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Introduction

This essay is about the demands that the city has historically made on the Indian film form. But before arriving at cinema, I would like to dwell for a while on the novels of Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941), the preeminent Indian poet, artist, and thinker. It is difficult to talk about him, since so much has already been written, but here is a thought about his novels that I think helps us see the relationship between city, space, and narration in its generality in the Indian context. As we read the novels chronologically, a pattern of sorts becomes visible. As the realist discourse of the novel evolves through them (it was the early moment of the Indian novel), space gradually frees itself from the function of stage to become place, something that is especially pertinent to the development of spatial codes in Indian film.

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To start with, we have characters and speech. Almost all of Tagore's novelistic work is conversation oriented. Characters occupy spaces, which shift from the unnameable room to the architectural volume of a house to the street that urgently calls for a name. In the 1938 preface to *Chokher bali* (*Eyesore*, 1902), his first important novel, Tagore wrote that he wanted to "look beyond the veil," which meant psychology, interestingly, and not the setting. The storyteller's gaze penetrates an inner world of jealousy, desire, and obsessions, rather than the city that provides a backdrop to their specific expression. The chapter in which the protagonist Binodini goes back to her village illustrates through an effective contrast the impossibility of the countryside's producing a similar expressive horizon. This implicit function of location remains unconscious in the text. The mention of generic names such as *paschim* (west; the Bihar region) and *Kasi* (Banaras; generic in the sense of being a place of pilgrimage and renunciation) reinforces that impression. When two actual locations (Barasat and Pataldanga) are mentioned, they seem to stick out.

In *Gora* (1910), the next major novel, Calcutta as a setting becomes operative; streets and neighborhoods are named, and even a residential number appears for the female protagonist Sucharita's house. The inner quarters where most of the scenes take place are spatially elaborated—terrace, balcony, courtyard, living rooms, and so forth. "Near/far" indices are frequently used to suggest that the three main locations are all to be found between Amherst Street and Shyambazar in Calcutta. More importantly, walks take place between these points, although walking itself as an aid to unfolding vision, an important aspect of the city-text, is not to be found (Tagore 1910).

In *Ghare baire* (*Home and the World*, 1916), one finds an eclipse of this logic. Real place names almost disappear. The logic of interactions is strongly theatrical in the sense that space does not play a role in them; it is a holder of action. The experiment with multiple first-person narrations devotes itself to character and incidents, not to location. That the story happens in the country should explain this at one level (Tagore 1916). Madhava Prasad has argued in a perceptive essay on the city in Indian cinema that it is impossible to name the village in fiction. Individuals enter into abstract contractual relations in the city in which one face can be substituted by another, whereas "a village, where every individual's position in the social

network is clearly marked, has no dummy places, no empty seats where fictional characters can be placed. . . . This constraint still governs fictional representation, making the village a metaphorical entity and the city a space of infinite metonymy" (Prasad 2001). The way Tagore's novels go back and forth between spatial elaboration and neutralization of location is a good index of the development of the novelistic discourse in India—in novels, but also through films—a development that involved a tussle between fable, drama, and the novelistic drive.

Jogajog (*Relationships*, 1929) is remarkable in its delineation of location. The story of rivalry between two land-owning families evolves into one of modern conjugality. The resistance to modern individuation comes precisely in the form of an invocation of the past tied to the countryside. The male protagonist, who fails to understand the demands of modern conjugality, is one who retains his links with landed property, even after making a successful transition to comprador business in the city. His wife embodies the other transition, to a structure of modern desires mediated by music and literature. The description of locations, both in the village and in Calcutta, is texturally and geographically dense. Almost every movement of the characters, every action that draws them close or pulls apart, is outlined in terms of spaces architecturally defined, filled with concrete objects, with things to be used or exchanged (Tagore 1929).

In *Char adhyay* (*Four Chapters*, 1934), such spatial definition again suffers a loss. Once again, primarily set in the city, the novel works with space largely serving as a stage for conversation. From the intricate social history of *Jogajog*, Tagore moves back to the political setting of *Ghare baire* in *Char adhyay*, now pushing the clash of principles into distilled exchanges between a restricted set of characters. The scenes are described almost like stage directions in a play. A tragic play of ideas is written in the guise of a novel (Tagore 1934).

The vicissitudes of the novelistic discourse is of concern to us, since they are directly relevant to the development of film narration in most national contexts. It is important to stress the fact of evolution—from enumerable to elaborated spaces, as I would like to call them—in the development of that discourse. It is necessary to point out that evolution in this case does not render an early paradigm obsolete. On the other hand, I don't think one can simply relativize the paradigms either and treat them as equivalent.

As narration covers space in its elaborated version, the return of the other space, enumerable space, takes on a new value. It is not a matter of survival of the same, but a return. The novelistic discourse is a typically modern institution with deep roots in the larger social structures of consciousness, and not just a formal choice. It has not been possible for any narrative tradition to avoid an encounter with this form of discourse. Recently, the work of Franco Moretti (1998, 2000, 2003) and his Institute for World Literature has produced intriguing accounts of this global encounter.[1] For Indian cinema, as we shall try to argue in what follows, the novelistic elaboration of space, achieved over time, meant an overall rearticulation of the fable and the allegory, often considered to be indigenous alternatives to the novel.

Enumerated/Elaborated

Enumeration has historically been a by-product of what can be called "denominated" space in our cinema. An early example is D. G. Phalke's work. Think of the scene in *Raja Harishchandra* (1913, 1917), the first Indian feature film, in which the king and his entourage go to the forest for hunting. We see an elementary continuity sequence of shots as they pass through the open landscape. A sequence in the forest follows, presented in the frontal address typical of early cinema:[2] the king stops and listens to a cry; he places his hands on his left and right ears alternately, signifying lack of integration with offscreen space and a stagelike treatment of on-screen space. In the next shot, once again mounted frontally, the king is found at the site of holy rites performed by the sage Viswamitra. This is where he will incur the curse that will set the main plot in motion (figs. 1–6).

This shift from a brief spatial elaboration to denomination (the king's space associated with secular game, the sage's space with sacred rites), without the use of intermediary passage, can be explained by the mythic nature of the material and a theatrical conception of space. Phalke's work, and most films recovered from the silent era in India, consistently show this tendency of eliding connections, or "elaboration" as I am calling it, between spaces of action (or planes of action within a single space). The mythical content did not have to depend on novelistic narration.

Figures 1–6 *Raja Harishchandra*

Narrative elaboration of space took place through an encounter with the contemporary, whose proper site was the "social" film, which dates back to the silent era but found a mature articulation in the 1930s and 1940s studio production of talkies. Rationalization of space, in the sense of desacralization and free unfolding, could take on its advanced function in that generic mold. The encounter with the city form became crucial in this respect. The reality of lives crossing each other anonymously, the walk and the pursuit, and the plotting of action along the urban grid motivate the release of space from denominations into a denotative function. Exploration of connections, the intermediate spaces between the scenes, becomes the cinematic exploration par excellence. Allegorical schematism, the contrary impulse, restages itself in this scenario primarily through moral oppositions like the one between the country and the city. But other binaries have also been available.

It can be argued that the first moment when the city-cinema encounter produces a proper transition from enumerable to elaborated space was the early 1950s, the moment of postindependence planning and reconstruction, when the cinematic institution itself underwent a major transformation. Realism is the predominant category through which we have understood the changes, but it is instructive to see the specific relations that emerged between the new social realist content and film form. Social realism becomes a visible tendency within the social film from the early forties, taking on a mature shape in the early years of the following decade, just before the arrival of Satyajit Ray's *Pather panchali* (*Song of the Road*, 1955). Let us consider the example of a landmark social from 1944, produced by the pioneering New Theatres in Calcutta, Bimal Roy's *Udayer pathe* (*Ascent*). I am thinking of a particular scene that presents the typical spatial relations in the film. The scene moves between the homes of the hero Anup and the heroine Gopa. While Anup waits for Gopa to visit him, she is shown being held back by her father from stepping out. The two transitions, from Anup's place to Gopa's and back to Anup's, are signaled by the conventional image of the clock. But the trick is, when we cut back to Anup's house after witnessing the exchange between Gopa and her father, we see the father himself appearing at Anup's door, neutralizing all possibilities of a proper parallel cut. The absence of temporal continuity is closely tied here to a denominational schema. The underlying idea is to present a contrast between the rich (Gopa) and the

Figures 7–12 *Udayer Pathe*

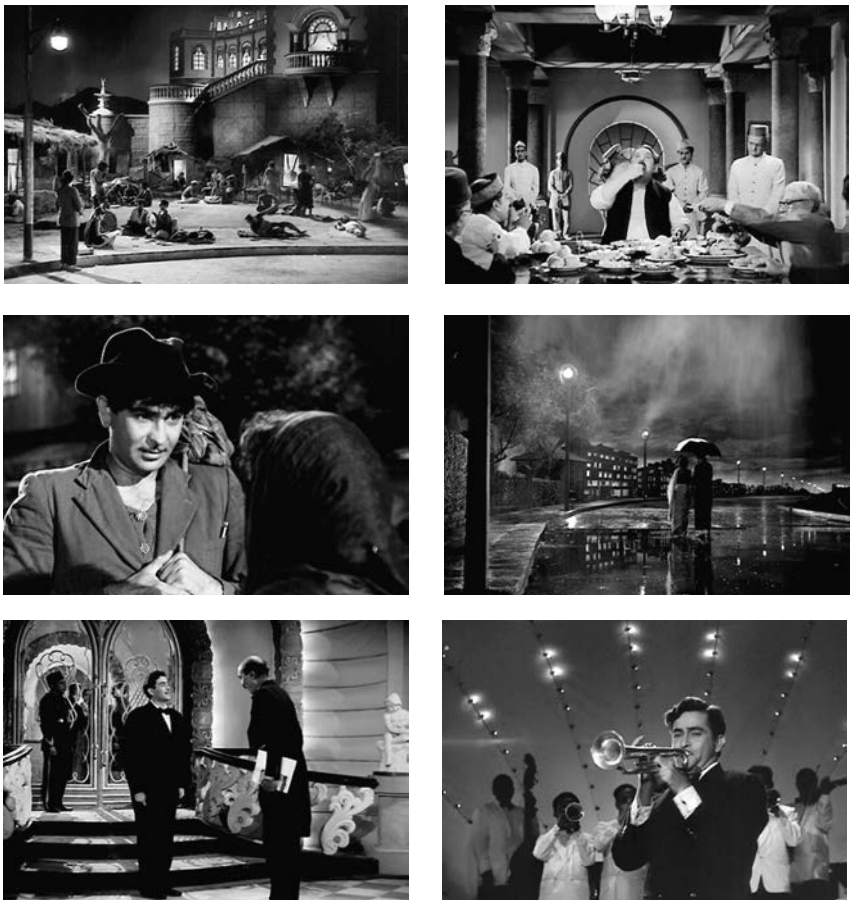
poor (Anup), factory owner (Gopa's family) and worker (Anup), and so on (figs. 7–12). The connecting spaces between stages of action almost never appear in the film. The striking workers' meeting scene reveals this logic more clearly: a straightforward Griffithian parallelism occurs between the starving workers' quarters and the lavish banquet at Gopa's mansion.[3] This quasi-allegorical principle of space is evident across the socials of the period.

The difference with the literary fiction of the social realism of the period is illuminating.[4] The cycle of politicized social films reached its apogee immediately after 1952, the year of the first International Film Festival, which constituted a watershed event in Indian film history in terms of realist departures across the industry. Interestingly, though, it was not in the new realist films but in a peripheral development in the same period that the city as location began to be registered in the body of the film. It was the cinema that celebrated the freedom of urban anonymity, the allure of moral loosening, the romance of its streets and chance encounters, the automotive movement, and the dynamism of the struggle for survival. It inevitably turned to lives on the borders of respectability and legality, lives spent on the street in a literal sense.[5] We often come across a protagonist in these films who is literally without parents, without a father in any case, adrift in the city, and navigating its tracks to make sense of a new belonging. It is possible to suggest its closeness to the negotiation of political citizenship, cut loose from primary communal ties.

The project took the narrative shape of finding a home in the city. Raj Kapoor's *Shree 420* (1956) is an example in which this theme is pushed to the foreground (figs. 13–18). Life lived in ghettos on the limits of legality (like the pavement shelter in *Shree 420*) offered, on the other hand, a new scope of community building. This specific tension—between the desire to be free from the primary identifications, from the traditional authority of the family and community, and the search for a community on the streets envisioned beyond the protocols of monadic citizenship—animated the story of urban adventure. The imagination of space gets entwined with the experience of the city in the way innovation, the novelty of technique itself—in cinematography, lighting, editing—is derived from an engagement with unfolding location rather than denominated, value-laden spaces.

It would be interesting to see how the spatial relations established in the first years of the republic between street life, the street itself, the search for a language of belonging, and the emerging urban spaces speak to contemporary formations, those that emerged after the break with the period of postindependence modernization and the onset of economic liberalization in the 1990s.

Madhava Prasad has attempted to characterize the transformation of the



Figures 13–18 *Shree 420*

cinematic response to the city from the fifties to the seventies as one of a view from the top to a view from below. He draws on Michel de Certeau's classic distinction between the concept city of governance and planning and the city that one "writes" as one walks its streets.[6] According to Prasad, a reformist gaze organizes the diegetic material in the fifties. With the waning of the nationalist project of reconstruction, it becomes difficult to effect

a popular identification with such a gaze in the seventies. In a moment of widespread disaffection, a practice of tracing the city emerges from the ground level, as it were, from the level of streets and slums. It is possible to complicate Prasad's schema by pointing to the tendency we have identified in the fifties films. One could suggest that the fifties film itself is split into two possibilities. In the films in which the spirit of the urban adventure converged with marginal life-worlds, we already see the alluring image of the city laid out beyond the planner's gaze. For this process, it was important that the connecting spaces unfold. However, where moral allegory catches up with the plot, the figure of travel between the stages of action tends to be obviated. The world of street survival, with all its dynamism, could well produce a city through spatial notations—the street, the bridge, the gas lamp. Kapoor's *Shree 420* would be an eminent example.

The postindependence period saw a provisional overlap between the older reformist narrative of the "social" with its moral schematism—which tended to "exclude the middle" as Peter Brooks would put it in another context, and therefore also the middle ground, the connecting spaces—and the new schematism in which social reform is subsumed into a logic governance. The overlap itself is signified by the second term, the order of planning and reform. Is there a way in which the city as an organism makes its own contribution to the impression of unfolding pathways and connections without being determined by an imposed schema? A. K. Ramanujan, looking for images of the city in Indian classical literature, used the dichotomy of the orthogenetic and heterogenetic cities,[7] which could provide us with a clue. The city of Ayodhya of the Sanskrit epic *Valmiki Ramayana* is orthogenetic, where a single moral order rules. In contrast, the Tamil epic *Cilappatikaram* (Ilanko Atikal, ca. fifth century AD) speaks of cities like Pukar, which are governed by a technical order. The latter, Ramanujan writes, is

> an environment for both good and evil . . . [it] . . . is a found functional order by occupation, contrasting with the city founded and planned according to an imposed geometric order. Instead of ritual, festival and bards, we have drama, game, song. Instead of a sacred literati, we have the impression of a cosmopolitan intelligentsia accustomed and hospitable to foreigners, enjoying and accepting variety in trade as in women,

> pleasure and lifestyle. . . . The city scene in Ayodhya is static and processional, though full and varied; Pukar . . . swarms with real life, and it changes from street to street, from house to beach, the lovers cross the street. (Ramanujan 1999: 68)

It is difficult to find the crossroads where love as theme, city as setting, and cinematic space as aesthetic fact could meet without the horizon of a social contract that makes chance encounters between wandering nomads productive. A horizon of possible relations, between places and people, has to be imagined before we conceive of the process in which the city leaves its imprint on the body of the film. It is, therefore, useful to hold onto the idea of an order, something like a technical order, even as one explores the highly productive opposition between concept city seen from above and the walked-over city unfolding on the ground. It is so because one has to make sense of the form that film derives from the city, the set of possible destinies and experiences that the narrative has to posit. Moreover, at the level of historical content, the journey of the stranger, the wanderer in the fifties city, is also a journey into citizenship, into a new identity after identifications with native communities are rendered vulnerable. For that, one needs to hold onto a sense of totality.

The Postliberalization Moment

The view from below tends to be aligned with the descriptive impulse, the accumulation of unstructured details; it is close to naturalism; while the intimation of order creates the premise of narrative discipline. It would be an interesting project to trace the shapes realism has taken in Indian popular cinema in various combinations with naturalism of this kind. Two moments would stand out in that history: the early fifties, the moment just preceding the institutional division of popular entertainment and realist art; and the postliberalization era, the current moment, when that division is rendered inoperative. In the rest of the article, I turn to the latter moment.

The most noticeable development in the postliberalization Hindi or Tamil film is a technical and stylistic reorientation that appropriates ambient space as something transformed by the commodity flow, as surfaces imbued

with a new material density, which has increasingly become synonymous with semiotic saturation. As "informatized" production began to collapse the gap between economic and aesthetic realms, this cinema responded with an overvaluation of sensory data. Unlike the developments in the South, in Tamil cinema for example (I am thinking of the trend visible from *Pudhupettai* [dir. Selvaraghavan, 2006] onward), where small towns and villages also play an important role as locations, Bombay cinema until recently negotiated the transformation almost entirely through urban narratives. Commodity saturation is attended by a reinvigorated naturalism as reality is brought close to haptic perception rather than presented through perspective-based templates.

Ranjani Mazumdar in her study of Bombay cinema has made the perceptive observation that both the sanitized affluent interiors of the family drama—the Bollywood film proper of the 1990s (represented by directors like Karan Johar)—and the harsh cityscapes of the new genre of underworld film should be seen as urban deliriums, one of the commodity, the other of open spaces (Mazumdar 2007). I would like to suggest the necessity of understanding both in terms of commodity saturation of the social space. What it means for figuring locations is radically different from the history we have been trying to outline so far. It is eminently possible for this cinema to work with effects of the real and to use description without conforming to realist narrative economies. It can present densely delineated volumes of space but violate at the same time the very logic of connecting spaces, of unfolding and mediating spaces that typically created the realist spatial relation. A look at an early instance of post-1990s films like Mani Rathnam's *Roja* (1992), the later underworld films like Ramgopal Varma's *Sathya* (1998) and *Company* (2001), or the recent *Once upon a Time: Mumbai* (dir. Milan Luthria, 2011) would show this tendency in which a city can be traced in a profusion of details without attempting what in our scheme would be the realist work of deriving a form from the city, without trying to arrive at a sense of its totality by paying attention to the logic of distances and directions, or using the figure of travel punctuated by signposts and goals.

The wandering figure in the fifties used to pass through a sentimental education, which included a vernacular translation of the global norms of citizenship. In some sense, the hiatus with those global norms has been seen

as the popular Indian content of that cinema. One suspects, however, that the gap in question is constitutive of every story of becoming modern. Finding one's home in the space of modernity is universally difficult. By and large, that attempt found a romantic resolution in the postindependence moment of Indian cinema. From the nineties on, the decline of the welfare state and the programmatic dismantling of modernizing state institutions have been echoed by an entirely new sense of homelessness in the urban genres. The project of vernacular citizenship is no longer relevant to popular culture, which, in fact, should be taken as evidence of the demise of a certain idea of the popular itself.[8]

A pervasive desolation leaves its mark on the images of a crowded city like Bombay in the aftermath of its transformation from a manufacturing city to a city of real estate and finance markets. Homelessness extends from actual everyday experience into the sense of an inhospitable landscape in the contemporary urban film. The proliferation of sensuous details, the enhanced reality that neighborhoods, especially, places like Central Bombay have taken on, produces the uncanny, the "unhomely," as Sigmund Freud would call it, in ways that are yet to be explored.[9] I would like to suggest that the strongest evocation of place occurs in the contemporary urban film through the presence of neighborhoods marked by community life and, more, marked ethnically. This tendency is shared across cinemas in the world in the urban genres that emerged in the nineties.[10] A particularly strong delineation of location appears in contemporary Bombay cinema in situations in which a character sets out on a journey, often on the run, and passes through a ghetto, almost always associated with a working-class Muslim population. The deep seduction of these places stems from the sense of shelter they create in contrast to the inhospitable landscape of the metropolis.

I would like to end by drawing the reader's attention to three sequences from three contemporary films to illustrate the point. All these are sequences in which space gains autonomy from the logic of action—the point of full maturation of the transition from stage to location. But space here becomes real also by its association with strongly defined outlines of a community, something that the urban adventure of the citizen apparently leaves behind as it takes off. The Muslim community, both as history and trace, lends a

special reality to location. In the Muslim ghetto, class marginality merges with an ethnic one and creates a typical zone of opacity. It might produce distrust and frustration, but one has to also make sense of the fascination produced by a place that seems to retain character specificity in the face of homogenization, taking the latter's logic of the hyperreal in a completely different direction. The distorted portrayal of the Muslim that we often see in some of these films does not succeed in dispelling such profoundly insistent marks of place. "Placeness" comes to a place in such cases from its association with another time, a past that seems to haunt the contemporary, which is often the case with the contemporary production of simulacra. Through their ability to achieve specific associations of life on the margins of an economically defined contemporary, these locations offer a sense of familiarity. The pleasure of recognition stems from the promise of a community rooted in a remembered past in which we could all be living in neighborhoods of familiar faces. I would like to see this in terms of a history of figuring the home on the Indian screen.

I cite the three scenes in order of their modulation of reality—from approximation of the normal to paranoia to delirium—hoping to present a spectrum. The first scene occurs in Anurag Kashyap's *Black Friday* (2004), a film about the 1993 serial bomb blasts in Bombay and ensuing police investigations. In the scene that I have in mind, the Mumbai police give a very long chase through the labyrinth of a ghetto in order to catch a suspect (figs. 19–24). The investigation in the film is all about penetrating and making sense of ties that bind a group of Muslim terror suspects. But the scene, stretching over a massive poor quarter of the city, brings the chase to a point of exhaustion, so that finally the lone policeman on pursuit begins to share with the fugitive an inability to move, even to hold onto the target when it's captured. This last constable on the trail almost strikes up a friendship with the fugitive as all this turns into a game. This is not in conformity to the overall investigation story, told from the police point of view. The unfolding of the place inspires a story of the place, to a large extent independent of the story of the film. It is crucial to notice this for a political reading of such films. The sense of a shelter amid squalor and poverty, the pleasure of familiarity in the broadest sense of the term that comes about as we navigate the neighborhood, should not be overlooked as we talk about majority

Figures 19–24 *Black Friday*

perceptions and politics of othering. Cinematic bodies sometimes reveal a deeper set of contacts between the so-called self and other.

In Rajkumar Gupta's *Aamir* (2008) we see the real dimensions of the uncanny. The story is about a young Muslim man who is trapped by terrorists into a bomb-planting plot. He is constantly on the move, prompted by a network of mobile phone calls and messages. His journey through the Muslim neighborhoods of Bombay grows into a nightmare in which everyone, from the local vendor to the sex worker to the passerby, turns out to be part of an invisible terrorist network (figs. 25–30). Appreciated for its Hollywood realism, the film presents a dangerously paranoid vision of the Islamic threat. The uncanny dimension is revealed in the way the whole

Figures 25–30 *Aamir*

landscape appears to be watching the protagonist, a countersurveillance that seems to undermine the security state's guarding look. The film creates a dense and seductive picture of ordinary lives and labor—of houses, lanes, faces, signage—only to turn the charm of familiarity (the hero himself belongs to the community) into a deep anxiety about some held-back secret in the heart of a people.

The ultimate form of concreteness is offered by dreams. Anurag Kashyap's *No Smoking* (2007) has a scene in which the well-to-do protagonist walks into a working-class ghetto to look for some mysterious cure for his habit of smoking. The walk starts with an excessively sharp registration of dwellings and livelihoods and continues straight into a descent to the belly of the city (figs. 31–36). A literal passage to the underground is created, as if to turn the underworld of the crime story into a psychic construct by a pas-

Figures 31–36 *No Smoking*

sage through the letter rather than the metaphor. The descent is presented tier by tier, each dark passage populated with bodies and occupations largely associated with the Muslim ghetto, but etched according to an improbable logic of assembly. A surrealist passage unfolds, a style the film finds difficult to handle in some other parts. But this scene remains a landmark of contemporary visualization of the city. It runs through the repertoire of sensory tricks that the recent cinema has developed around urban representation but pushes them to the extreme, stretches the journey of the hero to a point where the scene begins to own up to the "fantasmatic" dimension of the "reality effects" we see so often. The Muslim markers here have nothing to do with the story, but it can be argued that without them the intensity of evocation of a place within a place, the true ghetto, would not be complete.

The film accomplishes one further step in the development of a language

of the city as it underlines the fact that the dream of the community, the home, is a necessary supplement from the past to our contemporary pictures of spaces of open and uncertain destinies. The task of the reader of these images involves asking the question of why we can't deny in these deliriums what we deny in everyday life—the fact that the minority, the communal, the marginal is the zone where our memories are constantly drawn back.

Notes

1. Also see essays by Moretti and others following the publication of the book in the pages of *New Left Review* and *Critical Inquiry*: Moretti 2000, 2003; Prendergast 2001; Orsini 2002; Kristal 2002; Arac 2002; Apter 2003.
2. The frontal address and other typical "primitive" conventions were discussed at length in the new historiography of Early Cinema (cinema roughly between 1895 and 1908), for example, in Noel Burch's *Life to Those Shadows* (1990) and essays in Elsaesser and Barker (1990).
3. The Griffithian system of establishing spatial relations would occupy a position between the Early Cinema and classical Hollywood modes of narration. Among other things, this system involved allegorical parallelism, as in, for example, *A Corner in Wheat* (1909).
4. The social realist movement in Indian literature took off in the wake of the Spanish Civil War, coinciding with the first moment of consolidation of socialist politics. The Progressive Writers' Association (1936), the Anti-Fascist Writers' and Artists' Association (1942), and then the Indian People's Theatre Association (1943) succeeded in bringing a large number of writers and artists on a left-wing progressive platform. The movement did leave its impact on film, but a comparison between the careers of realism in literature and cinema of the period shows the gap in formal dynamics, in which literature was evidently ahead of film.
5. I have in mind films like *Aar Paar* (dir. Guru Dutt, 1954), *Taxi Driver* (dir. Chetan Anand, 1954), *CID* (dir. Raj Khosla, 1956).
6. See de Certeau (1988).
7. As he mentions, he borrows the terminology from Robert Redfield and Milton Singer's "Cultural Role of Cities" (1954).
8. Ashish Rajadhyaksha was one of the early critics to comment on the demise of the popular Indian cinema, a process he saw in terms of a transition from popular culture to civil society projects (see Rajadhyaksha 2007). Please note my article was written in 2011. There have been noticeable shifts in the use of locations, among other things, in Bombay cinema since the films that are used here as examples of the "contemporary phase."
9. Sigmund Freud famously used the German word *unheimlisch* (homeless) to show that the

uncanny is precisely that which is familiar and yet unknown, which is in our homes, and secrets (see Freud 1997).

10. For example, *New Jack City* (dir. Mario Van Peebles, 1991), *Boyz in the Hood* (dir. John Singleton, 1991), *La haine* (*Hate*, dir. Mathieu Kassovitz, 1995), *City of God* (dir. Fernando Meirelles, 2002), *Tsotsi* (dir. Gavin Hood, 2005).

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