

**Documenting Trauma: An analysis of the
construction of traumatic collective memory in the
first and last scenes of the documentary, *Mama
Marikana***

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Master of Arts Documentary Arts by Coursework and Creative Research
Project
(alongside feature length documentary, *Mama Marikana*)**

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ABSTRACT

On 16 August 2012, the South African Police Service opened fire on rock-drill operators who had gone on a wildcat strike demanding a living wage of R12500, at the Lonmin Platinum mine in Marikana. Thirty-four mineworkers were left dead, seventy-eight were wounded and over two hundred and fifty were arrested. The shooting on 16 August was dubbed the 'Marikana Massacre', and has been compared to the lethal use of force during the Sharpeville massacre in 1960 (South African History Online, "Marikana Massacre 16 August 2012"). The documentary by Rehad Desai, *Miners Shot Down* has made a valuable contribution to balancing media representation of the events and the mineworkers' perspectives, but to date the media has neglected to adequately engage with the plight of the widows and other women left behind in Marikana after the massacre. In reaction to the neglect and marginalisation that they experienced the women of the community formed the Marikana Women's Organisation, Sikhala Sonke, in Wonderkop near Marikana.

My film, *Mama Marikana*, aims to give a voice to the women of Marikana: the widows, mothers, sisters and community members left behind and forgotten by society after the Marikana massacre. It takes a look behind the miners' story as five Marikana women struggle to move from a space of oppression to a space of empowerment. The film exposes a personal account of how women fight within a traumatised space: through the growth of the women's organisation, Sikhala Sonke, one member's rise to Parliament, personal sacrifices for the community and the empowerment of victims.

The cinema of memory culminates at the intersection of history, documentary and cinema (Rabinowitz 120). By combining film with memory, and their multidimensional dream-like "aura of insubstantiality" (MacDougal 29), documentaries can be involved in collective memory transmission in order to break officially imposed silences and contribute to different interpretations of history (Waterson 51). This study analyses how the montage editing of certain conventions of documentary filmmaking present in the first and last scene of my masters documentary *Mama Marikana*, transform it into a cinema of memory that allows for the transmission of a social, collective memory that can endure over time (Waterson 51). Previous work has failed to present how a structural analysis of montage editing and juxtaposition of conventions associated with the documentary form can transform a documentary into a cinema of memory. This research and my

documentary, *Mama Marikana*, attempt to create an alternative discourse on the role of memory creation within the traumatised and gendered space of Marikana. Using the concept of “cinema as language” (Carrol 1) and a qualitative structural analysis approach, the montage editing in the first and last scenes of *Mama Marikana* will be evaluated.

Documentary conventions that will be considered include testimony (interviews with the widows and women of Sikhala Sonke Women’s Organisation), reenactment (a play in which the women act out their memories and interpretations of the massacre that took place on 16 August 2012), *cinéma vérité* footage [of the audience (male mineworkers) watching the women perform the play at the Marikana Commemoration Rally 2014] and archive footage (of the massacre that took place on 16 August 2012 and its aftermath). The research and film, *Mama Marikana* aim to provide a space where the women’s stories can be told and their voices heard. This includes the potential to make the personal political and to break official silences of traumatised spaces through the transmission of individual testimony into a social collective memory, where the film itself becomes an event/ memory performing its own meanings (Waterson 65). The combination of these documentary conventions allow the telling of an untold story that engages with subaltern voices in a liminal space trapped in traumatic history.

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

Documentary is usually a deconstruction - a reenactment of another time or place for a different audience - a graphing of history, in and through the cinematic image and taped sound, onto the present (Rabinowitz 120).

The focus of this study is the critical analysis of the montage editing of select documentary conventions present in the introduction and conclusion of my masters documentary film, *Mama Marikana*. This will be done in order to evaluate the role of memory construction within the documentary, with specific reference to the form's quest for "truthfulness" in the representation of a historical moment.

With the use of cinematic apparatus (such as cameras and sound recording devices), documentaries are able to record and capture the transient present moment in time and space. With this culmination of historical moments, in both documentary and cinema, the documentary is transformed into a cinema of memory (Rabinowitz 120). Film and video have become important vehicles for memory, and have in recent history become an inexpensive, accessible and influential medium for witnessing current events and preserving them for future use as historical evidence (Waterson 52). Documentary film can therefore be involved in memory transmission, concentrating on how the combination of memory and film break officially imposed silences (Waterson 65). Cinema of memory becomes collective memory, which is able to endure over time to offer alternative representations of the past. They are part of the struggle against forgetting past injustices and have the potential to contribute to different interpretations of history (Waterson 51). There are parallels between film and memory. These include their multidimensionality and above all their dream-like "aura of insubstantiality" (MacDougal 29). When the two are combined, representations of truth must be questioned incase what is seen is perceived as literal history rather than a selected rendition of it (Waterson 53).

The research question that guides this study is: how does the juxtaposition of certain conventions of documentary filmmaking used in the first and last scene of the documentary *Mama Marikana*, transform it into a cinema of memory and allow for the transmission of a social, collective memory that can endure over time? Using the concept of "cinema as language" (Carrol 1) and a qualitative structural analysis approach, the montage editing in the first and last scenes of *Mama Marikana* will be evaluated.

Documentary conventions that will be considered include testimony (interviews with the widows and women of Sikhala Sonke Women's Organisation), reenactment (a play in which the women act out their memories and interpretations of the massacre that took place on 16 August 2012), *cinéma vérité* footage [of the audience (male mineworkers) watching the women perform the play at the Marikana Commemoration Rally 2014] and archive footage (of the massacre that took place on 16 August 2012 and its aftermath). An analysis of the juxtaposition of these conventions in a montage highlights the self-reflexive construction of the sequences, which in turn emphasises the construction of traumatic collective memory transmission that can elicit social change. This construction of traumatic collective memory transforms *Mama Marikana* into a cinema of memory, which foregrounds alternative representations of the past.

In order to understand the historical moment referred to in *Mama Marikana*, the traumatic history of the Marikana massacre must be discussed. From 10 to 16 August 2012, rock-drill operators at the Lonmin Platinum mine in Marikana went on a wildcat strike demanding a living wage of R12500. The men gathered on 'neutral ground' at the small hill close to the mine locally referred to as the 'koppie'. On 16 August 2012, the South African Police Service opened fire on the mineworkers at the 'koppie'. Thirty-four mineworkers were left dead, seventy-eight were wounded and over two hundred and fifty were arrested. The shooting on 16 August was dubbed the 'Marikana Massacre', and has been compared to the lethal use of force during the Sharpeville massacre in 1960 (South African History Online; "Marikana Massacre 16 August 2012").

There has been much discourse surrounding the men's struggle in Marikana and the killings of the striking mineworkers at the hands of the South African Police. In the local media (especially directly after the event), much blame has predominantly been placed on the side of the mineworkers as opposed to the side of the police. BBC News Africa wrote:

The circumstances that led police to open fire remain unclear, but reports from eyewitnesses suggest the shooting took place after a group of demonstrators rushed at a line of police officers (BBC News Africa; "South Africa's Lonmin Marikana mine clashes killed 34").

Not until the release of the film *Miners Shot Down* (Desai) was the perspective of the mineworkers presented in any significant way. The documentary by Rehad Desai includes archive that reveals the chronological events of the strike from 10 August 2012, leading up to the massacre on 16 August. The film was very well received globally and has won

numerous awards for its pursuit of justice in filmmaking, such as “The Vaclav Havel Jury Award” at the *One World Human Rights Festival* (2014) and the “Camera Justitia Jury Award” at the *Movies That Matter Human Rights Film Festival* (2014) (*Miners Shot Down*; “Awards”).

Miners Shot Down (Desai) has made a valuable contribution to balancing media representation of the events and the mineworkers’ perspectives, but to date the media has neglected to adequately engage with the plight of the widows and other women left behind in Marikana after the massacre. In reaction to the neglect and marginalisation that they experienced, the women of the community formed the Marikana Women’s Organisation, *Sikhala Sonke* in Wonderkop near Marikana. The organisation is aimed at uniting the women and to fight for peace and better living conditions in Marikana, and in doing so, they counteract the exclusion of the community’s voice from the narrative (“Women Ignored in Tragedy at Marikana”; Mail & Guardian). This is the same gap in representation that I wanted my film, *Mama Marikana*, to fill. The film aims to give a voice to the women of Marikana: the widows, mothers, sisters and community members left behind and forgotten by society after the Marikana massacre. It takes a look behind the miners’ story as five Marikana women struggle to move from a space of oppression to a space of empowerment. The film exposes a personal account of how women fight within a traumatised space: through the growth of the women’s organisation, *Sikhala Sonke*, one member’s rise to Parliament, personal sacrifices made for the community and the empowerment of victims.

The research in this study is qualitative and entails a detailed structural analysis of the first and last scenes of *Mama Marikana*. The first and last sequences that are analysed in this research play a vital role in breaking through the discourse of silence that surrounds the women of Marikana. These two sequences present them as active subjects with agency voicing their version of the narrative in a public forum. The sequences are a culmination of the dynamics of the fight for empowerment present in the entire film, and aim to be climactic moments of the intersection of the lesser-known women’s narrative with that of the mineworkers.

A detailed structural analysis of the two sequences will be limited to four established documentary conventions, namely: a.) testimony (interview), b.) reenactment (the play that the women perform), c.) *cinéma vérité* footage (of the Marikana Commemoration

Rally, two years after the massacre) and d.) police archive footage (of the actual killings two years previously). The juxtaposition of these conventions adds to the self-reflexivity of the documentary through foregrounding its structure. The reason that only four conventions have been chosen is because they are present in these specific sequences and can be used to argue that *Mama Marikana* is a cinema of memory.

A positivist rhetoric articulates that ‘meaning’ lies within reality and that human beings should strive to discover the inherent objectivity of the world (Ruby 5). In this way, popular rhetoric in visual media says that the documentary is produced with the intention to show an un-biased, objective view of reality. “The philosophy of positivism has caused many social scientists, documentary filmmakers and journalists to hide themselves away from their methods under the guise of objectivity” (Ruby 5). This point of view is challenged by structuralists, who argue that self-reflexivity reveals the various components of the documentary such as the producer, the process and the product:

To be reflexive is to structure a product in such a way that the audience assumes that the producer, the process of making and the product are a coherent whole. Not only is an audience made aware of these relationships but they are made to realise the necessity of that knowledge (Ruby 4).

Reflexivity is not only awareness but self-awareness, intentionally making the process explicit for the audience (Ruby 4). This reveals that documentaries are created as structural articulations of the filmmaker and not as truthful records (Ruby 10). As human beings construct and impose meaning on the world, so too are filmmakers interpreters of the world and not objective recorders of reality (Ruby 10).

Though a structural analysis of the sequences I will show that the selection of the conventions and the way they are juxtaposed, creates a self-reflexivity which foregrounds cinema of memory, and not merely a chronological replaying of history.

Structural analysis falls under the discourse analysis methodology of capturing data. Even though there are many ways to define discourse analysis, it is used in this study in relation to how it pays special attention to media language, semiotics, and how visual images convey meaning (O’Connor 384). The value of a detailed structural analysis of cinematic building blocks, is that it facilitates a discussion of how cinema of memory can be identified and meaning can be created. This stems from the theory of cultural historian and social theorist, Michael Foucault (1926-1984). In this approach to discourse analysis

any individual utterance's system of signification can be analysed in isolation but the underlying "grammar" of social and cultural processes may also be identified (Hesmondhalgh 120 and 122).

This theory uses the "cinema as language" metaphor: a research orientation that benefits cinema theory through broader contexts of semiology and cognitive psychology (Carrol 1). The theory applies the analytical techniques of linguistics to the language of cinema. This approach is appropriate to the study as it sees film as a system of relations between shots and sequences, taking angles of view and aesthetics into account when determining social and cultural meaning. This can only be done using a qualitative structural analysis (Carrol 5).

For the purposes of this study, the two sequences from the film *Mama Marikana* that are analysed are (1) the opening sequence (see **Addendum A**) and (2) the closing sequence (see **Addendum B**). The sequences are very similar, with the closing sequence acting as a continuation of the first, but revealing further contextual information about the play being performed at the commemoration. The opening sequence is the three minutes that follow the first title card, which reads: "On 10 August 2012 Lonmin Platinum Mineworkers at Marikana went on a strike demanding a basic living wage of R12500/ On 16 August the South African Police opened fire on the crowd gathered/ Injuring at least 78 mineworkers and killing 34 in what became known as the 'Marikana Massacre'". The closing sequence follows the observational scene in which Thumeka, leader of the Sikhala Sonke Women's Organisation, reprimands women for being late to rehearsal in their corrugated iron shack structure, and discusses what roles each woman will play. The closing sequence is about four minutes thirty six seconds long and ends just before the final title cards (that detail the current situation of the main characters) at the end of the film.

Even though I separate the conventions into four separate categories, I am aware that some do overlap. For example, the play that is performed to the crowd at the Commemoration Rally can be defined as both reenactment and *cinéma vérité*. However, for the purposes of this study I focus each element of the montage on individual conventions: the interview convention is present in the testimony given by the widows and Thumeka (leader of Sikhala Sonke); the play that the women of Marikana perform represents the reenactment convention; the *cinéma vérité* convention is present in the footage obtained at the Commemoration Rally and the women washing laundry and the

archive convention is present in the use of police footage of the 2012 massacre. Due to the qualitative nature of this structural analysis, the research cannot be generalised to encapsulate all films in the category of film and memory. For the purpose of this study, only a select number of instances of the “language” of cinema within the conventions will be analysed as they speak to how meaning is made through montage and editing. I have specifically excluded other language devices that could be analysed such as shot size, shot angle, focus, composition, lighting etc., as they do not speak to the conceptual effect and metaphorical juxtaposition of the montage within cinema of memory. I am also aware that questions about reception and spectatorship are troublesome, and thus will focus on identifying the signifiers present in the sequence and analyse how they individually and collectively signify connotative and denotative meanings (Hall 39 and 68). I do this through the assumption that viewers have become accustomed to interpreting visual symbols and have developed a series of “mental sets” through which to process images (O’Conner 392). The viewing of a film is not passive but is rather a constant effort in constructing meaning (O’Conner 392). Even though I was the creator of the film, I will limit myself to analysing it as a text, distancing myself from it through this systematic structural approach so as to avoid assumptions about whether my intentions as filmmaker have successfully transferred into the meaning of the text.

There has been much research on documentary’s uncomfortable relationship with the notion of “truth”, as well as research on cinema of memory ranging from post-traumatic cinema in Holocaust Films, to media as a site for memory through Truth and Reconciliation films in South Africa. The literature review in this study which follows in chapter 2 reveals, however, that there is a gap in the current research. Whilst the background and outlining theory are present, there seems to be no existing structural analysis of how montage editing and juxtaposition of the conventions of documentary can create meanings and associations to transform a documentary into cinema of memory, especially in a Marikana context. More importantly, the significance of this research and the film are in their attempt to create a discourse on the role of memory and memory creation (both by the subjects in the documentary and by the documentary as a document of memory) within the traumatised and gendered space of Marikana. The intention of the film was always to expose and give a voice to those silenced within the existing mainstream Marikana media discourse and to provide a space where the women’s stories could be told. Through this research and by situating *Mama Marikana* as a film of

memory, the women's subjective and personal testimony of the events that occurred on 16 August 2012 is juxtaposed and combined with that of the miners (the more well known narrative), to be able to remake history and provide an alternative but incredibly significant vantage point for engaging with the trauma. As Walker says,

The representation of traumatic past events is responsive not only to the reliability of historical memory and material documentation but to the additional qualities of memory including repression, silence, ellipsis, elaboration and fantasy (814).

Therefore, these chosen four conventions of documentary (testimony, reenactment, *cinéma vérité* and archive) are structurally analysed in this study in terms of the language of cinema: action, dialogue, *misé-en-scène*, colour grade, music/sound and most importantly editing transitions. These conventions are analysed through a shot by shot deconstruction of the two selected scenes of *Mama Marikana*. Their use within the film transforms *Mama Marikana* into a cinema of memory that evaluates the role of memory construction within the documentary. The literature review that follows will include a discussion of what cinema of memory is and how it relates to trauma and history. Interesting parallels can be drawn between the elusiveness of memory and documentary's contested project of representing "truth". A discussion of the relationship between the personal and political follows the analysis in this study. This includes the potential to break official silences of traumatised spaces through the transmission of individual testimony into a social collective memory, where the film itself becomes an event/memory performing its own meanings. The combination of these documentary conventions allow the telling of an untold story that engages with subaltern voices in a liminal space strapped in traumatic history.

CHAPTER 2: The Trajectories of Memory in a Documentary Space

In order to provide a structural analysis of the select documentary conventions in the two selected sequences from *Mama Marikana* and show how their combination as a montage allows for a cinema of memory, the elusive nature of memory within a filmic space must be discussed. Parallels can be drawn between the tensions of a) the perceived truthfulness of documentary representations of actuality and b) the perceived truthfulness of memory construction as a vehicle for engaging with the past. In this chapter the theoretical perspectives offered by Rabinowitz and Waterson will be used to find the moment of intersection between history, cinema and memory and explore how this allows the construction of memory in *Mama Marikana*.

Nichols argues that documentary film does not have a precise definition, but can be still described as “the creative treatment of actuality” (Grierson qtd. in Nichols, *Introduction to Documentary* 6), which acknowledges that documentaries are creative undertakings. This definition raises the possibility of reconciling the tension between “creative treatment” which suggests the kind of creative license more readily associated with fiction film, and “actuality” which suggests the responsibility of a historian. Every film that is considered a documentary draws on common conventions in an ongoing dialogue to create a distinct new form of creative actuality (Nichols, *Introduction to Documentary* 6).

All documentaries refer to history but can never contain it: “always referred to but never captured, history, as excess, rebukes those laws set to contain it; it contests, qualifies, resists and refuses them” (Nichols, *Representing Reality: Issues and Concepts in Documentary* 142). Documentaries then, can be seen as contradictory texts, full of self-doubts about their roles as agents of truth and reality. This paradox reveals how these films offer both problematic and productive sites of historical investigation.

The documentary conventions selected as tools of analysis in this study are: testimony (interview), reenactment (the play), *cinéma vérité* (observed footage of the Commemoration Rally two years later and the woman washing her clothes) and archive (police footage of the massacre). The terminology *interview* and *testimony* are interchangeable within cinema of memory as the interview convention allows for the oral

testimonies of the social actors in the documentary and for their personal accounts of their histories, memories and opinions. This places the authority on the liminal social actors, allowing for multiple viewpoints and voices to be heard. In the two sequences analysed the testimony convention includes the interviews of the two widows Zameka Nungu and Nonkululeko Ngxande in the opening sequence, as well as Thumeka's testimony in the end sequence.

Police archive footage of the 16 August 2012 massacre is characteristic of the archive convention as it offers a recorded real event and explicit raw footage as an authentic record. Archive is usually used as incontrovertible evidence, with its amateur expertise accidentally capturing a historically significant event (Bruzzi, "The Event: Archive and Imagination" 422 and 424).

The third convention analysed is that of *cinéma vérité*, a formally radical mode of documentary filmmaking that arose in the late 1950s. This mode of filmmaking was developed by filmmakers attempting to capture the most intimate every day experiences and a pure cinematic truth with as little influence as possible by the documentary crew (Rabinowitz 124). The footage we filmed of the Commemoration Rally, where the audience watch the play that the Marikana women put on stage, forms part of this convention. The captured moment of the woman washing her clothes in a bucket outside also falls under this convention. I consider these sequences to be *cinéma vérité* because they appear to capture events and situations as they unfold. What differentiates *cinéma vérité* from some other documentary conventions, for example interviews or re-enactments, is that the events it captures would have taken place whether or not the camera was present.

The play that the women perform at the Commemoration Rally will, for the purposes of this study, be considered as reenactment under the following definition: to *reenact* is "[t]o present (a dramatic work, a 'scene') on or as on the stage; to personate (a character) dramatically, play (a part). To perform (a ceremony)" (Kahana 53). Therefore, a material and human transformation must take place before it can be said enactment has taken place. This must include both a temporal and spatial process that literally takes place, as well as covers a social distance between people (Kahana 53). The highly charged historical event of the massacre is revived, reconstructed and reenacted in the play (Ward 50). This reenactment is not like a conventional filmed reenactment that is usually

associated with historical documentaries, which entails a dramatisation of past historical events staged for the camera and performed by amateur or professional actors (Yahnke, “A Primer of Documentary Film Techniques”). Instead it is a filmed play based on real events, which is performed in front of a live audience. What makes this re-enactment of particular interest to this study is that it is furthermore, performed by people who were involved in the events two years previously at Marikana.

Stella Bruzzi defines documentary as a “negotiation between filmmaker and reality, and at heart, a performance” (“The performative documentary: Barker, Dineen, Broomfield”, 154). Documentaries that have performative elements acknowledge the relationship between the real world and the performed actions of memory of those featured in the documentary. This highlights the process of understanding and how the subjects of the film reflect upon their situation and historical memory (Ward 57 and 58).

The relationship between documentary, cinema and historical memory is discussed by Rabinowitz’s in his essay *Wreckage upon Wreckage: History, Documentary and the Ruins of Memory*. The essay dissects how historically, objectivity/subjectivity debates have been central to our understanding of documentary. When compared to fiction filmmaking, documentaries are separated by the perceived intent of representing actuality. However, Rabinowitz argues that documentaries representing a past event do so by filmic construction of history (119). This in turn relies on cinematic semiosis, which encourages the audience to take part in a historical remembering of reality. Through cinematic devices such as montage, voice-over and intertitles, documentaries provoke new understandings of social, economic and political struggles (Rabinowitz 119). A cinema of memory can therefore be formed by the deconstruction of documentary’s forms and conventions, so as to interrogate not only historical memory but also their form’s venture in its recreation. These films ask of the audience to question cinematic representation, its place in historical memory and the responsibility of interpretations of the past (Rabinowitz 119).

Rabinowitz argues that “[f]ilm’s relationship to historical meaning and history’s dependence upon, yet refusal of, film’s form leave a space for active viewing” (128). This active viewing is present in how the documentary conventions in the two sequences in *Mama Marikana* are placed next to one another in a montage, allowing a space for self-reflexivity. The process is intentional, self-aware and is a structural articulation of the

filmmaker (Ruby 4 and 10). For the purposes of this study, the term montage will be used to refer to “an intercutting of a series of otherwise unrelated shots, often with a repetition of some of them, in a way that creates new meaning” (O’Conner 386). Through these noticeable clashes, attention is drawn to the structure of the sequence, which renders it self-reflexive.

The work of two early Soviet filmmakers is useful in understanding the way the juxtaposition of shots creates meaning in a montage. Lev Kuleshov performed a series of editing experiments during the 1920s that demonstrated how one shot could influence an audience’s interpretation of another shot it is associated with. In his experiment, a shot of a man with a neutral expression was placed after a shot of a plate of soup; then repeated after a shot of a girl in a coffin, and repeated for the third time after a shot of a woman lying on a couch (*Illustration 2.1*). The shot of the man’s expression did not change, but the audience read three different emotions into it depending on which image it was juxtaposed with (Prince and Hensley 59).



Illustration 2.1

This experiment illustrates that, through editing, a sequence of shots can mean more than its constituent parts. Another Soviet filmmaker who acknowledged the power of editing in the encoding of meaning is Sergei Eisenstein. He placed great emphasis on what he called *Intellectual Montage*, which was built on the concept of “attraction” and which aimed at what the French Eisensteinian scholar Jacques Aumont articulated, a “conceptual effect... the production of meaning” (qtd. in Sklar 153).

Speaking of the montage, Eisenstein says,

A genuinely new approach radically changes the possibilities in the principles of building "construction that has impact" (the performance as a whole), instead of a static "reflection" of a given event (Eisenstein 79).

The techniques he favoured most in the intellectual montage were the synecdoche (the part standing for the whole) and metaphor (the juxtaposition of certain seemingly unrelated images creating meaning and associations in the spectator's mind) (Sklar 153). Each shot in the two sequences in *Mama Marikana*, for example, contains elements that create the image so as to form a literal denotative meaning that is relatively self-contained. However, when the shots are combined in the sequence, their association can create connotative meaning. The sign from the first order, becomes the signifier in the second order which in turn allows for a combination of signs, a broader cultural meaning of representation to be signified, which is called "myth". Thus myth can also be identified as meta-language as it speaks back to and is created by the first language or order (Hall 39 and 68).

A syntagmatic meaning can thus be created in the montage as it is drawn primarily from the relation of the image or sign with the other images surrounding it in the film (O'Connor 386). The system of signification is complex and nuanced, and is able to communicate subtle and metaphorical meanings within the montage. This is appropriate to the project of documenting historical stories in a way that acknowledges the nuanced and complex fallibility of memory.

According to Waterson, Eric Wolf identifies a 'lack of memory' as belonging to those who suffered the assault of European colonialism and arrogant histories that ignored the past of oral societies. Anthropologists and oral historians interested in social processes at a micro level, have tried to reclaim memory by recording the everyday lives and experiences of people. Memory, therefore, should be understood as a social phenomenon rather than only a psychological one, where the role of memory transmission lies in social processes (qtd. in Waterson 52).

At this point, it is important to acknowledge how the documentary project trying to represent history, memory and the moving image have combined to form a cinema of memory. Waterson explains how photographic images have nested into our social

memory and exposure to them has altered the way in which generations ‘remember’ the past through these reproduced representations (52). Film and video have become important vehicles for memory, and through the digital revolution, they have become an inexpensive, accessible and influential medium for witnessing current events and preserving them for future use as historical evidence (Waterson 52). Waterson concentrates on the possible roles of documentary film in memory transmission and how film and memory break officially imposed silences. It does so by preserving memories as trace (historical evidence) by the film itself as an event that performs its own meanings and demands a dialogical engagement with the audience, and as trajectory by which individual memories must be transmitted in order to become social (51). Therefore, cinema of memory documentaries become collective memory and are able to endure over time to offer alternative representations of the past. They are part of the struggle against forgetting past injustices and have the potential to contribute to different interpretations of history (Waterson 51).

Rabinowitz links how history forms part of the documentary project by stating that “documentary is usually a deconstruction - a reenactment of another time or place for a different audience - a graphing of history, in and through the cinematic image and taped sound, onto the present” (120). As documentary films provide stability to an ever-changing reality, she proposes that this recording of a constant transient space and time allows for documentary to transform into a cinema of memory. The cinema of memory, therefore culminates at the intersection of history, documentary and cinema (Rabinowitz 120).

Waterson distinguishes two types of memory in cinema. Firstly, “films that intend to transmit memory” by portraying events using archive footage and interviews, and “films that intend to become *part of that* memory – usually acknowledging the complexity of its representation and showing the process of memory production, its limits and difficulties” (Guarini qtd. in Waterson 65). The latter type of memory not only captures stories about the past, but also the actions that different groups take in order to render a new account of them so that the film itself becomes part of the historical record. Film as a medium, has the power to showcase past discourses and memories that would have been silenced without the presence of the camera and filmmaker (Waterson 65).

Waterson notes that in David MacDougall's "Films of Memory", he states that there are parallels between film and memory, namely their "multidimensionality, blending vivid visual images with sounds, words, feelings: their composition from fragments and their ability to move to and fro in 'flashbacks'" (Waterson 53). Waterson argues that MacDougall raises questions about the representation of truth when combining film and memory and urges audiences to be distrustful, as what is seen may be perceived as literal history rather than a selected rendition of it (Waterson 53). However, it is this exact self-reflexivity that opens up critical engagement due to the presentation of a variety of perspectives. By combining film and memory in such a self-reflexive manner, the filmmaker acknowledges her subjectivity and thus engages with the audience in a joint act of meaning making.

When dealing with cinema of memory in a traumatised space it is important to realise a secondary dimension of film as not only a cinema of memory, but a cinema of post-traumatic memory and discourse. Hirsch argues that after a society has experienced a traumatising historical event (such as that of the Marikana massacre), but before it is assimilated into memory, there arises a discourse of trauma (11). This discourse of trauma provides a language of representation, as Hirsch posits:

Its significance transcends the literal referencing of any particular experience of trauma or vicarious trauma - of surviving genocide, witnessing it, or seeing images of it - and lies rather in the staking out, in the languages of various media, of a space common to all these experiences ... The discourse of trauma ... in film - gives one a language with which to begin to represent the failure of representation that one has experienced (11).

Post-traumatic memory as opposed to narrative memory allows for a collapse of linear chronology, where time becomes fragmented and uncontrollable (Hirsch 12).

In this chapter it became clear that the elusiveness of memory highlights the elusiveness of "truth" in the documentary project where filmic construction relies on historical reconstruction and the "creative treatment of actuality" (Grierson qtd. in Nichols, *Introduction to Documentary* 6). The analysis that follows in chapter three will demonstrate how the juxtaposition of four of the conventions of documentary filmmaking in the first and last scene of the documentary *Mama Marikana*, transform the film into a cinema of memory and allow for the transmission of a social, collective memory that can endure over time. Using discourse analysis, the study explores how the four conventions and their juxtaposition within a post-trauma context, question documentary's perceived

project of actuality through the very nature of memory's dream-like "aura of insubstantiality" (MacDougall 29). The analysis that follows foregrounds the nature of performance as a self-reflexive device that highlights the relationship between the personal and the political (Pucill 91). This relationship has the potential to break official silences in traumatised spaces, and fight against memory suppression. Finally, by preserving memories as trace, the film itself becomes an event that performs its own meanings, and a trajectory by which individual memories must be transmitted in order to become social. Cinema of memory becomes a collective memory that is able to endure over time and offer alternative representations of the past. It is part of the struggle against forgetting past injustices (Waterson 51).

CHAPTER 3: Death, pain and memory: producing a post-traumatic cinema of memory documentary for Marikana

In the previous chapter it became clear that a cinema of memory has a vital role to play in a post-traumatic context in gathering and preserving the memories and perspectives of a variety of social actors. In this chapter I will examine, using structural analysis, how I applied these principles to the production of my post-Marikana massacre documentary film through the juxtaposition of four established documentary conventions.

The opening and concluding scenes of *Mama Marikana* are very similar in that they have a similar montage structure combining four different conventions in documentary filmmaking, namely: testimony (interview), reenactment, *cinéma vérité* and archive. The closing sequence is a cyclical continuation of the opening sequence. It contextualises the earlier sequence and reveals why the women were protesting and banging sticks in the shack at the beginning of the film. The sequences are represented chronologically below in **Addendum A** for the opening, and **Addendum B** for the closing (there is an option for both sequences to be viewed on the *Mama Marikana* DVD). In order to discuss the roles of these conventions within transforming the documentary project into a cinema of memory, each convention needs to be analysed in terms of what conceptual associations are derived from their juxtaposition in the montage.

The opening and closing sequences of *Mama Marikana* transform the documentary into a film of memory through the use and roles of the conventions and their subsequent juxtaposition in performing history. This allows the documentary to reject a perceived actuality of history, by mimicking the nature of memory through a film with disconnected and dream-like disposition (MacDougal 29). To understand how the conventions work together to create a cinema of memory, it is important to discuss how they destabilise the moral and ideological dilemma of the “unaltered purity” of objective documentary filmmaking (Van der Vliet 259).

The testimony (interview) convention is present in the two sequences. Documentary films often rely on oral history in the form of interviews. However, talking heads only tell a partial, fragmented and subjective truth, despite the signifiers of truthfulness they contain:

actual testimony and opinions of a person in the world sitting in their space looking into camera and answering questions (Rabinowitz 133-134). In the opening sequence (**Addendum A**) of the film, the one widow, Zameka Nungu, relays a disembodied testimony (her face is not visible on the screen and so this limits the viewer’s ability to identify and connect with her). Rather her testimony is heard with archival close ups of striking mineworkers’ faces and juxtaposed with faces of women in the shack during the rehearsal. The other widow, Nonkululeko Ngxande testifies in a similar way. She is also disembodied and not given a name title-card, as her speech is accompanied by a black screen (*Illustration 3.1*). In her testimony she relives her experiences of that day when she says, “I heard a lot of noise coming from up there. I heard gun shots ... They were running ... I continued going up because I couldn’t see him coming back ... I stood somewhere to have a clear view until it started to dusk ... I tried sleeping but I couldn’t because I was waiting for him to come back.” While she is testifying, an image of a woman walking in slow motion away from the screen fades up from black (*Illustration 3.2*). This is slowly faded into archive footage of the sun setting at the ‘koppie’ (*Illustration 3.3*). On the one hand, this stylised choice of relaying testimony without direct association to the bodies speaking, can critique their “truthfulness” and legitimises MacDougall’s view that interviews and reminiscences are only selective representations of memory. “The actual objects of memory are unreliable as expressions of memory. They can only be touchstones for its retrieval or construction” (MacDougal 30). Testimony, so far removed from memory, can become a mixture of invention and flawed evidence. Cinema of memory can represent only the peripheral language of remembering (MacDougal 29).

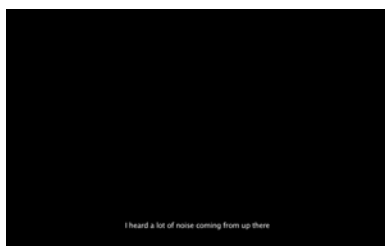


Illustration 3.1

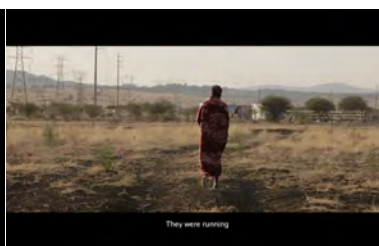


Illustration 3.2

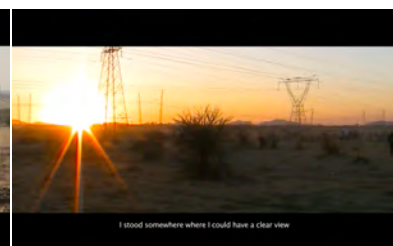


Illustration 3.3

On the other hand, their testimony can be described as voices that amalgamate to represent more broadly, *all* female voices whose side of the story have not yet been told and are fighting against being forgotten in favour of the miners’ narrative. The interview cannot be dismissed as not being historical practice, as testifying itself must be

understood as an historical act and event, and is therefore still part of the present. “Subjectivity is as much the business of history as the more visible facts ... What the informant believes is indeed a historical *fact* (that is the *fact* that he or she believes it) just as much as what ‘really’ happened” [emphasis in original] (Portelli 100). No matter if there is no archive or physical evidence to support the testimony of her experience, the fact that the subject believes it to be true is what makes the testimony valuable as evidence (Portelli 100).

Testimony in its essence relies on the words spoken by the subject to construct the illusion of the past, which can create an awareness of absence and the elusiveness of history. Memory is constructed, and as MacDougall states,

Memory is often apparently incoherent, and a strange mixture of the sensory and the verbal. It offers us the past in flashes and fragments, and in what seems a hodgepodge of mental ‘media’ (29).

By viewing a black screen and a solitary woman walking juxtaposed with an archive shot of the sunset devoid of people, the audience is confronted with the “physical emptiness of some former sites of atrocity” (Waterson 54). This construction is an example of synecdoche (the part standing for the whole), an element of Eisenstein’s intellectual montage (Sklar 153). Rather than being seen as a disempowering choice, the fact that these two voices can “stand for the whole” allow their testimony to give voice to all the women affected, and add their story into social memory. Even though first person testimony can be queried as constructed, it is in the “failure of the sign we acknowledge a history beyond representation.” (MacDougall 31). The power of their testimony in that space of absence allows them to confirm what they had experienced and add their stories to an historical discourse that struggles, as Waterson claims, against denial and forgetting (Waterson 54).

Testimony is dialogical as it is always relayed *to* someone, therefore highlighting the role of the audience in memory transmission (Waterson 62). The repetition of oral testimony and reenactment of the testimony, not only reconstructs individual stories so as to be recognised and validated, but also bonds them to enable them to “weave their own threads into their own history” (Guarini qtd. in Waterson 65). This allows for the past to be represented, as well as the capturing of a process of collective memory construction in a society emerging from a traumatic event (Waterson 65).

In the last sequence (**Addendum B**), Thumeka says that the play “will show the world, what really happened on the mountain during that time.” The act of testifying must be seen as an event that itself forms part of history, as it is a re-evaluation of the past and the ongoing work of memory. Testifying can also sometimes be seen as a performative act as it has the potential to wield a transformative effect upon both participants and audience (Waterson 66). Cameras can never really be said to capture an unmediated “reality”. All social interaction, whether it be characters amongst themselves, or the camera and the characters, or the director and the characters, all have a dramaturgical dimension (Waterson 64).

Thus the documentary convention of reenactment in both the opening and closing sequences includes the women of Marikana performing and enacting their version of the events of 16 August 2012. The women tell this story by playing the roles of mineworkers, policemen and mothers from the Eastern Cape. The plot of the play includes a mother who, upon hearing there is a wage dispute at Lonmin mine, travels from the Eastern Cape to Marikana to try and stop a disaster from occurring, only to be too late. The reenactment tracks the story of the mother arriving in Marikana and juxtaposes it with the mineworkers striking on the ‘koppie’ and finally being killed by the police. The reenactment takes place in two spaces, the space of the Sikhala Sonke informal structure in which they rehearse, and the actual performance on stage at the Commemoration Rally 2014. The women believe that their enactment version is “the truth” and by sharing this in the documentary it not only allows them to archive their testimony as evidence of “an event in itself” (Waterson 61) but also to construct their own history and confirm their own experiences, which needs to be validated “*in the face of that absence*” [emphasis in the original] (54).

The opening sequence begins with a long shot of a large corrugated iron shack. As the title card precedes this, it is already known that a massacre took place, and a feeling of foreboding ensues. Women’s voices are heard singing, and the sound seems to be coming from the shack. A woman’s voice is heard expressing vocally the sound of a knock at a door: “Knock, knock, knock” and then a “Come in”, after which the sequence is transported into the informal iron structure itself. From the performative nature of voicing out the “knocks” (as opposed to actually knocking on a door), the audience is made aware that what is happening inside the structure may be an enactment, even though it is not certain yet. The *misé-en-scène* inside the corrugated iron structure includes dark lighting,

with only natural light spilling in through the open door. The space appears large and can comfortably accommodate the approximately twenty women that are inside. As the space is entered, a woman wearing a red hat (who represents the 'mother' figure) is on her hands and knees scraping a brick against the ground in a repetitive mime. A woman standing frame left, addresses a group of women walking towards her. In the same shack (this is clear because the same background of the corrugated iron is visible), more women are introduced standing in a line banging sticks together and singing softly. This sound can be heard as the conversation between the mother with the red hat and her 'visitors' continues. The women bang the sticks rhythmically as they listen to the conversation. The mother in the red hat and her visitors express that they have heard of a strike occurring in Marikana as the mineworkers want more money.

At this point it is not clear who the women who are banging the sticks are, until a gumboot and a stick hitting the ground in the same shack setting is revealed in a close up shot (*Illustration 3.4*). This highlights the connection between the women and the mineworkers. At this point, the voices of the women get drowned out by men's voices singing a 'call and response' song. The image of the women singing and banging their sticks persists over the voices of men. One woman in the front is wearing a white miner's uniform (*Illustration 3.5*). The next shot includes archive footage of men in 2012, hitting sticks together in the same way that the women did in the previous space (*Illustration 3.6*). As is usually a convention with archive footage, it is aesthetically differentiated from the other footage through colour grade (saturation and contrast) and format (visual quality). The archive footage is slightly interlaced, not as good quality, and is more saturated than the images before. It also exhibits shaky camera movement, indicative of an amateur camera operator. In the archive, a massive crowd of men (compared to the few women) sit outside singing on the dry grass in bright sunlight. Behind them to their left, there appears to be a small hill or 'koppie'. The juxtaposition of these two images: the presence of the gumboot and miner's outfits in the reenactment space and the repetitive action of hitting sticks, 'pangas' (a broad, heavy knife) and 'knobkerries' (wooden club with a knob at one end) together, links the two spaces.



Illustration 3.4



Illustration 3.5



Illustration 3.6

The play is defined as reenactment, as it presents and performs an historical scene both on a literal stage in front of a live audience and within the confines of the documentary for a cinema audience. This acting out of the story of the Marikana massacre by the women, juxtaposed by the actual event in the archive experienced by the men, is especially relevant in the Marikana context. The acting out of their history allows for ordinary women of the community to interpret their everyday roles in society so as to give themselves a voice. This is vital when prevailing social circumstances have initially prevented them from having agency or have neglected their own version (Kahana 47). The reenactment serves as a critical and contradictory aspect of the documentary's striving for truth, where the theatricality of the women, as non-professional "social actors", can call into question the authenticity of their actions (Kahana 47). This queries the very nature of the reconstruction that is reenactment, and what Bill Nichols calls "proximity" (qtd. in Ward 51). Proximity expresses how close the representation is to the real, in terms of accuracy and temporality (Ward 51). Not only are the women not professional actors, but also they were present and experienced some of the events on 16 August 2012 first hand, that they subsequently reenact. This causes proximity in temporal terms: the people depicting the events in the representation are *close* to the actual event. They are not merely actors, but people whose stories are at stake in the process of remembering (Ward 53). The women of Marikana's point of view of the massacre is at stake, and therefore becomes a urgent project of insertion into the male-biased Marikana narrative and a post-traumatic space of remembering in South Africa.

As mentioned above, Zameka Nungu, the first widow, relays testimony in a voice over which is juxtaposed with footage of the women in the reenactment rehearsal and archive footage of mineworkers' faces. After slow motion close ups of the men's faces in the archive holding up a placard saying R12 500 (*Illustration 3.7*), the voice-over says, "The workers have wives" juxtaposed with a woman's face in the shack (*Illustration 3.8*). She then says, "The workers have children", and shows a mother holding her child on her hip

in the shack (*Illustration 3.9*), followed by more archive (*Illustration 3.10*). The implication is that that these women are directly linked in a domestic role to the men in the archive. The association is that the mineworkers' struggle for a R12500 living wage is directly linked to the community's struggle to survive on poverty salaries. This is aided by the lamenting sound of a woman in mourning as heard underneath the testimony, and is a foreshadowing of the deaths to come.



Illustration 3.7

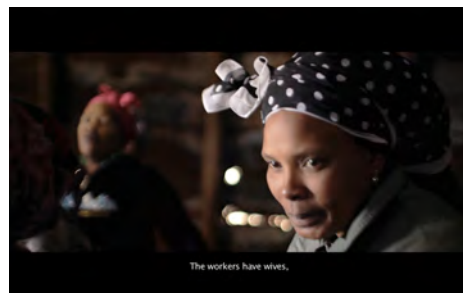


Illustration 3.8



Illustration 3.9



Illustration 3.10

The reenactment scene in the corrugated iron structure and the archive scene are juxtaposed to signify the connection between the women and the striking men and to emphasise the women's roles as wives, mothers and children. It also creates a sense of agency, connection and remembering through the direct link between the experiences of the men with the reenactment of the women performing the roles of mineworkers. Through testimony and reenactment in these two sequences, the women of Marikana are trying to fight against a conscious policy of memory suppression on the part of the media and in political discourse. The key for documentary representation is not to capture the details of 'what happened' but rather to recognise the "underlying contextual forces at work" (Ward; 2005: 62). By reconstructing the event, the film replicates the intention of the women, as it aims not to reconstruct the events in an authentic rendering, but rather play out the ideological and social conflict that caused the trauma to occur in the first place.

Testimony and reenactment of a politically charged event by the women can ‘reclaim’ an alternative version of the truth against mainstream narrative (Ward 63 and 66). By juxtaposing the images of the women next to the men’s, the association is that the experiences of the women is parallel to the men’s and provides an intersection between the personal and the political in memory construction (Waterson 51 and Pucill 91). This juxtaposition is pertinent to a cinema of memory, as war is often depicted as “[m]en’s business”, erasing women’s experiences and creating a “wall of silence” (Waterson 59) around memories of war. The hierarchy of gender present in war (and in this case the massacre) allows for some memories and the fates of ordinary people to be lost to the historical record. However, by juxtaposing the images in such a balanced fashion, the exploration of the voices of the woman left behind after the Marikana massacre allows an intervention into the discourse of history that begins to question official silences (Waterson 59).

In the 1970s, feminist theory began making famous the slogan, “The Personal is Political.” Even though I will not be discussing feminist theory, the consequence of this statement was an emphasis on the intersection between the ‘personal’ and the wider social and political context. The key of the connection deals with the question of ‘looking’ so that when the personal is shared with the viewer, it is made public (Pucill 83). It allows us to question, what version of the event is made discourse?

After the archive montage build up and bullet shots sound effect in the opening sequence, shots of a woman doing an everyday domestic activity filmed in a *cinéma vérité* style are shown. The action of the woman’s hands cleaning a white floral fabric in an extreme close up is juxtaposed with an archival image of fabric stained with blood and allows the audience to associate the two spaces (*Illustrations 3.11- 3.14*).

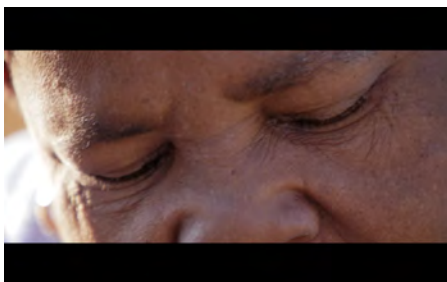


Illustration 3.11



Illustration 3.12



Illustration 3.13



Illustration 3.14

The association of this juxtaposition connects the emotional pain of the women to the physical pain of the men, and draws attention to those affected by the killings. The result of showing a garment being washed just before the blood stained white material on the ground in the archive, associates a denotative meaning of having to cleanse, and a connotative meaning washing away the pain that the deaths left behind for the women. The implied syntagmatic meaning is that the woman is trying to wash away the trauma of the event. It is as if they are washing those exact clothes seen in the archive.

The closing sequence of the film is a continuation of the opening sequence, and reveals what the women in the shack were doing initially. Through the testimony it becomes apparent that they were rehearsing a play that they will perform at the Commemoration. The beginning sequence's initial dialogue is repeated "Knock, knock, knock" and "Come in". It has now been revealed that the women are playing the roles of the mineworkers on the 'koppie' in 2012 when they hit their sticks together in the same fashion as the men (*Illustration 3.15*). The play continues as the 'mother' the red hat explains to her neighbours that she wants to travel up to Marikana upon hearing that there have already been deaths due to the strike. She performs her journey by putting a prop backpack on her head as luggage and walking through the space. Upon 'arriving' in Marikana (the other side of the shack where the women playing the role of mineworkers are singing), the woman exclaims, "Why are police?" and "Oh my God!" (*Illustrations 3.16 and 3.17*). This reiterates the confusion the women felt at the time in 2012. She looks off screen at the women acting as mineworkers as she exclaims this, but is juxtaposed by a shot of the men on the mountain during the Commemoration Rally, merging the two spaces over one cut. The *cinéma vérité* convention is used in the Commemoration Rally of the Marikana massacre on 16 August 2014, and includes shots of mineworkers climbing the same 'koppie' that their colleagues were killed on two years previously, as well as filling the

space in front of the stage that has been erected for the event (and on which the women subsequently perform) (*Illustrations 3.18, 3.19 and 3.20*).



Illustration 3.15



Illustration 3.16



Illustration 3.17



Illustration 3.18



Illustration 3.19



Illustration 3.20

Ruth Erickson discusses the critical function of reenactment in contemporary art, which I draw as a parallel to the intention of the women of Marikana and reenactment's function in the film. The mother in the red hat's story is juxtaposed with, and given the same importance as the men's story. In the play, time and space get condensed, as the action jumps between the mother's journey and the men's strike on the 'koppie'. By balancing the woman's journey with the actions of the men, it can be argued that the reenactments are used to advocate "viewpoints traditionally kept outside the 'grand narratives' and to deconstruct the images and accounts that have compromised these narratives." (Erickson qtd. in Kahana 46).

The fragmented nature of the juxtaposition of the conventions in cinema of memory acknowledges the gaps in memory creation. There is a need for a fragmentation so as to provide an alternative representation of the elusiveness of memory. Memory is unstable and thus must be represented as such. Risks of memory include phenomena such as the *Traumatic Paradox*, where paradoxically, trauma produces the very alterations in memory that invalidate truth such as posttraumatic stress disorder (Walker 806). Therefore the need to create films of memory that push the boundaries of realist representations into splintered versions of traumatic past through different vantage points is necessary (Walker 813). The juxtaposition of the conventions in the first and last sequence exist in an

exaggerated state of repetition and chronological interruption (Walker 814). This ironically tries to replicate the ‘truth’ of the experience of memory whilst refusing the realist mode. The representation of traumatic past events is receptive not only to the dependability of “historical memory and material documentation but to the additional qualities of memory including repression, silence, ellipsis, elaboration and fantasy” (Walker 814).

Cinéma vérité, archive and reenactment all begin to merge through the juxtaposition of space and time at the moment the women’s rehearsal in the shack seamlessly becomes their stage performance at the Commemoration Rally. This not only merges the reenactment and *cinéma vérité* conventions but also allows for a merging of time and space so as to create one shared memory. At the Commemoration, spectators (mostly male mineworkers) have arrived to watch the proceedings that include the play that the women of Marikana put on for the commemoration but at the same time (through the juxtaposition) they seem to be ‘watching’ the rehearsal in the shack. At one point in the rehearsal, Thumeka, who is playing a policeman says “Wait, wait! Men wait!” and points her stick “gun” towards the women playing the roles of miners. She waves her hand to tell them to sit down and take orders. This is immediately juxtaposed with shaky archive footage of the men on the mountain in 2012, whilst a police vehicle waits for them at its foot (*Illustration 3.21*), followed by a shot of the same ‘koppie’ at the Commemoration two years later (*Illustration 3.22*). Back in the reenactment rehearsal, the lead mineworker (who is the only woman wearing a miner’s uniform in the shack) begins a call and response pattern. She shouts out “Power!” and the women playing mineworkers in the rehearsal reply, “It’s Ours!” (*Illustration 3.23*). The next shot begins a call and response between the women at the rehearsal space and the women at the performance space (*Illustration 3.24*). This juxtaposition of and association between the two spaces of the rehearsal and performance continues and reaches a high point when the lead woman mineworker says in the shack, “Down with corruption down!” and is juxtaposed with all the men in the Commemoration crowd shoving their fists in the air shouting, “Down!” in response (*Illustration 3.25 and 3.26*). This is then followed by archive footage of a mineworker with his fist in the air (*Illustration 3.27*).

The sequence ends when the lead woman mineworker in the shack says, “Men, let’s go, they are locking us in, let’s leave”. This is directly followed by the repetition of the archive footage of a mineworker crawling on his hands and knees away from a barrel of a

gun seen from the point of view of the shooter (*Illustration 3.28*). The loud helicopter drone sound builds up to a climax. Suddenly a woman dressed as a mineworker on stage falls to the ground (*Illustration 3.29*). The women dressed as policemen push, shove and ‘shoot’ the women dressed as mineworkers so that they fall down one by one (*Illustration 3.30*). The reenactment shows an acting out of aggression on the part of the women dressed as policemen as they stab the ‘mineworkers’ with their plastic bottle ‘guns’, which is juxtaposed with archive footage of real police guns (*Illustration 3.31 and 3.32*). This reenactment of the massacre sequence is played out to non-diegetic music of women singing. The crowd at the Commemoration Rally react in a cathartic manner. Some weep, like a man in a green bib with text that reads: “Justice Now for Marikana,” and some hold hands.



Illustration 3.21



Illustration 3.22



Illustration 3.23



Illustration 3.24

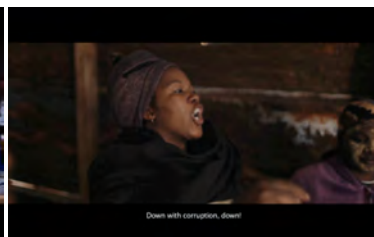


Illustration 3.25



Illustration 3.26



Illustration 3.27



Illustration 3.28



Illustration 3.29



Illustration 3.30



Illustration 3.31



Illustration 3.32

This juxtaposition inserts the women's story into the men's by displaying their political agency. By intercutting the women playing the role of men in the reenactment, the archive of the mineworkers striking in 2012 and the men watching their performance at the commemoration, the gender gap begins to close. The moment of juxtaposition when the call of the lead actress, "Down with corruption down!" is responded to by the crowd of men shouting, "Down!" interrupts some "triumphalist, masculinist, Marxist analysis of the massacre at the time and it [reveals] a gendered space usually ignored in the mainstream media and academy" (Naicker, "Chapter Four: Worker Struggles as Community Struggles"). This juxtaposition shows how the women are asserting themselves and are inserting their voices into the narrative. By performing as both women and men they are able to establish their presence in the community as being as powerful 'as a man's'. It questions some forms of feminism that expresses that those who are involved in political action that centers on their connection to the men, for example within roles of mothers or caregivers, are not feminist (Naicker; Online).

Therefore the combination of the conventions of *cinéma vérité*, reenactment and archive in the montage allow for a more self-reflexive version of the event. This allows, true to cinema of memory, multiple understandings, interpretations and temporalities as opposed to an emphasis on historical facts or so-called truth. The interweaving of reenactment, personal testimony and archive in the montage allows for the documentary's transformation into a cinema of memory that foregrounds the fragmentation and insubstantiality of memory (MacDougal 29). The use of montage editing to combine these various documentary conventions allows for a more self-conscious and self-reflexive way of treating memory, history and representation (Rabinowitz 125). Without self-reflexivity, and by trying to remain impartial and neutral in a world full of clear imbalances is to "misrepresent that world, and the power struggles that go on within it" (Ward 61).

The women's testimonies and story in their reenactment is transmitted onto the crowd at the Commemoration Rally, who proceed to have an emotional and visceral response and reaction to the depiction. The reenactment is at once for the film audience and for the members of the traumatised community of Marikana. Memories cannot become social until they are articulated and become available to be shared. Continuing the trajectory of memory can also be improved by the use of events such as the commemoration of anniversaries. This also aids the long-term work of collecting memories, which can eventually become movements for justice (Waterson 67). If memory, at the moment of sharing, is an event such as that of the Commemoration Rally (two years after the Marikana massacre) the sharing of the memory has a longer, and collective life. The play reenacted at the Commemoration becomes the starting point of the formation of collective memory (Waterson 66).

Not only does the collective memory get formed within the film by the reenactment that the women produce, but also as the film text itself. The discussion of the film, *Mama Marikana* as text and its materiality is important at this point. Barthes states that “[i]n Photography one can never deny that *the thing has been there,*” (76). Even though the critical examination of oral testimony, reenactment and *cinéma vérité* in documentary encounters ambiguities surrounding the ‘truth’ project, there remains the unchanging materiality of the “enduring trace that film records of people and objects in the real world” (Waterson 55). Photographing or, as in the case of *Mama Marikana*, filming something serves to legitimize it as it captures it.

The most poignant part of the reenactment is the close up shot of the mother in the red hat mourning the deaths at the mountain seen below in (*Illustrations 3.32, 3.33 and 3.34*).



Illustration 3.32

Illustration 3.33

Illustration 3.34

The reenactment allows for proximity as the camera is able to get close to the woman and film minute details of facial expressions. The close up shot shows her face in profile as she covers her eyes in disbelief. Her sighing and expression of pain emphasize her

emotion and body language, showing that the enactment brought her back to a sensory and emotional reliving of the moment. This does not imply an untruth about her performance, but rather, it signifies a collapse of time between the event and memory so as to represent a more genuine and poignant act of remembering (Waterson 64).

The moment that the mother in the red hat ‘acts’ her mourning can be argued to be the climax of the personal becoming the political, as it is in her most personal and intimate moment that the self is opened up as a shared experience.

“What is apparently confined to the domestic and private here switches place with the public and the fragmentary nature of the medium is laid bare” (Pucill 91).

Walter Benjamin (1999) in his famous essay “The work of art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction” stated that film is a powerful driving force for social action because it can be viewed repeatedly outside of its original context. It becomes a text of concurrent collective experiences and thus can extend the trajectories of memory experience and transmission on a shared scale. The need to not allow the forgetting of traumatic events of the past has a moral intention, related to the desire to understand the past in order to reshape the future. This engagement is why the past is constantly revisited in order to understand it better. Film, documentary, visual media and cinema of memory will continue to play a vital role in the work of memory and challenge audiences to reflect upon the meanings of the past so as to shatter official silences in a democratic history (Waterson; 2007: 70).

The dialogical relationship of the women’s testimony and reenactment continues with the active viewing by the film’s audience to allow for the transmission of social memories beyond the context of the film. This active viewing is how documentaries, specifically of a political nature such as *Mama Marikana*, seek to intervene in history. Rabinowitz describes “subjects of agency” (131) as the spectator of the political documentary. The subject of agency in a documentary desires to remember and to remake history (Rabinowitz 132). A documentary that is historicised and transformed in a cinema of memory does not only tell the audience about the past, but provides a space for social action through the transmission of memory and by redeeming the past through the present (Rabinowitz; 1993:133). Cinema of memory thus becomes collective memory (Waterson 51).

CHAPTER 4: Conclusion

This study has shown how the juxtaposition of four established conventions of documentary filmmaking in the first and last scene of the documentary *Mama Marikana*, transform it into a cinema of memory that is appropriate for a post-traumatic context. This allows for the transmission of a social, collective memory that can endure over time and offer alternative representations of contested events.

Discussing the nature of traumatic memory from a psychological point of view is beyond the scope of this study. The nature of memory is a broad overly theorised topic, although in this study I have limited it to its role within cinema. A future, more interactive audience-based quantitative study, where audience members outside of the Marikana context are asked to discuss their interpretation of the juxtaposition of such montages and what responses it evokes in them, may be considered. This could be compared to similar responses from people within the traumatised space to determine the role and construction of social collective memory within documentaries that transform into cinema of memory.

Furthermore, a historical understanding of trauma in an African and South African context, where the history of colonisation and apartheid allows for physical, emotional and historical traumatic and disempowered spaces (such as migrant labour in the space of the mines) is also beyond the scope of this thesis. This would allow for more of a discussion on the process Africans (like myself) encounter when making films on subjects such as wars, gender oppression, trauma and poverty. This includes the confrontations between individuals, the filmmakers and the collective structures that control and shape their lives within the historical context of South Africa (such as class, culture, ritual and tradition)

It is necessary to recognise the fragmentary quality of cinema of memory as a movement over time and space. This enables it to form a counter to the dominant historical narrative. This in turn allows for a shift in perspective and the beginning of breaking the “wall of silence” (Waterson 59). Cinema of memory multiply,

Available points of view on the historical record, and [work] against either the kind of heedless forgetting that comes about through indifference, or the active political suppression of memories (Waterson 56).

Film can become a vehicle for memories of traumatic events, and by doing so can also play a cathartic and/or therapeutic role. Remembering is politically necessary in order to

make perpetrators accountable for past atrocities, to prevent trauma from reoccurring and to validate and legitimise untold stories that are silenced by dominant discourses (Waterson 56).

Film and video have become important vehicles for memory, and have in recent history become an inexpensive, accessible and influential medium for witnessing current events and preserving them for future use as historical evidence. (Waterson 52). It is clear from the analysis in this study that a documentary film like *Mama Marikana* can play a vital role in memory construction, and in the representation of an historical moment. It does so through the juxtaposition of established documentary conventions, namely testimony (interview), reenactment, *cinéma vérité* footage and archive footage. This allows the documentary to reject the perceived notion of historical “truth”, by presenting perspectives in various different ways. This acknowledges subjectivity and creates a film with the same “aura of insubstantiality” as a memory (MacDougal 29).

The relationship between the personal and the political has the potential to break official silences of traumatised spaces and resist memory suppression. This allows for not only the past to be represented, but also the capturing of a process of collective memory construction in a society emerging from a traumatic event (Waterson 65). *Mama Marikana* itself, by preserving memories as trace, can become a text that performs its own meanings. The play becomes a trajectory by which individual memories must be transmitted in order to become social. What differentiates the reenactments in *Mama Marikana* from conventional documentary dramatisations is that they are not scripted, directed and performed by professional film crew and actors, but staged by social actors who were involved in the events. The presentation of a play within a film is self-reflexive, as it emphasises the constructedness of both the play and the film. Here what is being presented in this way is memory, and so the film becomes a cinema of memory. Cinema of memory becomes collective memory that is able to endure over time and offer alternative representations of the past. It becomes part of the struggle against forgetting past injustices (Waterson 51). This active viewing asked by films of memory has the potential to contribute to different interpretations of history, by mobilizing subjects and a calling them to action to remake history (Rabinowitz 133). The play is shown to be a form of group therapy. The film captures not only the catharsis the women experience in reenacting their memories, but also the subjective perspectives that collectively form a record of the subaltern experience of the traumatic events of 16 August at Marikana. This

is appropriate to a post-traumatic context as it is a valid way to deal with the trauma the women experienced and to collect subjective, marginalised perspectives in the form of an historical record.

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ADDENDA (See *Mama Marikana* DVD option “Dissertation sequences”)

ADDENDUM A: Opening Sequence Montage (00:00:37 - 00:03:42)

Opening Sequence Key:

I = Interview (Testimonies of three women)

R = Reenactment (Play rehearsal in corrugated iron structure)

O = Cinéma Vérité (Day of the commemoration + women in everyday situations)

A = Archive (Police archive footage of 16th August 2012)

***All Dialogue is translated into English from isiXhosa.**

	Edit Transition	Action/ camera movement	Dialogue*	Mise-en-scene/composition	Colour Grade	Music/ Sound
R	Fade up from black	No action	-“Knock, knock knock.” -“Come-”	A corrugated iron informal structure in a dry grassy landscape, with the writing 1:269 in orange above the open door	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Women singing and hitting sticks.
R	Straight cut over dialogue	Inside the structure, a woman speaks to people off camera and walks across the screen. Another woman kneels on the floor rubbing a brick into the ground.	“-in”	The structure is dark and empty inside save for the women and the few props the women kneeling is using: a brick, cardboard paper and a bag.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Women singing and hitting sticks
R	Straight cut	Three women’s bodies from neck down visible as they shuffle from side to side banging sticks together in a rhythm.	No dialogue	On the other side of the structure now, women wear jerseys and hoodies while banging wooden sticks together.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Women singing and hitting sticks
R	Straight cut	Two women’s faces are now seen looking off right of screen as if watching, whilst shuffling from side to side banging sticks.	<i>Off camera woman’s voice in the space</i> -“Mama, they say there’s a strike in Marikana. They are striking because they want money”	One woman is covered by a scarf and the other is wearing a hoodie and ‘doek’ on her head with her face painted yellow as sun protection.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Women singing and hitting sticks
R	Straight cut	Miners gumboots are seen as a person wearing them is on one knee on the floor, hitting her stick against the parched earth.	No dialogue	The ground of the corrugated shack is cracked and parched. The person is clearly wearing the mining trousers and gumboots. The stick hitting the floor is the same stick as seen before.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Men singing through a megaphone with a call and response effect from a crowd of male voices.

R	Straight cut	5 women shuffle from side to side hitting two sticks against each other in a rhythm. One woman wearing the mining outfit that was seen in the previous shot stands in front of the other women, leading them by hitting her stick against the floor.	No dialogue	The structure is dark but the inside of the corrugated iron is seen behind the women.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Men singing through a megaphone with a call and response effect from a crowd of male voices.
A	Straight cut on the rhythm of the women’s sticks to the rhythm of the men’s sticks. Women’s bodies to men’s bodies.	Camera pans across a massive crowd of men sitting outside clap their hands, bang sticks, ‘knobkerries’, spears or ‘pangas’ against one another or the ground as they sing. One man smiles and dances while holding up signs saying “Tina Fuyo Lo R12500”	No dialogue	The men are outside in a bright dry space. A mountain/ “koppie” is seen to the left of screen.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Men singing through a megaphone with a call and response effect from a crowd of male voices.
R	Straight cut on the rhythm of the men’s sticks to the rhythm of the women clapping hands. Men’s faces to woman’s face.	A close up shot of a woman clapping her hands to the men’s rhythm. She looks straight ahead as if in a trance.	<i>Off camera woman’s voice in the space:</i> - “The strike has started in Marikana	Back inside the dark structure.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Men singing through a megaphone with a call and response effect from a crowd of male voices.
R	Straight cut	Camera pans from right to left showing women shuffling, singing and banging sticks, with an authoritative woman in front of them reprimanding.	<i>Off camera woman’s voice in the space:</i> - “People have died already”	Back inside the dark structure. Wooden panels are now seen holding up the corrugated iron.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Men singing through a megaphone with a call and response effect from a crowd of male voices.
A	Straight cut to men’s faces from women’s	Camera looks straight into the faces in the massive crowd. The men respond to the call by placing their fists in the air. On the third response the camera zooms in on a man wearing a green blanket.	<i>Off camera man’s voice speaking to the crowd through megaphone and they respond:</i> -“Viva worker, viva! -Viva! -Viva worker, viva! -Viva! - Be strong workers be strong! -Be strong! -Be strong workers be strong!-	The men are outside in a bright dry space. A mountain/ ‘koppie’ is seen to the left of screen.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Soft drone

A + T	Mid response Cut	Shot of three men's faces. One looks around nervously, one stares ahead and one adjusts his jacket over his shoulder.	<i>Workers respond</i> "-Be strong!" <i>Woman's voice from interview</i> "They want to work. But they work under tough conditions -	Many men's bodies fill the frame as they sit on the ground. Different coloured blanket and jackets are visible.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Soft drone under the woman's testimony.
A + T	Straight cut mid dialogue	Camera pans over two men sitting in the crowd, and then reveals more men's faces as they look ahead.	-and their work is very dangerous." "Yet they are underpaid." "-The workers -	One man holds up a sign with R12500 written in green paint. The other holds up a cardboard with the writing "Asiyifuni I-NUM E-Lonmin."	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Soft drone under the woman's testimony.
R + T	Straight cut mid dialogue	Close up of a woman's face humming and looking to camera left, swaying from side to side. The camera then pans to the right revealing another woman carrying a child, swaying from side to side and humming and staring off camera left	-have wives" -"The workers have children, -And they also want to build their homes."	Back inside the corrugated iron structure. Only the woman in the foreground is in focus. She wears a black and white spotted 'doek' on her head. The woman carrying the child is wearing a bright orange T-Shirt. The child is wearing a cat print jersey	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Women's voices humming under a woman's voice lamenting. Helicopter drone sound.
A	Straight cut	Long shot pan over men sitting in the crowd, revealing hundreds of people staring ahead.	No dialogue	Hundreds of men occupy the bright dry space. Some of the men in the distance are slightly raised, as if on a small hill.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Women's voices humming under a woman's voice lamenting. Helicopter drone sound.
A	Straight cut	Close up shot of six men in the crowd looking straight ahead. Camera zooms out to show the whole crowd.	No dialogue	The men sit compacted in the crowd, wearing different coloured jackets. When the camera zooms out to show the crowd, in the far distance, the dry arid land is visible with a few trees, as well as an electricity pylon and a building structure.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Women's voices humming under a woman's voice lamenting. Helicopter drone sound.
R	Straight cut	Close up of the face of woman previously identified as being dressed like a miner. She stares off screen right, as she sways from side to side and hums.	No dialogue	The woman's face goes in and out of focus in the dark structure as she sways. She wears a beanie on her head and a blanket over her shoulders.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Women's voices humming under a woman's voice lamenting. Helicopter drone sound gets louder and more menacing.

R	Straight cut	Close up of a woman's fist as she holds it at her side swaying from side to side	No dialogue	The woman's fist is in focus while her cream jacket is out of focus. Flaked red nail polish is seen on her thumb.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Women's voices humming under a woman's voice lamenting. Helicopter drone sound.
R	Straight cut	Close up of the face of woman previously identified as being dressed like a miner. She stares off screen right, as she sways from side to side and hums.	No dialogue	The woman's face goes in and out of focus in the dark structure as she sways. She wears a beanie on her head and a blanket over her shoulders.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Women's voices humming under a woman's voice lamenting. Helicopter drone sound gets louder and more menacing.
A	Straight cut	Long shot of police "hippo"/van and two policemen standing next to it.	No dialogue	The police "hippo"/van is situated in front of what looks like a 'koppie'/mountain on the right. Behind them on the left many electricity pylons are visible. The two policeman are wearing bullet proof vests.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Women's voices humming under a woman's voice lamenting. Helicopter drone sound gets louder and more menacing now starting to drown out the women's voices.
A	Straight cut	Close up of man's face in the crowd as he stares ahead.	No dialogue	Man is clearly sitting in the crowd of people outside, wearing a distinct green and black jacket. The grass is arid around him. Shoes of the miners are seen behind him in the crowd.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Helicopter drone has completely drowned out the women's voices and is extremely loud and menacing.
A	Straight cut	Shot of the sun at a tilt. The camera moves up and down with a jerk, displaying the ground and sky.	No dialogue	The sun is extremely bright on the lens. The silhouettes of policeman are seen in the background	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Loud, menacing helicopter drone.
A	Straight cut	The policemen stand in a kind of circle, with their hands behind their backs looking down and praying. Camera pans above their heads	No dialogue	The police are wearing bullet proof vests. Some guns are visible in their holsters. In the foreground is the back of the policemen are seen and in the background is the front.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Loud, menacing helicopter drone.

A	Straight cut	Lots of jerky handheld camera movement as policemen are seen scattered and running through the arid landscape. They are holding their automatic rifles out	No dialogue	Dry landscape, dry shrubs and trees are seen as the policemen run through.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Loud, menacing helicopter drone, feels like it is getting louder.
A	Straight cut	Close up of the backs of three policeman as they run through the space. Lots of jerky handheld camera movement.	No dialogue	Dry landscape, dry shrubs and trees are seen as the policemen run through.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Loud, menacing helicopter drone, feels like it is getting louder.
A	Straight cut	POV Shadow of a policeman carrying a gun is seen on a rock. Lots of jerky handheld camera movement, with the camera on it's side.	No dialogue.	Dry landscape, dry shrubs and trees are seen as the policemen run through.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Loud, menacing helicopter drone, feels like it is getting louder.
A	Straight cut	Backs of policemen as they walk through the space holding automatic rifles.	No dialogue	Dry landscape, dry shrubs and trees are seen, as well as police vans in the distance.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Loud, menacing helicopter drone, feels like it is getting louder.
A	Straight cut	Policemen are lying flat on the floor with their guns pointing straight out ahead as a helicopter flies above their heads. Shaky camera movement	<i>From a policeman's walkie-talkie:</i> "You have to stay forward!"	They are lying flat in dry grass. The helicopter flies past through a clear blue sky.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Loud, menacing helicopter drone, feels like it is getting louder.
A	Straight cut	POV close up of policeman's gun as he lies in the grass. Shaky camera movement	<i>From a policeman's walkie-talkie:</i> "Stay forward!"	The gun sits in the top right hand of frame, held by a policeman's hands wearing gloves. The camera is placed right in the grass.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Loud, menacing helicopter drone, feels like it is getting louder.
A	Straight cut	POV shot of barrel of gun pointing towards two policemen standing over a miner crawling on his hands and knees away from them.	<i>From a policeman's walkie-talkie:</i> -"They going forward!"	Gun fills most of the screen and appears directly pointed at the miner on hands and knees crawling away from cops in dry grass.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Loud, menacing helicopter drone, feels like it is getting louder.
A	Straight cut and cut to black just after gun shots.	Shot of gun from above sitting on a rock, camera then moves up to show a miner on his stomach on the floor, with his hands tied behind his back. Shaky camera movement.	<i>From a policeman's walkie-talkie:</i> -"Stay forward! I'm going to run!"	Dry grassy landscape. The shadow of the miner on the ground and another shadow is seen before the miner is revealed.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Loud, menacing helicopter drone is at its peak before the sound of five gun shots.

T		Black screen	<i>Woman's testimony:</i> "I heard a lot of noise coming from up there. I heard gun shots. And then I said to myself, "Let me go up and see what's happening."	Black screen	Black screen	Low drone returns.
O + T	Slow fade up from black.	Woman walks away from camera in slow motion	<i>Woman's testimony:</i> "They were running"	Woman is wearing a pink/ red floral blanket and walks away from camera centre frame in the dry landscape. Ahead of her some informal settlements are visible as well as electricity pylons.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Low drone.
A + T	Slow cross fade and slow fade to black.	Shaky camera pans from right to left towards the setting sun on the horizon.	<i>Woman's testimony:</i> "I continued going up because I couldn't see him coming back. I went up but didn't reach the top. I stood somewhere to have a clear view. Until it started to dusk.	Dry empty landscape, electricity pylons and wires and mountains in the distance.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Low drone
T	Black screen	Black screen	<i>Woman's testimony:</i> "I waited at home for him on the 16 th , I tried sleeping but I couldn't. Because I was waiting for him to come back."	Black screen	Black screen	Low drone.
A	Slow fade up from black.	Long shot camera pans across bodies strewn on the dry ground.	No dialogue.	Wheels of cars are seen in the distance. Green blanket of a man seen previously is around the neck of one of the dead bodies. Ground is dry and empty save for the four bodies lying as they fell.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Soft hum of a helicopter in the distance. Walkie Talkie crackle.
O	Straight cut	Close up red pants being lifted up and placed back down from soapy washing water.	No dialogue	Close up of woman's hands, soap suds and fabric. Other fabric lies in the water still.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Soft hum of a helicopter in the distance. Walkie Talkie crackle.
A	Straight cut	Camera pans from a red/pink blanket left crumpled on the ground, to a pool of red blood.	No dialogue	Dry grassy landscape of mountain/ 'koppie' scene.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Soft hum of a helicopter in the distance. Walkie Talkie crackle.
A	Straight cut	Camera slightly zooms into a white jacket and a black jacket lying next to one another on top of a thorn bush.	No dialogue	Dry grassy landscape of mountain/ 'koppi'" scene. Centre frame	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Soft hum of a helicopter in the distance. Walkie Talkie crackle.

O	Straight cut	Close up woman's hands push red pants under the water and lift them up again	No dialogue	Close up of woman's hands, soap suds and fabric. Other fabric lies in the water still.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Soft hum of a helicopter in the distance. Walkie Talkie crackle.
O	Straight cut	Close up woman's eyes as she looks down at the laundry before her and lifts it up in front of her face	No dialogue	Close up of woman's face. She moves slightly out of focus as she leans backwards to bring up the fabric. She is wearing a pink coloured 'doek' on her head	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Soft hum of a helicopter in the distance. Walkie Talkie crackle.
O	Straight cut	Close up woman's hands and soap suds as she scrubs a white floral fabric.	No dialogue	Close up of woman's hands, soap suds and fabric.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Soft hum of a helicopter in the distance. Walkie Talkie crackle.
A	Straight cut	Close up camera pans down from white fabric stained with blood, to blood stained grass.	No dialogue	White stained fabric is sitting on top of logs, and the blood stained grass is just below it.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Soft hum of a helicopter in the distance. Walkie Talkie crackle.
O	Straight cut	Close up woman's hands wash red pants	No dialogue	Close up of woman's hands, soap suds and fabric. Other fabric lies in the water still.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Soft hum of a helicopter in the distance. Walkie Talkie crackle.
A	Straight cut	Close up camera pans from a blanket covering a dead miner, to his hand.	No dialogue	The blanket is pink and white. The hand is gloved, and it is clear that the man has used string as a belt.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Soft hum of a helicopter in the distance. Walkie Talkie crackle.
A	Straight cut	Close up of two legs lying next to one another.	No dialogue	The heel of the one foot in a brown shoe is touching the side of a black takkie. The leg with the brown shoe is wearing green trousers and blue socks, and the leg with the black takkie is exposed with grey and white socks. Under their legs there appears to be blood on the dry soil	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Soft hum of a helicopter in the distance. Walkie Talkie crackle.
O	Straight cut	Close up woman's hands and soap suds as she scrubs a white floral fabric.	No dialogue	Close up of woman's hands, soap suds and fabric.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Soft hum of a helicopter in the distance. Walkie Talkie crackle.
O	Straight cut	Close up woman's eyes as she looks down at the laundry. She then lifts her eyes to look off screen. She purses her lips.	No dialogue	Close up of woman's face. When she lifts her eyes, only her cheek remains in frame and focus, and her earring and pink 'doek' remain out of focus. She then leans back, allowing her lips to be in frame, and purses them together.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Soft hum of a helicopter in the distance. Walkie Talkie crackle.

0	Straight cut	Close up woman's hands resting on red pants she was washing. She puts one hand over the other and lifts them slightly holding the red fabric.	No dialogue	Close up of woman's hands, soap suds and fabric. Other fabric lies in the water still.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Soft hum of a helicopter in the distance. Walkie Talkie crackle.
0	Straight cut And then cut to black.	Close up woman's eyes as she looks into the distance. She blinks and stares into space, as if looking for something, and looks back down before the cut.	No dialogue	Woman looks off screen right of the camera. He pink 'doek' is now more visible.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Soft hum of a helicopter in the distance. Walkie Talkie crackle.

ADDENDUM B: Closing Sequence Montage (00:53:37 - 00:58:12)

Closing Sequence Key:

I = Interview (Testimonies of three women)

R = Reenactment (Play rehearsal in corrugated iron structure)

O = Cinéma Vérité (Day of the commemoration)

A = Archive (Police archive footage of 16th August 2012)

	Edit Transition	Action/ camera movement	Dialogue*	Mise-en-scene/composition	Colour Grade	Music/Sound
T + O	Straight cut	Women move into a corrugated iron structure.	"We are showing the world what was happening on the mountain during that time."	Corrugated iron structure is centre frame in the middle of a field full of dry grass and sand. Behind it sits more shacks.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment	Diegetic sound of space and women
O	Straight cut	Long shot of 'koppie', centre of the frame	No dialogue	'Koppie' right of frame and pylons on the left. Ground looks dry.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment	Diegetic soundscape of space
O	Straight cut	Two crosses on mountain, one still erect and one broken behind it.	No dialogue	Broken cross is in background left of frame and in focus. Erect cross bottom right foreground out of focus	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment	Diegetic soundscape of space
O	Straight cut	Man on his knees at base of 'koppie' praying	No dialogue	Long shot of man looking small left of frame. 'Koppie' makes an oblique line across the frame. In the background the electricity pylons tower over him.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment	Soft voices of men chanting and singing.
O	Straight cut	Small group of miners marching/protesting in a small group in the open space in front of the Lonmin platinum mine. Two other miners approach them and walk past.	No dialogue	The miners are in an extreme long shot, making them appear small in front of Lonmin. Their huddled protest is moving from left to right of frame	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment	Men singing call and response protest song.
O	Straight cut	Men walk towards camera from the informal settlement. Many men have already gathered.	No dialogue	Long shot of men joining an already forming crowd on a dry field from the informal settlement in the background, top of frame .	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment	Men singing call and response protest song.

O	Straight cut	Massive empty stage set up in empty field.	No dialogue	Long shot of stage on left of frame and a few people scattered in front of it and a pylon on the right of frame.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Men’s singing from ‘koppie’ becomes louder.
O	Straight cut	The small group of men marching move slowly up the ‘koppie’ singing.	No Dialogue	A long shot makes them look small on the expanse of rock.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Men’s voices singing
O	Straight Cut	Man wearing red material around his shoulders runs past camera and up the ‘koppie’, holding a green, white and black decorated stick.	No dialogue	Extreme close up and out of focus of man running past camera.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Men’s voices singing
O	Straight Cut	Small group of protesters have made their way to the top of the ‘koppie’, singing and stomping, waving sticks, knobkerrie and a green blanket around. Camera pans to just below the top of the ‘koppie’ where the rest of the small group of protesters are also singing and stomping.	No dialogue	Long shot of the protesters at the top and just under the top of the ‘koppie’. Middle of frame Colours they are wearing in contrast to the dry stone of the ‘koppie’.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Men’s voices singing
O	Straight cut	The men march on one spot, singing passionately and waving their sticks and knobkerrie. -Shot suddenly becomes slow motion	No dialogue	Side angle medium shot of group of protesters on the mountain. One T-shirt says “AMCU”. They facing left of screen, whilst they fill the right of frame. In the background is an out of focus pylon.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Men’s voices singing.
O	Straight Cut	Shot of corrugated iron structure	<i>Off camera woman’s voice in the space:</i> “Knock, knock, knock, knock -Come –“	Long shot of entrance of corrugated shack. Open doorway is in centre of frame. In orange/ pink writing above the frame states “1:269”	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Men’s voices signing low
R	Straight cut over dialogue	Inside the structure, a woman speaks to people off camera and walks across the screen. Another woman kneels on the floor rubbing a brick into the ground.	<i>Woman in space talking to other women:</i> “- In.”	The structure is dark and empty inside save for the women and the few props the women kneeling is using: a brick, cardboard paper and a bag.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Women singing and hitting sticks
R	Straight cut	Three women’s bodies from neck down visible as they shuffle from side to side banging sticks together in a rhythm.	No dialogue	On the other side of the structure now, women wear jerseys and hoodies while banging wooden sticks together.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Women singing and hitting sticks

R	Straight cut	Two women's faces are now seen looking off right of screen as if watching, whilst shuffling from side to side banging sticks.	<i>Off camera woman's voice in the space</i> -"Mama, they say there's a strike in Marikana. They are striking because they want money"	One woman is covered by a scarf and the other is wearing a hoodie and 'doek' on her head with her face painted yellow as sun protection.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Women singing and hitting sticks
R	Straight Cut	Woman's hands are banging two sticks together. Two other women are standing on either side of her.	<i>Off camera woman's voice in the space</i> -"I need you to -	Close up shot of woman banging two sticks together centre frame.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Women singing and hitting sticks
R	Straight cut over dialogue	Woman with a red hat speaks to women acting as her neighbours in the play.	"- look after my house. I need you to look after this child. -I'm leaving tomorrow morning"	Camera pans from a medium of the neighbours to a medium of the lady in red cap.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Women singing and hitting sticks
R	Straight Cut	Woman's hands are banging two sticks together. Two other women are standing on either side of her.	<i>Off camera woman's voice in the space</i> -"I need you to -	Close up shot of woman banging two sticks together centre frame.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Women singing and hitting sticks
R	Straight cut	The woman with the red hat and bag on her head walks towards the women playing the roles of striking miners in the structure.	<i>Off camera woman's voice in the space:</i> -"Where are you going Mambathane? - To Johannesburg, to the mountain"	Close up of the back of the woman's head and bag as she starts her journey.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Women singing and hitting sticks
R	Straight Cut	Woman with the red cap and bag on her head adjusts the bag and starts walking through the space of the structure.	<i>Off camera woman's voice in the space:</i> -" Oh Mambathane!"	The women in the red hat "travels" towards the camera making the shot tighter. In the background more women are seen watching the scene.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Women singing and hitting sticks
R	Straight cut	Women's hands hit sticks together rhythmically	<i>Off camera woman's voice in the space:</i> -"Why are their police?"	Pull focus close up of women's hands in foreground in the structure hitting sticks.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Women singing and hitting sticks
R	Straight cut	Woman with red hat and the bag on her head looks right of frame as she speaks.	<i>Woman with red hat on screen:</i> -"Oh God!"	She is on the right side of frame, in profile looking off to the right.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Women singing and hitting sticks
R	Straight cut	Woman holds the bag on her head as she looks worryingly out of frame.	No dialogue	Close up of her face as she looks right of frame	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Men's voices singing and hitting sticks
O	Straight cut	Man with a green, black and white striped stick sings in the group of miners.	No dialogue	Close up, head and shoulder shot of the mineworker in the group. The others in the group are out of focus in the background.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Men's voices singing and hitting sticks
O	Straight cut	More men arrive in the dry grass space below the 'koppie'.	No dialogue	In a long shot the men walk from left to right of frame..	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Men's voices singing and hitting sticks

O	Straight cut	Man's face in the crowd	No dialogue	Out of focus to in focus of an extreme close up of the man. He is wearing something green around his shoulders.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Men's voices singing and hitting sticks
O	Straight Cut	Men's feet marching to the rhythm, camera follows them	No dialogue	Close up of men's shoes.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Men's voices singing and hitting sticks
O	Straight Cut	Women and men in the crowd stare interested in front of them. In the background the group of men on the 'koppie' has grown considerably in size and are moving in group down the 'koppie'. One man records what he is seeing on his phone.	No dialogue	The crowd is clearly standing in the foreground of the 'koppie' in the background. The 'koppie' is out of focus.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Men's voices singing and hitting sticks
O	Straight cut	Shaky camera movement showing the stage again, now with a large crowd watching.	No dialogue	Stage is right of frame, crowd is standing left of frame. The sky is overcast and a large telephone wire towers over the people	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Men's voices singing and hitting sticks
O	Straight Cut	Crowd gathered watching the stage	No dialogue	Stage is situated at the background centre of the frame and the massive crowd stands in front, backs to camera.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Men's voices singing and hitting sticks
R	Straight Cut	Slow motion of women on stage dressed as miners and holding signs saying "Justice now for Marikana" and Ramaphosa has blood on his hands, Don't let the politicians get away with murder."	No dialogue	Close up of the first sign that the woman dressed as a miner is wearing, turning into a long shot of the women dressed as miners further down the line. They are dressed in yellow, white and blue uniforms. The floor of the stage is black.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Men's singing loudly from 'koppie'.
O	Straight cut	A man in the crowd watches the stage with a concerned expression. He looks to the left just before the cut	No dialogue	Medium shot of the man's face is in focus while the 'koppie' behind him and the men in front are out of focus.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Men's singing loudly from 'koppie'.
R	Straight cut	Woman's profile looking right of frame clapping her hands with the rhythm.	<i>Woman acting as policeman:</i> "Wait! -	In the corrugated iron structure, close up of woman's face in foreground in focus, in background is the woman dressed as a mineworker	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Women singing and protesting

R	Straight cut	Woman is acting as policeman and pointing a stick as a gun towards other women protesting as miners.	<i>Woman acting as policeman:</i> "Wait! Men!"	Over the shoulder shot of the stick in focus pulling focus to a medium shot of the women acting as miner's shuffling from side to side singing.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Women singing and protesting.
R	Straight Cut	The woman acting as the policeman waves her hands as she addresses the women acting as miners.	<i>Woman acting as policeman:</i> "Wait!"	Medium shot of woman playing policeman's back. Only she is in focus in foreground, miners who are protesting are out of focus in background.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Women singing and protesting.
R	Straight Cut	The woman acting as the policeman waves her hand for the miners to sit. They continue singing and protesting but begin crouching down.	<i>Woman acting as policeman:</i> "Sit down and take orders! Men! This place you are occupying is not right!"	The woman playing the policeman is on the right of frame and the women playing miners and the corrugated structure wall are on the left crouching down and out of focus.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Women singing and protesting. Low drone introduced
A	Straight cut	The men sit on the mountain whilst a police hippo/van waits at the bottom. Shaky camera movement.	No dialogue	Long shot shows a large group of men sitting on the 'koppie' on the right side of frame, with the top of the police van in the foreground left of frame.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Low drone
O	Straight cut	Crowd on the 'koppie' and in front of the stage watching.	<i>Woman acting as lead mineworker:</i> "Power!"	Long shot of the 'koppie' in the background out of focus and top of frame, with close ups of men's faces in focus and front of frame watching.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Low drone.
R	Straight cut	Woman dressed as mineworker puts her fist in the air and addresses the other women acting as mineworkers, who respond, in the corrugated structure	<i>Women acting as mineworkers:</i> "It's ours!"	Medium shot of the women in the corrugated structure.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Low drone.
R	Straight cut	The woman dressed as mineworker addresses the crowd gathered at the commemoration as well as the other women on stage.	<i>Women acting as mineworkers:</i> -"Power! -It's ours!"	Long shot of the women dressed as mineworkers on stage, where the lead woman dressed as a mine worker addresses the crowd.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Low drone.
R	Straight cut	The woman playing the policeman moves around uneasily while listening to the speech.	<i>Women acting as mineworkers:</i> -Be strong! -Be strong!"	In the corrugated structure a close up the women playing the policeman's face as she looks backwards away from the women playing mineworkers.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Low drone.

R	Straight cut	The woman dressed as mineworker addresses the crowd gathered at the commemoration as well as the other women on stage.	<i>Women acting as mineworkers:</i> -“Be strong worker be strong!	Long shot of the women dressed as mineworkers on stage, where the lead woman dressed as a mine worker addresses the crowd.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Low drone.
R	Straight cut	Woman dressed as mineworker puts her fist in the air and addresses the other women acting as mineworkers, who respond, in the corrugated structure. Camera moves forward to a close up of just the lead woman’s face.	<i>Women acting as mineworkers:</i> -Be strong! -Forward to R12500!	Medium shot of the women in the corrugated structure.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Low drone.
A	Straight cut mid dialogue	Camera pans over two men sitting in the crowd, and then reveals more men’s faces as they look ahead.	<i>Women acting as mineworkers:</i> -Forward!” -“Down-	One man holds up a sign with R12500 written in green paint. The other holds up a cardboard with the writing “Asiyifuni I- NUM E-Lonmin.”	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Low drone
R	Straight cut	Woman dressed as mineworker addresses the other women acting as mineworkers, who respond, in the corrugated structure.	<i>Women acting as mineworkers:</i> - “With corruption, down! - “Down-	Medium shot of the lead woman in the corrugated structure.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Low drone.
R	Straight cut	The woman dressed as mineworker addresses the crowd gathered at the commemoration as well as the other women on stage. Women dressed in police uniform pace in front of them	<i>Women acting as mineworkers:</i> - “With corruption-”	Long shot of the women dressed as mineworkers on stage, where the lead woman dressed as a mine worker addresses the crowd.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Low drone.
O	Straight cut	The audience watching the stage, holding up a red flag above the heads. Some fists fly into the air	<i>Women acting as mineworkers:</i> - “- down!”	Only the top of the heads of the crowd in view. Profiles looking to the right of frame. Most of the frame consists of the sky, cut by power cables and a solitary red flag.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Low drone.
O	Straight Cut	The audience punch their fists into the air in response.	<i>Audience answering:</i> “Down!”	Long shot of the crowd with the ‘koppie’ and pylons in the background.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Low drone.
A	Straight Cut	A man in the crowd sits above the rest on his knees and keeps his fist in the air, and then brings it down staring ahead of him	<i>End of audience answering:</i> “Down!”	Medium shot of man on his knees.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Low drone.

R	Straight cut	Woman acting as policeman holds a flattened plastic bottle as a prop gun	<i>Woman acting as policeman:</i> "Men, let's go, they locking us in."	Close up of the hands and plastic bottle	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Low drone.
R	Straight Cut	Women acting as mineworkers are hunched on the floor of the corrugated structure. Camera pans up to the woman acting like the policeman towering over them shouting.	<i>Woman acting as policeman:</i> "Lets leave them here."	Women dressed as mineworkers are on left of frame and woman dressed as policeman on the right of frame.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Low drone.
A	Straight cut	POV shot of barrel of gun pointing towards two policemen standing over a miner crawling on his hands and knees away from them.	<i>End of previous statement:</i> "Lets leave them here."	Gun fills most of the screen and appears directly pointed at the miner on hands and knees crawling away from cops in dry grass.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Low drone
A	Straight cut	Policemen are lying flat on the floor with their guns pointing straight out ahead as a helicopter flies above their heads. Shaky camera movement.	No dialogue	They are lying flat in dry grass. The helicopter flies past through a clear blue sky.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Loud, menacing helicopter drone getting louder.
A	Straight cut	POV close up of policeman's gun as he lies in the grass. Shaky camera movement	No dialogue	The gun sits in the top right hand of frame, held by a policeman's hands wearing gloves. The camera is placed right in the grass.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Loud, menacing helicopter drone, feels like it is getting louder.
R	Straight cut	A woman dressed as a miner drops to the floor after being "shot" by a woman wearing police uniform. Another woman dressed as a miner runs to the other side of the stage.	No dialogue	On stage, a long shot of the woman dressed as a miner falling in front of women wearing blankets watching the action.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Non diegetic music
R	Straight cut	Women acting as policemen move forward to kick women acting as mineworkers	No dialogue	Long shot of the action in the corrugated structure, moving in and out of focus	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Non diegetic music
R	Straight cut	Shaky camera movement as women acting as policeman pretend to shoot with their plastic bottles as gun props. Other woman continues to kick.	No dialogue	In the corrugated structure, close up of plastic bottle before moving to an out of focus shaky movement.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Non diegetic music

A	Straight cut	POV shot of barrel of gun pointing towards two policemen standing over a miner crawling on his hands and knees away from them.	No dialogue	Gun fills most of the screen and appears directly pointed at the miner on hands and knees crawling away from cops in dry grass.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Loud, menacing helicopter drone, feels like it is getting louder.
R	Straight cut	Shaky camera movement as women acting as policeman pretend to shoot with their plastic bottles as gun props.	No dialogue	Chaotic out of focus close ups of plastic bottle and people.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Non diegetic music
R	Straight cut	Woman dressed as a miner runs to the other side of the stage.	No dialogue	Long shot on stage of action. Floor is littered with women playing mineworkers that have 'died'	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Non diegetic music
R	Straight cut	Woman acting as mineworker touches a fallen comrade before running away. Shaky camera movement, chaotic.	No dialogue	Long shot of women in the corrugated structure. Going in and out of focus,	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Non diegetic music
R	Straight cut	Woman acting as policeman with plastic bottle prop gun looking down at the bodies on the floor of the structure. At the back a woman playing a policeman pushes another woman against the wall of the structure.	No dialogue	Long shot, low angle of woman acting like policeman in corrugated structure.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Non diegetic music
R	Straight cut	On stage, a woman dressed as mineworkers fall to the floor in slow motion	No dialogue	Long shot of action from low angle on stage at the commemoration.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Non diegetic music
R	Straight cut	Women acting as policeman pokes fallen woman mineworker with a plastic gun on the floor. A mining helmet rolls away. Shaky camera movement	No dialogue	Medium shot of woman on the floor wearing a white uniform and yellow reflective jacket. Woman acting as a policeman is wearing a light blue shirt with the words "police" on the back.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Non diegetic music
R	Straight cut	On stage, a woman dressed as policeman kicks and shoves the woman dressed as mineworker who fell, in slow motion	No dialogue	Long shot of action from low angle on stage at the commemoration.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Non diegetic music
R	Straight cut	Woman acting as policeman kicks women acting as mineworkers who are hiding in the corner of the corrugated iron structure. Shaky camera movement	No dialogue	Medium shot out of focus turning into focus.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Non diegetic music

R	Straight cut	Shaky camera movement of cracked floor of structure	No dialogue	The floor consists of dry, cracked earth. The shot is out of focus and shaky.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Non diegetic music
A	Straight cut	Shaky camera movement of dry grass and two shadows before resting on the legs of a killed mineworker.	No dialogue	The dry grass from above. The legs of the fallen mineworker is revealed, wearing red sneakers and blue jeans.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Non diegetic music
R	Straight cut	Woman playing policeman shoves a plastic bottle into the side of a woman playing miner ‘dead’ on the ground	Medium	Medium shot of the ‘dead’ mineworker in purple jacket and moving in focus. Only hands of policeman seen. In background more bodies of women dressed as mineworkers who were killed.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Non diegetic music
R	Straight cut	Woman playing policeman pulls at the blanket wrapped around lead ‘dead’ woman playing miner on the ground	No dialogue	Low angle, medium shot of woman playing mineworker. Only hands of policeman seen. In background woman dressed as mineworker with purple jacket is seen lying on cracked ground.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Non diegetic music
A	Straight cut	Camera pans from a red/pink blanket left crumpled on the ground, to a pool of red blood.	No dialogue	Dry grassy landscape of mountain/ ‘koppie’ scene.	More saturated and interlaced grade representing the past.	Non diegetic music
R	Straight cut	Woman playing mineworker pretends to be ‘dead’ leaning against the side of the structure. She is holding her stick, and her eyes flutter as she struggles to keep them closed	No dialogue	Woman wearing yellow walks past before revealing a medium of women playing ‘dead’ mineworker leaning against a wooden pole keeping the iron up. She wears a scarf around her head.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Non diegetic music
R	Straight cut	Lead woman playing policeman looks at the bodies at her feet still pointing her stick as a gun.	No dialogue	Medium shot of her right of frame looking down towards left of frame.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Non diegetic music
R	Straight cut	Lead woman playing policeman looks at the bodies at her feet still pointing her stick as a gun.	No dialogue	Medium shot of her middle of frame looking down towards left of frame. In and out of focus. In the background, woman dressed as mineworkers cling to each other on the floor.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Non diegetic music

R	Straight cut	Lead woman playing policeman looks at the bodies at her feet pointing her gun prop on stage. Other women playing policeman do the same around her.	No dialogue	Long shot of women playing policeman and mineworkers. Mineworkers are dressed in uniform as well as the policeman, who also carry prop guns.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Non diegetic music
R	Straight cut	‘Dead’ woman playing mineworker on her side on the ground.	No dialogue	Woman playing mineworker with purple jacket, ‘doek’ and painted yellow face lies with her eyes closed in medium shot. Behind her is another body out of focus.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Non diegetic music
R	Straight cut	Woman playing ‘dead’ mineworker on stage lies face down, while women playing policemen walk around the bodies	No dialogue	Low angle shot, pull focus from stage ground to the mineworker wearing bright yellow uniform. Only waist down of policeman are seen	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Non diegetic music
O	Straight cut	Three men in audience watch the stage. Man in middle weeps watching the stage and clutches his green “Justice now for Marikana” bib.	No dialogue	Close up of men’s faces in crowd.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Non diegetic music
O	Straight cut	Massive crowd of people standing on the ‘koppie’ as well as the crowd in front of it watch the stage. One man records a video on his phone.	No dialogue	Crowd looks straight at camera. ‘Koppie’ in background in focus. Men in foreground videoing is out of focus.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Non diegetic music
O	Straight Cut	Two men in crowd hold hands.	No dialogue	Close up of hands in centre of frame. Out to in focus	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Non diegetic music
O	Straight cut	Slow motion shot of man holding up a fist at his side, whilst holding a sign saying “Justice now for Marikana”. He is looking down. Woman next to him watches the stage with a baby on her back. A man behind him drops his head.	No dialogue	Medium shot of crowd looking towards right of frame to the stage	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Non diegetic music
R	Straight cut	Woman with the red hat is on her knees holding her face in disbelief. Other women pat her back.	No dialogue	Medium profile shot of women. Only the other women’s hands are visible on her back.	Pastel colour grade representing the “present” moment.	Non diegetic music

R	Straight cut	Woman in the red hat is on her hands and knees in the middle of a circle of women praying above her with their hands extended. The woman leading the prayer has her hand on the woman's head.	No dialogue	Medium shot of the women who are standing and praying. Woman with the red hat who is kneeling, has only her head in frame.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Non diegetic music
R	Straight cut	Woman in red hat cries and sighs. Another woman pats her on the back. She then falls backwards into the other women, clutching their arms as they lift her.	No dialogue	Close up shot of woman's face as she cries and sighs. As she falls backwards into their arms and gets lifted she moves out of focus and then back in.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Non diegetic music
R	Straight cut	Woman holding a child watches what is happening around her, she starts singing. She looks at the child who is looking around confused and with tears in her eyes.	No dialogue	Medium shot of woman and child.	Pastel colour grade representing the "present" moment.	Non diegetic music