizen experiences in the city. In this film, Riva's fuel arrives early, but until the end, it does not mitigate shortage in the city. Instead, it is the cause of many deaths and violence. Then it is incinerated. Moreover, the motif of dysfunctionality incorporated within the film's imagery: an exploded air conditioner, vandalized switches, stalled cars in the streets, dysfunctional faucets, erratic electricity supply and corrupt police manifests a level of degeneration that clearly identifies the city residents as outsiders to the modernity envisioned for a city. The result, I argue, is a representation of the street as a signifier of citizenship excluded from formal experiences of governance and social amenities. This trope of existence is what I am calling pariah citizenship.

By consciously side-stepping the main city and emphasizing the street life in the periphery where this degeneration is more pronounced, *Viva! Riva* seems to reinforce both viewpoints. On one hand, it narrates an absurd edge city that has long 'migrated', "spatially and functionally" from the centrality of modern Kinshasa, giving way to a new Kinshasa that has risen at the periphery. This aim shows this death of the 'modern' Kinshasa and the rise of a peripheral, 'informal' Kinshasa. The chapter is structured in two sections. Subsection one focusses on the representation of street and the coding of marginality as indexical to excepted

life, what I am calling here as pariah citizenship. Subsection two discusses the metaphor of a life of dying, *tokokufa*. I will show how metaphors of a stalled nation and the economic hierarchies that ensue from two competing citizenship trajectories; the master and the servant. I also discuss mechanisms of survival, the alternative modes of acts of citizenship that have evolved and explicate how they constitute the new centre of urban citizenship experiences in Kinshasa. The last section discusses the various degenerative tendencies that arise among citizens while building their resilience within the atmosphere of alienation, hierarchical socio-economic structures and unfavourable subsistence conditions, the characteristics coded in the imagery of garbage.

The Street and the Rise of the Pariah *Cité*

Viva! Riva's opening scene is a dilapidated street full of people (Figure i). From the composition of the shot, this is a street outside the city which is slightly visible in the background. There are informal businesses on either side of the street and some houses are also visible. The dominant figure is, however, that of the crowds walking along this street. The time appears to be early morning. Within this scene, we also see some cart pushers integrated with the street crowds who are in motion. Through this composition, the film offers an image of a city on the move, in its daily rhythm of existence. The framing is a long shot so that we never get to be attracted to anyone focal point, but we can see the general outlay of life. The idea cultivated in such a framing is, therefore, one of ordinariness, or the unadulterated life in the city. Making the edge of the city to be the choice of setting for the opening scene shifts focuses from the main city towards the margin.

If we look at the composition used now, more details emerge about how such characters, as representative of Kinshasa's edge citizens, indeed index various attributes which are repeatedly cultivated to designate the edge as an isolated space. In Figure i which is a freeze-

frame from the street scene, for instance, it is noticeable that what appears as an attempt to capture an authentic image of Kinshasa's edge certainly bears a covert yet clear analogy with the current national flag of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Here I want to demonstrate the possibility of reading this shot in relation to the symbolism of the flag with the aim of showing how the street image is being used here to nurture the image of a pariah *cité* - a space where those unfit to dwell in the main city of Kinshasa create their own version of the city outside the main city. I make these arguments to demonstrate that it is possible to interpret the shot within the symbolism of the country's national flag and by doing so, also develop an analogy between the political discourses stashed within the flag's symbolic use of colour and the filmic language as used here.

Figure i (left): A high angle long shot showing characters walking along a street in Kinshasa in Djo Tunda Wa Munga's film, *Viva! Riva* (2010). (Source: screen freeze-frame).

The mise-en-scène of this shot gives prominence to the central street and the characters walking along the street. The tiny houses on the street sides and the informal businesses housed under the umbrellas also dominate the shot's visual composition. One notices at a glance that the shot bears a close resemblance to the geometrical arrangement of colour

elements in the country's national flag. The orientation of the street as a diagonal in the shot is comparable to the red diagonal line of the flag, the informal businesses match the yellow fimbriations that run on either side of the red diagonal and the housing structures are passable as the sky-blue portion of the flag. Based on this geometrical arrangement, the characters' interaction with the street, I make several arguments.

First is that the shot is using various filmic elements simultaneously to build a symbolism of pariah citizenship. That the characters walking along the street bear similar symbolism with the blood of Congo's martyrs to which the flag's red diagonal line is indexical is the first indication of how the symbolism of popular citizenship experiences is being recreated. Matching the characters to the flags' symbol of death is the first signal of how the film stages various forms of deprivation and the deathlike subsistence of the city's inhabitants not only as forms of martyrdom but also positions them as a metaphorical death of Kinshasa. The concept of death in the sense of being cut-off from the city or being regarded as non-existent in the city which appears only as a background to their life, is the means through which the film codes their identity as pariah citizens, exclusion from the city's economic benefits, subdued or controlling gaze and normalization of abandonment. This effort to martyrize characters signals the difficulties of experiences of citizenship which the film tries to illustrate.

Second, to contrast the ideals of prosperity with the realism of struggle and thus highlight the ways in which Kinshasa still has not progressed from its history where most of its residents lived in difficult circumstances. The mise-en-scène of two lines of vendors in their informal businesses housed under adjoining, improvised, umbrella shades on either side of the street index the two diagonal yellow fimbriations of the country's national flag signifying the wealth envisaged by the state for its people. They are thus useful indicators of the proliferation of informal subsistence. The use of the motif of non-viable life in the periphery

alludes to the characters' exclusion from gainful subsistence, further gesturing towards their always imminent death in the city. The idea of the city life sustained through businesses housed under umbrellas curates an imagery of an umbrella city, which in turn builds a metaphor of a perilous life.

At the same time, the businesses also represent a more elaborate trend in the emergence of Kinshasa's edge citizenship. They comprise what Geenen (2009) terms as a "quiet and seemingly non-organized character of citizens' incursions… the slow occupation of public spaces by the characters, a movement that is irreversible, hence very powerful" (p. 349). The *cité* and the makeshift mode of existence it represents is no longer temporary, but the mainstream. Similarly, the shabby houses surrounding the street emulate the space filled by the vast sky-blue colour of the flag, substituting the peace symbolized by the sky-blue colour with the peasantry. The rusty roofs hint of the abandonment of the space and the gradual decay of the peace to which they are now referents. In place of the country's radiant future, the old buildings suggest distraught citizenship. Working from this correspondence between the mise-en-scène objects and flag symbolism and synthesizing this symbolism with the shot's cinematography and composition, it is possible to read two approaches used to express this visual imagination as an autopsy of Kinshasa's crisis of citizenship.

Third, the use of cinematography induces a feeling of a conquest of the characters. The high camera angle signals a form of hierarchical bias towards the camera objects. This construes a general look of powerlessness, oppression and defeat. The high camera position is also symbolic, suggesting a powerful gaze, or a surveillance over the edge citizens, which may be indicative of a grip of fate. By this technique, the film shows the role of hierarchies in sustaining an oppressive view of the city. Surveillance, as the shot subtly intimates, is part of the city's systems of disconnection and exclusion. At the same time, added to the wide-angle

framing from this high position, the gaze implies a distance between the subject and the gaze. From this omniscient point of view, the gaze is not only patronizing, it is also a conquering gaze, originating from a higher level than the subjects but seeing everything they do. It adds to the aura of alienation achieved using linear perspective and composition of space that shows the distance between the modern city in the background and its edge at the foreground.

Fourth, the linear perspective gives the scene an impression that in the modern Kinshasa, the rich, elitist government has a neighbourly presence to the city residents, remaining in its hide-out 'away' from citizens. This disconnection works as an allegory of Kinshasa's continuing history of abandonment that dominates the city's history starting with King Leopold and later with the leadership of Mobutu Seseseko who is famed for abandoning the city and spending his time in his hometown Gbadolite palace and his Kamanyola yacht moored on Congo River. In his time spent in these retreat sites, Mobutu presented himself as the king of the city, dining and wining aloft the yacht or in his jungle city while citizens suffered extreme poverty and diseases. It is this kind of detachment that can be inferred from the vast image of walking characters, the informal businesses, a microcosm of off-grid survival and incompletion of the periphery.

Fifth, the movement of the mass of characters walking in the street is important in designating the idea of outsiders. Even though the shot is set in the morning, they are moving away from the modern city towards its margins enhances this interpretation. By opening the film with a wide-angle objective shot of characters walking away from the city, the director conjures up an image of the transition from a 'town'- centred view of Kinshasa to a *cité*-centred one. The new Kinshasa is the edge where most of the film is set. In staging both relocation and the distance between Kinshasa's centre and periphery, Wa Munga responds to an important conversation that has occupied post-independence scholarship about Kinshasa. The

background city, once Kinshasa's administrative and geographic centre, has "long since ceased to be either and …[has] become peripheral to the daily experience of the majority of Kinshasa's population" (De Boeck and Plissart, 2004, p. 33).

The director shifts the city's space and operations to the periphery to Mariano where Riva settles. This dilapidated *cité* is seen as the new centre of characters. The centrality of this marginal space is Wa Munga's way of showing that Kinshasa's margins have "engulfed the city as a whole" (De Boeck and Plissart, 2004, p. 34). The characters' 'capital *cité'* is now Mariano, an image of all other edge spaces where they congregate to make deals amid the sensual nightlife. Azor, the most famous gangster in *Viva! Riva* 's Kinshasa, is the figure of Kinshasa's citizenship thriving beyond the government's formal space. His repeated presence here, framed as quasi-celebration and quasi-business, adds on a sense of legitimacy to the animated dance floors where characters express their sensuality. The thriving enterprises, including economic corridors in which Riva and Anto - embodiments of the bashege, the social rejects who thrive off the formal governance - are at the centre, marks Mariano and not the modern city, as the new capital of characters. Both the setting and the normal level shot framing shifts Kinshasa's story from the kleptocratic life of the city's elites to the ingenuity characteristics of bashege.

Sixth, the mise-en-scène of squalor can also be read as a covert allusion to the incremental oppression. Walking and informality add onto characters' disillusionment, exploitation, death and violence (De Boeck and Plissart 2004; Trefon, 2004) the designation of débrouillez-vous citizenship defined by scarcity and self-survival (Trefon, 2002, p. 488). Opening the film with the image of walking characters echo De Boeck and Plissart's (2004) metaphor of "line II" or "foot bus" (p. 94), a visual reiteration of citizens' extensive poverty. It testifies to their exclusion from socio-economic participation inferred in the shot's mise-en-scène of old buildings and spontaneous makeshift roadside businesses. Instead of a progressive life, these

micro-economies show their frail and temporary livelihoods as facets of the city's "intensifying and broadening impoverishment and rampant informality" (Simone, 2001, p. 16). Wa Munga introduces such metaphors of economic failure to ridicule Kinshasa's lingering socio-economic dominance despite the country's political shift in the second and third republics represented by Desire Mobutu and Joseph Kabila respectively. The director shows the micro-economies represented by these roadside enterprises as the mainstay yet 'off-grid' economy which citizens use to "circumvent the state" (De Villers and Tshonda, 2004, p. 141). In fulfilling this role, the businesses signal the usurpation of neo-capitalist hierarchies first credited to Mobutu's kleptocratic governance. They are means for characters to overcome their exclusion from the nation's progress. Informal subsistence attests to covert tyranny, the main symbol of troubled citizenship. This, in turn, signals the severity of state neglect, thus the idea of De Boeck and Plissart's (2004) post-mortem city.

As alluded to in the foregoing discussions, this construction of a pathologic existence anchored on the street experiences makes serious commentary about citizenship in Kinshasa. These discussions have focused mainly on mise-en-scène, composition and character movements within the shot. The film however also tries to engage with the perpetuity of these conditions of pariah citizenship using the camera as a narrative tool. Based on this choice, this study makes several observations which are relevant to understanding how the film construes the pariah.

On one hand, read alongside this hierarchical view of the ideals of the country's national flag, the director's use of objective, static camera points towards a pattern of citizenship that can be described as a "pathological milieu" (Press and Smith, 1980, p. 4). Much of this pathological crisis is implicit in the lack of camera movement, giving a fixated, static gaze of the poor characters in the first and the third shots. The stationary high angle camera position in this

shot reiterates how the city has not changed but continues to run on the ideology of poverty, subservience and misery. This sense of stasis is in turn a sign of the sympathy the film feels for present-day citizens of Kinshasa by re-counting the "'collapse', 'oppression', 'illusion', 'bankruptcy', 'corruption' and 'criminalization'" (Trefon, 2002, p. 483) of development despite successive change of political leadership since the country's first democratic elections in 1960.

On the other hand, by using an objective camera view in the first and the third shots, the director decries how this sense of stasis and the deathly crisis is becoming the characters' 'normal' life. While keeping the mise-en-scène identifying the edge as the focus of his gaze, the director quickly shifts from the high angle framing of the first long shot to a normal angle framing in the third medium shot. This shift from a high angle cancels out the alienating gaze achieved by the camera positioning and hence, cancels out the sense of distance. But it introduces a feeling of closeness and hence scrutiny of this ongoing acceptance of misery. Using the image of characters going about their normal lives as a canvas of how they experience this normal bespeaks of how they are overpowered by the deathly grip of their circumstances.

Additionally, given that the two shots are separated by a close-up shot of palms counting a brick of Congolese franc. The use of such a devalued currency as the transition between the degrading high angle to the normal angle underlines the characters' degradation. In the context of the three successive shots, the normal angle associates the characters with this devaluation as an overall symbol of their crisis. While the high angle framing invokes a sense of an invincible state, this staging of exclusion and resilience is a rebellion against 'defeat' (De Villers and Tshonda, 2004). My argument is that through the camera, mise-en-scène and composition, the director poses the importance of disconnected citizenship in the imagination

of the citizens in the post-Mobutist Kinshasa. This combination of visual cues reveals the paradox of citizenship in Kinshasa namely; antithetical pursuit of and exclusion from belonging, the same foundation upon which the citizens' capital *cité'* is built. In the next subsection, the study will show how, in the backdrop of this construal, the film has constructed the imaginary of the death-like citizenry.

Tokokufa: Street Survival as Post Mortem

De Boeck and Plissart (2004) pose an important question: "Is all that remains in the post-colony, the post-mortem, an autopsy of crisis?" (p. 79). This attribution of post-death procedures to a postcolonial African nation presumes collapse of the state's political, social and economic systems. The term 'autopsy' captures Trefon's (2004, p. 4) concept of *tokokufa*, translating to 'we are dying'. In the postcolonial Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), the term may signify "backwardness, barbarism, incompetence… and savagery" (Dunn, 2003, p. 109) that permeate the country and perpetuate wobbly citizenship. Such proclamation echoes earlier thinking by the renowned critical theorist, Achille Mbembe, who poses the following questions:

> How, then, does one live when the time to die has passed, when it is even forbidden to be alive, in what might be called an experience of living the "wrong way round"? How, in such circumstances, does one experience not only the everyday but the *hic et nunc* when, every day, one has both to expect anything and to live in expectation of something that has not yet been realized, is delaying being realized, is constantly unaccomplished and elusive? (2001, p. 201)."

These two views are relatable to the context of DRC where incessant wars within the country, disease, displacement and poverty supplements other forms of conflicts such as global exploitation of the country's rich mineral resources causing great affliction to the citizens. These are citizens who have got used to a life of doing without. Specifically, they do without "food; they do without fuelwood; they do without primary health services; they do without safe drinking water. They also do without political participation, security, leisure or the ability to organize their time as they would like" (Trefon, 2004, p. 4). It is a situation described by mainstream media as 'The Broken Heart of Africa', suggesting a country in ruins. Such narratives also fit within the wider political discourses as they show cynicism about whether the country's colonial baggage has been cleared or continues behind the national rhetoric of liberation. Read within these circumstances, *Viva! Riva* Can be read as a story of a country that may have stalled. In this section, I discuss the use of street as a narrative space in *Viva! Riva* and its potential to engage wider national conversations about social and economic hierarchies, exploitation and exclusion and general condition of lack persisting in Kinshasa. I use the term tokokufa to refer to this collective disarray.

In the opening sequence, there is a scene of a stalled van, some characters pushing it along the street, some other characters inside the van and others on the street (Figure ii). The shot's dominant colors are the sky-blue and yellow on the van's side panel. It can be argued that although this street event highlights lack of fuel, an idea stressed throughout the film, in a sense, the image can be read as a political symbol. The colors used for the van's side panels have an indexical relation with the colors of the DRC's flag signifying peace and wealth and radiant future, respectively. Inscribing the van with these colors connotes this idea of a peaceful and prosperous nation.

This shot's use of colours is indexical to the nation and can thus be read as a metaphor of a stalled nation. If we see the van based on its symbolic colour scheme, the relationship between the characters pushing the van yet remaining outside the van and those enjoying comfort inside the van and not pushing, we are faced with a symbolic reproduction of socioeconomic hierarchies and a discourse of inclusion-exclusion, produced in the form of master-servant, insider-outsider associations. That the characters burdened with 'pushing' the nation forward are 'left out' of its ideals of 'comfort' signifies the type of exclusion that could reify Kinshasa's legacy of barbarous opportunism and political, social and economic problems of nation-building. The street van in this shot facilitates the disclosure of severely abused citizenry and DRC's postcolonial consciousness of increasing life of servitude and alienation. The questions raised through such representation of street life have to do with the conceptions of changing visions of citizenship and prosperity, what could be termed as citizenship experiences, foremost and explicitly coded in the use of colours and their relationship to the country's history.

Figure ii: A medium shot of Kinois pushing stalled van in the streets of Kinshasa in Djo Tunda Wa Munga's film, *Viva! Riva* (2010) (Source: screen freeze-frame).

The characters pushing the van by holding the yellow band are literally putting their effort into the ideals of nation's wealth to which the colour is indexical. Yet peace remains just 'out of reach' as surmised by the sky-blue colour strip above their hands. Such a narrative axis is deeply yoked with the history of exploitation which this street scene re-enacts. Within the history of the DRC, the interpretation of increasing citizen effort expended in the country's

mineral wealth is originally documented by Doyle (1909) who notes that Leopoldian state positioned systematic economic exploitation above the welfare of the citizens, a trend continued by later Belgium colonizers. This image of a stalled van, through its use of colour coding and character relations, re-activates this memory of inequalities, a narrative realism that can aptly be decoded through Trefon's (2004, p. 4) notion of *tokokufa* described at the start of this section. The master-servant trajectories cultivated in the symbolism of servitude pre-empt the narrative of gross political, social and economic exploitation of the local populations in the postcolonial state. This consciousness can be understood within two recent attempts to articulate oppressed citizenship and potential emancipation thereof. I discuss these two narrative points through the representation of colours and their historic symbolism generated through alterations of the DRC's national flag.

First is the red colour introduced within the flag in 1963-1966. Due to competing for political and economic interests in DRC after independence, the period from 1960 was full of bloodshed. The infamous Congo crisis that lasted from 1960 to 1965 saw various Western and Eastern powers fight against each other, with the newly independent country quickly becoming a bloody proxy battlefront for these political antagonists. Within the DRC, Patrice Lumumba's assassination signifies how foreign interests override the welfare of the locals. Coincidentally, this is the period we see for the first time the flag changing to include the diagonal red band (1963-1966) symbolizing bloodshed. This band was made bigger between 1966 and 1971. Such a move logically hints of a changing national consciousness that war and not independence, is on offer. If size is a measure of carnage to which the red band is indexical, increasing its size could suggest an acknowledgement of increasing violence in this period.

Joseph Kabila's decision to revert to this flag in 2006 is most telling of how the presidency perceived the country. His father, Laurent-Kabila, had been assassinated, Laurent Nkunda and Pierre Bemba, two of the most powerful opposition war-lords at the time, were fighting his government from the mineral-rich Eastern DRC and within Kinshasa respectively. This is also the time when the "wealth of the Congo has been exported, its people starved and enslaved" (Renton, Seddon, and Zeilig, 2007, p. 1). The plunder of the country's resources by foreign forces occupying the country's rich mineral fields currently is enormous (Renton, Seddon, and Zeilig, 2007). The decision by the young Joseph Kabila to adopt the flag with a red diagonal band thus acknowledges the magnitude of violence and a compromise of the ideals of citizenship at the time.

Second, the initially deep blue portion of the flag signifying peace of the country continually fades from 1997 going forward. It becomes light between 1997 and 2003 and lighter, to a sky-blue tint between 2003 and 2006. The fading between 1997-2003 comes at a time when Laurent-Kabila presidency is troubled from friend-turned-foe insurgencies from Ugandan and Rwandan militaries who had earlier helped him to oust the ailing Mobutu from power in 1997. It further fades between 2003-2006 which is after his assassination, possibly expressing compromised peace. The sky-blue band used in this van bears this indexical meaning, which is reinforced through the representation of rampant violence within the streets of Kinshasa. Violence and murder of citizens by the Angolan antagonist, Cesar, exposes the frailty of a corrupt, dysfunctional government and emphasizes the dangers, not peace, of living in a dysfunctional city. It is because of such character actions that we can see the street life as articulating this consciousness of DRC's chaos. In the backdrop of these two flag modifications and the choice of colours in Figure ii, it is arguable that the use of filmic elements significantly illustrates *tokokufa* citizenry.

Having explained *tokokufa* citizenship from the perspective of symbolic encoding of exploitation and exclusion in the colours of the flag, I now turn to the second dimension, perpetual lack. The stalled van in Figure i the confers upon the shot the signification of dysfunctionality which the film reveals is caused by fuel shortage. This discourse of shortage is further summoned in subsequent scenes when we see lines of stalled cars queuing at a petrol station and others refuelling from roadside fuel vendors. Fuel scarcity, enhanced by the long queues of cars in the streets and others being pushed into the petrol station, easily embeds this scene of a stalled street van within the general condition of fuel scarcity. It thus confers on the shot in Figure i the representation of the severe burden of 'doing without' even as petrol stations advertise excess fuel in an environment where there is abundance (the shot of the petrol station has a prominent hand-written sign: 'Plus de Carburant', translatable to More Fuel'). Within the context of the nation, fuel is emblematic of the DRC's natural resources, so that Riva's hoarded reserves represent the quest of capitalistic economies to deprive ordinary citizens of affordable necessities. While exploitation produces struggles and extreme burdens and inculcate inside-outside citizenry, perpetual lack exposes the citizens to the state's tactics of "social cannibalization" (Trefon, 2002, p. 494) which Wa Munga codifies in the metaphor of being 'left out' such as those characters pushing the van and later in the form of *sapeur* citizens; packaged as powerful celebrities but deprived of power.

Throughout the film, the character of Azor remains central to the narrative. indeed, while Riva and Cesar chase each other in the street, Azor is seen as the ultimate symbol of success. The first time we see him is inside Sai Sai nightclub where he is introduced as 'the big boss, the descendant of all the Kings of the Congo, the strong man of Kinshasa. Azor the first' amidst cheers. His revered status is endorsed by acknowledgment and privileged access to public spaces in the *cité*. Even his residence is contrasted with the squalid lives of other characters, especially Riva, J.M. and his family and the prostitutes at Mother Edo. It is set in a

walled compound, at the top of the hill. Inside his house, there is even a poster of the infamous 1974 Rumble in The Jungle fight between Mohammed Ali and George Foreman, imbuing his space with power. Azor is always accompanied by two bodyguards and his beautiful girlfriend, Nora. It is thus most telling about the ideals of citizenship in the *cité* when he calls Riva a peasant during their first quarrel inside Sai Sai nightclub, a proclamation which establishes economic boundaries as simultaneously social boundaries, a definition which quickly becomes a fulcrum for debating the meaning of exclusion.

Consequent to this framing of exclusion and in consideration of overt deficiencies which the film accords to Azor in subsequent scenes (he lacks enough fuel, money to pay his bills and even sexual vigour), his esteemed status of the 'strong man of Kinshasa' draws attention to the way his idealism of opulence is indeed an exposé of erratic "complexities of survival 'here and now' and uncertainty about the future" (Bilakila, 2004, p. 23). These deficiencies are further compounded when we see Riva buying beer for all the patrons just after Azor nips Nora's earring to pay for his bills at Sai Sai nightclub where the proprietor threatens to evict him and his bodyguards for owed bills. In this instance, Azor's elegance, initially seen as an aesthetic of elitism, begins to show him as an embodiment of "les Lutteurs (the Strugglers)" (Bazenguissa-Ganga, 2014, p. 171). Azor's initial iconicity of opulence is transformed into a narrative of *sapeur* citizenship, a symptom of how ordinary citizens respond to their lives of doing without by 'struggling' to appear satisfied. In other words, Azor is a man whose existence is a manifestation of what Mbembe (2001, p. 201) would call "live in death". Azor is "nothing but an appearance" (p. 186), a person who dresses up to conceal his destitution.

Mbembe's incisive look at the life of the postcolonial subject is positioned within his critical theory of the post-colony. Specifically, the idea of the subject as an appearance which he puts forth describes not only the continuing de-personalization of the African by the former

colonialists but also, a certain level of realism in the postcolonial condition which this study engages. Wa Munga's characterization of Azor and in general the rest of the citizens who inhabit Kinshasa's edges, carries with it this consciousness of the urban citizen tightly trapped in the congealed global networks of capitalist hegemony, living as victims of a reality they cannot change. Mbembe's idea that "in Africa after colonization, it is possible to delegate one's death while simultaneously and already experiencing death at the very heart of one's own existence (2001, p. 201)." In other words, how can such characters continue to exist and be so happy when they are faced with such devastating life?

I draw from these representations to support the argument that his mode of citizenship helps to articulate scarcity as a signifier of *tokokufa* citizenship and to frame the space of street economy in this matrix. While Azor may typify the ideals of street success, it is the real street characters like Riva who exemplify the common mentality of survival. The characters surrounding him do not question his wealth, but accept that he is their own, representing their dreams of opportunistic riches. By contrasting these two street characters, the film is mapping the idea of empowerment in these two competing views of citizenship. Their "daily contestation … to determine who will have the freedom of the streets and who will not" (Wood, 2012, p. 51) and consequently comment on DRC's postcolonial condition of struggling, desperation and exploitation as indicators of struggle and condition of 'dying'. Whoever controls the street (and its material resources), inevitably controls its power. The question that I address in the next section is how the street also enables the citizens faced with *tokokufa* circumstances assemble themselves into cunning dealers in order to survive.

Garbage Communities

Viva! Riva heavily borrows from Trefon's (2002) trope of garbage, especially in the final sequence, to comment on the way ordinary street metaphors can articulate Kinshasa's junk

communities. I use the term junk here to mean the way characters are represented as excluded from the benefits expected from their government. Just before we see the image of the warehouse where Riva and G.0. have hidden the fuel, the director indulges the audience with an image of Cesar leading Commander and J.M. as captives through a street full of mud and garbage. Jump-cutting from a normal long shot showing the characters marching along a street, the director uses an elevated shot to show muddy junk. A voice-over added to this imagery of garbage announces: 'Kinshasa the beauty, Kinshasa the garbage'.

By adding the voice-over proclaiming garbage in this shot, the director creates an aural and visual harmony that codifies the Commander's discursive identity within the degenerative status of garbage within the shot. Particularly, as the Commander walks along this muddy junk, the camera persists with the same close-up shot framing and then tilts up tracing her body from her feet stepping on the mud to the face. The persistent close-up framing and tilt-up camera movement bring the viewer closer to witness her body as a continuousness of the murkiness. Cesar's comment that 'Your country is the worst cow pee I have ever seen, maybe you should have remained colonized' that comes at the end of this shot shows how he, a foreigner, is disgusted with experiences in Kinshasa. The temporal placement of this shot, that is, inserting it near the resolution of the film, gives it much significance as it comes out as a closing comment of the film's narrative thrust of a degenerating city. What this image achieves is to frame garbage as an allegory of the way street communities relate with the city, thus enabling us to unravel garbage as the physical symbol of the condition of life of excluded street communities.

Following this reasoning, this allusion to Kinshasa as a garbage city bears a covert symbolism of a city populated by dejected characters. The notion of garbage citizenry that I discuss here concerns the nature of relationships that arise within the city's ambiance of exploitation,

exclusion and scarcity and which configure the behaviour of city residents to live a deteriorating life. Significantly, the film builds Kinshasa's narrative of survival around fuel circulation, a resource controlled through street networks, thus implicating the streets in the symbolism of degeneration. From this point on, I will disuss the idea of distress referring to manoeuvres of survival coded in the image of roadside fuelling (Figure iii).

The mise-en-scène of the medium shot in Figure iii comprises fuel in a jerrycan, a funnel improvised from a plastic bottle and the fuel pouring into an open car fuel tank. The shot truncates the character almost entirely, giving prominence to the fuelling process. Using this framing, composition and mise-en-scène, the shot posits the improvised 'fuelling station' as an important manoeuvre in moments of fuel crisis in that it is a ready solution. Yet, this version of entrepreneurship also exemplifies the survival manoeuvres embedded in Kinshasa's economic fabric and which feed into the discourse of disregarded way of life which the film narrates. This can be discussed in two ways.

Figure iii: A close-up shot of someone fueling a car using improvised bottle funnel in Djo Tunda Wa Munga's film, *Viva! Riva* (2010) (Source: screen freeze-frame).

One, the process of fuelling, tied to the symbolism of hoarding fuel and reselling at exorbitant prices, is a trope with which the film displays a mentality of plunder. It raises the idea of Khadaffi (Bilakila, 2004, p. 28), the cunning businessmen in Kinshasa who hoard fuel and avail it at moments of scarcity. Temporarily occupying streets at moments of scarcity, the

Khadaffi uses his fuel as a resource for power in the city's business ecology formally dominated by the fuelling stations. But by doing so, the Khadaffi is also joining the mainstream exploitative tendencies. By giving prominence to the Khadaffi, the film reveals the rampant exploitative consciousness such as exemplified by Riva and his associate, G.0, who urges him to hoard the fuel for longer, so they can sell it at the highest possible price. In this sense, they are poised as Khadaffi, the mentality that connotes plunder by hoarding fuel as prices soar and speculating on the opportunity created by this scarcity. In this sense, this shot invokes this symbolism of shortage and at the same time predatory economic tendencies resulting from such shortage.

Two, this shot also drives the symbolism of commercial exploitation in the city, aptly expressed in De Boeck's (2015) concept of *nzombo le soir*, an expression standing for "an unexpected opportunity or windfall within an over-all condition of lack and want" (p. 146). Riva's moniker of a paltry survivor, trickster and degenerate character, the vehicle through which the notion of garbage citizenry is delivered to the viewer, is codified within the discursive environment of his charisma in dominating a 'windfall' business. In fact, the whole narrative of his power hinges on his strategic possession of fuel at that moment of shortage. In this case, possessing fuel is not reducible to the symbolism of hoarding, but as a resource that exemplifies the logic of opportunism as plunder, not in the sense of carting away of resources, but in the form of availing resources at exorbitant prices.

Three, the process of selling fuel in the streets construes *Kobeta libanga*, an expression that implies "trickery, 'wheeling and dealing', acting as a go-between or bargaining" (Bilakila, 2004, p. 20). In this alternative fuelling process, *Viva! Riva* celebrates the ingenuity of characters to establish deals and reap benefits. Indeed, most characters in this film are interwoven by their deal-making skills as a way of wiggling from the struggles produced by

their *tokokufa* conditions. Often, as is the case for all the characters who die in the film, the choice of when they get murdered is determined by what bargain they can make with Cesar's gang. Father Gaston is killed as soon as his role of hiding the fugitive gang is deemed dispensable. Malou only lives long enough to track down Riva, then she is also killed. J.M. is baptized Judas after he leads the gang to the fuel, then he is also killed.

By such actions, the film focuses on deal-making and temporary affiliations within the city, such as in this instant moment of client-Khadaffi business, as manoeuvres that contribute to the city's trope of garbage. The deal-making that results from the mentality of "self-help" inculcated in this shot also belies "exploitation and growing forms of differentiation" (Freund, 2007, p. 162); fuelled by the uncertainty of fuel quality and unregulated prices. From a historical materialistic point of view, these representations are not so much a question of values, morals, or ethics, but rather a mode of "understanding the evolving material interrelations … 'metabolic relations'… between human beings and nature" (Swyngedouw, 2006, p. 25). Even though the deal seems useful as is the case in Figure iii, that it is retrieved through siphoning to continue these forms of economic networks shows how junky communities may mobilize their opportunistic networks to preserve themselves against the disadvantages of their street habitat. The film narrative can then be read as an exposition of the difficulties of street life among Kinshasa's street communities, or perhaps DRC in general.

PART 3: STREETS AND ARCHIVAL

(Luanda and Johannesburg in Cinema)

Introduction

The term archival derives from the way the films' street images appear calibrated by national consciousness and shared history of citizenship inequality. This is the phenomenon I am calling archival. According to International Council on Archives (ICAO) (2016), archives are "documentary by-product of human activity retained for their long-term value… contemporary records created by individuals and organisations as they go about their business and therefore provide a direct window on past events." This simply means that an archive is a place that preserves historical resources in various forms; pictures, music, texts, videos, graphics, illustrations and so on, which give information about people's history in relation to their institutions, culture and experiences. Further, it argues that for an archive to be "authentic and reliable then we need to preserve its context to understand how, why and who created it, its content and its format (the way that it is presented as a document)", which I take to mean that an archive is contextual. This is perhaps why ICAO cautions against regarding an archive as the truth, arguing that an archive is only a "contemporaneous record from an individual or organisation with a particular level of involvement and point of view." From this definition, I use the phrase 'street archive' here to mean the way the images of the streets in filmic representations of Luanda and Johannesburg are archival records of specific citizenship histories of those cities. In Luanda, it is the history of pauperized citizenry who live in the musseque; in Johannesburg it is the apartheid history which has given way to self-governance.

The term archival differs from the first two in that it treats the streets as sites of inscribing or creating memory. Regarding Luanda and Johannesburg, the study asserts that street images from these cities function as archives of urban citizenship discourses raised within the film's

diegesis in that they are built on the well-discussed historical and political significations within these cities. The cinematic narratives from Luanda engage with the nostalgia of inhabiting the city as a way of reminding the viewer of the contemporary history of inequality within the city. In Johannesburg, I read the film images of the streets as invocations of macro-apartheid, again based on the recent history of apartheid within the city.

CHAPTER 6: CITY FORM AND CITIZENSHIP: STREET AND URBAN NOSTALGIA IN LUANDA CINEMA

This chapter analyses images of the street (and street-life) in Zézé Gamboa's *O Herói* (2004). This film tells the story of Vitório (Oumar Makena Diop), an ex-military military sergeant who lost one leg after stepping on a ground explosive during the war. In this film, he comes to the city of Luanda looking for a job to earn a living. For my discussions, I consider this film as a post-war narrative of citizenship in the city of Luanda. The argument here is that the film shows Luanda's streets, where the protagonist lives as a homeless man, as spaces that have supplanted the musseques in the symbolism of citizenship inequality. Consequently, street images enable the viewer to reflect on issues of nostalgic citizenship experiences resulting from such inequalities. Building on existing academic conversations about inequity, spatial politics, governance and urban theory, the study will argue that street imagery acts as an archive of urban nostalgia in Luanda. Such an inference builds on a well-established spatial form that dominates Luanda's cityscape dating back to the colonial times.

Luanda's residential space is historically organized into bairros for the rich and musseques, the vast poor residential sections located at the city periphery. This center-periphery division also marks the city's socio-economic divisions now being replaced by suburban spaces which combine gentrification with the task of ensuring that such divisions are not vanquished. The post-war task of cleansing the city of its undesirable images of poverty in order to fulfil a global image of inclusivity and progressiveness (resulting from a promise by the government in 2008) is thus constrained by the legacy of an urban form that does not favour equality and is in fact archived in the city's spatial form and reflected in the street life. This study notes that symbols of citizenship nostalgia once explicitly mapped in the city's musseques are now coded in the street experiences as musseques are demolished to give way to new structures in

the contemporary city. I will explain how this process and the metaphors of nostalgic citizenship that it generates relate to my analysis in later subsection.

Moving on, I wish to explain my usage of the term nostalgia in the context of cinema narratives. Pam Cook (2005, p. 2), who explores the subject of nostalgia and cinema in depth, defines nostalgia as a "state of longing for something that is known to be irretrievable, but is sought anyway." It is "predicated on a dialectic between longing for something idealized that has been lost and an acknowledgment that this idealized something can never be retrieved in actuality and can only be accessed through images" (p. 3). Cook's point here is that nostalgia as a concept works by connecting two levels of ephemerality: the ideal and the real.

These also relate to history and memory, so that nostalgia can be interpreted as a tool that relies on juxtapositions between ideas, epochs, rhetorical standpoints, or even epistemologies and acts as a bridge between them. As Cook (2005) further notes that whereas history "suppresses the element of disavowal or fantasy in its re-presentation of the past, nostalgia foregrounds those elements and in effect lays bare the processes at the heart of remembrance. In that sense, it produces knowledge and insight..." (p. 3). In this case, urban nostalgia in Luanda stands for an ongoing conversation between the citizens' past (of war trauma) and the city's future (in its promise of better, inclusive, progressive life), a conversation that unfolds through the interaction between characters and their spaces. This nostalgia is described by Antonio Tomas in his recent seminar presentation titled "Urban Nostalgia: Colonial traces in the postcolonial city of Luanda" which he gave at Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research (WISER). In his lecture brief, Antonio describes Luanda's urban nostalgia as a "sort of nostalgia for the future, or the future enshrined in urban forms of the past." Such an assertion can thus be interpreted to mean that Luanda's urban form; the streets, structures, public spaces and even inner rooms, provide a visual vocabulary for the different dimensions

of marginality and longing for better life, all encompass the broad framing of nostalgia in that city. Connecting Tomas' and Cook's definitions provides a specific framework for discussing urban nostalgia in relation to cinematic discourse. Tomas is simply arguing that we should see the city's infrastructure as a plug between "representations of the past and actual past events and the desire to overcome that gap and recover what has been lost (Cook, 2005, p. 4)." Ultimately, the idea being offered here is that nostalgia is a stylistic tool that builds on representability of the past in present symbols, whether these are in existence (such as musseques and bairros) or are implied through acts of citizenship (such as street life).

I see nostalgia in Gamboa's *O Herói* then, as a stylistic tool that is being deployed to achieve three broad objectives already listed by Cook:

> create a time-warp effect in order to suggest that historical change has not necessarily moved society forward… foreground the mechanisms of reconstruction to reveal both disjunctures and similarities between then and now… (and) re-present a golden age that is stable and timeless, many reconstruct a past era as turbulent and unsettled, as a liminal realm that provides an outlet for escapist fantasy (2005, p. 10).

This broadly informs the kind of analysis that I will undertake in the rest of the chapter. The arrangement of space materials and their relationship with characters from nightclubs to homes, to hospitals, to schools and the street businesses, shall all be considered signifiers of the way experiences of city life relate to the way characters identify with their past while looking forward to better prospects. Going forward, the question I wish to answer is how Gamboa's film uses such urban forms to stimulate questions about discordance between the protagonist's past life and his hope for the future, which is really the issue I am calling urban nostalgia in Luanda.

Consequently, this chapter makes three arguments. First, that the film builds on an increasing awareness of the changing symbolism of nostalgia from the musseque infrastructure to street life. I suggest that the use of the dilapidated streets as the primary setting for Gamboa's film precipitates a view of Luanda's changing form in relation to narratives of nostalgia, hitherto represented by the musseques, is now embedded in the images of the streets as the most visible and elaborate expressions of urban nostalgia. Second, I discuss nostalgia as a prevalent motif in Luanda's post-war films, including *O Herói* which uses the city as the frontier of divided citizenship experiences. Characters' oscillation towards a better life is juxtaposed with a sense of despair, which in turn portrays an elaborate scheme of alienation within the city. Third, I will make a discussion that the image of the street is central to Gamboa's use of urban form and infrastructural materials to illustrate Luanda's nostalgia. This choice, I assert, is indeed a filmic strategy to engage with the history of nostalgic citizenship experiences within the city. I further argue that the use of mise-en-scène and composition of musseques in this film construes a metaphor of the city's hierarchical structure which in turn illustrates the intersection between Luanda's historical urban form and nostalgia in its contemporary form.

From Musseques to Streets: Urban Form and Citizenship Narration

My objective here is to show that the representation of territories and frontiers within Luanda, hitherto signified by the musseque, is now represented by the image of the street and its symbolism of urban citizenship. For Luanda, this replacement is actualized through the city's ongoing renewal, what has been touted as overdue urban regeneration. Abdoumaliq Simone's (2004) describes urbanization as a "thickening of fields, an assemblage of increasingly heterogeneous elements into more complicated collectives. The accelerated, extended and intensified intersections of bodies, landscapes, objects and technologies defer calcification of institutional ensembles or fixed territories of belonging" (p. 408). This description can be summarized thus; that urbanization has to do with a blending of people, spaces and other city

objects such as infrastructure, all of which collectively comprise the urban form. The central idea in this argument concerns urban form as a networked whole. Simone probes the idea that different urban tissues indeed work within structures, complex wholes, which make it possible for different elements within the tissue to be in conversation with one another, to defer their calcification, or the solidifying of their individual significations. The streets, for instance, have something to do with buildings nearby. Inhabitants of streets and buildings have something to do with each other. But they also have their own individual meanings which they bring along. The task then is to identify and explain these conversations between the elements in the tissues and to make them understandable in the context of urban nostalgia.

It is for this reason that I find this description important in my analysis of the representation of the streets as composite spaces where important acts of citizenship are being illustrated. For one, the idea of entanglement which Simone posits above can be exploited not only in the context of Africa's urban modernity but specifically, in the understanding of Luanda's version of modernity. Since the end of the civil war, modernization here has taken the form of gentrification. New urban neighbourhoods, built as social and economic enclaves, have sprung up in the city. Simone's idea of assemblage, that it enables the complex whole to manifest by deferring fortification of territories, becomes aptly significant in decoding Luanda's urbanization where various elements converge to designate the complex powerplay between citizens and the government. The biggest of these elements has always been the overwhelming musseque infrastructure.

Drawing on this conception of urbanization, I begin my argument here on a specific note that whereas as of 2012, more than 70% of Luanda's population resided in the musseques (Cain, 2012, p. 15), this kind of infrastructure is always in dialogue with a larger discourse of citizenship on which nostalgia is built. It is not coincidental that in any part of Luanda, the

infrastructural material is used to enforce socio-economic enclaves (Rodrigues C. U., 2009) because this very urban form feeds into Luanda's discourse of marginalization. These structures are constructed at random and display the assemblage of marginal communities through opportunistic manoeuvres within the city. Given that in post-war Luanda many of the musseques are quickly being replaced by modern building projects (Gastrow, 2017), it is a legitimate question to ask, what happens to those displaced through these projects? The biggest name in this regard is the once bustling Roque Santeiro market, which was in Sambizanga, a shanty space build by the refugees fleeing war in Angola's interior. Since the 1980s when Roque Santeiro market was established, it grew into a bustling centre of commerce for the musseque residents. It is therefore quite timely to engage with the question; what happened to the musseque residents who depended on the market after it was bull-dozed in 2010 and relocated to Panguila? Reportedly, this new space did not signal a better experience of citizenship. In fact, the traders lament lack of customers and the high cost of doing business (De Comarmond, 2010). Likewise, this relocation, like many others, tends to dispossess the poor and make their lives harder.

After houses in Cambamba II were bulldozed in government operation to give way to a new building project, "Nova Vida" (New Life), reports emerged about the distressed urban poor (Irin News, 2006). From the same neighbourhood, BBC News (2007) reported as follows:

> A 35-year-old woman described how the bulldozers arrived without any announcement. 'There was time for nothing... we could not take anything out. They broke my bed, my oven; they ran over everything. I was trying to get my stuff out and they threw me in the police car.' Another evictee, 22, from the same neighbourhood - Cambamba II - said he ran to get his wife and child out of the house before the authorities demolished it. 'We left holding each other and they came to beat us with batons. We continued to hold each other and

they continued to beat us, pushed us and threw us to the ground,' he told HRW. 'At the end, there were eight policemen hitting me and my wife, holding our one-year-old baby. Then they threw me into the police car.'

If gentrification was aimed to offer better living conditions for Luanda's residents, clearly, the reportage of cruel eviction contradict this aspiration. Years after the forced eviction, Lilly Peel (2013) describes the grim story of a Luandan grandmother who lost her house in this same neighborhod. Peel (2013) describes her desolate space in relation to the newly built houses:

Across the road the new houses, now renamed Nova Vida (New Life), are like a dystopian 1950s suburbia – matching pastel colours and manicured front lawns surrounded by the shacks of the dispossessed.

From this kind of reportage, we build an argument that the musseque (already demolished) is now usurped in the city's representation of urban nostalgia by a more universal symbol; the street (here acting as a boundary between the old grandmother and the New Life apartments from which she is locked out). New Life apartments is a signpost of her desired life, the life that musseque residents should achieve in the gentrified city. It represents her ideal life which remains, as of then, out of reach. But it also connotes the worsening sense of alienation accompanied by displacement, tapping into the war-time metaphors of distress. The image of the old grandmother contemplating the new house across the street while remaining homeless thus provides a useful metaphor of the way street communities symbolize the workings of urban enclaves in fostering economic, social and political differentiation (Abbott, 2004, p. 120) with which I am working.

If we consider that the musseques are fast disappearing and poor citizens are scattered to different satellite suburbs in a move aimed at erasing the imagery of squalor and assuring the viewer of a progressive city, with such reportage in mind, we begin to see these new houses in relation to the way individuals occupy the streets, so that gentrification produces a new urban form which intensifies rather than obliterates marginality. The street separating the old grandmother from the ideal house is seen as an embodiment of the way state functions are deployed to "mediate the transformation of relatively egalitarian, ascriptive, kin-structured groups" signified by the musseques, into "socially stratified, politically organized, territorially based societies (Knox and McCarthy, 2005, p. 22)" signified by the new houses. In place of the musseques which previously offered a stark image of socio-economic differences, the street offers subtle imagery of a new form of anti-modernized assemblage working hand in hand with various oppressive systems in nurturing dispossession and spatial marginalization of minority classes (Beinart, Delius, and Trapido's (1986) and Jones's (2000). In this sense, the signification of nostalgia once dominated by the vast tracts of the free-sprawling musseque is now being replaced with other subtle symbols of alienated citizenship - the street.

This mode of representation is well demonstrated by Maria João Ganga's film, *Na Cidade Vazia* (*The Hollow City*) (2004) which won two international awards: The Special Jury Prize in 2004 at the Paris Film Festival and the Most Promising Filmmaker at the Cape Town World Cinema Festival in 2004. This film is memorable for its use of the images of Luanda's cityscape to construct a nostalgic narrative of poor characters living, literally, in oblivion. In fact, the entire film grapples with the problem of coding nostalgia in its various forms: madness, idealizing the colonial master, depreciation of the musseque character and an overwhelming sense of detachment within the city. In this film, the director tells the story of N'dala (João Roldan), a young boy evacuated from Bie to Luanda, where he wanders through the city leading the viewer through spaces rendered in conspicuous images of dilapidated

shacks. The protagonist encounters the city's space through forlorn characters embedded in precarious spaces: the madman who waylays him near a garbage bin, for instance, displays an extreme sense of disconnected citizenship. Not only is he dressed to display a hysterical life, he also embodies a sense of abandonment which we see in the rest of the film. Similarly, the old fisherman (Custodio Francisco), lives in a grass casabre at the oceanfront. The choice of an isolated beach as the setting for his home and a grass hut as his residence indexes his meagre survival within the city, bringing to focus Luanda's dystopian life endured by the musseque citizens. Then there is Zè (Domingos Fernandes Fonseca) who lives with a makeshift family comprising of 'sister' Rosita (Júlia Botelho) and 'cousin' Joka (Raúl Rosário). Like N'dala, Zè and his adopted family epitomizes the awful life lived within the musseques. He lives with the dream that he could indeed become an actor (he is already playing the role of Ngunga in a school play) yet remains constrained by destitution. These images and the characters embody this failed vision of a post-war Luanda where inclusivity may be guaranteed, or at least severe forms of marginalization avoided.

Clearly then, this film draws attention to the way characters' everyday life in the city exemplifies a lingering sense of nostalgia by inhabiting spaces that amplify their difficult experiences within the city. In these representations we see character's spaces (in the streets as is the case with N'dala or in isolation as is the case with the fisherman) being mobilized through filmic language to narrativize Luanda's deep-rooted sense of isolation. The possibility for better life, implied by being characterized mainly through social and economic absences and character's ambitions, embody a dialectic between what the film portrays to be the real and the ideal, hence nostalgia. We see N'dala's childhood not only through his innocence but through the urban system that he encounters, and which leads him to crime and ultimately, death. I shall use the same rationale in my analysis of Gamboa's film, where street characters, through their different acts of citizenship ranging from begging, theft, small

business, labour, prostitution and deal-making, gives a more engaged view of how urban form and nostalgic citizenship is embedded within acts of survival in the streets.

City Form and Nostalgia in Luanda Cinema

Contemporary conversations about the city of Luanda cannot be detached from the consciousness of prolonged civil war that ravaged Angola for decades. The city of Luanda, the administrative and political capital of Angola and a popular destination for those fleeing the war, can thus be understood as a reservoir, an archive of this trauma. Here, majority of those who arrived and settled during the periods of conflict brought along their memories and narratives of trauma. However, these memories are emplaced with a different archive of social, economic and political inequalities that the city inherited from the Portuguese colonialism and which persist in the post-war period. Thus, one may correctly argue that the city's urban form, comprised of cidade - the residence for the rich and musseque - the spaces inhabited by the poor, clearly illustrate the divergent experiences of citizenship envisioned by this division. While the cidade offers a trajectory to better life prospects and improved life, citizenship in the musseque is experienced as lack. This dialectic suggests a detachment between the musseque resident and the central government illustrated by absolute poverty. In this sense, the musseques construe postcolonial symbols of marginality and nostalgia in the city. These symbols have provided narrative material for many filmic narratives.

For most of its colonial history, especially from the 1930s, Angola's film production has been dominated by Portuguese filmmakers and the natives were only consumers of foreign films. For a long time, the vast network of cinema viewing halls, most of whose dilapidated structures still exist in Luanda, marked the points of intersection between the city's spatial form and the film industry keen to use the city to stage its narratives. For this period, only a few native Angolan filmmakers like Mariano Bartolomeu made remarkable footprints in the country's film industry. Although he has spent most of his time in America, his most known

films; *Un lugar limpio y bien iluminado* (*A Clean and Well Lit Place*) (1991), *Quem Faz Correr Quim* (*Who makes Quim Run?*) (1991) and *O Sol Ainda Brilha* (*The Sun Still Shines*) (1995) have all won remarkable recognition both locally and internationally.

These films have however been eclipsed in post-war Angola, whose most prominent homegrown films were all released shortly after the country's three decades of civil war. Orlando Fortunato de Oliveira's *Comboio da Canhoca* (*Train of Canhoca*) (1989), though shot towards the tail end of the war, was not released until 2004. The film is about 59 Angolans held hostage by Portuguese secret service and whose boxcar compartment is abandoned for three days in the railway yards of Canhoca. This impromptu detachment from their captors and the stress that ensues between the erstwhile captives creates the ideal trope of the crisis of post-war citizenship nostalgia in Angola characterized by various other films. Here are former captives who are abandoned (literally freed) yet remain boxed in a compartment where their necessities for survival breeds deep divisions. What is the name of such a freedom, of such a form of citizenship? What exactly does it stand for? These questions are explored through the narrative arc of Fortunato's film, which is built around the desecration of the native through confinement in oppressive space, thus recalling the director's keen interest in the narratives of nostalgic longing for liberation evident in his earlier films.

In *Memória de um Dia* (1982), he narrates about civilian massacre by Portuguese in Bengo Icolo in 1960. A similar disposition is also seen in his later film, *Batepá* (2010), which narrates about the 1953 Sao Tome e Principe killings of native forros creoles by Portuguese. Consequent to this focus on alienated natives, Fortunato seems to use cinematic elements in a peculiar style to reflect on the realism of struggle with injustices and the uncertainty inherent in this pursuit, thus claiming his position as a historical filmmaker with a keen interest in

representing nostalgia through visual narratives that use space as a frontier. Arguably, then, Fortunato's use of nostalgia as a dominant motif in his films can be understood within both the constraints imposed on his works by feature films' formal structures which demand a fictionalized narrative and through the sense of realism evident in his representations of the underlying conditions of citizenship which he seeks to enunciate. I, therefore, cite his films here to lay the ground for engaging with Gamboa's subsequent film which shows enough interest in building their narratives on this historical image of nostalgia while sustaining a fictional style. They achieve this by repeatedly using images of such urban forms as the musseques and street communities inserted within these urban forms to index the longing for inclusion.

O Herói, the focus of my discussion here, is important not just because it won the World Cinema Dramatic Jury Prize of 2005 at Sundance Film Festival thus becoming iconic of Luanda's thriving post-war cinema, but mostly because it reflects on important social and political issues using Luanda's cityscape. *O Herói*'s narrative is, in R. Joseph Parrott's (2014, 234) words, an "optimistic response to a specific place and time." Indeed, *O Herói*'s dominant images of the lone city dweller reflect a well-established mode of representing the characters' problematic encounter with the cityscape. Using Vitório's difficult urban life, Gamboa intimates that the protagonist's lack of necessary resources and his constant desire to access social and economic inclusion in the city (he searches for employment in a motor vehicle repair garage and later a construction site) builds on the very problematic narrative of transformation from war to post-war citizenship Luanda which many Angolan filmmakers pursue.

Further, the film clearly designates his changing worldview through the change of costumes from military uniform (a temporal marker of the (past) military life) to civilian clothes

(indicative of the (present) civilian life). This action links the protagonist's past to the present while configuring his living conditions to remain miserable, positioning the film as a narrative with a keen interest in Luanda's nostalgic citizenship. Vitório's character elucidates impossibility to achieve socio-economic progress in the post-war Luanda and consequently, the government's uncontested ability to "manage poverty selectively" (Martins, 2017, p. 108) seen when the film conjoins the protagonist's material transformation to political negotiation with Ministro do Interior who grants him a job, a house and a car in return for agreeing to be used for media propaganda. Based on this narrative approach, the argument about nostalgic citizenship that I make here is built on this reciprocal arrangement where Ministro do Interior embodies government's tactics of selective intervention and the politics of patronage that arise from citizens' vulnerability, nurturing dogmatic clientelism between state and its citizens. The same experiences which assign Vitório a marginal socio-economic class also confer upon him the much-needed leverage to qualify as a political dice. His world, an embodiment of the past and the minister, an embodiment of the future, are the two existential possibilities through which the character's nostalgia is contemplated. This political intervention thus creates a new link between Vitório's street activities, which represent his marginality and political patronage.

In Luanda, being categorized as 'povo do governo' (pro-government) or 'povo da UNITA' (pro-UNITA) (Pearce, 2015, p. 15, cited by Martins, 2017, p. 103) determines economic and social inclusion. Vitório's inability to access opportunities throughout the city problematizes this interplay of exclusion and political subterfuges. Hence, to speak of nostalgic citizenship in relation to his struggles to access proper medical services, employment and social services is to identify with the way he uses the street not just as a backdrop to his circumstances, but as the only place where he can stake claim to the city territory (Simone A., 2014, p. 25). To stake claim in this sense means to use the street as his (social, economic and political)

territory and thus forego the alternative of leaving the city. The action however simultaneously points to the realism of inequalities and socio-economic barriers in the city. Consequently, this symbolism enables two narrative interpretations of the street.

First is the publicization of 'inside-outside' citizenship classes, already established by his existence in the streets. In this case, the streets are translated to a negotiation space within a hierarchical structure. This structure works by requiring the protagonist to submit to the city's "necessary but demeaning 'progress'" (Bose, 2008, p. 40) and thus utilizes him as an object of propaganda in exchange for improved life conditions. When we see him in the final sequence driving a car along the road, we see not only a "former revolutionary, the liberation guerrilla fighter, … or the autochthone", but someone who has had to back up the "maintenance of the present political status quo of the elites who control access to citizenship rights" (Martins, 2017, p. 101) to achieve this status. This resolution shows that Vitório is never free from covert political patronage, but that instead, his joblessness, homelessness and disability are simply accessories to help us see citizenship being crafted, contested and concretized in liminality. Even the car and the house which he receives in the end no longer signify his upward socio-economic mobility as much as they signify improved citizenship as a transition that is highly patronized. In this respect, conferring socio-economic instability upon him amounts to a narrative strategy to elicit his political complicity while enhancing the government's outlook as an economic benefactor. His character of a street recluse cultivated throughout the film can thus be read as a specific way of seeing deprivation as a priori to political deification. The streets in this case bear agency to the way bourgeoisie dreams of inclusivity are exchanged with political submission (Martins, 2017, p. 101), show state's power to remodel social, economic and political liminality (Gastrow, 2017, p. 224) and concretize the government's monumental power in controlling citizenship (Buire (2014) and Pearce (2015). In such a situation, inclusion fosters more than it dissolves nostalgia.

Second, it is possible to discuss nostalgia in Gamboa's film in relation to Tomás' (2012, p. 297) idea of Luanda's modernity as "only attainable through a promise that never fulfils itself". In this scenario, the street acts as a void that facilitates hierarchic occupation of the city rather than bridges its well-established groupings. The actions of selective political intervention that Gamboa explores points towards a nucleated political and economic network, which perpetuates social, economic and political patronage. From *O Herói*'s initial representation of the city's edge as a vulnerable frontier to its ending with government-mediated socio-economic mobility, the film legitimatizes political control, harnessing and manipulation of marginality to strengthen political oligarchy through continued marginalization of citizens.

Vitório's material fragility, in this case, becomes a means to defer his inclusion into the proletarian congealed networks through a "formula of dependency… (on) state economic apparatus" (Martins, 2017, p. 111). Here I mean that by characterizing his civilian life to be full of destitution and positioning him as a homeless street character, the film makes him an appropriate character through whom the idea of nostalgia and patronage can be simultaneously mediated. By indexing this exclusion, the streets can then be seen, within this logic of entangled urban nostalgia and political manoeuvres, to signify the delinking of peripheral citizens from the city's political nucleus. Raising these issues in a post-war time has its own ramifications in the way urban form, which Gamboa explores in his film, become articulations of nostalgic citizenship. In the final subsection, I build further discussions on the two forms of relationships established within the street: the negotiation between hierarchies and a void where full citizenship is not possible.

Melancholic Citizenship

Contrary to the expectation that Luanda's phantasmagorical infrastructure is built to bridge disparities, both Gamboa and Ganga hint that these projects could be achieving the opposite. Using the image of Manu of Manu looking at Luanda port (Figure ii), Gamboa builds up an image of melancholic citizenship. The mise-en-scène suggest embeddedness of political discourse in material space in the sense that material space shape the behaviour and experiences of residents. Similarly, it conveys the nature of rapport between them and the government.

Figure ii: A medium shot of Manu gazing at Luanda harbor in Zézé Gamboa's *O Herói,* (2004) (Source: screen freeze-frame).

The shot's composition can be read in two ways. One, it physically places him within Luanda. Gamboa positions Manu on the foreground and Luanda harbour at the middle ground, thus suggesting his nearness to the country's socio-economic corridors. Two, the composition makes a clear distinction between him and the city beyond. The shot also uses linear perspective to show the distance between Manu and the port, thus creating an ambiance of forlornness. The port embodies the economic progress that he longs for. The mise-en-scène highlighting the railing on which he leans hints of demarcation and alienation. His gaze, originating from musseque toward the Cidade is one of nostalgia. The aura of longing is further amplified using panning camera movement. As the shot ends, the camera cranes from normal angle medium shot of Manu gazing at the port to a high angle shot of the harbour that

omits him. This shifting framing then becomes Manu's point of view a shot of Luanda's economic opulence from which he is excluded.

I read this shot's composition through the gaze it construes. In Luanda, the harbour is an important commercial point. It facilitates the exchange of goods and perpetuate socio-economic well-being. The influx of global capital reproduces increasing disparities between the city's elite and the poor masses (UN-Habitat, 2014, p. 193). The result is the commercialization of citizenship promoted by a rentier economy that excludes most of the city dwellers (Yates, 2012). Manu's position within this exchange is of an outsider, suggesting that musseque is a barrier to socio-economic belonging. In Luanda's new socio-economic order, you fit where you can afford. And where you can afford heavily relies on which side of government you belong: povo do governo' or 'povo da UNITA'.

The shot's diegesis of melancholia citizenry may also be read in the city's continuing gentrification and construction. Luanda is slowly replacing its musseques with new projects geared at inviting and sustaining a politically connected middle class. The film's obsessive exposé of marginality counter dos Santos inauguration of the city of Kilamba. While this modern city portrays a magnificent feature of his progressive policy, Kilamba remains the outskirts to the experience of citizenship in Luanda. It connotes the government's invention of specific forms of citizenship in Luanda based on "urban and political inclusion… (by) providing an insight into the production of modes of citizenship that lie in the material, aesthetic and symbolic realms" (Gastrow, 2017, p. 226). Luanda harbour is to Manu what Kilamba is to millions of poor Luandans: a mirage modernity from which he is excluded. His nostalgic pose connotes the way the urban poor are placed out of range while progress happens elsewhere. The notion of here and there inscribed in this shot's composition signposts the way Luanda's recent modernization is instantaneously a façade to seize and

micromanage development projects. His position on the foreground, however, collapses this difference so that for him, the musseque is the dominant facet of his life.

Conversely, if we look at how Gamboa is using Vitório to traverse the musseque-Cidade space, we see a different pattern of 'jumbling'. His inability to access opportunities reveals the pattern of 'inside-outside' as a restraint from specific spaces and forms of citizenship. Vitório's representation nationalizes exclusion that is seen in Kilamba, an elite city designed to be the postcard of Luanda's modernity. It gives only the rising middle class a space to experience world-class modernity envisaged by the government as the majority are secluded from living in this new dream city. Vitório's homelessness makes him an ideal vehicle for Gamboa to highlight this exclusion and the nostalgia it expresses.

The idiom of nostalgia could also encompass socio-economic categories of poor and rich which is dominant in *O Herói*'s narrative. Vitório's limits, the conditions that spell out how he lives his life, "emerges situationally" (Gastrow, 2017, p. 227). Gastrow's statement could imply a micromanagement of space so that one is never free from covert, or sometimes overt political patronage. He is restricted because he has not yet traded himself to the city's "necessary but demeaning 'progress" (Bose (2008, p. 40) taking place in Luanda. Degrading here is a dual metaphor in that it construes voiceless. Rather, despite being placed within specific expectations and experiences, Vitório is nostalgic for the life withheld from him.

His experience interprets the city of Luanda not as a destination or place, but a performance. The director confers the city with specific agency cross-cutting physical materiality into the performance of specifically predictable client-identities. Vitório's early circulation outside economic networks largely depends on his skill to "engage complex combinations of objects, spaces, persons and practices… (as) an infrastructure - a platform providing for and

reproducing (his) life in the city" (Simone A., 2004, p. 407- 408). He must perform his identities to fit and stay with prostitutes. He pesters health facilities for services and when needed, he becomes a political tool. He navigates homelessness with ease and can live in the streets. All these spaces and activities then become his infrastructure of survival. We see him as a character performing Luanda's musseque-ness as a tactic to demand his citizenship rights.

The concept of 'platform' thus becomes malleable. It does not remain within the individual nor does it "constitute a cohesive urban space but a series of fragments … that are divided while being interconnected by differential access to resources" (Gulema, 2013, p. 183). Vitório's homelessness, Manu's orphancy, Antonio's destitution and N'dala's death are all pieces that could help us understand how citizenship is crafted, contested and concretized in liminality. Discussing Gamboa's images of melancholic citizenship such as Manu's constant longing and Vitório's persistence in seeking healthcare elicit the representations of state-sanctioned marginality without suggesting the ways in which Luandans may bridge this chasm. It is most telling that the government would intervene to grant him citizenship rights when he agrees to be an instrument of propaganda. Vitório's restricted life mirrors the way Luandans live with a 'political' debt which must be exchanged for social and economic mobility. Disability then assumes a social and economic outlook, one set in the general gloom of musseque citizenry. It shows how Luanda's elites exercise political, economic and social patronage over those who aspire to gain access to Luanda's welfare networks.

Superficial Citizenship

As the prevalence of musseque mise-en-scène in Gamboa's and Ganga's films suggest, the conflict between the government and informal inhabitants in Luanda happens in the present. If the "language of architecture can explicitly talk about social agendas" and has the default power of "recoding the notion of the social and the citizen" (O' Toole and Adjaye, 2011, p.

87), giving prominence to Antonio's grass casebre is the eventual expression of how Luanda's melancholic dream implicit in the current reconstruction irrevocably reflects replaceable citizenry. In the same way, Antonio's lifestyle in this grass casebre (Figure i) and his effort to appease Kianda imagines this ever-present risk of forcible eviction by government forces (SOS Habitat and Human Rights Watch (May 2007); (Advisory Group on Forced Evictions (AGFE), UN-HABITAT (2007, p. 81). The experience and practice of marginality mark him disposable at short notice.

Yet recent ease of transfer, starting with the paradoxical removal of Roque Santeiro market from the city show the citizens' reducing interest to cling to the city. Seeing this huge market as "a gigantic waiting room" (Tomás, 2012, p. 3) for residents and traders gives shape to a pervasive conversation of temporality. Residents making a living in the market do not enjoy tenure of residence. Their precarious sense of belonging is implied by the opaque terms of their occupancy. In the same way, persisting musseque imagery in a political climate where eviction - not necessarily accompanied by a relocation - is almost guaranteed, forms a language of temporality. The social categories imbued on the city's residents are embedded, first, on their materiality. In this section, I read material temporality by referring to Ganga's metaphor of susceptibility embedded in this image of eroded roots (Figure iii).

Figure iii: A medium shot of eroded roots in Maria João Ganga's *Na Cidade Vazia,* (2004) (Source: screen freeze-frame).

This shot elicits three interesting views. First, its placement within the overall film, in the sequence when N'dala is moving from Antonio's casebre and into the formal city for the first time. This in-between placement makes it suggest the transition in his orientation to Luanda's urban infrastructural topography. Second, the composition and medium shot framing impose a specific focus. The director is highlighting the exposed roots and hence fragility which they stand for. Third, the shot may also connote impending extinction, a paradigm of Luanda's wobbly sense of belonging. The three views, however, signal the precariousness and instability of occupying that space.

The composition of the shot re-enacts the temporalities of musseque space. It could also connote the wobbly nature of musseque citizenry given the way alienation, privation and lack of secure tenure destabilize permanent establishments among citizens in Luanda. This image feeds into the question of how Ganga's film builds the notion of 'hollow' citizenship. On one hand, she is addressing loose existence based on shallow ties to the city. She suggests the dispensability of residents according to them the experience of temporariness, a continuity of precarious urbanism. On the other, she is also concerned about a city that never fulfils its promise of inclusion. Luanda's phantasmagorias are government projects aimed at burying the past (Pitcher and Moorman, 2015) by promising a great future. Yet persisting images of the city's run-down musseque is a reminder of how the past is still part of the city's present.

As earlier mentioned, the twin projects of Panguila and Kilamba suggest that Luanda's modernity is not collative but forked to allow inclusion and displacement. The continual exposure of Vitório's difficulties reveals a social contempt for musseque lifestyles where low-class status simply translates to "Other" (Buire, 2014, p. 293). One could say that imbalanced development enforces lifestyle of Luanda's inhabitants in a manner that formalizes a shallow connection of the musseque citizens to the city. The threat suggested by the shallow roots

could then take the form of "forced removals and futuristic longings" (Pitcher and Moorman, 2015, p. 135) as structurally mediated realities. Exposed citizens to continuous destabilization void their establishment within the city's long-term fabric. Are we think of roots as anchors, this shot could be a portrait of the "sinister tales of Luanda's everyday existence alongside city boosterism and growing differentiation between the revalorized urban core and the areas outside the capital" (Pitcher and Moorman, 2015, p. 135). The director exposes the government's rather over-emboldened claim to give houses to its citizens is as a political chauvinism than a decision to house the citizens. The same meaning arises as the films' boycott these 'modern' spaces and focuses on the everyday life of difference and exclusion.

Gastrow (2017, p. 224) reads infrastructure as potential "hallmark of a new order… (eradicating) majority of inhabitants … from the post-conflict city". The city's infrastructure combines gentrification with the task of cleansing the city's core from its undesirable images of poverty. The new structural landscapes are forms of self-imaging that crop out, by subversion and selective guarantee of citizenship, a fragile periphery. Kilamba and the futuristic image that it embodies becomes a selfie portrait of a new Luanda. At the same time, such branding undermines the musseque through visual under-representation that assumes its long-term non-existence. If Kilamba excludes the urban poor, do these films' visualization of the musseque fight this exclusion?

I have read the musseque spaces as political, rather than merely social as they are formal extensions of existing colonial policies that regulate citizenship in Luanda through selective and enforced urban experiences. If we consider Gastrow's (2017) view that "[d]emolition is the physical undoing of citizenship… (and) the rejection of the claim to inclusion" (p.234), then this image of shallow rooting eventuates musseque's detachment with the city's centre of power and the welfare resources available within that network. The musseque is a physical

expression of a new political frontier where the government is undoing Luanda's citizenship by eroding on their establishment. As the musseques are getting replaced with modern houses, there is also a class of citizenship that is getting effaced. Luanda's satellite cities detach this low-class citizenry from the city's mainstream resources.

In this subsection, I have discussed how citizens respond to Luanda's formal-informal spatial riddle, which is also one of citizen alienation. I argued the use of musseque as the primary setting for Gamboa's and Ganga's films precipitate a view of Luanda's marginalized spaces as the most visible expression of citizenship in the city. Further, the characterization in these films gives a more elaborate meaning of citizenship, marginality and how oscillation, in the form of conformity to political domination, could open opportunities for inclusion in socio-economic citizenship. The musseque, as seen in the narrative propositions, remains a zone of cantonment where citizenship is not granted by default and the socio-political contract between the state and the masses it governs is suspended (Tomás, 2012, p. 332). The reality of living a life of social, political and economic cantonment is, simultaneously, one of living outside formal view of citizenship. Exceptionality, melancholia and superficiality thus become useful metaphors of such citizenship in Luanda's modern cinema. They could also anchor future interrogation of citizenship in the city.

The Street in *O Herói*

In *O Herói*, Gamboa builds on the cinematic choices deployed in the earlier films, especially characterization and mise-en-scène and composition of street life. Like the other directors identified earlier, Gamboa's cinematic visualization of Luanda forms part of Angola's post-civil war narratives struggling to fit their historically grounded storylines into feature film form. *O Herói* is set in the streets of Luanda Building the film's non-linear plot on his

experiences when he comes to Luanda looking for opportunities to earn a living, the film makes notable use of the street as its major setting.

Subsequently, *O Herói* has been termed a "window into post-civil war society and the social decay and familial disruption produced by three decades of conflict" and at the same time appraised as a "realistic if hopeful look at how individuals accommodate the dislocations of war and rebuild their lives amid the rubble of contemporary Angola (Parrott 2014, 233)." It can also not be ignored that Zézé, as cited in Rudi Rebelo (2014) in a discussion about *O Herói*, recalls that the post-war city is experienced as a scar of the past war:

> Estes 45 anos de guerra foram muito pesados, deixaram cicatrizes que vão demorar muito a sarar. A minha responsabilidade de cidadão e cineasta é a de chamar a atenção da sociedade civil e das autoridades para lhes dizer que isto não pode voltar a acontecer. Acho que para exorcizar a lembrança da guerra *O Herói* é um filme importante para todos os angolanos. Sendo uma ficção, mostra o estado problemático do país neste momento.

> (These 45 years of war have been very heavy, leaving scars that will take a long time to heal. My responsibility as a citizen and filmmaker is to draw the attention of civil society and the authorities to tell them that this cannot happen again. I think to exorcise the memory of the war The Hero is an important film for all Angolans. Being a fiction, it shows the problematic state of the country at the moment)[1].

If by 'exorcising memory' Gamboa means to reinvigorate the representations of war using post-war symbols drawn from Luanda's cityscape, then, the film marks a critical turning point

---

[1] Author's translation.

where Luanda's urban narratives are implicated in the verisimilitude of the city's history, thus opening such cinema narratives to cross-disciplinary criticism such as the one I adopt here. That the director locates his film within a realism of despair where the protagonist's life in the city's streets invokes his nightmarish past and an even less promising future, Gamboa raises questions that cannot be overlooked in contemporary discussions of the way Luanda's urban form enunciates important symbols of nostalgic citizenship. His framing and portrayal of Vitório as a street character is an important signifier of Luanda's past and present crises, so that the metaphor of an ailing nation that the film produces by introducing the protagonist as a cripple inside a hospital easily augments the vast images of the musseque seen in the opening shots of the film to create an ambience of misery. The desolation signified by both sequences suggests that poverty is a portable identity (Gomes and Abreu, 2017, p. 154) that is replicated both spatially and in social and economic realities. Gamboa's use of Luanda's streets as the main setting, therefore, caricatures the central role played by the street life in indexing the tension between erstwhile freedom fighters and the nation they brought to existence from their liberation. At the core of the trope of military-civilian transition that the director explores through the protagonist is the pregnant matter of how Luanda, like many other post-independence capital cities in Africa, has come to signify the forlornness of the independent state as politics and citizenship intersect in the streets.

The film thus bears a lot of similarity to *Na Cidade Vazia*, in its use of the images of the city's spatial forms to create narratives of nostalgic citizenship. The main thrust of the street narrative and nostalgic citizenship can be described through Martins' (2017, p. 100) writing about Angola's "uncomfortable truth… (that) some enjoy full citizenship rights while others remain marginalized from them", which becomes the central idea in *O Herói*. In relation to Gamboa's cinematic choices and Martins' metaphor, I make two arguments.

First, that *O Herói* uses the protagonist's struggles while transitioning from military to civilian life to narrate the detached rapport between the citizen and the state thus establishing his citizenship of nostalgia. It uses Luanda's urban form, specifically the streets, to explore post-war citizenship in relation to the socio-spatial divisions of the city, which are also tied to the city's past as well as its possible future. Second, that the streetscape inhabited by the protagonist builds on the realism of the city's dominant form of citizenship to show the streets as spaces that have supplanted the musseques to become the new archives of post-war nostalgia by becoming the sites where post-war marginalization is more vividly experienced. At the start of *O Herói*, the panning high angle camera shot framed from a bird's eye view of the ground gives prominence to the informal shacks dotting an otherwise arid landscape. This overhead shot of the musseque landscape is continuous and pans at a constant pace, suggesting aerial reconnaissance. Whereas it emphasizes the dominance of informal communities in the diegetic Luanda, the vertical camera distance from these shacks may be indicative of the dispassion with which such spaces are acknowledged. As such, by making this space the opening sequence, the film takes a second glance at the way Luanda's spatial configuration and the forms that have defied the post-independence political rhetoric of inclusive urbanization may become useful signifiers of the city's post-war narrative.

The image of the musseques, framed from a bird's eye-view also undermines its significance in the horizontal space, thus taking a jab at both the seeming indifference to the boundaries that link the Cidade and the musseque (the camera's continuous shot stops just after we see part of the modern buildings thus creating a sense of spatial contiguity and material difference) and also establishes a visual context for interrogating Luanda's cityscape and its conglomeration of zones as the film identifies with the musseque characters and contrasts them with the opulent Cidade counterparts. The significance of such urban formation in

Luanda's colonial and post-colonial narratives, the prevalence of such images in Gamboa's city film portrays urgent citizenship issues that the film seeks to explore.

Foremost is the sense of abandoned citizens and a sense of nostalgia that Vitório espouses. In Luanda's history, images of the musseque configure a visual code of the make-shift sense of belonging that many of its citizens felt during the colonial period. The dilapidated structures are emblematic of the entrenchment of extreme difficulties, poverty and a sense of detachment. Thus, as *O Herói*'s opening sequence exposes these spaces, it can be argued that the choice of such a setting refreshes the experiences associated with this period by recalling their embeddedness in Luanda's urban form. At the center of the image of the musseque is the pursuit of liberation and access to citizenship rights which the film creates through the protagonist and which comprise the core of the three-decade conflict in Angola starting in 1975. Against such history (which has greatly shaped post-war narratives of citizenship in Luanda), the initial images of the musseque in Gamboa's film persuade the viewer to notice Luanda's urban squalor not only as a memory of Luanda's colonial urban form but also as an archive of the largely ignored post-war inequalities. The director's use of this urban form as habitat for his characters accentuate the vulnerability and inferiority produced by the "God's eye view" (Gomes and Abreu 2017) already hinted by the high angle camera framing to show the musseques as a forlorn space. In this way, such a visual choice makes squalor a clear point of interest and thus revisits and indeed makes prominent the issue of prolonged marginalization. Consequently, by publicizing a portrait of pauperized characters, the film implores the viewer to recognize pauperization as a prevalent discourse in Luanda's post-war urban form.

Furthermore, through this dominant image of the musseque, the idea of government's entanglement with Luanda's marginalization surfaces. In *O Herói*'s resolution, a government

minister offers a job to Vitório after a publicized radio broadcast, an action which bears the markings of politics being entangled with urban form, so that the poor streets and squalid structures that dominate *O Herói*'s visuals also pre-empt the viewer to see these as identifiers of politics being deployed through urban form. In this resolution, we see Luanda's "spatialities are political because they are the (covert) medium and (disguised) expression of asymmetrical relations of power" (Keith and Pile, 1993, p. 38) which is necessary for political coercion. Soon after the film won Sundance Film Festival prize, Angola's second President Jose Eduardo dos Santos announced the building of one million modern homes for Luanda's residents in 2008 in what appears to be a promise to abolish this division of city and citizenship experiences built along socio-economic inequalities and manifested foremost in the city's material aesthetics.

However, as argued in recent scholarship, this decision to modernize the city indulges political power-play and government patronage. The housing projects, starting with the first project after this promise, Nova Cidade de Kilamba (Kilamba New City), nurture socio-spatial patterns which promote unequal experiences of citizenship in the post-colonial city by supplanting the centre-periphery structures such as envisioned in the opening aerial shots of *O Herói* with "new social 'enclaves', closed and guarded residential spaces" (Rodrigues, 2009, p. 37). One notices the way the camera in the opening sequence stops just at the border of the musseque and the city, shortly after the first few buildings and streets. By supplanting such images of prosperity with visuals of squalor, the film posits that such futuristic images are a partial portrait of Luanda as they do not express the realities of utter squalor, which is the reality for street characters like Vitório. Even more importantly, the spatial form engages with ideas of recent scholars like Rodrigues (2009) who notes that Luanda's "[u]rban space is now subject to a type of appropriation based on social differentiation, on economic and social criteria, which (re)create competing claims on space" (p. 52). Moving from the streets to a

house, which is Vitório's trajectory in this film, highlight this rather difficult terrain on which political patronage and citizens' unequal occupation of the city are largely entangled.

Similarly, a visual metaphor of the street developed towards the end of the first sequence can be read within the context of this forlornness. The shot when we first see Vitório is set in a hospital corridor. The mise-en-scène is comprised of two queues of patients seated on benches placed against the two opposite walls. The camera is positioned at a low angle so that the framing accentuates the image of the two columns of patients and the space between them. Then, Vitório's feet emerge from beyond the foreground and we see the rest of his body as he limps along the space in the middle, hoisting himself on a pair of crutches. The camera is static as he limps to the background where, after a jump cut, the camera switches to a normal angle tracking shot as he emerges at the back end of the hospital. Here, he confronts the doctors over his delayed prosthetic leg, securing an appointment only when he identifies himself as a former military sergeant. The composition and mise-en-scène of the hospital corridor full of patients, which indexes Luanda's streets, best exemplifies the post-war narrative of the city's condition of disease which the film cultivates.

It configures a verisimilitude of post-war nostalgia which the director clearly elicits through characterization of the protagonist as an ambitious former soldier held back by lack of connections. The foreground-background axis of the street surrounded by waiting patients render a vignette of the temporal stagnation useful in unpacking the iconic significance of marginal characters in the film; the young boys who mobilize themselves into gangs to carry out petty theft, the mechanics and labourers, the prostitutes and the queues of citizens in the streets waiting for their turn to get water from the communal tap. Through these poor characters, and specifically Vitório's ambitions to be successful and self-reliant, we see this

film's rendering of healthcare problems, joblessness and lack of services and amenities, all which affect him, as clear markers of his personal experiences of Luanda's post-war nostalgia.

This potentially attunes the viewer to the fact that indeed, *O Herói* achieves its greater significance when the transition from musseque to the street as the central narrative space is understood as a strategy to create an intimate identification with the cityscape as potentially mediating nostalgia as seen through the protagonist's street encounters. *O Herói*'s choice of an ex-military for a protagonist reflects the role of the native soldier, seen as a liberator, as central to envisioning nostalgia in the aftermath of war. Furthermore, Vitório's noticeable challenge implied by the long wait to get a prosthetic leg in this city hospital, his unsuccessful attempts to get employment and his effort to reintegrate with civilian life are all indicators of the difficulties of transitioning from his past and the barriers that exist in attaining 'full' citizenship rights in Luanda after the war. That he moves from the foreground (a signifier of the present) to the background (a signifier of the past) in his pursuit of healthcare services interrogates how specific urban sites, in this case, the streets, configure the temporality of nostalgia already familiarized by Mariano Bartolomeu in his earlier documentary film, *The Sun Still Shines* (1995) produced by Parminder Vir, Julian Henriques and Pedro Pimenta for La Sept Arte Television. This film highlights the hardships faced by natives in their struggles to survive amid disease and lack of necessities.

Tracing this viewpoint to the hospital corridor where we first encounter Vitório, we begin to see the corridor as an ordinary urban form that indexes a sense of placelessness, that is, not finding a space where (poor) characters can settle and feel welcome within the city. Consequently, Vitório's character arc in the streets underlines the spatial-political bottlenecks that foster citizens' exclusion from the city's economic and social progress. The representation of dire situation cultivated in the framing of the street, in turn, signifies the

covert political underhand that *O Herói* uses as a template of Luanda's post-2000 social realism narratives. This is, of course, an argument that touches on Luanda's urban social life, material equality and politics of space which determine the relationships that are possible between citizens and urban spaces.

CHAPTER 7: AFTER THE STORM? STREET AS MACRO-APARTHEID REGISTERS IN JOHANNESBURG CINEMA

This chapter discusses the representations of streets in films about Johannesburg. It argues that streets have become increasingly important and perhaps the easily available symbols of the post-apartheid rainbow project that dominate conversations about Johannesburg's post-1990s. According to Loren Kruger (2013, p. 152), the "public street became the locus of danger and decay, losing legitimacy to privatized enclaves of work or leisure or to administrative precincts that changed the historical CBD into a central administration district (CAD). The evacuation of the meaning, as well as the structure of public space, reinforced the perception of Johannesburg as a city of edges and fractures… it shifted from apartheid segregation—the injustices of which were still contested in public spaces - to a "city of walls" divided by class…" the point being made here concerns the late apartheid and post-apartheid street life, where these hitherto segregated spaces would admit all races, yet starkly manifest the new binaries built on economic hierarchies. Subsequently, in many films about this city, the streets are shown as potential sites of such racial and political imagination.

Various urban narratives about Johannesburg widely exploit the street, South Africa's greatest present-day apartheid monument, to represent this unfolding drama of hospitality. I call it a monument because, unlike other apartheid infrastructures like governance and political structures which have since 1994 been democratized through black leadership, the streets have somewhat continued to permit boundaries of yesteryears, both overt and covert and thus archiving what is passable as apartheid memory. In this chapter, I put forth the argument that while Clint Eastwood's *Invictus* (2009) and Gray Hofmeyr's *Mad Buddies* (2012) use subtle interplay between various cinematic elements. These include a social realist approach to the political narrative of a 1990s Johannesburg and the dynamic framing of the street to reflect the changing political psyche of the city as it transitioned from apartheid's strict territorial control to racial coexistence. When interpreted within the context of diegetic issues which the films pursue, these cinematic devices index latent racial problems.

Invictus is an adaptation of John Carlin's novel, *Playing the Enemy: Nelson Mandela and the Game That Made a Nation*, which places great emphasis on the diegetic realism of South Africa's struggle to phase out apartheid. *Invictus* narrates delayed integration and racial polarities persisting in post-apartheid Johannesburg. It puts together an array of filmic elements; actual settings, costumes and historical events to mirror recognizable historical events all of which easily mark the film as a social realist narrative (Diawara 1992, 141). As I will demonstrate, that the director repeatedly places the character of Mandela in the streets cannot be ignored, as by doing so, he uses the streets to code the political transformation underway in the film's diegesis. In the discussions that follow, I will show, through a close reading of the films' formal devices, that this changing image of the street is indeed an overlooked racial register of a failed vision of Johannesburg, before and after apartheid.

In *Mad Buddies* (2012), the director typecasts double protagonists; Beast Buthelezi (Kenneth Nkosi) and Boetie de Wett (Leon Schuster) who represent the black and white races respectively. The effect is that the film appears to balance the races through this representation. The film tells about a coerced six hundred miles journey from Kwa Zulu Natal to Gauteng that the protagonists make as a punishment for disrupting the wedding ceremony of Minister Mda's (Alfred Ntombela) daughter. At the same time, the film also makes serious commentaries about its placidness in the apartheid narrative. Before the start of the journey, the protagonists' prior animosities are made known. Their previous meeting as security officers in the game park ended with Boetie shooting a toe off his foot and Beast presumably killed by a lion. This history becomes a template for the unfolding narrative of coexistence as they make their journey towards Gauteng. *Mad Buddies* seeks to expose latent apartheid by testing coexistence in a variety of strenuous teamwork tasks.

Even though both films have enjoyed considerable publicity both within the continent and beyond, there is minimal academic work done on the films. Assumpção, da Silva, da Silva, and de França (2016, p. 18) look at *Invictus* from its thematic "capacity for social integration" in South Africa's post-apartheid era, leaving out its symbolism of the city of Johannesburg and how this may connote important national concepts. Haarhoff (2013, p. 4) is concerned with the film's representation of "national unity in motion, highlighting strongly the 'rainbow nation' image of South Africa and the notion of the post-apartheid context as an imagined space for equal opportunity". At this point, I wish to explain two phrases and their usage in this chapter.

The Street and Macro-Apartheid Register

Monsieur Pierre L. Van Den Berghe (1966, p. 408-409) lists three levels at which apartheid was usually practiced in South Africa. First, micro-segregation, which targets "public and

private facilities such as waiting rooms railway carriages post-office counters washrooms etc. located in areas inhabited by members of several racial groups." Second, meso-segregation which he describes as the "physical separation resulting from the existence of racially homogeneous residential ghettoes within multiracial urban areas." Third, is the macro-segregation which is the "segregation of racial groups discrete territorial units such as the Native Reserves of South Africa now being restyled as "Bantustans."

Here, I am working with the third form of apartheid, macro-apartheid, not in the sense that it produces 'acceptable' forms of segregation such as definite physical areas for the races, but in the sense that it is a negotiated, formalized approach to accepting and expecting differences and inequality. Consequently, I use the term macro-apartheid in the sense proposed by Pierre van den Berghe and discussed by Heribert Adam (1971, p. 68) who argues that macro-apartheid is also called "ideal" apartheid or "theoretical" apartheid and it is "directed toward the future coexistence of ethnically homogenous nations." Such a description befits South Africa's rainbow mantra where many races have coexisted for ages and foreigners continue to migrate into the country adding onto this mix. Macro-apartheid is thus built on an almost similar concept, micro-apartheid, which entails "special relationships of contact, or rather distance, between the race groups…legalized by laws of petty Apartheid" (p. 68). But while micro-apartheid is more concerned with the perpetuity of apartheid through segregation in the present times, macro-apartheid takes a futuristic look about coexistence. Macro-apartheid here refers to those latent, even modernized forms of apartheid in practice within the city (as well as elsewhere), which are integrated to accommodate coexistence without losing the principals of racial hegemony and inequality on which overt apartheid is built.

Heribert Adam (1971, p. 67-68), in his discussion about apartheid as utopia and reality, cautions that any "analysis which focuses only on the repressive aspects of the South African

race system overlooks the new elements of the pragmatic oligarchy …embodied in the utopian aspects of Apartheid, from which the traditional race separation can be distinguished." This caution calls attention to the shifting conception and practice of Apartheid from the brutal, everyday actions and marginalization within the government structure (which nevertheless may have continued as part of the 'normal' routines), to a prevalent system of non-conventional ways of hegemony, exclusion and oppression. For this reason, macro-apartheid offers a very useful concept to interrogate and perhaps intercept the subtle ways in which post-apartheid narratives have engaged with modernized apartheid, to use Heribert Adam's phrase.

Moving on, I wish to briefly discuss the usage of the phrase 'macro-apartheid register' in this study. Already, as I have defined macro-apartheid, the idea of register applies more to the street, the main focus of my analysis within the films. In the city of Johannesburg, racial relationships can be read in the consciousness of street life which has supplanted the imagery of a dystopian city, with a utopian powerplay. Loren Kruger (2013, p. 203) asserts that "spatial practices on the street have tested new ways of seeing people as infrastructure - that is, as valuable elements of urban order rather than as criminals or foreigners, as performers of new modes of belonging and becoming in what I would call a drama of hospitality." I find the concepts of 'people as infrastructure' and 'drama of hospitality' very relevant to the understanding of macro-apartheid. For one, the term hospitality in its simplest form, that is, as an antonym of hostility easily relates to recent events such as the clashes with amaKwerekwere. Here, inhospitable reception of the foreigners revisits the intrinsic idea of boundaries, so that the tag of a foreigner in distress is also a verdict of the hostility of the native. Here, the native is the infrastructure through whom the drama of hostility unfolds. As I move on to explain how I will link the concept of macro-apartheid and cinema analysis, it

may be helpful to ask questions such as: What do such acts provoke in relation to hegemony and territorial control?

The idea of the street as a register which is used here thus means the way streets have configured and continue to configure, expressions of dominant power both in the apartheid and the post-apartheid state. Kruger (2013, p. x-xi) talks of the practice of naming streets after political figures, cultural icons and other prominent persons as a way of preserving heritage. The proliferation of Dutch and Afrikaans names in many South African cities attest to a fervent interest in creating memory and preserving the Afrikaans' narratives within the urban form. This is not a preserve of the apartheid government. In fact, the streets in post-apartheid Johannesburg are becoming a key site not only of remembering the city's apartheid history but also of articulating new forms of identities, re-inscribing heritage and mapping conversations about the new South Africa (Kruger, 2013, p. 209).

As reported by the Heritage Portal (2015), the City of Johannesburg, has recommended the renaming of various streets in honor of Sophie de Bruyn, Rahima Moosa, Helen Joseph and Lilian Ngoyi, the four heroines who led the Womens' Freedom March to the Union Buildings in Pretoria in 1956. This event, attended by more than 20,000 women to protest against pass laws and the catastrophes they had on families and the black society, climaxed with the singing of what would later become the national anthem, 'Nkosi Sikelela Afrika'. Directorate of Arts, Culture and Heritage and the Heritage Foundation, has now rebranded four Johannesburg streets: Bree Street to Lilian Ngoyi Street, Jeppe Street to Rahima Moosa Street, President Street to Helen Joseph Street and Noord Street to Sophie de Bruyn Street. Renaming of four Johannesburg streets in honor of these four women, all recipients of the Freedom of the City Award, illustrates the importance attached to the street as the site where narratives of freedom can be acknowledged and indeed archived.

Consequently, to introduce a question mark in the first part of the chapter's title, 'After the storm?', is to probe the inconclusiveness with which film narratives engage with this topic of macro-apartheid. 'After the storm?' is used here to invoke the uncertainty of apartheid narrative in respect to South Africa in general and Johannesburg in particular. Despite the huge literature which deals with apartheid Johannesburg (see Peterson (2016), Lipenga (2015), Dlamini (2016) and Saint (2012) for instance) and post-apartheid Johannesburg (see Bremmer (2004), Bénit-Gbaffou (2008), Steinberg (2012) and West-Pavlov (2014) for instance), there is no conclusion about the workings of the apartheid before and after South Africa's independence. In this context, 'After the storm?' denotes the way various film narratives try to code apartheid using street symbols that suggest disassembled apartheid but inconclusively resolved system.

Johannesburg in Narratives

It is notable the realism of material hegemony has always been at the center of literary narratives about South African cities. Early literary works include Douglas Blackburn's *Leaven: A Black and White Story* (1908) and W.C. Scully's *Daniel Vananda: The Life Story of a Human Being* (1923). These have given way to more dramatic novels about the city, which incorporate the different aspects of its modernity. For the two that I briefly discuss below, it's because they deal specifically with Johannesburg narratives and have given prominence to the street space, my main focus of analysis later on in the films. In Phaswane Mpe's 2001 novel, *Welcome to Our Hillbrow*, the streets are sites where the protagonist's everyday life encounters the coded system of exclusion. In Ian Vladislavic's Novel, *Double Negative* (2015), the streets are equally used as spaces to spectate the city's rigorous systems

of separation and they also engage with the deeper implications of these spatial rules through the characters' actions. Such stories attest to a growing interest in understanding the street and even using it to engage with conversations not only of the apartheid city but of the apartheid memory in the new South Africa. This is exactly the point that Loren Kruger is making in her book, *Imagining the Edgy City: Writing, Performing and Building Johannesburg* (2013). Here, he engages in an extensive discussion of South Africa's apartheid machinery using various perspectives: spatial, political, cultural and even artistic performances.

There is equally an increasing number of films about Johannesburg. Darrell Roodt's *Sarafina* (1992), *Gavin Hood's Tsotsi* (2005) and *Ralph Ziman's Gangster's Paradise: Jerusalema* (2008), all of which repeatedly integrate the streets in their overall narratives, are popular examples. *Sarafina* uses the street for activism and for suppression. It is embroiled within the narrative of apartheid struggle and remains the main frontier where the struggle is made most manifest. *Tsotsi* is equally enamored by the power of the street to disclose the problems of urban youths living in the townships of South Africa. The protagonist is especially instrumental in projecting the severe difficulties of urban citizenship which many youths endure and to give these difficulties a human face and a character. Is he a criminal or a victim of a system which has helped to make him? This question is pivotal to the way the viewer will understand Tsotsi's street life. Moving on, Jerusalema has explicitly used the street setting to question economic inequalities. The protagonist's street life is a storyboard of apartheid working to suppress the poor youth and at the same time, of a determined black working to break free from the limitations imposed on him. Vincent Moloi's *Berea* (2013) takes the viewer to the streets of Berea, a once white neighborhood near Hillbrow, Johannesburg, where Mark Zuckerberg, an aged Jewish immigrant lives alone. The streets outside his house are full of black people who have since moved into this erstwhile white space. Using the street as a canvas to sketch the narratives of the changing city, Vincent Moloi juxtaposes an

aged Jewish immigrant, Mr. Zuckerberg, with a black prostitute struggling for survival, so that the viewer is confronted with a city that appears to be in fact fragmented in the way it permits racial coexistence.

The loathsome and inhuman disaffection between races is also the subject of such films as Steven Silver's *The Bang Bang Club* (2010). This biographical drama film is an adaptation of Greg Marinovich's and João Silva's *The Bang-Bang Club: Snapshots from a Hidden War*, a book about four photo-journalists who live in the townships between 1990 and 1994 documenting social horrors for the global media spectacle. The film builds on this image of creating and indeed commercializing the pain of the blacks sanctioned by the apartheid regime. Similarly, Terry George's *Hotel Rwanda* (2005) displays similar aloofness where foreign reporters focus their cameras on violence, just creating stories for audiences. In the sense that such acts of brutality (and the idea of marginalization that it embodies) becomes a spectacle, the films portray subversive propaganda in the name of global reportage as an enemy of active engagement with serious issues affecting blacks such as imagined in both films.

Based on such narrative tendencies, I argue that these films engage with the concept of micro-apartheid by creating a sense of here and there, them and us, one and separate, same and other, which in turn construct metaphors of race disconnect, an issue that dominates current urban theory in post-apartheid South Africa (see Runciman (2016), Hamilton (2009) and Mosselson (2010), for instance). The correlation between city narratives and apartheid discourses becomes clearer in the analysis of the representations of a problematic rainbow narrative in Clint Eastwood's *Invictus* (2009) and Gray Hofmeyr's *Mad Buddies* (2012). These two films engage with a wide range of issues including race hegemony and racial healing, roughly locating their narratives within important apartheid moments: the transition and its conquest,

respectively. My entry point is thus situated within the wider research area of post-apartheid era and narrows down to the representation of the streets in the city of Johannesburg as archival spaces. My study picks up on the idea of national unity, specifically the enigmatic view of space and proliferation of macro-apartheid.

I see the street in *Invictus* as an allegory of an insidious journey to negotiate the country's history of heterotopic racial coexistence so that the country's fanaticism with rugby becomes a metaphor for the problems of building a rainbow nation. I show that even though the narrative seems to dramatize harmony, it uses various social nuances to conceptualize macro-apartheid. The unity realized at the final scene reflects national pride of accepting differences, but not the dissolution of race boundaries. Similarly, I will argue throughout my analysis, the idea of the street and the romanticized journey used in *Mad Buddies* can indeed be read as a ploy to naturalize hegemony rather than equality among races. This style of racial engagement within narratives triggers a debate about latent aggressions which crack, erode or even chip away the credibility of racial harmony. It is these sorts of fractures that I am calling macro-apartheid.

The Beginning

Invictus' makes considerable effort to reflect apartheid's historical context. The film starts with Mandela's release from prison in 1990, compressing the first four years to about three minutes of screen time. In the opening scene, we see on-screen title framed at the center of the screen, overlaid over the image of the street, identifying the diegetic period as of February 11, 1990, the day Mandela is released from prison. The title provides context to the film's opening sequence as a transitory moment between apartheid and its phasing out, focalizing the viewer's attention to the street which continues to be a prevalent setting in the film. The

titles complement the mise-en-scène (Figure i) composed to show two races existing side by side and hence articulates the political imagination of space typical of the apartheid South Africa.

Figure i: The crane shot of the youths leaning on their fences as Mandela's convoy passes along the street in Clint Eastwood's *Invictus*, (2009) (Source: screen freeze-frame.

The idea of here and there, we and them that the scene cultivates through this composition easily recalls the spatial, material and hierarchical barriers between races, signified in this shot by the image of the street. The street between the two playing fields can thus be understood within South Africa's tense racial coexistence exemplified by a past of great discord and a future of harmonious coexistence. One easily recognizes in this use of spatial arrangement and characters as formal devices an attempt to provoke conversations about apartheid. This subsection discusses the director's use of aural signs, mise-en-scène and composition and the visual coding of the street as a spatial host of this unfolding apartheid spectacle.

Clearly, this temporal compression signals that the film is not concerned with the nuts and bolts of the political transition, but the transition process and its aftermath exemplified by the rugby team, Springboks. This team dominates the entire film, culminating in a re-enactment

of the World Cup Final played at Ellis Park Stadium, Johannesburg, on 24 June 1995 where South Africa won against New Zealand. This narrative arc has an implication on the way the film can be critiqued. Giving prominence to rugby, a game associated with Afrikaners and seen as an apartheid symbol highlights the emerging configurations of blackness and whiteness which, while being poised as concrete symbols of cohesion, have come to represent a problematic post-apartheid city. I say so because the game, repeatedly touted as an Afrikaner project, fails to cultivate the kind of cohesion which would even out the disparities already imagined in the film's opening sequence.

The sound is also an important element in this film. Even as the intro graphics continue, the film incorporates the non-diegetic voices of people singing Shosholoza, a Ndebele folk song popularized by male workers in South Africa's mines and widely seen as a song that marks the temporality of capitalist exploitation and hence apartheid in South Africa. This non-diegetic song fades in from low volume which moderately increases without reaching normal pitch, thus remaining faded and a background to the present time. This reduced volume separates it from the present narrative as the viewer clearly identifies it as a non-diegetic sound whose purpose is setting the mood for the apartheid era racial relations of inequality and economic exploitation to which the song is indexical. Moreover, the dark screen seen at this point in the narrative time can be read as a colour code for the blacks who have used the song as an anthem of their struggle to survive (in the exploitative mining industry) and in this sense, recalls these struggles in the present narrative and acknowledges the connectedness of this past to the present narrative. By using Shosholoza, the film draws attention to the world outside the visual elements of the shot (which otherwise confines the narrative to the immediate moment) to link the film narrative to this omitted history of apartheid.

The dark screen crossfades with a continuous zoom-out shot that pans from mise-en-scène of white youths playing in a well-tended, green field fenced with firm, pointed, iron bars at the foreground and the song cuts out as diegetic sounds of the coach's whistle and white youths playing rugby fill the shot. The sound of a pickup driving across the screen along the street also notifies the viewer of the narrative leap to the present narrative moment. This initial craning shot ends with an image of black youths framed in a long shot across the street, playing in a dilapidated field with brown grass surrounding bare ground patches. Their field is fenced with rickety, old, chain link wire supported by crooked wooden poles, some tilted in mid-fall. Again, their faint voices, leveled at almost the same pitch as Shosholoza, indicate the distance between the two races and connects the blacks with the history of struggle which this low pitch so far indexes within the shot. The differences in the sound volume between these ambient sounds concretize the different ways in which the characters experience the present time, the whites' vocal dominance suggests their dominance in the present space while the blacks' faint sound associates them with the past. The director's use of pitch in the diegetic and non-diegetic sounds can thus be read as a gesture of an important paradigm of apartheid history and temporality and the racial configuration at the start of the film.

However, towards the end of the scene, this configuration changes. As Mandela's convoy drives between the two playing fields, we see shots of black youths leaning on their fence looking at the street, their jubilant cheering voices dominating the shot's aural space. White characters stand at the fence of their field gazing towards the street in the middle ground, but they are mute. This reversal in the shot's aural ambiance signals a disruption of the racial status quo, so that, by being placed at the middle ground, Mandela is poised as a bridge that enables the two sides to finally face each other. As the convoy disappears from the frame, there is a medium shot of an older white coach telling a younger player that Mandela is a "terrorist" leading their "country … to the dogs". It occurs, then, that by altering the pitch of

the ambient sounds, the film is using aural elements to stage not just an assemblage of races with different views, but to signpost the racial shifting power at the point of Mandela's release from prison.

With the awareness of this cynicism expressed by the white character, the diegetic sounds can be said to represent an "overcoding of fears and fantasies" (Mbembe 2008, 45) associated with apartheid's stringent obsession with differences. The black characters, despite remaining visually in the background of the frame, are using their voices to give agency to their imminent political triumph while the whites, placed at the foreground, use their dialogue to articulate their fears of the future. By referring to Mandela as a terrorist, the white characters are vocalizing their fears which mirror South Africa's popular history where political movements established to give voice to blacks had been declared terrorist movements, the African National Congress for instance. In this case, the aural ambiance associated with the street preempts the collapse of the racial frontier created earlier where different sound pitches denoting foreground and background made use of the street as a buffering aural barrier. This seeming attempt to uplift the black voice, however, fails to counter the ideological differences it creates, instead heightening the "notions of unbridgeable cultural divides" (Moodley and Adam 2000, 58) which remain unaltered. As I will show in subsequent sections, this apartheid tension is a recurring narrative style which the street, despite changing its indexical symbolism from a racial barrier to bridged racial space, fails to resolve.

Mise-en-scène is also important in coding apartheid tensions in this opening scene. The well-tended modern fence and the lush playing field on one side of the street and the shabby playing field and the rusty wire mesh of the crooked fence surrounding the untended playing field on the other side are suggestive of material inequality. The idea of material differences between the two juxtaposed fields, generated by the mise-en-scène of fences and the grass,

connotes a visual image of what Sarah Nuttall and Achille Mbembe (2007, 282) would call "barriers and asymmetrical privileges", the molds that have shaped apartheid, concretely gesturing towards the racial imaginary that the film eventually tries to overturn.

The visual aesthetics of the fences denote material differences; the modern iron fence signifies stability and security while the wobbly wire mesh fence signifies vulnerability and neglect, concretely signaling a racial imaginary that has characterized apartheid as a system of asymmetrical privileges. By this reading, the middle framing of the street in this shot may be indicative of a literal material barrier or a buffer zone between the races. The changing placement of the camera from normal angle at the initial street shot showing some whites walking in the street to a subsequent high angle shot showing Mandela's convoy in the same street is certainly an important visual maneuver that places Mandela under than imaginary 'apartheid bridge', so that the street's vertical position corresponds to that of the railway tracks under Mandela Bridge, making Mandela's convoy (and the promise of freedoms that he embodies) appear very insignificant and perhaps, ephemeral. Instead of connection, the street mise-en-scène indexes the oppressiveness and exclusion of the blacks.

Finally, composition plays a key role in the visual coding of both racial aversion and bias by posing the whites as the dominant feature of the scene. One field is shown as the background to the other and one race is given visual dominance through sequencing in the montage and camera proximity. The scene starts by showing whites and the camera moves in a continuous shot to reveal the blacks in the background. Through this visual manipulation, the shot's focal emphasis elevates one race to the status of the main element while the other is reduced in scale and projected as the distant 'other'. While we eventually get to see the visual profile of the white coach (the personification of the apartheid regime at this point) in this shot, Mandela remains out of sight (again he is kept out of sight inside an unidentified car in the

convoy which limits his visibility and movement, again echoing the confinement of the native inside the trains of the city). The camera clearly identifies with the visually privileged race and associates the viewer with it, an implicit bias that distorts signification in favor of a white South African perspective. Accordingly, by appropriating visual control and dominance, this composition, in turn, animates a familiar racial imaginary of apartheid era; the privileged visual position of the white South African.

How, then, can we discuss the street as a racial register in the context of the deployment of these visual elements? The answer sets off with how tinkering with the various filmic elements brings new visual subtexts to the image of the street. The readings of the initial framing of the open street as a spatial buffer zone which I have so far discussed materializes longstanding spatial structures that were in place in the 1990s, the period indicated by the film's opening scene. The juxtaposition of the dilapidated field and the well-tended field on each side of the street configures a spatial image of the way Johannesburg is divided and inhabited: there are townships like Soweto, Orange Farm and Alexandria full of squalor and the northern suburbs of Sandton, Westcliff and Parkwood full of luxury. The presence of Mandela's convoy in the street between the two spaces, however, anticipates the street as a potential racial seam. From a material and social point of view, the framing of the street imagines what Achille Mbembe (2008) rightfully sees as spatial patterns and the resulting material accoutrements deployed to actualize the "psychic life of the metropolis" (38) and which remain unaltered throughout the film.

This argument straddles the larger epistemological deadlock about Johannesburg's material and spatial distribution, aptly expressed in the symbols of separation and inequality built around the image of the street which we see in later stages of the film. To the viewer familiar with the apartheid system, the composition of the street at this point is a lure to see the many other public spaces in Johannesburg as signifiers of an "apparently impossible nation"

(Mbembe 2008, 45), one in which the desire for reconciliation, marked by Mandela's release and his placement in the centrally positioned street, is countered by symbols of white power and privileged position that overwhelms the rest of the shot.

Through this image of the street, the film synthesizes a binary city being tasked to coexist, a point that Eastwood explores in the cinematography of gloom in the next street scene indexing the post-1994 apartheid dilemma. For the period before and after Mandela's ascendancy to the presidency in 1994, the question of racial coexistence in the erstwhile segregated spaces became suddenly indispensable. In effect, while *Invictus'* representation of this period uses sound, mise-en-scène and composition as the main cinema devices that render a symbol easily recognizable by many global audiences as apartheid logic, these devices are subsequently discarded as the narrative is reoriented to publicize racial unity in the post-apartheid nation. This is both anticipated and understandable because, after all, apartheid had entrenched customary racial inequalities (Mbembe 2008, 46) which needed to be realigned with the new political vision. The point that I pursue in the next subsection is what kind of perceptions does *Mad Buddies*, a film that specifically bases its narrative on racial co-existence, foster about the transition into post-apartheid.

The Transition: Macro-Apartheid at Large

No worthwhile discussion about macro-apartheid in *Mad Buddies* is possible without understanding that the film deviates from overt binaries seen in earlier films such as *Sarafina* and *Jerusalema* and instead injects new thoughts about 'accepting difference and inequality' in its apartheid story. The metaphorical "romance of long-distance travel" (Foster J., 2008, p. 204) invested in the film's plot not only mimics the melodramatic novel of the 1900s where the brave explorers would arrive at new, often exotic destinations. With their journeys, they would accumulate new insights, experiences and knowledge schemes. *Mad Buddies* takes the

idea of the journey and overlays it with what appears as an endless street, the road. To put it differently, the film assembles miniature street encounters into the travelers' metaphor so that the protagonists exist in the whole journey as though they are simply meeting each other many times over, in different places, in different circumstances and with different needs.

For this reason, the film is capable of framing different troubles of their coexistence as if they are new discoveries about each other. Water, food, beer, leisure, constipation, direction, exhaustion, landscape, cars, pets, wildlife, memory; these are some of the things through which their ability to coexist and that of the races which they signify, is established and questioned. The journey from Natal to Gauteng and the symbolism of awe bestowed on this road, is so central to the diegetic pursuit of a symbolic harmony which the film cultivates through the character of Minister Mda and the president and the spectaculaire of such a unity as suggested by incorporating the amused spectatorship fed with a live signal of the reality TV show about racial coexistence, which is really the main idea on which the entire narrative is built. By converging the government, media and spectatorship on this event, the director posits the road as a symbol of key historical nodes: apartheid and post-apartheid.

On the one hand, the journey starts at a point when Boetie and Beast hate each other. The back story is that Boetie de Wett, a white and Beast Buthelezi, a black, inadvertently met while chasing a poacher. In the ensuing tussle, Boetie shot his own toe. The scene has gory images of Boetie cutting off his severed toe and throwing it to a hyena, a metaphoric imagery for the severe and crude separation which is sustained in the entire film. The scene ends with Beast lying in a shallow hole, a menacing lion waiting to pounce on him. Years later, when they coincidentally meet again at minister Mda daughter's wedding, they revive their initial fight, subsequently disrupting the wedding ceremony. They are arrested. Seizing this opportunity, Kelsey, a media producer, convinces the minister of tourism, Mda, to use Boetie

and Beast's fight for both political and commercial gain. In lieu of imprisonment, the two characters agree to take a six-hundred-mile walk from Kwa Zulu Natal to Gauteng together. This journey hailed as a therapy and a test to disprove their prejudice is the material for representing macro-apartheid narrative.

At the start of the journey, they appear together in a series of medium shots unlike the previous shot outside the police station where they are framed separately. This cinematography shift in the two scenes anticipates a change in the legacy of separation which the protagonists have portrayed until this point. The background, an ocean, signify the hope for cleansing. The two symbols, closeness and cleansing reinforce the reality show's overt role of race reconciliation. However, the use of the water background in this scene perhaps intimate the fluidity of this closeness. The ocean background recalls the history of danger and life of forfeiture which apartheid has bestowed its victims. The image also suggests a barrier and the intense conditions which the characters must overcome in their collective introspection.

But even more importantly and this is the point I pursue in my arguments, the water, with its cleansing and purifying symbolism, enables the shot to construct a relative question about cleansing. Who, between the antagonistic races (embodied by the protagonists destined for the journey therapy) and the government (embodied by Minister Mda) needs cleansing? This question cannot be overlooked because just as the protagonists start their journey, Minister Mda falls into this water, two times. In this sense, the use of this image of the water counters the shot's surging optimism denoted by the medium shot of the protagonists. They race to avoid imprisonment, yet in doing so, they become prisoners of their historical aversions and current expectations which require them to reconcile. Meanwhile, it is the government which needs to be cleansed of its obsession with its own version of unity.

In this film, the protagonists embody political categories as well as divergent political aspirations. To minister Mda, the journey supports government rhetoric of a long-term seamless race cohesion. Kelsey exhibits a purely commercial bias, treating the journey as entertainment project from which to reap profits. Airing her show on M-Net makes it obvious she does not regard it as a serious national project. Both forces, desire to authenticate reconciliation and pursuit of commercial interests, intersect through the film's parallel narrative form stretched between three hierarchical spectatorship levels. Kelsey, who sits in the transmission van represents the media. Minister Mda, personifying the government, watches the event from the comfort of his office and home. And finally, the mixed audience watching the show in a recreation pub and making bets represent the public. The levels are symbolic of the numerous socio-political hierarchies, whose interconnection depict the distorted perspectives imposed on the public by media censorship. The director uses parallel montage to connect these three levels of spectatorship in different yet simultaneous viewership. In return, this form shifts the narrative from realism to propaganda by limiting and misdirecting public perception, programming the viewer for pessimistic spectatorship of an elaborate yet covert apartheid propaganda.

The sequence's opening shot, set inside the transmission van, show Kelsey's production team as a cover-up apparatus. A medium shot inside the van shows two camera monitors: B, fed with low angle shot of Boetie and Beast; and C, showing a close-up of their feet (Figure ii). Both stand for two different perspectives of the same moment. Monitor B gives prominence to the barren soil and stumpy withering grass, a symbol of the moderately stagnated yet potent alliance. Framing the characters in low angle along the screen's middle horizontal segment reinvigorate them at this moment of their distress. Despite the bleak topography of the setting, adding a clear blue sky on the shot's upper half suggests happiness and possibilities. Such

composition hides the closer details of the road surface to achieve what seems to be choreographed, therefore subjective, view of the journey.

Figure ii: The first shot of the sequence framed to show two camera monitors inside the transmission van in Gray Hofmeyr's *Mad Buddies* (2012) (Source: screen freeze-frame).

In contrast, monitor C shows a high angle close-up shot of the character's feet in the middle ground: they have just stepped on a pothole-infested section of the road. The close up of the legs and potholes in this shot illustrates the belaboured coexistence and their collective struggle implied in camera B's foreground images. Similarly, it underlines an easily overlooked racial sign: Beast's trouser is black, while Boetie's is a light grey tone and thus 'whiter'. In a shot without faces, the unseen bodies cannot escape the iconography of a classified embodiment of specific racial code (Mare, 2014). Cross-cutting to Kelsey receiving minister Mda's call at this point further reminds the viewer of the government pressure to tailor the reality show.

To recall the street's staging of macro-apartheid, the airing of only long shots in the first three shots helps to conceal the difficult terrain encountered by the protagonists such as the potholes in favour of less detailed long shot effaces the flaws from public eye. Unlike Eastwood's Die Kroniek newspaper and fenced fields that signal prejudice, Kelsey's selective airing hides subtle flaws and comply with state requirement directly implied by Mda's supervisory role of the programme. This idea of propaganda is further developed through her

decision to bribe the protagonists which compromise their authenticity as neutral participants in her show. The downside is that by overlooking this deception, the government falls into its own trap when it intervenes in the reality show. In this sense, Kelsey's show illustrates a vast ploy to seize the nation's collective ignorance in embracing media and legitimize and sanitize macro-apartheid through media propaganda (Nixon, 2016). As the film progresses, the idea of the romanticized journey acquires a stale ambience as the film incorporates more overt symbols of degeneration. These, I argue, constitute more overt symbols of fractured coexistence.

Degeneration as Macro-apartheid

Degeneration is a popular phrase in South Africa's contemporary apartheid conversations. Despite racial exceptionalism upon which domination and discrimination are founded and sustained (Matsinhe, 2011) and the futile black liberation that has not restored equality (Gibson N. C., 2011), post-independence South Africa convincingly hides the systemic oppression, deprivation and general deterioration of the blacks' life in the democratic regime. However, the hope for empowerment and a smooth life for the natives remain unfulfilled. Neoliberal policies have exacerbated class, race and gender inequality, eroding the credibility of the social, economic and political liberation hoped for in the transition. The representability of degeneration in *Mad Buddies* is achieved through two symbols; the eroded road and the house in ruins.

Through dystopian imagery of vast wilderness and dilapidated road, the film mocks the notion of a 'smoothly' desegregated South Africa. I use the term smooth because my analysis of the road focuses on persistent surface flaws and their symbolism of flawed, incomplete, vandalized and even an abandoned project. In this subsection, I assert that this film uses imagery of potholes to create a notion of disrepair, abandonment and problematic journey;

which in turn denote an incomplete liberation and simultaneously illustrate the way flaws continue to dominate the romanticized journey of racial unity. I, therefore, discuss the potholes that expose the road's underlying layers of gravel (Figure iii) as symbols of degeneration and hence of latent macro-apartheid.

Figure iii: The exterior shot showing two potholes at the start of the slope in Gray Hofmeyr's *Mad Buddies* (2012) (Source: screen freeze-frame).

In this shot, several elements are used. The most dominant is the car and the part of the tarmac road adjacent to the tire. The close-up exterior shot of the car moving beside the potholes framed from behind the left rear wheel visually balances the dented road and withering grass tufts on the left half of the screen with the car to the right. Both the car and the road share the screen size in almost equal vertical halves. In this way, such composition gives both elements equal prominence. There are some potholes framed at the centre of the screen, visually increasing their significance in the shot. Such composition style carefully juxtaposes the two symbols, the journey and the car, which metonymically connect to suggest the difficult journey being made by the protagonists. Furthermore, the landscape could as well be interpreted, by its barrenness, to suggest an inhospitable coexistence. Composing the roadside with withering grass add to this allegory of desolation and perhaps, futility.

Broadly, then, the idea of an inhospitable space produced by this shot builds on an earlier imagery where the road is an all-marram surface (Figure iv) in the previous sequence. I cite these two shots here because they are part of the same montage, with the latter appearing

before the former. Thus, while separately they index difficult journey and harsh circumstances, collectively, they construe an underlying discourse that despite the exasperation with harmonious coexistence aimed for in the film's premise of racial unity, there is still some improvement. Thus, the montage narrative of marram-to-tarmac created here is a transformation that makes an important comparison between past and present. The marram surface easily alludes to the pathetic past. It is a period of abundant difficulties, which, as the road turns to the tarmac to show optimism for the future, becomes the foundation upon which the new road is built. Although the contrast between the two surfaces hints of significant progress, the potholes (Figure iii) still point out a wobbly starting point and degeneration of the reconciliation agenda. They mimic persisting gaps and weaknesses in the cohesion narrative being aired so far.

Figure iv: A close up shot showing the protagonists walking along marram road in Gray Hofmeyr's *Mad Buddies* (2012) (Source: screen freeze-frame).

The close-up shots of more irregular road surface in subsequent scenes of this sequence (Figure iv) add onto this signification of both failure and disruption. The surface is filled with tell-tale signs of precariousness and incompleteness, blending both potholes and marram surface, bringing back facets of apartheid that affirmative action and conquest of space have

not been able to erase. This aggravates a growing political metaphor first figured by the smooth street in *Invictus'* opening scene and the noir space discussed earlier. Despite the great effort to cover up unsightly elements that belabour the coexistence project (through pre-airing shot selection), the tarmac road becomes increasingly upsetting. Within these three shots, therefore, we are presented with a visual montage of marram-tarmac-blend, that is, a clear marram road, which gives way to a tarmac with minimal potholes, which gives way to a severely chipped tarmac road that is neither clearly tarmac nor marram, but just a blend of the two (Figure v).

Visual emphasis on the potholes, achieved by medium close-up framing, aptly orients the viewer's attention towards increasing flaws. In respect to the idea of racial coexistence to which the journey is emblematic, one may argue that such a montage is a tribute to the exacerbating race woes in post-independence South Africa, as well as a crucial symbol of instabilities that the past infuses on the present. Lowering the camera is to show these surface flaws moderates the government-sanctioned effort to sanitize racial repulsion. Their existence on the road surface progressively signal defacement and abandonment and highlight the film's unease with choreographed coexistence.
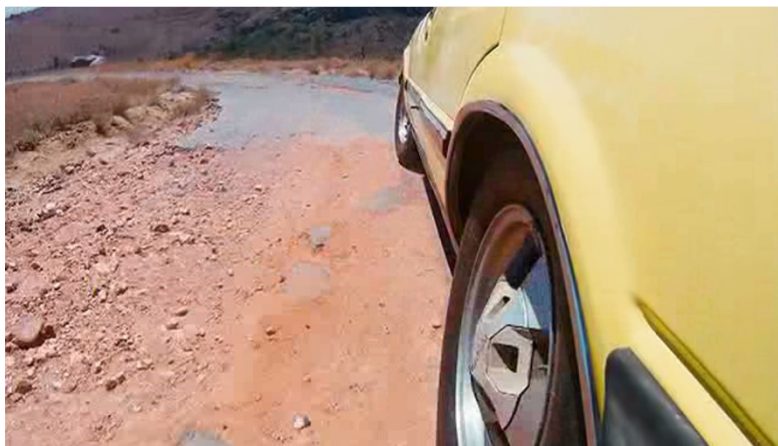

Figure v: A close up shot showing the deteriorated road in Gray Hofmeyr's *Mad Buddies* (2012) (Source: screen freeze-frame).

The issue then becomes how to decode these images in the context within which they are being used and in relation to the concept of macro-apartheid with which I am working. One

approach is that this blending is that the film is trying to link the past ills with the present. The exposed marram that shows at the part of the tarmac that has chipped away can be understood in the context of what Hart calls "material and cultural conditions" anchored on the "ruins of the past" (2002, p. 292). Hart's perspective denounces a disconnection of the present from the past, moderating post-apartheid optimism. This close-up (Figure v) illustrates the deterioration and the increasing unease of racial integration in post-apartheid South Africa. With 69.5% of the citizens still seeking harmony and 61.4% reporting that race relations have either stalled or worsened since independence (Hofmeyr and Govender, 2015), these potholes cannot be divorced from this scepticism. By this relationship, it is also trying to cultivate scepticism about the cohesion project embedded in the journey.

Following my earlier argument that street is a signifier of racial exchanges, the narrative decisively uses this montage and especially the blend of marram and tarmac to sustain, in the words of Moodley and Adam (2000), "the suspicion of divided loyalties and antagonistic identities" veiled "under the surface of nonracial constitutionalism" (p. 55). Division and antagonism are terms on which apartheid and hence imperial culture to which it is appended, continues to propagate. Through this montage, then, the viewer is enabled to recognize that beneath the tarmac, here used as a symbol of smooth progress in the black leadership, lies the old debris, the marram, which denotes a past which has been concealed through tarmacking. This is the sense in which we can start to contemplate such a montage and visual assemblage of the surface terrain as a cue of macro-apartheid as that which continually infests and chips away material and cultural renewal of its victims. Thus degeneration, wholly represented in this image, can be appropriated as a symbol of "theoretical" apartheid, questioning both the present and future coexistence of the protagonists.

The montage and composition thus reveal the nation's everyday hypocrisy in the face of the state-sanctioned trek, a political palimpsest on which a political need to show active race harmony rests. The main interpretation enabled by this raptured surface is that past inequality persists, though not in the expected form. Images of Beast's frantic effort to steer the vandalized car in this scene is one example of this fraudulence. He is clearly a victim of skewed narrative strategy which requires him to drive a car without engine or brakes. By so doing, the director ordains him to be a failure, an action that feeds to an underlying ideological disposition on which macro-apartheid is founded and continued, namely, blacks as incapable of leadership (Enwezor, 1997). He represents racial consciousness which devalue the blacks' worth. Considered alongside this close-up shot of murram-pothole-tarmac/marram, his position as the driver sustain the film's visual coding of black inefficiency. When Beast navigates the car amid potholes, he is figuratively making the potholes, or the deficits which they signify, his problem. Besides potholes and barren wilderness, the film has also used other upsetting shots to express the post-apartheid pessimism through degeneration.

Moving on to the second representation of degeneration through ruins, I wish to draw attention to the usage of the image of an abandoned house used within this film (Figure vi). In this image, which is part of a shot that shows part of the journey being undertaken by Boetie and Beast, the walls of an incomplete house are given prominence. This house is framed against the landscape, enhancing a view of abandoned settlement. The protagonists, embedded within the landscape as trekkers, materialize the history of the country where Boers and European trekkers made their way through the landscape. Accordingly, it is quite plausible to read this image in the context of the South African landscape as a political canvas where territorial control and the idea of power, has always been a determinant factor of racial representability. These ruins are cognate with the discourse of ownership and maps a narrative

of conquest clearly explained by (Foster J., 2008, p. 124) who describes the encounter of Boer landscape symbols as follows:

> …their ruined farmhouses were not so much reminders of the recent war as confirmation that the land was already provisionally European. The Boers' ambiguous hold on the land rendered the region simultaneously European and yet empty, a combination of qualities that was not only powerfully appealing in itself, but also augured well for the society that would evolve there in the future…

Foster draws attention to the symbolism of the abandoned ruin as a signifier of the discourse of racial conquest that has dominated South Africa's landscape for centuries. The Boers and the European settlers would encounter each other in the landscape and their wars would produce a legacy of a landscape full of ruins. In this image of a scrappily built, incomplete and abandoned house, the film cultivates the idea of incompletion which can be read as a code of the inherent discourse of macro-apartheid that I discuss all along.

Figure vi: The shot of ruins in Gray Hofmeyr's *Mad Buddies* (2012) (Source: screen freeze-frame).

Putting the ruins on the foreground is a way of capturing the scars of apartheid. In this dominant image of the unfinished and partially ruined house, the director picks on its stalled and vandalized properties to feed into the bleakness of racial reconciliation. The displacement

configured by the ruins, enhanced by the lone tree that survives just near the demolished entrance, suggests a surviving hope of this abandoned project, further filling the moment with anxiety. The tree could imply the intended long-term occupancy and development of the environment, yet it enhances the emptiness of the shot by posturing as the only 'member' of a disbanded home. Because of the wide framing of the shot, the characters are hardly visible in the landscape, as they travel along the marram road located at the middle ground while a vast uninhabited space extends to the distant horizon. Their insignificance, which gives way to the dominating image of the ruined house, further eclipses the reconciliation effort to which they, as signifiers of perpetration and victimization, are the key participants.

What this image achieves is to inscribe the "transformation of the spectacle of ruination into the aesthetics of transience and becoming" (Foster J., 2008, p. 195), that is, to indulge in the temporal aspects of the transition from apartheid to post-apartheid to posit questions about the nature of this transition. What does the white and the black become in the new South Africa? What comes in place of the apartheid, or precisely, what occupies the place of the ruins of apartheid? Is it not the doctrines and believes that spurred the same practices before? These questions are not abstract ways of critiquing the image. They are pre-empted by yet another shot occurring moments after this one where the director uses close-up shots showing another ruin. But unlike the previous sequence (Figure vi) where the characters are separated from the ruin, the characters are framed as part of the second image of ruin (Figure vii).

Figure vii: In this shot, Beast is shown as part of the abandoned building stones in Gray Hofmeyr's *Mad Buddies* (2012) (Source: screen freeze-frame).

If racial reconciliation involves, as Gibson (2004, p. 14) suggests, "a continuum describing the relationship between those who were masters and slaves under the apartheid system", then this shot explicitly illustrates a continuum of difference and inequality. Consequently, it mocks Minister Mda and Kelsey's gullible manipulation of race interactions to signify non-existent reconciliation. In this high-level shot of Beast leaning on rock blocks and weeping lessens his sense of independence, exposing him as a vulnerable character. Composing him with stone blocks at the center of the screen also locks attention to his abandonment as a synecdoche of the deserted blacks in the new South Africa. The imagery of defeat expressed in this shot's mise-en-scène and composition and particularly, the decision to keep Boetie off the shot, add to the divisive presentation of races which the film has tried to overcome all along and restores a sense of Beast's victimhood. Furthermore, the incomplete building partially visible in the background and the scattered stone debris in the foreground integrate Beast in the landscape of ruin while keeping Boetie away from this disgraceful shot, separating them in this moment of indignity. In this way, this composition can be read to mean that 'lack' is a black man's problem.

The montage and composition highlighting Beast's lack run alongside images of his savagery. In previous sequences, Boetie urinated on the water as Beast drank, he threw Beast a small chunk of meat in exchange for matchsticks and defecated in water before Beast could drink it. This repetition shows Beast as a scavenger who survives on Boetie's waste. He is subtly represented in the same capacity as alien prawns in Neill Blomkamp's *District 9* who survive by scavenging the edges of Johannesburg city and on cat food. This imagery is important in enlisting apartheid's subtle yet enduring forms which the film uses to connote the impasse of coexistence. Beast's lack is a strategy of vindication of the white who assumes the role of a

timely rescuer. And this, considering the question 'can the two races be reconciled?' which is at the centre of the film, constitutes a verdict of no.

Cohesion or Coexistence

In this section, I discuss the way filmic narratives resolve the question of racial cohesion, relating my arguments with earlier discussions made elsewhere in this chapter. What is racial cohesion, or more precisely, what conclusions are deducible from the street's representation of it? These are the questions that the directors wrestle with in their films. In respect to *Mad Buddies*, the spectacle diminishes the apartheid narrative to a mere commercial enterprise. This film ends as a sceptical narrative that hardly corrects the protagonists' distaste for each other nor cures their differences. The concerns of racial incompatibility that it raises during the narrative are also incorporated within *Invictus* where the urgency to connect the races ends up posting the character of Nelson Mandela as a vortex of an unbridgeable race gap and the street as the ultimate racial register of this stalled linkage. Here, to avoid replicating arguments already made elsewhere, I will focus only on *Invictus*' use of the street to code racial differentiation as the practical way of inhabiting the streets. As my discussions progress, I will be making arguments that "the spectacle of peaceful coexistence on the streets should be understood…as a performance of the subjunctive hope for, rather than the full indicative realization of progress" (Kruger, 2013, p. 31). Representations of a cohesive Johannesburg through Mandela's perspective, I argue, is countered by the film's formal devices. These conclusions are grounded foremost in a recent dialogue about Johannesburg's post-apartheid problems.

Edgar Pieterse's December 8th, 2017 speech at Science and Cocktails Johannesburg titled *Can we move beyond the divided city?* signals a problematic post-apartheid crisis sustained in many South African cities not despite the anticipated mixing of races, but because of it.

Johannesburg is still comprised of the majority city (townships) and the elite city (suburbs) segregated by parcels of no man's land. He calls for a disruption of this tendency through a model of a mixed city, "the new post-apartheid city" built between the townships and the suburbs to facilitate interaction between races. Through a discussion of Eastwood's use of cinematography in the dawn street scene of Mandela's first day of the presidency (Figure viii), this section demonstrates how this idea of proximity and coexistence as necessarily arbitrating racial segregation is instead an articulation of post-apartheid racial disharmony.

The most noticeable visual aspect of this shot's composition is the mise-en-scène of the bare street and the dominant black color, which accentuates the contrasts and shadows created by the low-key neo-noir lighting. The dark background lacks any specific focal point, perhaps signaling the inscrutable apartheid past which is overlooked in the film. The shot's middle ground shows two bright street lights and a backlight hidden behind the building illuminating the pillars, forming a pattern of light and shadows on the street surface. The foreground is comprised of a building on one side and a street filled with this pattern of alternating light streaks and long shadows extending off-screen in the direction of the viewer. I find this cinematography of the street relevant to my discussion of coexistence for two reasons.

First, this cinematography of dark shadows and light streaks cast on the street surface is a euphemism of South Africa's race color bar in post-1994 South Africa, indexing the outcome of a less publicized event that preceded Mandela's presidency, the period referenced in this scene. On 17 March 1992, there was a whites-only referendum led by president F.W. de Klerk which can be said to have precipitated an equivocal transition to independence by formulating transfer of political power without dismantling other aspects of racial divisions which have remained to date. The shot's symmetric use of lighting signal sustained racial discordance post-1994 (the period denoted by this cinematography) exemplified by, for example, the

reality that white South Africans did not have to give up their luxurious residences in the suburbs and control of economy and land, nor the black South Africans suddenly vacate townships and access good social and economic prospects. If anything, economic inequalities have increased with whites earning more and blacks less (Bond 2004). If we see this street image as an index of a political vision of post-apartheid South African, then we easily understand the post-apartheid city not as an amalgamated community, but as groups existing side-by-side, separated by the racial identity which permeates all aspects of South Africa's practices (Smith 1992).

Second, in *Invictus'* semiosis, the black shadows and white streaks of light spanning across the street, coupled with the dominant blackness of the shot, compel the viewer to notice the endlessness of the racial color bar. They index the nostalgia that dominated pre-independence films such as Darrell Roodt's *Sarafina* (1992) so that such neo-noir lighting functions as a continuity device in South Africa's post-apartheid race narrative. The street, a signifier of many other racial buffer zones in South African cities, extends offscreen, which could indicate an indeterminate span. Such a reading may appear as a contrast since, after all, framing the street surface as a common ground on which blackness and whiteness come near is a significant step towards abolishing the spatial segregation implied in the opening sequence. Yet, the conspicuousness of (race) differences implied by the cinematography imagines an open-ended resolution to the crisis of coexistence that does not relinquish differences: the colors indexing the races remain distinct despite their proximity.

Figure viii: The shadows and light-streaks pattern projected on the street in Clint Eastwood's *Invictus*, (2009) (Source: screen freeze-frame).

Consequent to these two possible significations, this matrix of shadows and streaks of light can easily be read within the context of Sarah Nuttall and Achille Mbembe's (2007, 282) idea of "light and darkness" premised on what Kogila Moodley and Heribert Adam (2000, 54) refers to as "romanticized 'rainbowism'" attributed to "heightened ethnoracial consciousness". In *Invictus*, this reading is pivoted on the way the black and white pattern on the street is being framed in long shot to accentuate the markings of racial color bar, a shorthand for increasing apartheid paranoia (Siegenthaler, 2013, 165) which continue to dominate post-apartheid South Africa (see Naidoo, Stanwix and Yu (2014), International Monetary Fund (2005) and Durrheim, Mtose and Brown (2011)). The question is, why would Mandela's first dawn of presidency be shown in a clearly race-coded cinematography?

If we consider the representation of black characters in this film, we see a tendency to leave important markers of apartheid intact; the Springboks rugby team has only one black player, for instance. Further, the race tagged discord between Mandela's mixed-race bodyguards' highlight this undissolved color-bar as an important aspect of the post-apartheid life. By this rationale, this cinematographic technique can be seen to configure a caution against generalized post-1994 optimism as racial differences remain conspicuous in other forms such as labor market inequalities (see Naidoo, Stanwix and Yu (2014)). Christoph Haferburg and Marie Huchzermeyer (2014) notes that non-white South Africans inhabiting many cities in South Africa lack infrastructure, an idea echoed by Simone's (2008) study that found Johannesburg residents subsisting with little to no access to government support and instead using each other as infrastructure for survival.

In effect, the neo-noir cinematography and vacant streets that we see on the very first dawn of the new South Africa could signify racial unease and estrangement and perhaps a bleak turn of events, what I refer to as the crisis of coexistence. I say so because this cinematography is a culmination of Mandela's dawn walk which ends with a close-up shot showing the newspaper's headline: HI KYN 'N VERKIESING WEN, MAAR KAN HY 'N LAND REGEER? (HE CAN WIN AN ELECTION, BUT CAN HE RUN A COUNTRY?), which is contrasted by a small congratulatory message "GOOD MORNING MR. PRESIDENT" pinned on one of the pillars. Framing the newspaper shot as a close-up gives it visual prominence, highlighting the Afrikaans' message of criticism at a time when the Afrikaners, the architects of apartheid, should be supporting his presidency. Following this thinking, the street's neo-noir style can then be said to supplant the film's earlier optimistic ambiance with a sub-text of the rooted past while the emptiness perhaps suggests lack of audience for Mandela's ideals of freedom. The city in which Mandela finds himself is thus an empty podium, one in which he offers great ideals but receives criticism on one hand and isolation on the other. David Smith (1992) clearly demonstrates that Mandela's election did not end apartheid but marked the start of "struggle for liberation from its legacy" (10), thus positioning him as the possible bridge to this liberation. Struggle here takes the form of Die Kroniek's visual disruption of Mandela's routine walk to mobilize the viewer's skepticism and undermine the racial harmony that Mandela embodies at this point in the film narrative.

Considering this new framing of racial aversion that no longer depends on apartheid-era spatial enclaves but is nurtured by continuing fascination with the difference, the conspicuousness of the light matrix discussed here, reinforced by Die Kroniek's messages of ridicule, offers an open-ended resolution that thrives on a crisis of coexistence. By using the street as space where these signals are configured, the film's cinematography comments on

the intact notions of blackness and whiteness which may have been overlooked while mobilizing a nation around Springboks and which reflect on popular imaginations of the post-apartheid city. Vincent Moloi's *Berea* (2013), a film about Zuckerberg (Wilson Dunster), an aging male who isolates himself in his apartment room in Berea (a formerly exclusive residential area that has since been filled with black South Africans) clearly signposts this obsession with segregation. He does not socialize with black South Africans on the streets, a peculiar staging that certainly illustrates the streets' lingering iconography of race separation which remains the norm in contemporary South Africa (Seekings and Nattrass (2008), Schaefer (2008)). This representation of the street as a space that promotes enclaves is an established typecast of space and racial inequality which *Invictus* finds difficult to dismantle.

What Then?

There are two versions of coexistence promoted by the two films. Eastwood's *Invictus* tactfully uses color and composition in the final street scene as a façade of this inalienable racial tension. *Invictus'* final street montage transitions from a crossfade to a composite panoramic shot of the trophy framed in close-up at the foreground of the screen and the crowds framed in a wide perspective to appear indistinguishable in the background. Clearly, the emphasis is on the unity signified by the trophy (framed in close-up to show the black and white hands holding it high) and the sense of collective victory (the mammoth indistinguishable and hence race-blind crowd). This shot morphs with a high angle medium shot of a street jammed with cars and crowds, some characters carrying the new South African flags, moving through the cars looking for Mandela. In this scene, the narrative of racial unity pays off through the mise-en-scène of racial mingling in the streets, a view useful mainly because it proves closure of the racial cohesion project to the global audience mobilized by the Rugby World Cup Final. Yet, like the opening shot of the film, Mandela is placed inside a car.

The director uses a series of medium and medium close-up shots focusing attention to the facial expressions of the presidential bodyguards chatting and smiling happily inside their cars and eventually an interior medium close-up shot of Mandela inside his car. Dressing his figure in the dominant green coloured jersey of the Springboks connects him to the mise-en-scène of mixed crowds shown celebrating through the car windows. Again, the director reuses the geometrical composition, placing Mandela at the centre of the screen. The close camera proximity used to show him replaces the unsteady, almost wobbly camera movements used to show the euphoric mixed crowds, giving the frame a visual stability and accentuating his facial expressions which hint of satisfaction. The question posed by Die Kroniek newspaper; HI KYN 'N VERKIESING WEN, MAAR KAN HY 'N LANG REGEER? (HE CAN WIN AN ELECTION, BUT CAN HE RUN A COUNTRY?), is thus dispensed as Mandela's central position in the narrative, augmented by mixed crowds, vindicates him. Yet, the last shot of Mandela inside his car as crowds are set in the background clearly shifts attention from the street's signification of a spectacle of cohesive national performance to Mandela's central role in this outcome. But it remains just that, a spectacle.

Yet, it seems odd the way the director plays with camera proximity, showing the crowds with mostly wide shots and the presidential bodyguards in medium close-ups. The film reverses the visual relevance of the characters using camera framing: in the opening scene, we saw that Mandela's convoy was framed from a high angle while the playing fields were mostly framed in normal angles. In this closing scene, the crowds are shown in high angle shots which undermine the significance of the cohesion to which they are indexical while Mandela is shown in normal framing, suggesting that we should be suspicious of such portrayals of cohesion which seem hastily compiled as a generic template of the Hollywood genre needing a resolution. But even this Hollywood film reveals that it is aware of alternative realities of

alienation in the diegetic world. The idea of a confinement that we see in *Mad Buddies'* image of the bale is replicated by placing Mandela and his bodyguards inside cars surrounded by the crowds. The interior shots suggest that Mandela is not embedded in the celebration, but an observer.

If, as suggested in the earlier sub-sections of this chapter, the street between the two playing fields signify the constitutive divisions of apartheid, it can then be argued that the shots that portray a street full of mixed races are only plot devices, that in the film's economy of images of social interaction, displace alternative images that would index the ongoing structures of apartheid. His view of the crowds, which the shots suggest motivate his signs of pleasure, is nonetheless framed (through the windows of the car). While the changing camera distance clearly tinkers with the way the viewer experiences the characters' relevance through their visual dominance in the frame, the sense of individualized characters is also enhanced as we see President Mandela and his bodyguards as characters trapped inside an 'expectation'.

The symbolism of the street is enhanced by this cinematography style to pose Mandela as a character trapped by the very complexity of racial crisis he seeks to untangle. The euphoric mixed crowds remain largely accessories to his fulfilment but not necessarily a testament to a changed racial system. Furthermore, the last shot of the film; a close-up of his face accompanied by the action of putting on dark glasses, adds on to this ambiance as the action of literally covers his eyes could imply a disconnect between the spectacle of the crowds, the external world and his inner world. The brevity of the climax itself attests to the haste of representing harmony without agitating the excesses of racial hegemony which are obvious in the representations of the confined, hence excluded presidency. This proves a useful allegory of the ephemerality of the cohesion by reminding the viewer of the significance of the jump-

cutting transitions between the shots in which the camera acts as a pointer that guides the viewer to notice happy black South Africans here and there.

Yet, although images of mixed crowd in *Invictus*' last scene tries to package a tangible symbol of unity, the scene satirizes the entire cohesive narrative advertised from the beginning, which is clearly driven by the urgent need to finally show a colour-blind South Africa that is possible in the mixed city but not a closure of the apartheid system. What the film achieves through the street is to reveal a well-choreographed system of coexistence where the anticipated reality of a rainbow nation questions the meaning of victory in the new South Africa.

For Hofmeyr's *Mad Buddies*, the free will to celebrate is replaced with an entangled coexistence imposed upon the protagonists. Between the time the car is stuck and when the protagonists' narrative resumes, there is an hour-long 'gap' that is filled by an extreme long shot of the empty and melancholic landscape. The car and the barrier are visible in the middle ground on one side of the frame. The other is filled with a huge rocky hill. The background is a wilderness that morphs with the horizon. The foreground is a stony wasteland with withered grass and minimal shrubs. This shot, Hofmeyr's final inventory of national degeneration at a moment when its ultimate symbolism of unity in the film has peaked, is decisively provocative. The forlorn mise-en-scène ridicules what Moodley and Adam (2000, p. 54) terms as "romanticized 'rainbowism'" already overruled by the characters' "heightened ethnoracial consciousness". Pitting the idea of a rainbow nation with ethnoracism holds seeds for endless conflicts of which apartheid and its variant, macro-apartheid, continue to thrive. The imagery of wasteland is pivotal to Hofmeyr's presentation of the car as another void in the reparation narrative as it activates a consciousness of the protagonists' history of racial wrangles. Composing the car shot to show overwhelming obstacles; the withered grass and

the massive rock boulders surrounding the car metaphorically echoes the wretched space on which such dialogues tread.

The elision of characters in this shot shifts focuses from protagonists to space irregularities. Earlier, Beast and Boetie are shown in separate medium close-ups vainly trying to free themselves from the trapped car. Playful juxtaposition of physical nearness with aloofness produced by the protagonists' close-up shots loop back to Eastwood's opening scene where separate close-up shots are used to dramatize difference. The scene can best be described as a retrieval of "tension between the ideal of colour-blindness and the need to recognize race" (Moodley and Adam, 2000, p. 56) during racial reparation. Hofmeyr uses the same composition style but substitutes fences with an exterior shot of the potholes and massive surface erosion to highlight the incremental deficit in racial coexistence. The barrenness refers to a permanence of decline in the presumed perfection of a racially harmonious post-independence South Africa. This becomes obvious in the final scene of the film.

In this final scene in which they two protagonists are rolled to the finish line wedged in a grass bale appears rather insufficient and more like an afterthought than a victory over their initial race barrier. Their victorious arrival in Gauteng is shown in various shots: a high camera angle shows spectators rolling the baled characters along a street towards the finish line, a medium close-up from a side view shows Beast symmetrically on top of Boetie, simulating reversed vertical racial hierarchies. A series of subsequent shots show the spectators dismantling the bale to release the protagonists from their captivity. The fast cuts and paced editing of this finale is the first visual signpost of how urgent the director seeks to deliver the elusive racial harmony promised since the start of the film.

Mad Buddies fiercely baits the idea of national reconciliation through its satirical finale. It uses the bale as a paradoxical trap that, without proving government's cohesion project, enhances the differences on which neo-apartheid and its latent forms are continued. The bale symbolizes a form of incarceration, denying the protagonists the freedom they ought to represent. Images of the baled protagonists rolled across the finish line amid a cheering mixed crowd resounds *Invictus'* last scene, where all races mix in the streets to celebrate Springbok's victory. Both scenes do more than stage an erasure of rivalry, they try to package a tangible symbol of unity. This package is, however, more a symbol of unorthodox coexistence than it is of unity. The moment the protagonists cross the finish line is shown in three shots: a high camera angle shot, a medium close-up and then another high angle shot. In this medium close-up, Beast is symmetrically on top of Boetie, stimulating a discussion about reversed apartheid and affirmative action as a questionable mode of black restoration. The high angle shots dominating the scene undermine the significance of this victory as well. At the end of the scene, the director further alienates the protagonists by omitting the audience from the montage when they receive their prize. Instead, he chooses low angle shots of Kelsey and her delegation sitting on the dais to glorify the media. The scene satirizes hypocrisy of the entire six-hundred-mile walk advertised from the beginning as a racial therapy, indicating that it is instead a media spectacle. The government's false celebration, marked by the promotion of Mda to vice-president, shows propaganda as a tool of collusion between media and government and of their gullibility in peddling tolerance concealed as harmony.

If these satirical shots of the characters being bailed signals the film's desperation to show racial reconstitution through cohesion to the millions of the diegetic viewers watching the reality show and the and nondiegetic viewers watching the film, then the rainbow spectacle that the film seeks to enforce by this cylindrical bale acting as a binding, a micro-territory in

which the two protagonists find themselves, does not seem to have worked. Rather, the close-up shots of the protagonists being released by dismantling the bail and throwing litter all over is a figurative act of disassembling the very union which the film seeks to show. The dismantled bale is a vignette that suitably expresses the "tension between the ideal of color-blindness and the need to recognize race" (Moodley and Adam 2000, 56), that is, simulating unity while pursuing separation. This bale, with its clear boundaries and the two characters trapped inside, invoke the consciousness of race differences so that what appears in the end as disassembly of the bale and scattering of its ruins is indeed a mockup of the yester-years where confrontations between races disassembled their sense of shared territory and scattered them in different ways. By setting this disassembly in the streets, the director uses the street as a subtext of problematic racial cohesion.

Furthermore, the three successive symbols; barrenness, enclosure and separate framing, uphold a continuity of incomplete reparation and tensions arising from ethnoracial membership. Through their collective symbolism of mortification, the director detaches himself from the national narrative of race harmony embodied by minister Mda. At the same time, he maps an unsure path filled with the hopelessness and spiteful coexistence already hinted in *Invictus'* neo-noir style. But Hofmeyr's similarity with Eastwood ends here. He elicits another tension not available in *Invictus*, using entrapment to ridicule the rainbow nation project to which the film is dedicated. The sequence ends by projecting Beast as a pathetic and dirty individual. Savagery, first hinted in the ruins sequence, feed into this general pattern of prejudice and into apartheid's systematic discrimination. On this account, *Mad Buddies*, just like the other films, ceases to follow erasure of apartheid and instead reinforces race categories. Closeness by entrapment, like the connived spectatorship promoted by both Eastwood and Hofmeyr, is a platform for ventilating public opinion. The end of this sequence testifies that trapping the protagonists in one space increases mortification and racial

repulsion, canceling gains anticipated in coexistence. There are similarities in the way the film uses the idea of coexistence here and the framing of post-apartheid ambitions in Ralph Ziman's *Jerusalema* (2008), which widely explores this frustration. The protagonist, Lucky Kunene is mentored by Nazareth, a former freedom fighter previously exiled in Russia, to confront an independent nation without opportunities for blacks.

Such a statement would not be complete without mentioning recent cinema narrative spin-offs from Marikana massacre such as Aryan Kaganof's film, *Night is Coming* (2014) confirm this delusion of a post-apartheid South Africa. In this film, Lefifi Tladi, a black consciousness visionary, summarizes the post-apartheid paradox thus: '…independence simply means what the westerners or the imperialists do is that when they see that you are about to get your freedom they give your independence, an independence simply means they give you the machinery that they were oppressing you with so that you will oppress yourself with it'. Tladi echoes the voices of many in South Africa's post-independence era. He stimulates interest in the unexpected ways in which social partitions and multiple oppressions continue.

In such circumstances, discrimination and inequality remain largely undisturbed even by national projects such as those intimated in *Invictus* or *Mad Buddies*. In these films, both Eastwood and Hofmeyr triggers a debate about latent hostilities which crack, erode or even chip away the credibility of race harmony alliteratively inferred by the street. In general, the films reject evasive disguise of the voids on which apartheid's gory processes continue amid disaffected exposure. One may argue, perhaps with a noticeable level of high-headedness, that these films' simply enable what Kruger (2013, p. 59) calls the "image-repertoire of Johannesburg as the modern city, epitomized by skyscrapers, trains and crowded streets", but not really a concrete resolution of the apartheid question. The street's archival role of the apartheid story remains intact. For this reason, the two films discussed here display

comparable aloofness to the rather serious question of apartheid, specifically from the black South Africans' point of view. They do not show how the 'post' address the actual apartheid, or how it differs from it. In contrast, they rather suspend the apartheid conversation in the usual way: showing it as an inalienable and unassailable edifice.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION: 'POST'-MILLENNIAL CITIZENSHIP

Building its argument on existing postcolonial thoughts of governance, cities, citizenship and cultural narration, this study has engaged with recent debates about African cities not just as hubs where ideologies and cultures intersect, but also as important national spaces where crucial national discourses are at play. Generally, my arguments draw on the creative ways of engaging with African issues, specifically, urban citizenship. It can thus be traced to several recent postcolonial criticisms, for instance, Mbembe and Nuttall's (2004, p. 348) concept of Africa "as a sign in modern formations of knowledge." I use this concept to incorporate postcolonial attempts by scholars and cultural actors such as writers and filmmakers to generate new cultural, social and political signs of Africa and by doing so establish new intellectual traditions or at least re-route existing ones.

Within this general line of thought, this study reveals that postmillennial urban African cinema, as part of postcolonial intellectual and cultural traditions in Africa, is indeed a resourceful medium through which artists articulate urban citizenship. There are three ways in which this is achieved: by using the film as either an exposé of the difficulties of street citizenship in the city; or using filmic elements to engage the street as space where reportage of citizenship discourses is exhibited or using the street as an archive of citizen-government negotiations. Within cinematic representations of the various cities discussed here, the streets are murals of the nation itself as they draw heavily from contemporary epistemologies and postcolonial thought which question the idea of liberated citizenship in the same breath with the idea of entangled injustices.

In part one, which dealt with streets and exposé, I have argued that the idea of non-recognized citizenship is the new framing of citizenship crises in postmillennial film narratives of the African city. In films about Cairo and Monrovia, I have argued that the directors show the

street as a "place of entanglement between the dominant and subordinate. Both (the city and nation) use the same space, share the same world of meaning (signs, symbols, vocabulary) and employ similar procedures and formalities to define themselves, to relate to one another and subvert one another" (Gulema, 2013, p. 193). With this view in mind, then, this study agrees and indeed extends this perspective to encompass the creative ways in which film narratives inference the city streets from a contested existential space. It is this sense of a clash between competing citizenship viewpoints and the resulting forms of citizenship that we see in *Bitter Sweet* and *The Cave*, two films dealing with representations of Cairo. I have argued that the same idea of competing for citizenship perspectives dominates *Beasts of No Nation*, *Johnny Mad Dog* and *Lord of War*, whose narratives are discussed under the city of Monrovia.

I have thus argued that these street images of Cairo and Monrovia in *Bitter Sweet* and *The Cave* are refractions of national political configurations and that they engage with serious citizenship issues namely: squatter citizenship and rarray citizenship, respectively. Consequently, they engage with existing critical conversations about the meaning of citizenship and governance within these cities. At their symbolic level, it seems plausible that the films engage with sensitive national questions of inappropriate policies and position the question of citizenship as one of conflict between old and new (past and present) regimes of oppression that persists in African cities at the point of transiting from the colonial past to the imperial present. This replays through the conflict between "national or foreign powers … economic choice … dependence and independence… struggles to change the authorities and institutions from which the situation criticized ensues" (Boughedir, 2000, p. 109). This line of thought is an important point not only because it provides a nexus between national epochs, namely, coloniality and postcoloniality; but it also designates urban citizenship as the new common sense of national consciousness.

In the second part of the thesis, titled reportage, I discuss the street's representation as a space of reportage. Here, using the concept of hypervisibility (which I consider having a comparable function with mass-media) and assemblage, to discuss the ideas of junk communities, those who exist outside the city's mainstream forms of governance and provision. Here, I have discussed film narratives about marginalized citizens in Nairobi and Kinshasa, using images of junk as the symbol of widespread alienation of these urban communities. For Nairobi, I have discussed *Kichwateli*, *Nairobi Half Life* and *I Want to be a Pilot*; and for Kinshasa, *Viva! Riva* Likening the poor citizens and their dismal conditions of life to junk and using the image of junkyard and garbage as signifiers of their specifically difficult lives, the films draw on systemic epistemologies of corruption, youth issues and politics. Moreover, the concept of hypervisibility and assemblage is also used to explicate the survival mechanisms which such communities deploy to cope with their difficulties. Thus, I assert, the choice of what is hidden from mainstream narratives and what dominates such representations draw on established thoughts on politics of hypervisibility.

Again, I also read these images in relation to Gulema (2013, p. 187) who has cautioned against two divergent approaches to discussing the city. At one end, the city is seen as a coherent whole, a thinking that fails to tease out the specificities of individual experiences and processes, at times mistaking the whole for the parts. At the other, examinations of its various spatial and social fragment. These perspectives invest a lot on the importance of uncovering local experiences and histories, concealing in the process the constitutive significance of the interconnections. In this sense, hypervisibility teases out the importance of assemblage, the coming together of parts and reconstitution of new wholes, or versions of semi-wholes. This, I argue, is a viable metaphor for how street communities ascertain their citizenship in both Nairobi and Kinshasa.

Finally, part three of this thesis, titled, archive, deals with the street as space where urban citizenship discourses can be and indeed have been archived through the acts of existing there. It focuses on cinematic representations of Luanda and Johannesburg. For Luanda, I have discussed *O Herói* and *Na Cidade Vazia*, the two most popular film narratives of postwar Luanda. These film narratives borrow from popular discourses of war and post-war problems of urban citizenship in the city of Luanda and present argumentative narratives about the latent issues of nostalgic citizenship in the city. Luanda's post-war inequalities, enshrined in the spatial and socio-economic history of the city and manifested foremost in the urban form, present an introspective narrative material for the films. Indeed, acts of citizenship in Luanda are emphasized through the street which connotes not just mere exclusion, but a sense of abandonment, existing out there. The question of what rights are availed to the street characters significantly enhances the representation of the uncomfortable truth of sharp boundaries between the rich and the poor. It could be useful to keep in mind that grappling with how the representations of Luanda's streets in these films enhance the narration of nostalgic existence in the city must be understood within the context of ongoing cinematic interest in representations of other Southern African cities such as Johannesburg in recent films.

For this reason, I also analyze films about Johannesburg's struggle with post-apartheid citizenship using the same concept of archived discourses of equality and inequality. *Invictus* and *Mad Buddies*, the two films which I use in my analysis of urban citizenship in Johannesburg, use the street to engage with the topical issue of racial segregation within the city. Indeed, there is great emphasis on the idea of a transitioning city, so that urban citizenship is more an evaluation of the current circumstances, but still enshrined in the recent memory of contrasting experiences. Films from both Luanda and Johannesburg thus become attempts to free the city from what can be termed as "domestication and bondage of the

Western regime of memory, consciousness and order, within which … (its) subjectivity as a modern construct is enmeshed" (Bakari, 2000b, p. 11) by providing alternative visions of citizenship discourses which often clash with modern, postcolonial rhetoric.

For Luanda, the alternative vision is archived in the form of spatial form and citizenship trajectories in terms of social and economic empowerment. The street is thus a placeholder for such processes of citizenship. In Johannesburg, the alternative vision has to do with post-apartheid cohesion, which, I argue, has bred macro-apartheid through normalization of racial differences. In this enterprise, the street narratives offer the "most accessible entry point in the sphere of culture (and) the critical epicentre of a politics of representation within the terrain of the global postcolonial world" (Bakari, 2000b, p. 11). Considering that these films seek to unravel symbols of exclusion masked in the everyday street life, the question of citizenship, in the participatory sense suggested by Alvarez, Dagnino, and Escobar (1998), is evaluated through public discourses. Again, this study agrees with these theoretical standpoints which have aided the discussion of the street imagery and national discourses as precipitated from the same socio-political continuum.

Overall, then, this thesis has argued that in these films from the six cities; Cairo, Monrovia, Nairobi, Kinshasa, Luanda and Johannesburg, one notices a keen interest to narrate the experiences of citizenship in African cities as an attempt to expose, report, or archive popular narratives of urban citizenship using what Mbembe (2001) has referred to as the 'new common sense' of spatial symbols. Such a fixation with street verisimilitude as a narrative tool draws on the postcolonial urge for self-narration and a desire to confront the lack of the expected renaissance with narratives of protest. It is however inconclusive, and I cannot claim to have achieved enough in this line of thinking. Very briefly, this study will discuss an issue

that has kept emerging during the analysis. This concerns the idea of the post-colonial condition of citizenship, a section of which I am calling the 'post'-millennial.

'Post'-Millennial Citizenship

Recent studies in urban theory are shifting interest from the so-called Global North to the Global South. In fact, cities of the hitherto Third World region now receive unprecedented research attention. While these studies are often from a single discipline and explore diverse aspects of African cities such as politics, economics, climate and even governance, an interdisciplinary study about citizenship discourses within city spaces such as the streets is wanting. The street is important in the study of urban citizenship in Africa because it is increasingly becoming a space where various acts of citizenship are concentrated.

Throughout the discussions made in this thesis, it is evident that the question of whether the conditions of citizenship experiences in the African cities improved significantly in the postcolonial city and specifically in the period after 2000? The answer, as can be seen in the film narratives from the various cities, is that this has not been the case, or perhaps, that even if such changes ever occurred, they are not enough to account for better citizenship experiences within the African cities.

The idea of the post (colonial, millennial) thus acquires a sense of stasis than transition. The idea of the 'post' here suggests the fixed forms of citizenship experiences which are anchored not very differently from the colonial experience. 'Post' designates the lack of transition, the wrong transition, transition backward. It must be understood in the historical sense as a concept that does not undermine the idea of post-colonial or post-millennial. It rather tries to tease it from its colonial grounding to show the sense in which it is not complete or heading the wrong way from urban citizens' point of view. In this regard, it opens possibilities to talk of fixity, exacerbation, clones, or other not so post-something adoptions of the colonial

mantra which get overlooked as the normal for Africa, or for other regions of the Global South. Later research efforts may be helpful to extend this line of inquiry.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbott, C. (2004). Urbanism and Environment in Portland's Sense of Place. *Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers, Volume 66*, 120-127.

Abdullah, I. (1998). Bush Path to Destruction: The Origin and Character of the Revolutionary United Front/Sierra Leone. *Journal of Modern African Studies 36 (June)*, 203-235.

Adam, H. (1971). *Modernizing Racial Domination: South Africa's Political Dynamics.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.

Akkerman, A., & Cornfeld, A. F. (2010). Greening as an Urban Design Metaphor: Looking for The City's Soul in Leftover Spaces. *Structurist*, 30-35.

Alvarez, S., Dagnino, E., & Escobar, A. (1998). *Cultures of Politics/ Politics of Culture: Re-visioning Latin American Social Movements,.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Ambe, H. N. (2004). Shit and Stench as Dramatic Strategy: Bate Besong's Beasts of no Nation. In C. N. Srinath (Ed.), *The Literary Criterion Vol. XXXIX. 3 & 4* (pp. 185-197).

Amin, A., & Thrift, N. (2002). *Cities: Reimagining the Urban.* Cambridge, U.K: Polity.

Appadurai, A., & Carol, B. (1988). "Why Public Culture?". *Public Culture 1.1*, 4-9.

Assumpção, L. O., da Silva, J. B., da Silva, N. B., & de França, N. M. (2016). Sports, Nationalism and Symbolic Efficiency: The Film Invictus. *International Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Studies Volume 3, Issue 1*, 18-24.

Atkinson, P. (1997). *The War Economy in Liberia: a Political Analysis.* London: Overseas Development Institute.

Bøås, M., & Utas, M. (2014). The Political Landscape of Postwar Liberia: Reflections on National Reconciliation and Elections. *Africa Today, Vol. 60, No. 4 (Summer 2014)* , 47-65.

Bakari, I. (2000b). Introduction: African Cinema and the Emergent Africa. In J. Givanni (Ed.), *Symbolic Narratives / African Cinema: Audiences, Theory and the Moving Image* (pp. 3-24). London: British Film Institute.

Barthes, R. (1997). Semiology and the Urban. In N. Leach (Ed.), *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory* (pp. 166–172). London: Routledge.

Batty, G. (Director). (2015). *Freetown* [Motion Picture].

Bazenguissa-Ganga, R. (2014). Beautifying Brazzaville: Arts of Citizenship in the Congo. In M. Diouf, & R. Fredericks (Eds.), *The Arts of Citizenship in African Cities: Infrastructures and Spaces of Belonging* (pp. 163-186). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

BBC. (2007, 5 15). *Angola's slum evictions condemned*. Retrieved from BBC News: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/6657277.stm

Beauregard, R. A., & Bounds, A. (2000). Urban citizenship. In E. Isin (Ed.), *Democracy, citizenship and the global city* (pp. 243-56). London: Routledge.

Beinart, W., Delius, P., & Trapido, S. (1986). *Putting a Plough to the Ground: Accumulation and Dispossession in Rural South Africa, 1850–1930* . Johannesburg: Ravan.

Bénit-Gbaffou, C. (2008). Community Policing and Disputed Norms for Local Social Control in Post-Apartheid Johannesburg. *Journal of Southern African Studies Volume 34 - Issue 1*, 93-109.

Bilakila, A. N. (2004). The Kinshasa Bargain. In T. Trefon (Ed.), *Reinventing Order in the Congo: How People Respond to State Failure in Kinshasa* (pp. 20-32). London & New York: ZED BOOKS.

Blanchard, M. E. (1985). *In Search of the City: Engels, Baudelaire, Rimbaud.* California: Anma Libri.

Bond, P. (2004, April 7). *South Africa: The Frustrating Decade of Freedom.* Retrieved from Green Left Weekly: https://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/211/44818.html

Bose, B. (2008). Modernity, Globality, Sexuality, and the City: A reading of Indian Cinema. *The Global South, Volume 2, Number 1, Spring*, 35-58.

Boughedir, F. (2000). African Cinema and Ideology: Tendencies and Evolution. In J. Givanni (Ed.), *Symbolic Narratives / African Cinema: Audiences, Theory and the Moving Image* (pp. 109-121). London: British Film Institute.

Brabazon, J., & Stack, J. (Directors). (2004). *Liberia: An Uncivil War* [Motion Picture].

Bradshaw, P. (2009, October 22). *Johnny Mad Dog*. Retrieved from The Guardian: https://www.theguardian.com/film/2009/oct/22/johnny-mad-dog-review

Bremmer, L. (2004). Bounded spaces: demographic anxieties in post-apartheid Johannesburg. *Social Identities Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture Volume 10 - Issue 4*, 455-468.

Buire, C. (2014). The Dream and the Ordinary: An Ethnographic Investigation of Suburbanisation in Luanda. *African Studies, 73:2,* 290-312.

Cain, A. (2012, 07 30). *Angola: Participatory Mapping of Urban Poverty.* Retrieved from Development Workshop: http://urban-africa-china.angonet.org/sites/default/files/website_files/allan_cain_-_participatory_mapping_of_urban_poverty.pdf

Castells, M. (1972). *La question urbaine.* Paris: Maspero.

Chappatte, A. (2015). Unpacking the Concept of Urban Marginality. *ZMO Programmatic Texts No. 10.* Zentrum Moderner Orient. Retrieved from https://www.zmo.de/publikationen/ProgramaticTexts/chappatte_2015.pdf

Christensen, M. M., & Utas, M. (2008). Mercenaries of Democracy: The 'Politricks' Of Remobilized Combatants in The 2007 General Elections, Sierra Leone. *African Affairs, 107/429*, 515–539.

CMI Field Notes. (2016, 04 08). *Angola from boom to bust – to breaking point.* Retrieved from Chr. Michelsen Institute: https://www.cmi.no/news/1671-angola-from-boom-to-bust-to-breaking-point

CNN. (2003, 8 15). *Liberians rush bridges to port.* Retrieved from CNN International: http://edition.cnn.com/2003/WORLD/africa/08/15/liberia0635/

Collet, N. (Director). (2006). *Kinera Kid* [Motion Picture].

Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. L. (2012). *Theory from the South or, How Euro-America Is Evolving Toward Africa.* London and New York: Routledge.

Cook, P. (2005). *Screening the Past Memory and Nostalgia in Cinema.* London and New York: Routledge.

Dabash, H. (2012). *The Arab Spring: The End of Postcolonialism.* London and New York: Zed Books.

Darg, D. (Director). (2015). *Body Team 12* [Motion Picture].

Davis, M. (2006). *Planet of Slums.* London and New York: Verso.

Dawson, A. (Winter 2004). Squatters, Space, and Belonging in the Underdeveloped City. *Social Text, 81 (Volume 22, Number 4)*, 17-34.

De Boeck, F. (2015). "Poverty" and the Politics of Syncopation: Urban Examples from Kinshasa (DR Congo). *Current Anthropology Volume 56, Supplement 11*, 146-158.

De Boeck, F., & Plissart, M.-F. (2004). *Kinshasa: Tales of the Invisible City.* Ghent and Amsterdam: Ludion.

de Certeau, M. (1984). *The Practice of Everyday Life.* (S. Rendall, Trans.) Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.

De Comarmond, C. (2010, 10 20). *Angolan shantytown struggles after market bulldozed*. Retrieved from The Namibian: https://www.namibian.com.na/index.php?id=71960&page=archive-read

De Villers, G., & Tshonda, J. O. (2004). When Kinois Take to the Streets. In T. Trefon (Ed.), *Reinventing Order in the Congo: How People Respond to State Failure in Kinshasa* (pp. 137-154). London & New York: ZED BOOKS.

Desgroppes, A., & Taupin, S. (2011). Kibera: The Biggest Slum in Africa? *Les Cahiers de l'Afrique de l'Est, 44*, 23-34.

Diawara, M. (1992). *African Cinema: Politics and Culture.* Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Dlamini, J. (2016). Apartheid Confessions. *Interventions International Journal of Postcolonial Studies Volume 18 - Issue 6: South Africa* , 772-785.

Dongala, E. (2002). *Johnny Mad Dog (Johnny Chien Méchant).* (L. M. Ascher, Trans.) Paris: Le Serpent å Plumes.

Doyle, A. C. (1909). *The Crime of the Congo, Fourth Edition.* London: Hutchinson & Co.

Dunn, K. C. (2003). *Imagining the Congo: The International Relations of Identity.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Durrheim, K., Mtose, X., & Brown, L. (2011). *Race Trouble: Race, Identity, and Inequality in Post-apartheid South Africa.* Durban: University of Kwazulu-Natal Press.

Duyvesteyn, I. (2005). *Clausewitz and African War: Politics and strategy in Liberia and Somalia.* London and New York: Frank Cass.

Eastwood, C. (Director). (2009). *Invictus* [Motion Picture].

el Ghoneimy, A. (Director). (2013). *The Cave* [Motion Picture].

Elsheshtawy, Y. (2013). City interrupted: modernity and architecture in Nasser's post-1952 Cairo. *Planning Perspectives, 28:3*, 347-371.

Fanon, F. (1991). *The Wretched of the Earth.* New York: Grove Weidenfeld.

Farber, D. A. (1996). The Pariah Principle. *Constitutional Commentary Vol. 13*, 257-284.

Fillmore, L., & Fillmore, C. (2012). *What Does Text Complexity Mean for English Learners and Language Minority Students?* Retrieved from http://ell.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/pdf/academic-papers/06-LWF%20CJF%20Text%20Complexity%20FINAL_0.pdf

Fischer-Tahir, A., & Naumann, M. (Eds.). (2013). *Peripheralization: The Making of Spatial Dependencies and Social Injustice.* München: Springer VS.

Fisher, D., & Fray, N. (2012). *Teaching Students to Read like Detectives.* Retrieved from http://www.fisherandfrey.com

Foster, D., Heins, D., Kalla, M., McKenzie, M. G., O'Neal, J., Park, R., . . . Young, L. A. (2009). *A House With Two Rooms: Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia Diaspora Project.* DRI Press Saint Paul: The Advocates for Human Rights.

Foster, J. (2008). *Washed with Sun: Landscape and the Making of White South Africa.* Pittsburg: Uniersity of Pittsburg Press.

Foucault, M. (Spring 1986). "Of Other Spaces," trans. Jay Miskowiec. *Diacritics 16*, 22-27.

Frassinelli, P. P. (2015). Heading south: theory, Viva Riva! and District 9. *Critical Arts, 29:3*, 293-309.

Fredericks, R., & Diouf, M. (2014). Introduction. In R. Fredericks, & M. Diouf (Eds.), *The Arts of Citizenship in African Cities: Infrastructures and Spaces of Belonging* (pp. 1-24). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Freund, B. (2007). *The African City: A History.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Frojmovic, E. (2007). Framing: The resisting viewer in a medieval Jewish image of the circumcision ritual. In G. Pollock (Ed.), *Conceptual Odysseys: Passages to Cultural Analysis* (pp. 11-24). London and New York: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd.

Fukunaga, C. J. (Director). (2015). *Beasts of No Nation* [Motion Picture].

Gabriel, T. (n.d.). *Third Cinema Updated: Exploration of NomadicAesthetics & Narrative Communities*. Retrieved from Teshome Gabriel - Articles and Other Works: http://teshomegabriel.net/third-cinema-updated

Gaffikin, F. (1999). *City Visions: Imagining Place, Enfranchising People.* London: Pluto Press.

Gamboa, Z. (Director). (2004). *O Herói – The Hero* [Motion Picture].

Ganga, M. J. (Director). (2004). *Na Cidade Vazia – The Hollow City* [Motion Picture].

Gastrow, C. (2017). Cement citizens: housing, demolition and political belonging in Luanda, Angola. *Citizenship Studies, 21:2*, 224-239.

Gates, S., & Nordås, R. (2010). 'Recruitment and Retention in Rebel Groups'. *Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 2–5 September, Washington, DC*.

Gibson, J. L. (2004). *Overcoming Apartheid: Can Truth Reconcile a Divided Nation?* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Gibson, N. C. (2011). What Happened to the "Promised Land"? A Fanonian Perspective on Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Antipode Vol. 00 No. 0*, 1–27.

Gilderbloom, J. I. (2008). *Invisible City: Poverty, Housing, and New Urbanism.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Gitonga, T. (Director). (2012). *Nairobi Half Life* [Motion Picture].

Graham, M. E. (2012). *Rarray Boys to the Savis Men: The Young Turfs of Sierra Leone.* San Diego, California: San Diego University.

Guibernau, M. (1997). Marx and Durkheim on Nationalism. In H.-R. Wicker (Ed.), *Rethinking Nationalism and Ethnicity: The Struggle for Meaning and Order in Europe* (pp. 73-90). Oxford & New York: Berg.

Gulema, S. B. (2013). City as Nation: Imagining and Practicing Addis Ababa as a Modern and National Space. *Northeast African Studies, Volume 13, Number 1*, 167-213.

Gunn, S. (2001). "The Spatial Turn: Changing Histories of Space and Place". In S. Gunn, & R. J. Morris (Eds.), *Identities in Space: Contested Terrains in the Western City since 1850* (pp. 1–14). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Haarhoff, M. R. (2013). Representing Nation in Post-Apartheid South Africa film: Invictus, Jerusalema and A Small Town Called Descent. *Masters of Arts Degree Thesis*. KwaZulu-Natal: University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Haferburg, C., & Huchzermeyer, M. (Eds.). (2014). *Urban Governance in Post-apartheid Cities: Modes of Engagement in South Africa's Metropoles.* Stuttgart: Borntraeger Science Publishers.

Hage, G. (2001). Beyond the intentions of the state. *Ethnicities 1(2)*, 244-249.

Hamid, R. (2006). Review of Lord of War. *Cinéaste, Vol. 31, No. 2*, 52-55.

Hamilton, C. (2009). Citizenship Education in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Social Dynamics A journal of African studies Volume 35, Issue 2*, 355-374.

Hansen, K. T. (2008). *Youth and the City in the Global South.* Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Harad, A. (2010). *A Five Minute Talk on How to Teach Close Reading: The Written Version.* Retrieved from The University of Texas: http://efiles.cwrl.utexas.edu/node/152

Harris, D. (1999). From 'Warlord' to 'Democratic' President: How Charles Taylor Won the 1997 Liberian Elections. *The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 37, No. 3 (Sep., 1999)*, 431-455.

Harrow, K. W. (2013). *Trash: African Cinema From Below.* Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Hart, G. (2002). *Disabling Globalization: Places of Power in Post-Apartheid South Africa.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Harvey, D. (1973). *Social justice and the city.* London: Edward Arnold.

Harvey, D. (2008). The Right to the City. *New Left Review 53*, 23-40.

Hoffman, D. (2007). The City as Barracks: Freetown, Monrovia, and the Organization of Violence in Postcolonial African Cities. *Cultural Anthropology, Vol. 22, Issue 3*, 400–428.

Hofmeyr, G. (Director). (2012). *Mad Buddies* [Motion Picture].

Hofmeyr, J., & Govender, R. (2015). *National Reconciliation, Race Relations, And Social Inclusion: South African Barometer Briefing Paper 1.* Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.

Holston, J., & Appadurai, A. (1999). Introduction: Cities and citizenship. In H. J. (Ed.), *Cities and citizenship* (pp. 1-18). Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.

Hood, G. (Director). (2005). *Tsotsi* [Motion Picture].

ICAO. (2016). *What are archive?* Retrieved from International Council on Archives: https://www.ica.org/en/what-archive

International Monetary Fund. (2005). *Post-apartheid South Africa: the first ten years.* (M. Nowak, & L. A. Ricci, Eds.) Washington, D.C.: International Monetary Fund.

Irin News. (2006, 4 24). *Poor shut out of 'New Life'.* Retrieved from IRIN: http://www.irinnews.org/report/58824/angola-poor-shut-out-new-life

Isin, E. (2002). *Being Political: Genealogies of Citizenship.* Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Isin, E. F. (2008). Theorizing Acts of Citizenship. In E. F. Isin, & G. M. Nielsen (Eds.), *Acts of Citizenship* (pp. 15-43). London and New York: Zed Books.

Isin, E. F., & Nielsen, G. M. (2008). Acts of Citizenship: Introduction. In E. F. Isin, & G. M. Nielsen (Eds.), *Acts of Citizenship* (pp. 1-12). London and New York: Zed Books.

Johnston, R. J., Gregory, D., Pratt, G., & Watts, M. (Eds.). (2000). *Dictionary of Human Geography.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Jonas, A., & Ward, K. (2007). Introduction to a debate on city-regions: new geographies of governance, democracy and social reproduction, 31. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 169–178.

Jones, P. S. (2000). The Basic Assumptions as Regards the Nature and Requirements of a Capital City : Identity, Modernization and Urban Form at Mafikeng's Margins. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 24, no. 1*, 25–53.

Jukes, P. (1990). *A Shout in the Street: An Excursion into the Modern City.* berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Kandeh, F. (2005, November 28). *Who Created the Rarray Boys in Sierra Leone?* Retrieved from AWARENESS TIMES: http://news.sl/drwebsite/exec/view.cgi?archive=2&num=1011&printer=1

Katumanga, M. (2005). A City Under Siege: Banditry & Modes of Accumulation in Nairobi, 1991-2004. *Review of African Political Economy, 32:106*, 505-520.

Keith, M., & Pile, S. (Eds.). (1993). *Place and the Politics of Identity.* London and New York: Routledge.

Khatib, L. (2006). *Filming the Modern Middle East: Politics in the Cinemas of Hollywood and the Arab World.* london and New York: I.B.Tauris.

Kholeif, O. (2011). Screening Egypt: Reconciling Egyptian Film's Place in "World Cinema". *Scope: An Online Journal of Film and Television Studies Issue 19*, 1-27.

Klinger, B. (1997). Film history terminable and interminable: recovering the past in reception studies. *Screen 38:2 Summer*, 107-128.

Knox, P. L., & McCarthy, L. (2005). *Urbanization: An Introduction to Urban Geography, Second Edition.* New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall.

Koonings, K., & Kruijt, D. (Eds.). (2009). *MEGACITIES: The politics of urban exclusion and violence in the global South.* London and New York: Zed Books.

Kropf, K. (1996). Urban Tissue and the Charatcer of Towns. *Urban Design International Vol. 1 No. 3*, 1357-5317.

Kruger, L. (2013). *Imagining the Edgy City: Writing, Performing, and Building Johannesburg.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Labouba, M. K. (2012). Videastes vs. cineastes: Sub-Saharan African cinema and its "schizophrenic industry". *Spectator 32:2*, 8-19.

Léfebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space.* (D. Nicholson-Smith, Trans.) Oxford: Blackwell.

Léfebvre, H. (2002). *Critique of Everyday Life.* (J. Moore, Trans.) London and New York: Verso.

Léfebvre, H. (2003). *The Urban Revolution.* Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

Léfebvre, H. (2010). *Writings on Cities.* (E. Kofman, & E. Lebas, Trans.) Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Lehan, R. (1998). *The City in Literature: An Intellectual and Cultural History.* Berleley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Lev, Y. (2000, 06 07). *Documentary Versus Reportage: Constructing a Drama*. Retrieved from Modern Times Review: https://www.moderntimes.review/documentary-versus-reportage-constructing-drama/?ihc_success_login=true

Lickel, J., Nelson, E., Lickel, H. A., & Deacon, B. (2008). Interoceptive Exposure Exercises for Evoking Depersonalization and Derealization: A Pilot Study. *Journal of Cognitive Psychotherapy: An International Quarterly Volume 22, Number 4*, 321-331.

Lipenga, K. J. (2015). Weaving a path from the past: Gender, disability and narrative enablement in Zulu Love Letter. *Agenda: Empowering women for gender equity Volume 29 - Issue 2: Disability & Gender*, 112-121.

MacLeod, D. (2011, 10 29). *Kichwateli - TV Head*. Retrieved from Inspiration room: http://theinspirationroom.com/daily/2011/kichwateli-tv-head/

Mare, G. (2014). *Declassified: Moving Beyond the Dead End of Race in South Africa.* Johannesburg: Jacana Media.

Marie, K. (Director). (2010). *Bitter Sweet (Assal Eswed)* [Motion Picture].

Martins, V. (2017). Politics of power and hierarchies of citizenship in Angola. *Citizenship Studies, 21:1*, 100-115.

Mathur, S. (Director). (2015). *Camp 72* [Motion Picture].

Matsinhe, D. M. (2011). *Apartheid Vertigo: The Rise in Discrimination Against Africans in South Africa.* London & New York: Routledge.

Mbembe, A. (2001). *On the Postcolony.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.

Mbembe, A. (2008). Aesthetics of Superfluity. In S. Nuttall, & A. Mbembe (Eds.), *Johannesburg: The Elusive Metropolis* (pp. 37-67). Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Mbembe, A. (2014, 08 18). *Prof. Achille Mbembe - Affective Cities 2014 Scenes of Innovation II (IASCC 2014) Plenary Address*. Retrieved from Culture of Cities: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3CsAwd9TTyI

Mbembe, A., & Nuttall, S. (2007). Afropolis: From Johannesburg. *PMLA,Vol. 122, No. 1, Special Topic: Cities*, 281-288.

Mbembe, A., & Nuttall, S. (Fall 2004). Writing the World from an African Metropolis. *Public Culture, Volume 16, Number 3*, 347-372.

Mitman, G., & Siegel, S. (Directors). (2014). *In the Shadow of Ebola* [Motion Picture].

Monson, T. J. (2015). Collective mobilization and the struggle for squatter citizenship: rereading "xenophobic" violence in a South African settlement. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence, 9 (1)*, 39-55.

Moodley, K., & Heribert, A. (2000). Race and Nation in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Current Sociology Vol. 48(3)*, pp. 51–69.

Mosselson, A. (2010). 'There is no difference between citizens and non-citizens anymore': Violent Xenophobia, Citizenship and the Politics of Belonging in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies Volume 36, Issue 3: PART SPECIAL ISSUE: Zo Wicomb: Texts and Histories*, 641-655.

Mpe, P. (2001). *Welcome to our Hillbrow.* Durban: University of Natal.

Mumford, L. (1934). *Technics and Civilization.* Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Mumford, L. (1942). *The Culture of Cities.* London: Secker & Warburg.

Mumford, L. (1961). *The City in History.* London: Seeker & Warburg.

Mumford, L. (1970). *The Myth of the Machine: The pentagon of power.* San Diego, California: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Mumford, L. (1981). *The Highway and the City.* Santa Barbara, California: Greenwood Press.

Nagbe, M. (1996). *Bulk Challenge: The Story of 4,000 Liberians in Search of a Refuge.* Cape Coast: Champion Publishers.

Naidoo, K., Stanwix, B., & Yu, D. (2014). *Reflecting on Racial Discrimination in the Post-Apartheid South African Labour Market.* DPRU, University of Cape Town: World Bank Group.

Nantulya, P. (2017, 12 14). *The Troubled Democratic Transitions of African Liberation Movements*. Retrieved from Africa Center for Strategic Studies: https://africacenter.org/spotlight/troubled-democratic-transitions-african-liberation-movements/

Nattrass, N., & Seekings, J. (1998). Changing Patterns of Inequality in the South African Labour Market. In L. Petersson (Ed.), *Post-Apartheid Southern Africa: Economic Challenges and Policies for the Future* (pp. 44-63). London and New York: Routledge.

Newman, K. (2000, 01 01). *Lord Of War Review*. Retrieved 10 21, 2017, from Empire Online: https://www.empireonline.com/movies/lord-war/review/

Niccol, A. (Director). (2005). *Lord of War* [Motion Picture].

Nixon, R. (2016). *Selling Apartheid: South Africa's Global Propaganda War.* London: Pluto Press.

Njenga, M. (Director). (2012). *Kichwateli* [Motion Picture].

Nuttall, S. (2014, 8 18). *Prof. Sarah Nuttall Affective Cities 2014 Scenes of Innovation II (IASCC 2014) Plenary Address*. Retrieved from Culture of Cities: http://youtu.be/bPLw02u7f3c

Nuttall, S., & Mbembe, A. (2007). Afropolis: From Johannesburg. *PMLA, Vol. 122, No. 1, Special Topic: Cities*, pp. 281-288.

Nuttall, S., & Michael, C.-A. (Eds.). (2000). *Senses of Culture: South African Culture Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

O 'Connor, A. (2001). *Poverty Knowledge: Social Science, Social Policy, and the Poor in Twentieth-Century U. S. History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Oliveira, V. (2016). *Urban Morphology: An Introduction to the Study of the Physical Form of Cities*. Switzerland: Springer.

Opondo, S. O. (2008). Genre and the African City: The Politics and Poetics of Urban Rhythms. *Journal for Cultural Research, 12:1*, 59-79.

Oppong, J. R., & Woodruff, T. (2007). *Democratic Republic of the Congo:*. (C. F. Gritzner, Ed.) New York: Infobase Publishing.

Osaghae, E. (1996). *Ethnicity, Class and the Struggle for State Power in Liberia*. Dakar: CODESRIA.

Outram, Q. (1997). 'It's Terminal Either Way': An Analysis Of Armed Conflict In Liberia, 1989–1996. *Review Of African Political Economy, 24:73*, 355-371.

Park, R. E., Burgess, E. W., & McKenzie, R. D. (1925). *The city*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Parker, A. (2016). *Urban Film and Everyday Practice: Bridging Divisions in Johannesburg*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Parnell, S., & Oldfield, S. (Eds.). (2014). *THE ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK ON CITIES OF THE GLOBAL SOUTH*. London and New York: Routledge.

Parrott, R. J. (2014). The Hero by Zézé Gamboa (review). *African Studies Review 57(1)*, 233-234.

Paul, R., & Elder, L. (2003). *The Art of Close Reading. How to read a paragraph*. Retrieved from The Foundation of Critical Thinking: http://www.criticalthinking.org

Pearce, J. (2015). *Political Identity and Conflict in Central Angola: 1975–2002*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Peel, L. (2013, 5 10). *Angola's poor people hit hard by urbanisation crackdown in Luanda*. Retrieved from The Guardian: https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2013/may/10/angola-urbanisation-crackdown-luanda

Peterson, B. (2016). "Introduction" to Special Issue on 'Texts, Modes and Repertoires of Living In and Beyond the Shadows of Apartheid'. *Journal Journal of the African Literature Association Volume 10 - Issue 1*, 1-2.

Pieterse, E. (2008). *City Futures: Confronting the Crisis of Urban Development.* Cape Town: UCT Press.

Pieterse, E. (2011). Grasping the unknowable: coming to grips with African urbanisms. *Social Dynamics: A journal of African studies, 37:1*, 5-23.

Pitcher, A., & Moorman, M. (2015). City Building in Post-Conflict, Post-Socialist Luanda: Burying the past with phantasmagorias of the future. In N. Edjabe, & E. Pieterse (Eds.), *African Cities Reader III: Land, Property and Value* (pp. 121-133). Vlaeberg: Chimurenga and the African Centre for Cities.

Plato. (2005). *The Republic.* San Diego, CA: ICON Group International, Inc.

Podder, S. (2011). Child Soldier Recruitment in the Liberian Civil Wars: Individual Motivations and Rebel Group Tactics. In A. Özerdem, & S. Podder (Eds.), *Child Soldiers: From Recruitment to Reintegration* (pp. 50-75). Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Press, I., & Smith, E. M. (Eds.). (1980). *Urban Place and Process: Readings in the Anthropology of Cities.* New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc.

Publishers Weekly. (2005, 05 01). *JOHNNY MAD DOG*. Retrieved from Publishers Weekly: https://www.publishersweekly.com/978-0-374-17995-3

Quemada-Diez, D. (Director). (2001). *A Table is a Table* [Motion Picture].

Quemada-Diez, D. (Director). (2006). *I Want to be a Pilot* [Motion Picture].

Rahamimoff, A. (2005). Jerusalem: Lessons from a Shared City. In E. Charlesworth (Ed.), *City Edge: Case Studies In Contemporary Urbanism* (pp. 68-83). Oxford: Elsevier Ltd.

Rebelo, R. (2014, 11 03). *«O Herói» de Zézé Gamboa, espelho político-social de uma Angola pós-guerra*. Retrieved from Nossa Avenida: https://nossaavenida.wordpress.com/2014/11/03/o-heroi-de-zeze-gamboa-espelho-politico-social-de-uma-angola-pos-guerra/

Reno, W. (1996). The Business of War in Liberia. *Current History May 1996*, 211-215.

Reno, W. (1997). African Weak State: Survival and New Commercial Alliances. *African Affairs Vol. 96, No. 383, April*, 165-185.

Reno, W. (2007). African Rebels and the Citizenship Question. In S. Dorman, D. Hammett, & P. Nugent (Eds.), *Making Nations, Creating Strangers: States and Citizenship in Africa* (pp. 221-240). Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Renton, D., Seddon, D., & Zeilig, L. (2007). *The Congo: Plunder and Resistance* . London & New York: Zed Books.

Resina, J. R., & Ingenschay, D. (2003). Preface. In J. R. Resina, & D. Ingenschay (Eds.), *After-Images of the City* (pp. ix-xvii). Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Richards, S. (2007). The Antisocial Urbanism of le Corbusier. *Common Knowledge, Volume 13, Issue 1*, 50-66.

Rodrigues, C. U. (2009). Angolan Cities: Urban (Re)segregation? In F. Locatelli, & P. Nugent (Eds.), *African Cities: Competing Claims on Urban Spaces* (pp. 37-54). Leiden & Boston: Brill.

Roodt, D. (Director). (1992). *Sarafina* [Motion Picture].

Roy, A. (2011). Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Urbanism. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 35 (2)*, 223-238.

Runciman, C. (2016). Citizenship and Inequality in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Contours and Collective Responses. In S. N. Machin A. (Ed.), *Understanding Inequality: Social Costs and Benefits* (pp. 383-402). Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Söderström, J. (2015). *Peacebuilding and Ex-Combatants: Political reintegration in Liberia.* London and New York: Routledge.

Saint, L. (2012). Reading subjects: passbooks, literature and apartheid. *Social Dynamics A journal of African studies Volume 38 - Issue 1*, 117-133.

Sauvaire, J.-S. (Director). (2008). *Johnny Mad Dog* [Motion Picture].

Schaefer, R. T. (2008). *Encyclopedia of Race, Ethnicity, and Society.* Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Schochat, E. (1983). Egypt: Cinema and Revolution. *Critical Arts Vol 2 No 4*, 22-32.

Seekings, J., & Nattrass, N. (2008). *Class, Race, and Inequality in South Africa.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Seltzer, M. (2003). Berlin 2000: "The Image of an Empty Place". In J. R. Resina, & D. Ingenschay (Eds.), *After-Images of the City* (pp. 61-74). Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Siegenthaler, F. (2013). Visualizing the Mental City: The Exploration of Cultural and Subjective Topographies by Contemporary Performance Artists in Johannesburg. *Research in African Literatures, Vol. 44, No. 2*, 163-176.

Simone, A. (2004). *For the City Yet to Come: Changing African Life in Four Cities.* Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Simone, A. (2008). Some Reflections on Making Popular Culture in Urban Africa. *African Studies Review 51*, 75-89.

Simone, A. (2008). The politics of the possible: Making urban life in Phnom Penh. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography 29*, 186–204.

Simone, A. (2011). No Longer the Subaltern: Refiguring Cities of the Global South. In &. M. T. Edensor (Ed.), *Urban Theory Beyond the West: A World of Cities* (pp. 31-46). London and New York: Routledge.

Simone, A. (2011). The Urbanity of Movement: Dynamic Frontiers in Contemporary Africa. *Journal of Planning Education and Research XX(X)*, 1–13.

Simone, A. (2014). Too Many Things to Do: Social Dimensions of City-Making in Africa. In M. Diouf, & R. Fredericks (Eds.), *The Arts of Citizenship in African Cities: Infrastructures and Spaces of Belonging* (pp. 25-48). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Simone, A. (2016). The Uninhabitable?: In between Collapsed Yet Still Rigid Distinctions. *Cultural Politics, Volume 12, Issue 2*, 135-154.

Simone, A. (Fall 2004). People as Infrastructure: Intersecting Fragments in Johannesburg. *Public Culture, Volume 16, Number 3*, 407-429.

Smith, D. M. (1992). "Introduction.". In D. M. Smith (Ed.), *The Apartheid City and Beyond: Urbanization and Social Change in South Africa* (pp. 1-10). London & New York: Routledge.

Solanas, F., & Getino, O. (1970-71). TOWARD A THIRD CINEMA. *Cinéaste, Vol. 4, No. 3, latin american militant cinema (winter)*, 1-10.

SOS Habitat and Human Rights Watch. (May 2007). *"They Pushed Down the Houses": Forced Evictions and Insecure Land Tenure for Luanda's Urban Poor.* Luanda and New York: Human Rights Watch Volume 19, No. 7(A).

Steinberg, J. (2012). Establishing police authority and civilian compliance in post-apartheid Johannesburg: an argument from the work of Egon Bittner. *Policing and Society An International Journal of Research and Policy Volume 22 - Issue 4*, 481-495.

Stoler, A. L., & Cooper, F. (1997). Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda. In F. Cooper, & A. L. Stoler (Eds.), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (pp. 1-58). Berkeley / Los Angeles / London: University of California Press.

Studio Ang. (2012, 8 20). *The Making Of Kichwateli*. Retrieved from ENKANG: http://studioang.tv/the-making-of-kichwateli/

Swilling, M. (1991). Introduction. In M. Swilling, R. Humphries, & K. Shubane (Eds.), *Apartheid City in Transition* (pp. ix-xx). Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Swyngedouw, E. (2006). Metabolic Urbanization: the Making of Cyborg Cities. In N. Heynen, M. Kaika, & E. Swyngedouw (Eds.), *In the Nature of Cities: Urban Political Ecology and the Politics of Urban Metabolism* (pp. 20-39). London and New York: Routledge.

The Advocates for Human Rights. (2009). *A House with Two Rooms Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia Diaspora Project.* Saint Paul, Minnesota: DRI Press.

The Heritage Portal . (2015, 12 6). *A Deeper Look at Johannesburg's New Street Names*. Retrieved from The Heritage Portal: http://www.theheritageportal.co.za/article/deeper-look-johannesburgs-new-street-names

Thompson, L., & Tapscott, C. (2010). Foreword. In L. Thompson, & C. Tapscott (Eds.), *Citizenship and social movements perspectives from the global South* (pp. xi-xiv). London and New York: Zed Books.

Tomás, A. A. (2012). Refracted governmentality: space, politics and social structure in contemporary Luanda. Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Columbia University.

Trefon, T. (2002). The Political Economy of Sacrifice: Kinois & the State. *Review of African Political Economy, Vol. 29, No. 93/94, State Failure in the Congo: Perceptions & Realities (Le Congo entre Crise et Régenération)*, 481-498.

Trefon, T. (2004). Introduction: Reinventing Order. In T. Trefon (Ed.), *Reinventing Order in the Congo: How People Respond to State Failure in Kinshasa* (pp. 1-19). London & New York: ZED BOOKS.

Triulizi, A. (1996). African Cities, Historical Memory and Street Buzz. In I. Chambers, & L. Curti (Eds.), *The Post-Colonial Question: Common Skies, Divided Horizons* (pp. 78-91). London and New York: Routledge.

Ukeje, C. U., & Iwilade, A. (2012). A Farewell to Innocence? African Youth and Violence in the Twenty-First Century. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence: Vol. 6 (2)*, 339 – 351.

Utas, M. (2003). *Sweet Battlefields: Youth and the Liberian Civil War.* Uppsala: Department of Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology, Uppsala University.

Vale, J. (Director). (2013). *Small Small Thing* [Motion Picture].

Van Den Berghe, P. L. (1966). Racial Segregation in South Africa: Degrees and Kinds. *Cahiers d'études africaines, vol. 6, n°23*, 408-418.

Vladislavic, I. (2015). *Double Negative.* München: A1 Publishers.

Wa Munga, D. T. (Director). (2010). *Viva! Riva* [Motion Picture].

Wacquant, L. (2008). *Urban Outcasts: A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Wacquant, L. J. (1997). "For an Analytic of Racial Domination". *Political Power and Social Theory 11*, 221–234.

Waugh, C. M. (2011). *Charles Taylor and Liberia: Ambition and Atrocity in Africa's Lone Star State.* London: Zed Books Ltd.

Wayne, M. (2001). *Political Film The Dialectics of Third Cinema.* London & Sterling, Virginia: Pluto Press.

West-Pavlov, R. (2005). *Transcultural Graffiti: Diasporic Writing and the Teaching of Literary Studies.* Amsterdam - New York: Rodopi B.V.

West-Pavlov, R. (2014). Inside Out – The New Literary Geographies of the Post-Apartheid City in Mpe's and Vladislavić's Johannesburg Writing. *Journal of Southern African Studies Volume 40 - Issue 1*, 7-19.

Whiteley, G. (2011). *Junk Art and The Politics of Trash.* London: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd.

Wood, P. (2012). Challenges of Governance in Multi-ethnic Cities. In H. Anheier, & Y. R. Isar (Eds.), *In Cities, Cultural Policy and Governance* (pp. 44-60). London/Los Angeles/ New Delhi/Singapore/Washington DC: Sage Publications Ltd.

Yates, D. A. (2012). *The Scramble for African Oil.* London: Pluto Press.

Yocum, D. (1996). Some Troubled Homecomings. In &. L. I. Chambers (Ed.), *The Post-Colonial Question: Common Skies, Divided Horizons* (pp. 221-227). London and New York: Routledge.

Zack-Williams, A. (1995). *Tributors, Supporters and Merchant Capital.* Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing.

Ziman, R. (Director). (2008). *Gangster's Paradise: Jerusalema* [Motion Picture].