

# Hierdie woorde en sinne het ek iewers geërf:

reflecting on Afrikaner identity through intertextuality in *Johnny* is nie dood nie (Olwagen 2017) and *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018).

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#### **ABSTRACT**

The research study focuses on configurations of filmic intertextuality in Christiaan Lugones's feature films Johnny is nie dood nie (2017) and Kanarie (2018), and examines how they enable audiences of the films to reflect on an Afrikaner cultural identity. In this pursuit, the study examines the concept of a cultural identity by considering it as informed through socioanthropological processes of cultural memory. The study describes cultural memory as operating within a network of culturally significant texts, which a community uses to recall and stabilise their cultural identity. Consequently, the study is able to describe intertextuality as a process through which texts interact within a cultural memory and inform a cultural identity. By establishing cultural memory as the functional link between intertextuality and cultural identity, the study creates a conceptual framework with which to describe the filmic intertextuality that Christiaan Olwagen uses in his films Johnny is nie dood nie and Kanarie. The study then applies this conceptual framework for intertextuality in a textual analysis of Johnny is nie dood nie and Kanarie, with a specific focus on scenes that utilise the formal filmic techniques of tableaux vivant compositions, filmic music, and direct address as techniques of intertextuality. Informed by the textual analysis of the films, the study then illustrates how Olwagen uses intertextuality to draw from a cultural memory of apartheid and thus reflect on the evolution of an Afrikaner cultural identity.

#### **KEY TERMS**

Afrikaner identity; cultural identity; cultural memory; direct address; film music; intertextuality; *Johnny is nie dood nie*; *Kanarie*; *tableaux vivant*; *Voëlvry* movement



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In Memory of Thomas Murry.

'Kom ons drink op die een, wat sy drome oorleef.

Op die een wat kry wat hy vra, ja'



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# CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Following the end of apartheid in 1994, South Africans were engaged in a constant process of reinterpreting and revising their past cultural identities based on new cultural and political circumstances (Steyn 2001:xxi). The collapse of the apartheid regime in South Africa dislocated many cultural identities, some from socio-political and economic systems of oppression and others from constructed positions of superiority and privilege. This tumultuous period of social reform led to an environment in which post-apartheid identities in South Africa persisted in a constant state of relative flux (Laubscher 2005:308). Consequently, South Africans were made to reinterpret and revise their past cultural identities based on the new social and political circumstances of the country (Steyn 2001:xxi), and often did so through processes of artistic expression.

Film worked especially well as a medium with which to engage novel expressions of culture and identity, and soon sparked an intense debate on the political role of film in the wake of apartheid propaganda and the representation of people's struggles under the apartheid regime (Tomaselli 2013:10). While the film industry first refused to react to the injustices of apartheid, ignoring accusations of censorship propaganda production, later funding from foreign sources enabled the development of a progressive grass-roots movement where people had control over the way they are represented in films (Tomaselli 2013:11). This progressive groundwork enabled South African filmmakers the chance to engage directly with their cultural pasts and document their daily struggle for existence, fostering a film industry in which the representation of identity is of great importance.

In a recent period (pre-COVID-19 pandemic) of immense growth, the South African film industry conspicuously promoted local films that engage notions of identity (Pieterse 2019:375). Films such as *Five fingers for Marseilles* (Matthews 2017), *Inxeba: The Wound* (Trengove 2017), and *Ellen: Die storie van Ellen Pakkies* (Joshua 2018) all garnered local and international acclaim for the manner in which they address questions on identity. *Five fingers* 

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This research study uses the term 'post-apartheid' solely as a temporal marker to indicate the time after the end of the apartheid regime in South Africa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This study will use apartheid when referring to both the political institution of segregation or the government that instituted it, and the condition of being racially segregated or apart.



for Marseilles explores the fate of a violent revolutionary after the revolution has ended; Inxeba: The Wound interrogates masculinity and homosexuality in the male initiation rites of the amaXhosa culture; and Ellen: Die storie van Ellen Pakkies unpacks gender and class inequality in the Cape Flats (Pieterse 2019:376-378).

This history of identity representation in South African film and the recent promotion of South African filmmakers created a perfect environment for director Christian Olwagen to explore his cultural past and identity through film. Two of his films, *Johnny is nie dood nie* (2017) ('Johnny is not dead') and *Kanarie* (2018) ('Canary'), were well received by critics and are lauded for the manner in which they engage culture and identity, specifically that of white, Afrikaans-speaking people during and after the fall of the apartheid government in South Africa.<sup>3</sup>

As I (the researcher), was born to white Afrikaans parents who experienced this tumultuous time in South African history, Olwagen's representation of my immediate genealogical past offered me, as a viewer, a unique chance to explore my own, very specific cultural identity. This inspired a scholarly approach, to explore just how these films are able to elicit such an exploration of the historic cultural identity of white Afrikaans men coming of age in South Africa, and how they consequently allow the present generation of white Afrikaans men in South Africa to reflect on what an Afrikaner cultural identity may be for them specifically.

While I do acknowledge the heterogeneity of identities among Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, the films elicit a consideration of a very specific articulation of Afrikaner identity idealised by the apartheid government. This idealised identity, which I explore in Chapter Two,

<sup>3</sup> Olwagen's filmography, thus far, deals with identity in context of South Africa's troubled past in some capacity:

<sup>1.</sup> Johnny is nie dood nie (2017) deals with political and social identity after apartheid (Pieterse 2019:379).

<sup>2.</sup> *Kanarie* (2018) deals with the sexual and gender identity of an Afrikaner youth during the South African border war (Pieterse 2019:380).

<sup>3.</sup> *Die Seemeeu* (2018) deals with social and class identity directly after apartheid (van Niekerk & van der Merwe 2020:109).

<sup>4.</sup> Poppie Nongena (2019) deals with racial and gender identity during apartheid protests (Dercksen 2020:[O][sp]). Olwagen explains his modus operandi in an interview regarding Poppie Nongena (2019): "The film serves as a modern-day reflection in an apartheid-era mirror. It's a cautionary tale. A global reminder of my country's not so distant past. And an appeal to learn from our mistakes or be doomed to repeat them" (Dercksen 2020:[O][sp]).



was an ethno-nationalist idea of identity,<sup>4</sup> narrowly defined by conservative Christian doctrine, patriarchal institutions, and Christian heteronormative behaviours, of which masculinity was of great importance.<sup>5</sup> As such, the focus of this study is on an idealised white, heteronormative, heterosexual, masculine, Christian Afrikaans male identity. The term Boer (farmer) is often used as a descriptor for the collective of white, Christian, Afrikaans-speaking South Africans (Laubscher 2005:313); however, I find the term charged with political meaning that would push the study beyond its scope. As such, this research study uses the designation 'Afrikaner' to refer to the larger, collective of white, Christian, Afrikaans-speaking South Africans.

During the fall of the apartheid government and the dismissal of its racial and cultural segregation policies (Moyer-Duncan 2011:1), there arose a great potential for South African arts to confront the ways in which the apartheid government tried to regulate and enforce a nationalist identity. The many different cultures of South Africa were now no longer subservient to the apartheid government's drive to assert a dominant nationalist culture based on Afrikaner ideals, and artists working in fields such as music and film were free to engage with individual post-apartheid realities, each from their own unique and self-reflective cultural perspective (Moyer-Duncan 2011:1). Christiaan Olwagen is one such artist who has used his films to represent and examine the tensions within Afrikaner identity after the apartheid government ended and ceased their enforcement of an idealised ethno-nationalist Afrikaner identity (van Niekerk & van der Merwe 2020:121). In his films, Olwagen scrutinizes typical

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Le Bossé (2021:[O]) concisely opens a discussion of the term ethno-nationalism as one that "elicits understandings and forms of nationalism that regard ethnicity and ethnic ties as core components of conceptions and experiences of the 'nation'". I elaborate on the use of this term in the context of the Afrikaner 'Volk' in the following footnote.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The Afrikaans term 'Volk', which can be translated as nation or people, was used rather paradoxically during apartheid to refer to the Afrikaner people as the collective nation of South Africa while also excluding any peoples that were not considered to be part of the Afrikaner culture. The term has since, especially after discussions at the Truth and Reconciliation Council in 1996, come to refer to the ethno-nationalist ideology of separateness used by the apartheid regime in their idealised identity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Moyer-Duncan expands on this 2011 PhD dissertation in the book Projecting Nation: South African Cinemas after 1994 (Moyer-Duncan 2020).



markers of white Afrikaner identity such as staunch Christianity, proud nationalism, hegemonic masculinity, and enforced heteronormativity.<sup>7</sup>

Both *Johnny is nie dood nie* (Olwagen 2017) and *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018), deal with the struggle of Afrikaner individuals coming of age in apartheid South Africa. They both present the struggle young Afrikaner individuals face in forming their own identities under the circumstances of apartheid South Africa and, in the case of *Johnny is nie dood nie* (Olwagen 2017), the echoes of apartheid. Olwagen uses music and visual media from the apartheid years as central devices in his films (Smith 2017:[O]) that directly recall and examine different temporal moments in the evolution of Afrikaner culture and identity as experienced by some young, counter-culture Afrikaners as portrayed in the films. In this manner, Olwagen utilises intertextuality as a tool with which to access cultural texts specific to a particular, formative moment in the history of these people, and thereby track major shifts in their Afrikaner culture and identity as it responded to the policies of the apartheid government and its eventual fall.

In this study I critically discuss how *Johnny is nie dood nie* (Olwagen 2017) and *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018) enable a reflection on contemporary Afrikaner cultural identity, specifically of the white, young-adult male Afrikaner, and how the selected films recall and reconcile the cultural memory of an idealised Afrikaner identity under nationalist apartheid South Africa. This exploration focusses on configurations of film form that enable a specifically intertextual reflection. I further explore these primary insights into Olwagen's depiction of and reflection on an Afrikaner identity by answering the following question in the pages that follow:

How does Christiaan Olwagen's use of filmic intertextuality access an Afrikaner cultural memory of apartheid and reflect on the evolution of an Afrikaner cultural identity?

To answer this question thoroughly, I consider the following sub-questions:

- 1. What is the difference between cultural memory and cultural identity?
- 2. How can cultural memory and identity interact with each other in film?
- 3. How can intertextuality be used to encode meaning into a film?

<sup>7</sup> This research study uses the term hegemonic masculinity to refer to political and institutional gender constructs which emphasise and enforce a dominant and uniform notion of masculinity.



- 4. How can an audience decode meaning from intertextuality in a film?
- 5. How do *tableaux vivant* compositions operate as a configuration of intertextuality in the selected films?
- 6. How is film music able to operate intertextually in the selected films?
- 7. How is direct address used intertextually in the selected films?
- 8. How do the identified intertextual techniques access cultural memory in reflecting on Afrikaner identity post-apartheid?

In order to best approach these questions above, it will be beneficial to better understand the background and context of the films selected for the study. Thus I offer the following section to elaborate on the background and context of Christiaan Olwagen, *Johnny is nie dood nie* (Olwagen 2017) and *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018).

### 1.1. Background and contextualisation

Olwagen's debut feature film *Johnny is nie dood nie* (Olwagen 2017) has been described by critics as a landmark film in Afrikaans cinema (Dercksen 2020:[O]). It won awards for Best Actor, Supporting Actress, Supporting Actor, Screenplay, Art Direction, Music, Best Director, and Best Film at the 2016 Silwerskerm Film Festival (Pieterse 2019:379). After this debut, which revealed Olwagen's capabilities as a young director, Olwagen's second feature film *Kanarie* was released in 2018. *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018) illustrated not only the director's apparent fascination with Afrikaner culture during the decline of apartheid, but also confirmed his ability to produce films that garner popular and critical acclaim (Pieterse 2019:380). *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018) enjoyed an extended run on the local South African circuit and won Best LGBTQ+ Film at the 2018 Cape Town International Film Festival (Pieterse 2019:380).

#### 1.1.1. Johnny is nie dood nie

In Christiaan Olwagen's (2017) first film *Johnny is nie dood nie*, Dirk (Albert Pretorius) attempts to reconcile his friend group's mundane present circumstances with their revolutionary past during the fall of the apartheid regime. Dirk proclaims to his friends "[j]ulle kan se wat julle wil, maar daai tyd, dit was fokken moerse!" (You can say what you want, but



those times were fucking huge!). This proclamation, emblematic of the group's disorientated feelings regarding their cultural identity, reveals a key recurring theme in many of Christiaan Olwagen's films.

The award-winning debut, *Johnny is nie dood nie* (2017), follows a somewhat estranged group of friends as they reunite for a braai (barbeque) in 2002, mourning the recent suicide of Johannes Kerkorrel; a figurehead of the *Voëlvry* movement and one of their idols.<sup>8</sup> Throughout the evening the group recalls their time together at university in 1989.

In this film, Olwagen utilizes flashbacks to reveal the characters' past selves as revolutionary anti-apartheid, counterculture activists. In the present, however, most of the group have become embittered; their current lives in conventional suburban adulthood so far removed from their past revolutionary ideals. The film continuously jumps between past and present, juxtaposing the different circumstances and ideals of the group, while also weaving the different periods together through the music used in the soundtrack (music from the *Voëlvry* movement). In the climax of the film, it is revealed that a previous group member worked as an informant for the apartheid government's army, after the military police threatened to oust him as a homosexual. Johnny was given the choice between deployment, jail time, or spying on his own friends. When the group reunites at a braai, their interactions reveal a post-apartheid disintegration of their political ideals, drifting apart, and adjusting to a post-apartheid South African suburbia. The friends reunite in the film's present to reminisce about their time with the friend they had lost.

Johnny is nie dood nie (Olwagen 2017) highlights the impact that apartheid institutions, the South African Border war and counterculture music had on the personal lives of young Afrikaners (Zietsman 2017:[O]). Through its soundtrack, cinematography, and performances from the ensemble cast, the film serves as an effective vehicle for depicting and reflecting on the political awakening of the entire generation of Afrikaners that experienced the fall of

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> 'Voëlvry' translates to 'free bird'. It is an Afrikaans slang term describing an outlaw who is to be shot on site, specifically in the context of soldiers deserting their duty (Grundlingh 2004).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The South African Border War is also known as the Namibian War of Independence (1966-1990) (Baines 2003:172-173).



apartheid regime (Smith 2017:[O]). *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018), on the other hand, reflects on the military environment where the apartheid government still held full power and influence over the identities of Afrikaner youths; a power that was fully exercised, as I discuss in Chapters Two and Four.

#### 1.1.2. Kanarie

Kanarie (Olwagen 2018), marketed as a coming-of-age war musical (Pieterse 2019:379), recalls the journey of Johan Niemand (Schalk Bezuidenhout), a young boy from the small town of Villiersdorp who is conscripted into the army during the South African Border war in 1985. From the start of the film, Johan expresses his gender as effeminate, and is reprimanded by a masculine-performing male neighbour, who is also a clergyman, for dancing in the streets wearing a wedding dress and full makeup. When Johan receives his military call-up papers, his music teacher encourages him to audition for the South African Defence Force Church Choir and Concert Group, also known as the 'Kanaries'. This suggestion is an attempt to keep Johan safe from entering active combat on the front lines of the Border war. Johan's audition is successful, and he is accepted into the Kanaries, whereupon he is sent off to basic training in Pretoria with the rest of the new Kanarie choir members.

Johan quickly befriends two other Kanaries, Wolfgang (Hannes Otto) and Ludolf (Germandt Geldenhuys), before departing for a yearlong tour of South Africa to boost morale and comfort the families of soldiers fighting on the border. While on tour, Wolfgang gradually introduces Johan to the burgeoning gay subculture in South Africa and their relationship becomes more intimate. Johan is forced to confront his own sexuality, gender, and identity within the larger heteronormative culture upheld by the apartheid regime. The film effectively explores its protagonist's emotional conflict by juxtaposing Johan's sheltered point of view with the harsh realities of apartheid politics and the war, eloquently tracing his self-awakening between these two extremes (Linden 2018:[O]).

Both films deal directly with the internal struggles of their characters' attempts to find an organic sense of identity relative to an idealised cultural identity enforced in apartheid South Africa (Pieterse 2019:380). *Johnny is nie dood nie* (Olwagen 2017) shows how the complacency of Afrikaner middle-class culture can easily incapacitate the radical sensibilities



of youth. The film's characters become paralysed by the dissonance they experience between the realities of their suburban adulthood and their revolutionary ideals as youths. *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018), on the other hand, invites its characters and audience to resist the trappings of an idealised Afrikaner perspective by exploring the very apparatuses with which an idealised Afrikaner identity is created and maintained (Pieterse 2019:381).

Olwagen, as a director, reflects on the evolution of Afrikaner identity in these films by highlighting and problematising the idealised nature of Afrikaner culture during the apartheid regime (Pieterse 2019:380). The research study proposes that the narrative techniques Olwagen uses to highlight the problematic nature of Afrikaner culture operate within the mechanisms of intertextuality, and that this use of intertextuality critically informs the way Olwagen visually and thematically engages with Afrikaner identity. His approach to this exploration of Afrikaner identity includes the use of formal filmic techniques, such as film music, *tableaux vivant* compositions, and direct address (Pieterse 2019:380). For this study to critically discuss Olwagen's reflection on Afrikaner identity, I must therefore define the operational parameters of intertextuality and cultural identity before further investigating their purpose and function trough textual analyses of Olwagen's films.

#### 1.1.3. Introduction to the conceptual and theoretical framework

In this section, I give a brief description of key concepts and theories pertinent to my research inquiry. This study is interdisciplinary in nature and intersects a few academic concepts from disciplines including film theory, intertextuality (literary theory), visual studies, sociology, history, and cultural studies. The particular areas within these disciplines that inform the conceptual and theoretical framework are clarified in Chapter Two and Three.

In the sections and chapters that follow, I construct my own conceptual and theoretical framework for extrapolating meaning and drawing conclusions from a wide range of sources. The aim of constructing this framework is to determine the general trajectory of relevant academic writing in the fields of inquiry that are pertinent to my research project. This also serves to determine whether the hypothesis of my study adequately aligns with this general trajectory. Furthermore, by constructing this interdisciplinary framework, the study enters



disciplines into dialogue with one another that delivers fresh perspectives from which to read film texts.

I start by investigating conceptions of cultural identity with the aim to establish a framework and operational definition with which to analyse Olwagen's reflections, and other possible reflections he might elicit for a viewer, on Afrikaner cultural identity in his films. This study also looks to academic literature on the history and development of an idealised Afrikaner cultural identity, specifically ethno-nationalist approximations thereof, to delineate and better understand some key defining features of such an approximation.

# 1.1.4. Understanding an idealised form of Afrikaner identity

Throughout history, a significant driving force behind the establishment and preservation of a distinct Afrikaner cultural identity has been a deep-rooted national pride stemming from a struggle for independence and power (Verwey & Quayle 2012:553). This pride rests upon several pillars, including gaining independence from the colonial British empire, establishing Afrikaans as an independent language, and exerting control over the indigenous peoples of South Africa (Verwey & Quayle 2012:553). In May 1948, the National Party (NP) assumed control of the South African government and commenced the implementation and enforcement of their vision for a unified nation-state, in which an idealised, ethno-nationalist Afrikaner identity would serve as a fundamental aspect of the apartheid system of governance (Hyslop 2000:37), including the party's greater economic goals and systems.

As such, an idealised ethno-nationalist Afrikaner identity was founded on a belief that white Afrikaans-speaking individuals were politically and culturally superior to other South Africans. To substantiate this perceived superiority, the apartheid government turned to religion as a cornerstone of their cultural identity and social hierarchy, appropriating Christian ideals of patriarchal authority to reinforce an idealised Afrikaner identity (Vestergaard 2001:20). By establishing Christian patriarchal authority as a central component of the idealized Afrikaner identity, Afrikaner men were portrayed as the epitome of masculinity and racial superiority. Consequently, any deviation from this masculine ideal threatened its perceived superiority, leading to the enforcement of rigid hegemonic masculinity and heteronormativity (Sonnekus 2013:24).



This research study examines an Afrikaner identity defined by the cultural and institutional enforcement of patriarchal authority under the apartheid government, dominated by notions of hegemonic masculinity and Christian ideals of heteronormativity. To comprehend how the apartheid government successfully shaped and institutionalized an ethno-nationalist identity rooted in the historical triumphs of Afrikaners against the British, the establishment of Afrikaners, and the subjugation of indigenous peoples, this study explores the formation of cultural identity and its susceptibility to cultural memory influences.

## 1.1.5. Cultural identity and cultural memory

Early conceptions of cultural identity aimed to define a particular culture's efforts to establish itself as a distinct group, based on shared elements such as ancestry, cultural practices, and history (Hall 1989:69). However, contemporary discussions on post-colonialism and hybridity have challenged this notion, recognising that a fixed cultural identity based on race, ethnicity, religion, or ideology can lead to violence and oppression (Epstein 2009:328). Subsequent explorations of cultural identity have delved into concepts like ethno-nationalism and identity politics, revealing the intricate complexities and ever-changing nature of the concept as a whole. Understanding cultural identity as a fluid frame of reference shaped by power dynamics, historical context, and cultural interactions becomes crucial (Hall 1989:70).

Recognising the influence of history and power on cultural identity, it becomes evident that cultural identity is temporally dependent on the evolution of a culture, where it is subject to the actions and legacies of dominant actors such as political or religious leaders and cultural celebrities, who can also influence how a culture remembers and interacts with their own history. In this context, cultural memory emerges as a significant factor in constructing cultural identity. The concept of cultural memory draws from theories on societal structure and human nature developed by French sociologist Emile Durkheim and his student Maurice Halbwachs in the early 20th century (Olick 1999:334).<sup>11</sup> Cultural memory encompasses various

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The research study acknowledges how apartheid regulations for Afrikaner culture tried to erase any sense of hybridity from its past and excluded non-white Afrikaans speaking people. For more on identity hybridity see: Bhabha, H., 2015. *Debating cultural hybridity: Multicultural identities and the politics of anti-racism.* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> To review the work that originated theory on cultural memory, see Durkheim, E., 2016. The elementary forms of religious life. In *Social Theory Re-Wired*. Also see Halbwachs, M., 1992. *On collective memory*.



phenomena and practices, such as historiography, ritual, and neurological structures, resulting in differing definitions and descriptions of its functionality (Erll 2008:1). Thus, this research study presents its own conceptual framework for cultural memory, examining its linkages and influence on cultural identity, which are discussed in Chapter Two.

The study adopts a two-part approach to cultural memory: first, culture is defined from a socio-anthropological perspective, and secondly, memory is defined from a socio-cultural approach. The *socio-anthropological understanding of culture* views it as a matrix of behaviours and objects that a community deems significant in representing their distinctiveness and guiding their way of life (Geertz 2000:5). The *socio-cultural approach to memory* suggests that shared practices within a community become symbolic manifestations of a past accessible to the entire community (Olick 1999:335). In this two-part approach, a conceptual framework is developed to illustrate how culture utilises memory to establish networks of significant behaviours and artefacts that communities can recall and integrate into their way of life. The relationship and exchange between cultural memory and cultural identity are significant to this study, and is discussed in more detail in Chapter Two.

Much of a culture's memory relies on communication and is heavily influenced by and dependent on various textual forms (Erll 2008:389). Texts, such as films, contribute to the construction of cultural memory, with their repetition serving to stabilize and preserve the memories of a specific culture (Erll 2008:389). Given that cultural memory operates through the communication of cultural texts, it shares similarities with myth, as both play functional roles within cultural memory, as explained in Chapter Two.

Furthermore, films and other cultural texts have the power to influence a community's cultural identity by drawing upon other texts within their cultural memory and presenting them in a new context (Erll 2008:390). Recognizing the capacity of intertextual occurrences to shape or at least evoke reflections of a culture's identity, this study explores the impact of such occurrences.

<sup>12</sup> The research study uses the term community to refer to a group of people that live in close social and geographical proximity.

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# 1.1.6. Intertextuality: a spectrum

The concept of intertextuality originated in the field of critical literature studies and later became part of the development of adaptation theory, which examines the relationship between a filmic text and its literary source (Mazierska 2011:16). Julia Kristeva, a French literary critic, is widely credited with coining the term intertextuality, defining it as "the transposition of one (or several) sign system(s) into another" (Kristeva 1984:60). Later, academics such Gerard Genette (1997:1) expand on Kristeva's ideas and describe intertextuality as "all that sets [a] text in a relationship, whether obvious or concealed, with other texts", which incorporated an aspect of intent into the conception of intertextuality. This addition of intent led to a division in the academic understanding of intertextuality.

Within film studies, intertextuality is predominantly examined as either a practice of *encoding* or a practice of *decoding* (Ott & Walter 2000:430). As an *encoding* process, intertextuality refers to the deliberate references made by the author of a text to external texts, shaping the meaning of the work and directly impacting the audience's experience (Ott & Walter 2000:343). However, it should be noted that the more abstract the intertextual reference, the less likely the audience is to recognize it and grasp its intended meaning (Ott & Walter 2000:436).

According to Genette (1997:2), the full understanding of an intertextual element requires familiarity with the referenced text, as it may otherwise be incomprehensible. Consequently, if the effectiveness of an intertextual element relies heavily on the audience's knowledge, it shifts from an *encoding* strategy to a *decoding* practice. Michael Riffaterre (1984:142) considers intertextuality as a *decoding* practice occurring in the audience's mind, while Stam *et al.* (1992:208) emphasize its dependence on the audience's reference to the cultural texts surrounding them. In summary, *decoding* intertextuality necessitates the audience's recognition of the intertextual occurrence and their ability to make associations between the current text and the network of texts it exists within (Ott & Walter 2000:434; Stam *et al.* 2000:210).

The understanding of intertextuality as a practice of *decoding* primarily derives from the work of literary theorists and semioticians such as Roland Barthes and Jacques Derrida, who



theorized the principles of an "active audience" and critiqued the concept of the "Author God" (Ott & Walter 2000:429). 13 From these perspectives, intertextuality is seen as a more abstract process that does not involve specific intent or precise effects. However, this study proposes an approach to intertextuality that encompasses both *encoding* and *decoding* practices simultaneously. In this view, intertextuality can be intentionally used by an author with relatively predictable outcomes, provided that both the author and the audience are aware of the intertextual element, the textual culture it belongs to, and the shared meaning-making that occurs between the audience and author in the moment of intertextual reference. This study argues how certain formal filmic techniques, employed by Christiaan Olwagen in his films, tap into the audience's cultural memory to evoke specific considerations of their own culture and identity. The argument is based on the proposal that intertextuality operates on a spectrum between encoding and decoding practices, with the convergence of the audience and author at the centre, resulting in a moment of reflection and meaning-making.

To support this view, three formal filmic elements frequently utilized by Christiaan Olwagen in his films are identified as intertextual techniques with the unique ability to initiate a discourse between cultural memory and cultural identity. These techniques are *tableaux vivant* compositions, film music, and direct address. *Tableaux vivant* refers to a moment in film when actors are positioned in a static manner resembling a painting or still photograph (Jacobs 2011:88; Peucker 2007:30). Olwagen employs *tableaux vivant* compositions in films like *Johnny is nie dood nie* (Olwagen 2017) and *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018) to evoke key moments and figures from Afrikaner cultural history. Additionally, film music, which punctuates and communicates within a film, interacts with its internal logic and action, guiding the audience (Chion 2021:218). Olwagen's choice of film music also references important figures in Afrikaner culture. Lastly, direct address is employed in Olwagen's films as an intertextual device, allowing a character to break the fourth-wall and acknowledge the presence of the audience within the narrative (Brown 2013:2). By addressing the audience directly, a

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Semioticians study the forms and processes of signs within the academic field of Semiotics.



connection is established between the world of the characters and the world of the audience, emphasizing their interaction (Kinney 2019:68).

While I cannot address the three techniques in detail here, I do elaborate on each in Chapter Three of this study, which establishes the focus of the analysis. The research study adopts an inductive qualitative research methodology, interpreting existing scholarly theories on intertextuality, cultural identity, and film to develop its own conclusions and test its hypothesis (Given 2008:220).

## 1.1. Research approach

Within the framework of an inductive research methodology, the research study conducts a textual analysis of *Johnny is nie dood nie* (Olwagen 2017) and *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018) as an instrumental case study research strategy. The instrumental case study research strategy operates by situating a specific example case as a paragon of the research problem, enabling the researcher to build an in-depth contextual understanding of the specific research problem (Creswell *et al.* 2007:245-246). A textual analysis allows for the academic interpretation of a specific text within the context of scholarly theory (McKee 2003:1) and is an ideal means for implementing an instrumental case study research strategy. As such, a textual analysis of *Johnny is nie dood nie* (Olwagen 2017) and *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018) will serve as the best methodological approach with which to create an in-depth contextual understanding of the films and thoroughly situate its content within theoretical understandings of intertextuality, culture and identity.

Exploring the objectives of this research study engages many different disciplines of study and link concepts between them. The conceptual and theoretical framework for the study is used so that it may amalgamate key concepts within literary studies and film studies and accordingly realise an interdisciplinary understanding of intertextuality and its functional processes in film. This theoretical approach will also work to contribute an understanding of the intricacies

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> In the case of this research project, a textual analysis will not merely analyse the script of the films but rather the audio and visual material.



between culture and identity as distinct theoretical concepts by examining its production and consumption as an intertextual media.

There exists some academic literature specific to South African film. A few examples of academic writing on engaging with South African identity through visual art include: Dovey's (2005) investigation of South African identity in terms of adaptation theory in *Politicising Adaptation: Re-historicising South African Literature through Fools*; Andersson's (2006) writing about urban African youth identity in regards to a TV series in *Intertextuality and memory in Yizo Yizo*; and Laubscher's (2005) exploration of Afrikaner identity in terms of music in *Afrikaner Identity and the Music of Johannes Kerkorrel*. Despite these contributions, there seems to be little specifically concerning *intertextually* represented Afrikaner cultural identity in cinema. By pursuing and implementing the objectives and contributions already outlined above, this research project examines the two selected films, *Johnny is nie dood nie* (Olwagen 2017) and *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018), within the framework of scholarship on the subjects of intertextuality, cultural memory, cultural identity, and film form.

In the case of film studies, qualitative research methodologies are used in generating analytical outputs based on qualitative aspects, which can then be interpreted and analysed from a theoretical context (Borish *et al.* 2021:4; Pink 2001:595). Qualitative research methodologies deal with meaning-based phenomena, as opposed to quantitative research methodologies which deal with numeric or statistical data (Nieuwenhuis 2007:53), and usually operate within interpretive paradigms in which they engage the theory surrounding the subject of enquiry (Creswell *et al.* 2007:238). Thus the research study will primarily utilise qualitative research methodologies in its analysis of existing theory on the subjects most pertinent to the aims of the study. I will execute this qualitative research methodology by approaching the existing academic theories on cultural identity and intertextuality in individual chapters, as outlined in Section 1.3. First, I outline the objectives of this research study in Section 1.2 below.

#### 1.2. Aims and objectives

By specifically focusing on Afrikaans films, cultural memory and identity, this study elaborates on Afrikaner culture, as a whole, expanding avenues of interrogation and methods for



understanding. The research study further functions in a nodal role relative to the larger landscape of media and identity studies in post-apartheid South Africa.

With this research study, I aim to establish a framework for ways in which intertextuality in film is able to interact with cultural identity. In doing so, it serves to expand on the processes of intertextuality as well as the negotiation of culture and identity in film, contributing to the understanding of how these processes operate, and enabling further, more effective scholarly consideration of these processes.

This research study enters the fluctuating landscape of identity within post-apartheid South Africa and specifically engages Afrikaner cultural identity by examining intertextual representations thereof within selected films. In this pursuit, the research project examines two films directed by Christian Olwagen, *Johnny is nie dood nie* (2017) and *Kanarie* (2018), specifically focusing on three distinct formal elements used as intertextual techniques: *tableaux vivant*, film music, and direct address. Some of the main objectives of this research project are to:

- 1. define cultural memory and cultural identity within the scope of this research project and demonstrate the relationship between them.
- 2. establish a concise working definition for filmic intertextuality suitable for this research project.
- 3. demonstrate the intertextual capacity of *tableaux vivant* compositions, film music, and direct address.
- 4. examine how intertextual techniques can destabilise ideas of a hegemonic cultural identity in a filmic text.

The conceptual importance of this study lies mainly in the connections it makes between formal film studies, intertextuality, and cultural identity, specifically in the context of an Afrikaner culture in post-apartheid South Africa. The scholarly aim of the research project is to expand the academic field of cultural identity, approaching it through film studies like others have done before, but with a novel emphasis on the processes found at the intersection between



intertextuality and cultural identity. The research project then also aims to apply this novel approach to a specific culture in a specific time – Afrikaner culture during and after *apartheid*.

Following the dislocation of cultural identities with the fall of the apartheid regime in South Africa's recent past, South African artists are bound to interrogate their own dissonant experiences of this dislocation as their cultural identity and memory evolves. Some overt processes through which South African people are actively reinterpreting their past cultural identities are art and creative expression, utilising mediums such as fashion and film to engage their past cultural identities as well as represent the reinterpreted vision of their cultural identity. Film works especially well in this regard as they are able to merge audio and visual forms into one dense medium of expression.

In the following section I illustrate how addressing these aims and objectives are distributed across the chapters of this dissertation.

#### 1.3. Chapter outline

In <u>Chapter One</u>, Christiaan Olwagen and his films, *Johnny is nie dood nie* (2017) and *Kanarie* (2018), are introduced as the study's main objects of inquiry. Thereafter, some further background and context of the study is discussed, and the aims and parameters of the project defined. Chapter One also states the research question, aims, and the research strategy of the study.

<u>Chapter Two</u> serves to lay the conceptual foundation for the research study's understanding of an Afrikaner cultural identity. I open the chapter by describing my conception of a historic Afrikaner cultural identity, where I investigate the historical circumstances of an Afrikaner culture to better understand how an Afrikaner cultural identity may have formed and developed. In this chapter I also consider certain cultural aspects that might have influenced an Afrikaner cultural identity, including historic Christian beliefs, the Afrikaner's struggle against British imperialism, and the subjugation of indigenous peoples in South Africa.

In order to then fully understand the nuances and functionality of an Afrikaner cultural identity, I investigate how a cultural identity can exist and function as its own independent concept. In this investigation I determine cultural memory to be a key aspect that informs cultural identity.



Thus, I explore the concept of a cultural memory by examining it in regards to socioanthropological notions of culture and socio-cultural ideas of memory. Finally, I establish a conceptual framework that unifies cultural memory with the functionality of a cultural identity.

The purpose of <u>Chapter Three</u> is to describe how intertextuality operates within a filmic context and is able to effectively unite different texts within a cultural memory. I start my investigation into intertextuality by exploring the two main academic approaches that have emerged in describing filmic intertextuality as a practice. The first approach considers filmic intertextuality as a practice of encoding, where the author of the text intentionally inserts an intertextual element into a text so that it may encode additional meaning. The second approach considers intertextuality as a practice of decoding, which describes intertextuality as an audience's unconscious process for generating meaning by relating elements within a text to other texts.

In my exploration of these approaches, I determine them both to be equally important in the functional process of accessing and utilising a cultural memory. From this, I form a conceptual framework for filmic intertextuality that incorporates and unites the two different practices so that I may best describe its ability to access a cultural memory and consequently influence a cultural identity. I then go on to use this conceptual framework for filmic intertextuality in the textual analysis of Chapter Four, but first describe some formal filmic techniques that Olwagen uses to enact intertextuality in his films. Here I describe how Olwagen is able to use the formal filmic techniques of *tableaux vivant* compositions, film music, and direct address to intertextually engage Afrikaner cultural identity.

<u>Chapter Four</u> will be the point of convergence between all the previous chapters in the study, where the conceptual framework for cultural identity and cultural memory in Chapter Two unites with the conceptual framework for filmic intertextuality in Chapter Three, providing the interdisciplinary framework for a textual analysis of *Johnny is nie dood nie* (Olwagen 2017) and *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018). In performing a textual analysis of the films, I am able to investigate how Christiaan Olwagen uses filmic intertextuality to access an Afrikaner cultural memory and subsequently reflect on the evolution of an Afrikaner cultural identity.

In the textual analysis of the films, I specifically focus on scenes in which Olwagen uses the formal filmic techniques of *tableaux vivant* compositions, film music and direct address for



intertextual insertions, and describe how they access an Afrikaner cultural memory. Once I have described how this is possible, I propose how intertextual occurrences invite the audience to reflect on the evolution of an Afrikaner cultural identity.

In this final chapter of the research study, <u>Chapter Five</u>, I outline and describe the ultimate findings of the study. I do this by giving a critical summary of the key concepts discussed in the study and explain how they each contributed to the final conclusion of the study. Furthermore, the concluding chapter describes the academic contributions of the study in its investigation of cultural identity, cultural memory, and filmic intertextuality within the context of Afrikaner culture. I also go on to identify some limitations within the study and suggest possible avenues of further research that could expand the scope and understanding of the research study.

As indicated in the chapter outline above, I now continue to Chapter Two, of which the focus is laying the conceptual foundation for understanding an Afrikaner cultural identity – its form, its development, its influences, and how it is informed by the concept of cultural memory. The following chapter also defines what is meant by cultural memory, at the level of the individual, the level of communal, and, importantly, at the intersection of individual and communal cultural memory.



# CHAPTER TWO: CULTURAL MEMORY AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

This chapter of the study is primarily concerned with the concept of identity, particularly Afrikaner identity, and will rely on Melissa Steyn's (2001) influential work on the Afrikaner culture to guide the study in understanding an Afrikaner identity. However, in order to fully understand an Afrikaner cultural identity, I first explore the concept of identity itself. Therefore, I investigate its origins as a problematic means with which to distinguish groups of people based on characteristics such as skin colour and ancestry, before moving on to more contemporary interpretations that incorporate socio-cultural considerations. Using these contemporary interpretations of cultural identity, I explore how the addition of a socio-cultural dimension affects the understanding of identity as a construct of culture. I briefly examine the formative work of twentieth century French sociologist Emile Durkheim and Maurice Halbwachs, who not only described identity within the context of culture, but also proposed identity's dependence on memory.

Durkheim and Halbwachs' description of identity positions it as a construction of a 'collective memory' (Olick 1999:334). While this notion was later dismissed, it did lead to contemporary academics accounting for the functions of memory and culture within identity. Their research study also explores socio-anthropological interpretations of culture and memory to identify how they can combine to form a cultural memory. Astrid Erll, Ansgar Nünning and Sara Young's (2008) efforts, organized in a definitive 'handbook' for cultural memory studies, serve in this pursuit and guide further investigations. After exploring the concept of cultural memory, the research project turns to the seminal work of Jan Assmann (1995) in discerning how the concept of a cultural memory can inform a cultural identity.

Establishing how cultural memory informs the configuration of cultural identity allows the research study to describe how a cultural memory of apartheid contributes to the cultural identity of Afrikaner people (Grundlingh & Huigen 2011:1). Thereafter, the study investigates how filmic intertextuality interacts with the cultural identity of Afrikaner people, specifically



as it is presented in the films selected for textual analysis, *Johnny is nie dood nie* (Olwagen 2017) and *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018) (see Chapter Four). In order to understand the intricacies of Afrikaner identity as it is represented in the films, I first describe Afrikaner identity as it existed and evolved in the recent past.

#### 2.1. A historic Afrikaner cultural identity

To introduce this section, I reiterate some of the essential background and context from sections 1.1.4 and 1.1.5. Historically, a key driving force in establishing and maintaining an Afrikaner cultural identity has been the intentional production of national pride in the fight for independence and authority, gaining independence from the colonial British empire, establishing Afrikaans as an independent language and subjugating the indigenous people of South Africa (Verwey & Quayle 2012:553). This constructed sense of national pride in historic acts of fighting and the ongoing struggle for an independent culture, all form part of the nation-building narrative that a part of Afrikaner culture has attributed to itself and uses in positioning itself as a distinct entity relative to other narratives of world history. A cultural memory of the past and, more importantly, the way the past is narrativised seems to function as the primary means with which a cultural identity distinguishes itself from other cultures, and also legitimises its own position in the history of the world (Hall 1989:70).

In May 1948 the National Party (NP) came to power in the South African government, and started to implement and enforce their vision for a unilateral nation-state, in which an idealised Afrikaner identity would serve as a key feature of the apartheid system of governance (Hyslop 2000:37). I discuss the particular characteristics of this idealised, ethno-nationalist Afrikaner identity in the paragraphs that follow.

The shift towards a fierce nationalist view of Afrikaner independence and hierarchy can be attributed to certain historical narratives of an Afrikaner culture that positions itself as existing in a constant state of threat (Steyn 2001:25). The apartheid government capitalised on memories of historic clashes between the *Voortrekkers* and the indigenous peoples of South

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Some Afrikaner people narrativised certain aspects of Afrikaner culture, as in the social conventions which dictates the characteristics and behaviours of Afrikaner people living in a geographically concentrated area as a socially connected community, to position and legitimise an Afrikaner nation as an economic and politically independent entity on the world stage.



Africa, narrativising these conflicts in such a way that they were able to celebrate the Afrikaner's victory over the indigenous peoples and proclaim their superiority (Laubscher 2005:309). This narrative of Afrikaner history celebrates the defeat and subjugation of the indigenous people in South Africa (Steyn 2001:25). However, the power dynamic created by the subjugation of indigenous peoples consequently positioned them as a perpetual threat to the Afrikaner's perceived domination and superiority (Steyn 2001:25). The possibility of uprising and retaliation required the close monitoring of non-Afrikaner cultures (Steyn 2001:25).

Along with the belief that indigenous South African peoples posed a threat to the purity and superiority of the Afrikaner, British imperialism was also considered a threat to the Afrikaner national superiority. Due to historical military conflicts with the British empire, Afrikaners regarded the British as disrespectful and invalidating of the Afrikaner identity or its political independence (Steyn 2001:26). This formed historic narratives in which the Afrikaner people perpetually fought the British to establish themselves as a legitimate people and culture (Steyn 2001:26). As a consequence of positioning the British empire as a political threat to an Afrikaner identity, Afrikaners also had to disassociate themselves from European structures of imperialism and hierarchy, eliminating the convenience of 'a superior cultural heritage' as basis for the dominion of their idealised cultural identity (Steyn 2001:28).

Negated from using cultural heritage as a basis for cultural superiority, Afrikaners turned towards religion as a cornerstone for their cultural identity and hierarchy. Christianity has played a crucial role in most of Afrikaner culture's development, serving alongside political opposition to the British government as the main justifications for the exodus of the *Groot Trek* in 1836 (Vestergaard 2001:20; Freschi, Schmahmann & Robbroeck 2019:8).<sup>17</sup> Christianity ultimately becomes the foundation for a sort of religious nationalist movement at the core of

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> The *Voortrekkers* represent the Afrikaner people who, in 1836, chose to renounce the British government of the Cape colony and led a mass exodus, referred to as the *Groot Trek*, into the interior of Southern Africa, where they could settle and ultimately govern themselves (Laubscher 2005:309).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> The *Groot Trek* refers to a mass exodus of Afrikaner people from the British Cape colony in 1836. Many factors contributed to this exodus but most notable were; the lack of British support for Afrikaners living on the interior frontier, perceived political injustice experienced by the Afrikaner people and the British abolishment of slavery in the Cape colony (Laubscher 2005:309).



the apartheid regime and persists into the twentieth century (Vestergaard 2001:20). Christianity was instrumental in the formation of an idealised Afrikaner identity, since religious narratives of purity were used in distinguishing and describing Afrikaner people as a definitive *volk* (nation, a people) called on by God to fulfil their destiny in settling and prospering from the lands of Southern Africa (Vestergaard 2001:20). <sup>18</sup>

The National Party's (NP) rise to power heavily relied on promoting itself as a Christian Afrikaner nationalist movement, and sought to strengthen its appeal by allying with other large Christian Afrikaner organisations such as the *Broederbond*, the Federation of Afrikaner Cultural Organisations, and the Dutch Reformed Church (Vestergaard 2001:20). <sup>19</sup> In aligning themselves with these prominent social and cultural organisations, and later major financial organisations such as the insurance firms Sanlam and Santam, the NP were able to insulate Afrikaner individuals within networks of schools, social clubs, churches and business organisations that pandered directly to the conception of an idealised Afrikaner identity (Verwey & Quayle 2012:553; ). This insulation was further amplified by the National Party's use of media in perpetuating and normalising their Christian Afrikaner nationalist ideals (Tomaselli 2013:11; Freschi, Schmahmann & Robbroeck 2019:2).

The Christian Afrikaner nationalist identity, that would be weaponized by the apartheid government, finds its roots in 'God-fearing' Calvinist values (Vestergaard 2001:20). These values were enforced by an institutional framework that promoted strict adherence to 'Christian Afrikaner traditions', even though most of these traditions only rose to prominence during D.F. Malan's call to nationalist mobilization in the 1930s (Hyslop 2000:38). By evoking the Afrikaner people's historic relationship with Christianity and conflating their religious traditions with political concerns, the apartheid government could structure its view of an idealised Christian Afrikaner nationalist identity around conservative interpretations of patriarchal authority, heterosexuality, and hegemonic masculinity (Gray 2021:5). Christian constructs of patriarchal authority were especially important for an idealised Afrikaner identity,

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 $<sup>^{18}</sup>$  Volk is an Afrikaans term that is used to describe the particular peoples of a country as a distinct nation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> The *Broederbond* was an exclusive secret society for Afrikaner Calvinist males seeking to advance an Afrikaner culture (Vestergaard 2001:20).



and the apartheid government vehemently emphasised figures such as the father, the priest, the principle, and male political leaders as representatives of God who are performing His work, and as the ultimate figures of authority to be obeyed (Vestergaard 2001:35).

In situating patriarchal authority as one of the central components in an idealised Afrikaner identity, Afrikaner men were presented as an idealised form of masculinity and racial superiority. In order to accomplish this perceived position of racial and masculine superiority, the apartheid government utilised Christian Afrikaner nationalist institutions to enforce strict notions of heteronormativity and hegemonic masculinity, leading to many cultural and political organisations, such rugby teams and the South African military, to perpetuate a distinctly masculine ideal (Sonnekus 2013:24). As a consequence of these distinctly masculine ideals, homosexuality and femininity were also threats to the constructed superiority of an idealised Afrikaner identity, and judicial restrictions were implemented by the apartheid government to criminalise, intimidate, or silence anybody perceived as transgressing the hegemonic structures of apartheid masculinity and heteronormativity (Du Pisanie 2001:69). Evidently, the apartheid government was able to form an institutional network of organisations with which to legally police and report any transgressions against an idealised Afrikaner identity, where institutions such as schools, churches and the military were used to insulate Afrikaner people and dominate their consciousness with ideals of Afrikanerdom (Hyslop 2000:37).

This study is crucially guided by the apartheid government's legally mandated performance of hegemonic masculinity and heteronormativity; a mandate that was meant to represent the superiority of the apartheid government and its institutional network (Pushparagavan 2020:[O]).<sup>21</sup> These concepts guide the research study's understanding of how white Afrikaner men coming of age in South Africa struggle with notions of identity in the wake of the apartheid government's idealised Afrikaner identity. These concerns also inform the current study's textual analysis (Chapter Four) of the selected films *Johnny is nie dood nie* (Olwagen 2017)

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Rugby is a contact sport played by teams running with a ball in hand and trying to break through an opposing team's defence in order to score. The sport is internationally practiced with many European and Pacific countries, such as France and New Zealand, participating in its world championship (Rookie Road [O]).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>The Immorality amendment act of 1969 was introduced in South Africa as a means of prohibiting any homosexual interaction between men living in South Africa (Pushparagavan 2020:[O])



and *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018). Therefore, the research study formulates a conceptual framework for an idealised Afrikaner identity as centred around ideals of hegemonic masculinity and Christian nationalist ideals of heteronormativity, which is then used to investigate how the selected films reflect on the evolution of an Afrikaner cultural identity.

The research study considers an idealised Afrikaner identity as a cultural and institutional enforcement of gender constructs with dominantly hegemonic notions of masculinity, and the punishment of all transgression of these dominant constructs (Sonnekus 2013:24). These notions of hegemonic masculinity are also informed and perpetuated by a strict adherence to Christian heteronormative ideals, which consequently situates any semblance of homosexuality as a threat to not only an idealised Afrikaner identity (Du Plessis 2006:27), but also the national body and social fabric of the country. And, in order to counter any such threat to an idealised Afrikaner identity, cultural institutions are empowered to police and judicially persecute any person deemed to be transgressing the engendered constructs of an idealised Afrikaner identity (Du Pisanie 2001:69).

From the above, it is clear that the apartheid government attempted to use the Afrikaner people's historic notions of masculinity and their Christian ideas of heteronormativity to create an idealised form of Afrikaner cultural identity. However, it remains unclear how the Afrikaner people's memories of past cultural practices were utilised to establish the preferred cultural identity. The following section investigates how a cultural memory is constructed and is able to inform and constitute a cultural identity.

#### 2.2. The construction of a cultural identity and cultural memory

Early notions of cultural identity aimed to describe the attempts of social groups to establish themselves as distinct cultures, as 'one people', where the basis for distinction between groups was commonly shared aspects such as ancestry, practices, and history (Hall 1989:69; (Grundlingh & Huigen 2011:2). However, this historic conception of cultural identity has been scrutinised in contemporary discussions of post-coloniality and identity hybridity (Epstein 2009:328). Consequently, the idea of a fixed cultural identity based on race, ethnicity, religion, or ideology perpetuates social and racial stigma, and inspires violence and oppression between different social groups (Epstein 2009:328; Grundlingh & Huigen 2011:2). Contemporary



conceptions of culture have since traded the 'fixed' mentality for a much more dynamic interpretation aligned with post-colonial and post-modernist sentiments of subjective cultural experience.

This research study specifically acknowledges the role that colonial history plays in the formation and interpretation of South African cultural discourse and, as discussed in the previous section of this chapter, its role in the formation of an idealised Afrikaner cultural identity. The study also recognises that hybridity and post-colonial studies inform much of the literature that the study engages and may serve to contribute further insights into the nuances of some topics in the research study. However, the current enquiry will not pursue hybridity or post-colonial applications of culture, since that would overreach the scope of the study. Instead, the study will follow socio-anthropological interpretations that regard culture as a shifting, rather than fixed, point of reference.

By dismissing the idea that cultural identity operates as a stable and unchanging point of reference, it is possible to understand its ever-changing nature constantly shaped by the interplay of power, history, and culture (Hall 1989:70). Understanding that cultural identity is *shaped* by the constant interplay of power, history, and culture, it follows that cultural identity is *temporally dependent* on the historic evolution of a culture, i.e. drawing from power structures of its dominant actors as well as from the culture's interaction with its own history. In this conceptualization of cultural identity, the interaction that occurs between a culture and the recollections of its own *cultural history* is a prominent factor (Assmann 2011:16; Grundlingh & Huigen 2011:3). Consequently, the notion of *cultural memory* reveals itself as a key operator in the construction of a cultural identity. While it may seem simple enough to grasp, the concept of a cultural memory is much more intricate than the shared recollection of a group's history. It is foundational in the narratives enacted by groups of people to help establish a meaningful existence. Before discussing ideas of meaning and narrative, what follows is a brief history of cultural memory.

As I have already stated earlier in the study, the foundations of cultural memory was the work of Emile Durkheim and Maurice Halbwachs (Olick 1999:334). Since their twentieth century understanding of cultural memory, multiple disciplines have recognized the academic potential in studying the functionality of cultural memory within their individual disciplines. The



disciplines that have investigated the concept and recognized the significance of integrating memory and culture include art, history, sociology, media studies, philosophy, theology, psychology, and neurosciences (Erll 2008:1). An unfortunate consequence of these disciplines, each contributing their own unique academic perspective on the phenomenon, is that there now exists a very broad and varied range of conceptual interpretations of cultural memory. This has led to cultural memory existing in a state of relative divergent evolution, and not enjoying a delineated or stable conceptual foundation (Erll 2008:1).

'Cultural memory' has then come to be used as an umbrella term for numerous different phenomena and practices, including historiography, ritual and physiological neural structures, which causes a lot of contention in describing cultural memory's functions and applications (Erll 2008:1). Critics of cultural memory, such as Noa Gedi and Yigal Elam (1996:30), have highlighted the varied nature of cultural memory and have criticized it for being an amalgamation of other well-established concepts such as invented tradition and myth making. <sup>22</sup> As a justification and substantiation for their criticism, Gedi and Elam (1996:30) point to the failure of academia to establish the concept as a distinct and delineated cultural phenomenon, and how historians have come to use the word when investigating the evolution of nations and cultures over time. Gedi and Elam (1996:31) refer to a 1987 article by Johnathan Frankel, which they state comprehensively describes the concept of a cultural memory as it is used today. <sup>23</sup>

As such, one of the key problems with conceptualising cultural memory is that it has become an amalgamation of two distinct realms that have been successfully delineated in the past, jumbling the *individual* practices of myth, tradition, and customs with *collective* manifestations such as society, tribalism, or nationhood (Gedi & Elam 1996:35). To underpin this argument, Gedi and Elam (1996:35) emphasise specific examples where academics, mostly historians, have failed to bridge incongruities between the memory of the individual and the memory of the collective.

It is, in the opinion of Gedi and Elam (1996:35), problematic to consider that cultural memory can only be constituted through the memory of individuals within the collective, and cannot

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> For more on invented traditions, see Hobsbawm's *The invention of Tradition* (2012)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Frankel refers to the concept under the familiar banner of "National Myths" (Gedi and Elam 1996:31).



exist as "a separate, distinct, single organism with a mind, or a will, or a memory of its own". While these contentions may be valid for defining cultural memory according to specific aspects and constructs of memory, they do not consider the true impact of situating it as a socio-cultural construct. The value of conceptualising cultural memory lies in its ability to bridge conceptions of memory and culture, exposing the "interplay of present and past in socio-cultural contexts" (Erll 2008:2). Because cultural memory spans and overlaps so many different conceptions, some basic definitions and conceptual differentiations must be made in the pursuit of establishing a conceptual framework and, by extent, a definition for cultural memory that is pertinent to this study.

To this end, I am guided by Astrid Erll, Ansgar Nünning and Sara Young's (2008) efforts at organizing a definitive 'handbook' for cultural memory studies, in which they compile several academic papers concerning cultural memory, all from different fields of study and written at different times, to establish a coherent conceptual foundation for the subject.<sup>24</sup> In the sections that follow, I will formulate a conceptual framework for cultural memory by introducing the individual dimensions of both culture and of memory, which allows me to demonstrate the interplay between them and also the significance of how I define and use the concept within the rest of this study.

### 2.3. The dimensionality of culture and memory

This part of the study seems fairly clear – to consider the term 'cultural memory' as an amalgamation of two distinct ideas. In this instance, the term itself already provides quite plainly the central components of cultural memory – *culture* and *memory*. While this seems simple enough, these components are not trivially named (and are complicated on their own), but rather specified in order to illuminate the true functions and properties of cultural memory as a unified, even synthesised, concept.

The etymological history of 'cultural memory' as a designation has shifted and evolved over time as different interpretations of the concept were applied in different academic disciplines,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Erll, Nünning, and Young edited the 2008 book, *Cultural memory studies: An international and interdisciplinary handbook*, comprising different papers from different authors. The research project will specifically reference a paper by Erll from this book.



as stated earlier. Maurice Halbwachs (1992) is credited as one of the first to describe the concept, originally designated as "collective memory" (Erll 2008:4). Halbwachs' (1992) presupposition of the 'collective' garnered a lot of scrutiny for not explicitly delineating the contextual boundaries of the phenomenon and, consequently, academics adopted 'cultural memory' as a designation meant to clarify the phenomenon's socio-cultural context (Erll 2008:4).

As I have already clarified, both *culture* and *memory* are complex concepts in themselves. Before I can successfully approach a discussion of cultural memory's socio-cultural context I must discuss and define *culture*. The following section attempts to streamline the task of defining *culture*, for which there exists a multitude of different conceptions and purported functions.

### 2.3.1. Culture and its dimensions

Contemporary socio-anthropological descriptions of culture stem from a decline in the uniformitarian view of human nature as a resolute constant. Socio-anthropological studies now prefer to view human behaviour as being dependent on external aspects such as time, place, and circumstance (Geertz 2000:2). This socio-anthropological description proposes that culture exists as a matrix of matters that a specific community designates as significant, and emphasises how this matrix is able to direct the community's way of life (Geertz 2000:5). In this view, culture refers to the aspects within a community that influences its very nature, dictating not only the characteristics and behaviour of the community as a whole, but also that of the individual within the community. As such, I treat culture as operating in three primary dimensions: the communal, the material, and the individual. For purposes of conceptual clarity, I will now describe the three dimensions of culture below.

### 2.3.1.1. The communal dimension of culture

The communal dimension of culture can be viewed as the macro-environment in which culture operates. In this dimension culture's primary area of influence is the social interactions between people. It is also within this dimension that a community partakes in shared culture and where social groups and institutions, such as sports-clubs and churches, facilitate social interactions (Erll 2008:4). These groups and institutions enact culture through required social practices,



such as rituals and traditions, which are performed as a means of signalling participation in the culture (Posner 1989:40). These rituals and traditions can range anywhere from simple acts of regular assembly to the substantial and formal rites of marriage or religious offering. Along with rituals and traditions, there are often, if not always, associated artefacts that function materially or symbolically, or both, in cultural practices. These artefacts are also used as indicators of affiliation with a particular community (Posner 1989:40), which I move on to below.

#### 2.3.1.2. The material dimension of culture

As noted above, the social rituals and traditions of a community are performed in the macro-environment of culture. Within this macro-environment lies the material dimension, the dimension of artefacts. 'Artefacts' that constitute the material dimension include cultural texts, objects, and media, and the skills for producing and using them are highly praised within a community (Posner 1989:40). These artefacts are only manifested once a community attributes significant meaning to a specific object, text, or act as symbolic to their culture (Geertz 2000:45). Words and phrases, gestures, songs, physical objects, and natural materials, such as jewels, are all examples of cultural artefacts used in the traditions and rituals of cultures as significant symbols, linking and dictating the individuals experience of the larger culture (Geertz 2000:45). While individuals are linked to one-another in the larger social institutions of culture and communally interact with their artefacts, each must participate in their own capacity; in the individual dimension.

### 2.3.1.3. The individual dimension of culture

The individual dimension culture consists of specific codes and conventions, which manifest as culturally defined ways of thinking meant to influence the mentality of an individual (Erll 2008:4). A culture's codes and conventions govern an individual's experience and creation of meaning – a process that strongly influences the agency of the individual in the adoption of cultural beliefs, values, and mentalities (Posner 1989:40).<sup>25</sup> The assertion of agency is central

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Roland Posner (1989:40) uses the outdated and ambiguous term "mentifacts" to refer to cultural traits such as beliefs and mentalities.



to the individual dimension of culture, since the material and communal dimensions both rely on the individual to *abide* by its codes and conventions, to *affiliate* with the institutions, to *practice* its rituals and *affirm* the meaning and purpose of its artefacts.

Summatively, these three dimensions in which culture operates reveal how it is not merely a personal experience or interpretation of 'happenings in the head', but rather a process that spans into the social and public realm where cultural artefacts operate as mechanisms of control for both the individual and the community (Geertz 2000:45). It is thus possible to describe culture as functioning in between these overlapping dimensions, concentrated especially at the intersection of the individual and the communal dimensions, where culture is able to physically manifest as artefacts. The following Venn diagram is a visualisation of culture's dimensional overlap:

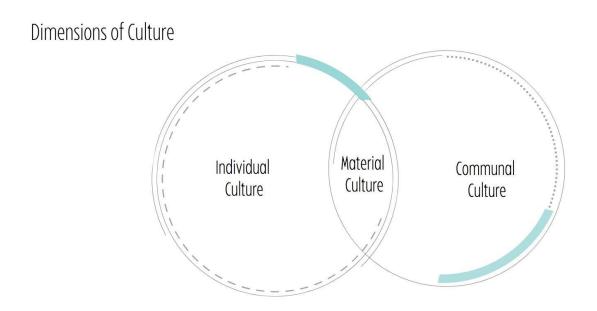


Figure 1: The Dimensions of Culture Venn diagram, by author

In order for culture to function coherently between its different dimensions, it must be able to effectively maintain itself on both the communal level and the individual level. Therefore, both the individual and the community rely on processes and practices that temporarily preserve culture, both within the mind of the individual and the consciousness of the community. Culture is temporally preserved by the individual through neurological processes within the brain that



constitute what we refer to as memory (Posner 1989:41). The community is able to temporally preserve culture through material and social processes, where specific material artefacts and social practices are designated as symbolically significant to a culture, before being passed from one generation to the next (Posner 1989:41).

In my brief discussion of the different dimensions within which culture operates, it can be seen that the temporal preservation and transmission of culture is of great concern. Accordingly, this study introduces 'memory' as a mechanism with which culture is able to preserve and propagate itself in both the communal and individual dimensions. To briefly clarify my use of 'memory', I discuss the different dimensions of memory and their overlap in the next section. Thereafter, I illustrate the interaction between memory and culture as a process that constitutes a *cultural memory*.

# 2.3.2. Memory and its dimensions

Since its conceptualization, the understanding of the cultural memory phenomenon has been incongruous. This is greatly due to the metaphorical transfer of the cognitive processes of a human mind to the social practices of a community, resulting in an incongruous understanding of memory's function within culture (Erll 2008:4). Here we may return to Halbwachs (1992:38), for whom the study of memory concerns the social structures of a community rather than properties of the subjective mind. Halbwachs (1992:38) writes that "it is in society that people normally acquire their memory. It is also in society that they recall, recognize and localize their memories". This view demonstrates a definitive flaw in the understanding of cultural memory, since Halbwachs conflates the individual level of memory and the communal level of memory without resolving the tension between them (Olick 1999:335).

Despite acknowledging both the individual and communal dimensions, this understanding of cultural memory does not sufficiently distinguish between the dimensions as unique operational structures that relate to each other in distinct ways. Below, I briefly differentiate between the specific dimensions of memory before I move on to their convergence.



# 2.3.2.1. The individual dimension of memory

The first dimension of memory is that of the individual, where memory is understood in terms of the cognitive processes of the mind. In this dimension memory operates physiologically as a mechanism with which individuals are able to recall past experiences and interpret new ones (Erll 2008: 5). Through this cognitive, neurological process individuals are also able to establish meaning and attribute significance to the outside world (Erll 2008: 5). The individual dimension of memory is essentially experiential and inherently personal. It is also temporally reliant on the life of the individual, forming and growing in conjunction with an individual and, ultimately, dying with them too. This is only one dimension of memory — a highly transient one. The second dimension of memory that I discuss below, while in no way eternal, endures far longer.

# 2.3.2.2. The communal dimension of memory

Memory in the communal dimension does not occur through physiological processes, but rather manifests in a symbolic manner as material and social constructs (Erll 2008:5). In this symbolic sense exists the physical objects and social practices that a community has deemed significant enough to be shared and preserved as a means of recalling a distant past (Erll 2008:5). <sup>26</sup> Preservation is especially important in this dimension, not only because it maintains the cohesion of the community, but also its relationship to former members and iterations of the culture. In this dimension memory is not formed organically, but is rather constructed symbolically by the community. It is for this reason that memory in the communal dimension is able to operate and endure longer than any organic memory.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Lacanian theory on the 'symbolic order' and 'the big Other' might serve as an interesting point of departure to further investigate how culture is influenced and regulated through socio-linguistic symbolism and constructs of remembering.



# Dimensions of Memory

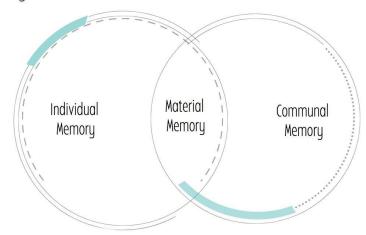


Figure 2: Dimensions of Memory Venn diagram, by author

I present the Venn diagram in Figure 2 in order to illustrate the overlap between the two dimensions of memory. Importantly, within the intersection between the dimensions it becomes possible for individual memory to interact with physical objects, and for communal memory to interact with physiological structures. Because of this interaction, the overlap between the two dimensions can be thought of as the material dimension, in which physical objects manifest as meaningful representations for memory.

These different dimensions of memory all operate as a means with which to encode new meaning based on past knowledge. Individual memory accomplishes this through physiological processes. It operates by establishing a cognitive matrix of lived experiences, which an individual can then recall from and use to encode new experiences with significance and meaning (Erll 2008:5). Communal memory, on the other hand, works through social and material operations. The functionality of communal memory bears some resemblance to the processes of individual memory, in which a community works to selectively establish a matrix of significant and meaningful objects or practices that represent past knowledge, which can then be used in confronting new circumstances encountered by the community (Erll 2008:5).

While they work as distinct practices, the individual and communal dimensions interact continuously and inform one another; a form of symbiosis. For instance, a substantial part of



individual memory is formed and shaped by external factors and circumstances, factors such as family, wealth, and nationality all contribute to the schemata an individual forms within their mind (Olick 1999:335). Here it is possible to see how individual and communal memory intersect each other, as the physical objects and social practices deemed significant by a communal memory provides the materials with which the individual memory is informed, and the individual memory then, in turn, is able to attribute meaning to physical objects and social practices in such a way that it bolsters the communal memory (Olick 1999:335). This continuous feedback relation between internal and external memory occurs as an individual forms and shares meaningful memories with the community (Olick 1999:335). If the memories are significant enough, they will be shared repeatedly over time and become embedded as symbolism within the memory of the community, thus becoming part of the individual's social context, that is, their culture (Olick 1999:335).

When viewing the relation between individual and communal it becomes possible to see that they function together as a mechanism with which an individual and community is able to ascribe meaning to experience, locating and orienting experiences based on ones that occurred in the past (Geertz 2000:45). This functionality of memory – a mechanism with which to attribute significance and orientate experience – is what ideally positions it to establish and preserve culture.

The cognitive processes that establish individual memory and allow the recall of significant past experiences, also recall and engage the codes and conventions of a cultural institution. As such, individual memory functions to facilitate individual culture. When the individual participates in a culture's rituals and practices, they encounter the symbolic artefacts of that culture, using them as guides in their social interactions with the larger community. Furthermore, the individual is actively validating the significance of the artefacts within the material dimension of the culture community. From this train of thought, I propose that the individual aids in the construction and maintenance of a communal memory, since their use of the artefacts as significant symbols validates their continued presence for future generations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Not all memories that are shared within a community are able to become part of a community's memory, as the oppression or censorship of minority memory practices negate their inclusion into the larger memory of the community, no matter their significance.



The creation of an enduring communal memory allows social groups and institutions of a culture to preserve codes and conventions.

In summary, I suggest that culture uses memory in establishing and maintaining matrices of significant matters, matrices that recall the past of a community and dictates a community's approach to and behaviours in the future. This point of convergence between the dimensions of culture and the dimensions of memory is where cultural memory emerges.

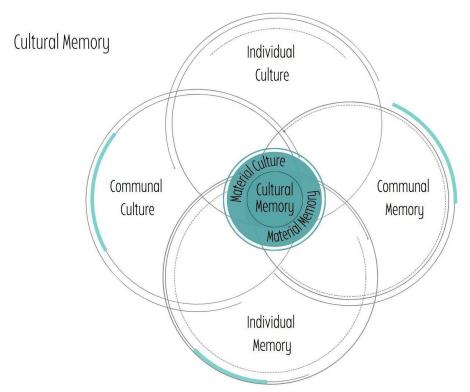


Figure 3: Cultural Memory as an intersection of dimensions, by author.

I present the Venn diagram above as an illustration of the different components of cultural memory and to visually represent the processes of interaction between them. These components and processes also interact with *cultural identity*. In the following section I will demonstrate how a cultural memory is able to constitute and interact with a cultural identity. Importantly, cultural memory tends to operate from fixed points, meaningful events or objects from the past that are interacted with and maintained by the community as cultural figurations and



representations of cultural memory (Assmann 1995:129).<sup>28</sup> As I have already noted, these figurations of cultural memory can take many different forms – artistic texts, rituals, and monuments are all figurations of a cultural memory, which then collectively come to represent a distinct cultural identity, but this research study will focus specifically on film texts as figurations of cultural memory.

There exist a vast number of intricacies in the processes through which cultural memory aids in the construction of cultural identity, and exploring them all will far exceed the scope of this study. However, Jan Assmann's (1995:130-131) seminal work provides some key functionalities of cultural memory that inform and constitute cultural identity, which succinctly illustrates the interconnection of the two concepts. The following functionalities that Assmann (1995:130-132) outlines are applicable to the objectives of the research study:

- A culture derives its sense of uniqueness and solidarity from the matrix of figurations in which cultural memory operates. As such, this matrix of significant texts, objects, monuments, rituals etc. serve as a catalogue of symbolic figurations which represent a culture's peculiarity (Epstein 2009:337-338). And in establishing these texts, objects and rituals as figurations of a culture, they can be viewed as figures of concentrated identity (Assmann 1995:130).
- A cultural memory preserves figurations as objective manifestations of identity, which are then used as gauges in a process of determinate identification (Assmann 1995:130). This means that a cultural memory stores figurations that can be used in making distinctions between that which belongs to it (the culture), and that which does not. In this process of distinction, a cultural identity either establishes a positive identification ("this is us") or a negative identification ("that is not us") (Hall 1989:71). The access to and transmission of a cultural memory can also serve to distinguish between who is considered familiar and who is foreign.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Assman (1995:130) uses the term 'figurations' to describe the manifestations of a cultural memory, however, this terminology should not be confused with Norbert Elias' social conception of *Figuration* (Ellias 1999)



- A culture is able to continually reconstruct their cultural identity by relating their contemporary situations to the stored network of knowledge within a cultural memory (Hall 1989:72). While cultural memory operates through relatively fixed figurations, a cultural identity can link contemporary situations to these figurations through processes of contextual appropriation, criticism, or transformation (Assmann 1995:130). As such, the figurations of a cultural memory can be manipulated or expanded in ways that affect the cultural identity.
- Institutions can be used to reinforce and preserve a cultural identity by producing and regulating access to significant figurations from a cultural memory, and thereby establish institutional systems that attribute value and importance to identities who have access to the figurations of a cultural memory (Assmann 1995:131). Institutions are thus able to regulate aspects of a cultural memory and determine what is considered central to a cultural identity or what can be viewed as peripheral.
- The manner through which a cultural identity is influenced by the figurations of a cultural memory can be described according to two characteristics. *Formative* figurations of cultural memory are didactic in nature and function as foundational constructs within the cultural identity (Assmann 1995:132). These figurations include historic texts (a Bible for example) or oral histories. *Normative* figurations of cultural memory, on the other hand, are regulatory in nature, functioning as behaviour models or as rules for conduct (Assmann 1995:132), for example, figurations such as traditions and rituals.

From the functionalities of cultural memory mentioned above, it is clear that cultural identity and cultural memory are inextricably linked. Assmann (1995:132) succinctly describes the nuances of this link in the conclusion of his seminal work on cultural memory and cultural identity: "The concept of cultural memory comprises that body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose "cultivation" serves to stabilize and convey that society's [cultural identity]". After establishing how a cultural memory can serve to inform and maintain a cultural identity, I will determine the role that film plays in this process.



The process through which a cultural identity functionally interacts with the figurations of a cultural memory can be associated with the act of remembering, and therefore it can be said that cultural identity is constructed through processes of remembering (Erll 2008:6), processes in which a culture recalls specific figurations of the past and re-enacts them relative to the present situation. In recalling specific figurations of the past and transposing them onto contemporary contexts, a culture is effectively constructing a *cultural narrative* that incorporates past figurations into their present sense of identity (Assmann 2011:15).

This narrative capacity of cultural identity is a significant aspect of how a culture is able to attribute meaning to itself. The continuous relation of past senses of cultural identity, through figurations of cultural memory, with present notions of identity, formulates a distinct narrative that is perpetually revised and revisited (Hall 1989:69). It is here that I find the intersection between cultural identity, cultural memory, and film studies – where film is the figuration of cultural memory that is able to narrativizes a cultural identity. This intersection between film, cultural memory and cultural identity reveals a platform for and lens through which a culture is able to recall, represent, and reconsider the narrative of its historic identity. Encouraging engagement with cultural identity through the filmic medium will influence the present perception of a culture's identity and, possibly, initiate reflection on that identity. Not only is it an excellent medium for such engagement, but, importantly, film is a popular and provocative medium, meaning it is a likely platform through which a culture can revise, revisit, or negotiate its memory and identity.

Film has had an enormous impact on the manner through which cultures record, preserve, and recount their history (Mazierska 2011:1). It is a medium through which cultures can visually engage with history and open discourses with the past (Mazierska 2011:1). Early discussions present the value of film as a historical source centre, based on its mimetic capabilities, i.e. its ability to faithfully capture and reproduce reality. However, later discussions acknowledge that film is able to revise or manage perceptions of the past by representing it from, and in, specific contexts (Mazierska 2011:12).

Film is just one medium that is available to cultures for the narrativization of their shared identity, and many different types of media are used in communicating a culture's identity (Erll 2008:389). Media texts such as books, poems, songs, and paintings are all able to serve as



figurations of cultural memory, and the act of reiterating these texts work to shape and maintain a narrative of cultural identity (Assmann 1995:132; Erll 2008:389). Considering that media texts operate as agents in the creation and maintenance of cultural identity, the relations between these texts and the effects of how they interact are of great importance. Where the interaction between media texts influences the narrative of a culture's identity, is where negotiation happens – it is thus also where cultural identity and intertextuality converge.

The influence that media has over narratives of cultural identity can clearly be seen in the context of an idealised Afrikaner cultural identity, where the apartheid government fervently manipulated the cultural media in order to insulate Afrikaner people from the true scope and consequences of their legislation (Steyn 2001:40; Tomaselli 2013:11; Freschi, Schmahmann & Robbroeck 2019:2). The apartheid government employed strict censorship protocols that directed the Afrikaner people's interaction with other narratives of identity globally. An example of this is the apartheid government's censorship of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), specifically their censorship of American television programs shown on the SABC. The apartheid government banned the relatively liberal 'Hollywood' representations of race, gender, and sexuality that were contrary (and threatening, as a result) to an idealised Afrikaner identity (Hyslop 2000:39; Tomaselli 2013:13).

According to Gray (2021:10), the banning, and subsequent unbanning, of media dealing with narratives of identity in South Africa had a major impact on the ways that South African people interact with their cultural memory and cultural identity For example, Afrikaners are allowed the opportunity to examine and re-narrativize their own cultural memory and identity when exposed to film and television programs that present narratives of identity different from their own (Hyslop 2000:39). This study emphasises how such a redefining and re-narrativizing of cultural identity is possible with the use of intertextuality.

Intertextual occurrences between the texts where individuals can recognise narratives that are contrary to their own cultural identity, allows for the existing, familiar narratives and experiences of cultural identity to be ascribed new meaning. In order to better understand how engagement with intertextual occurrences were, and are, able to influence narratives of Afrikaner identity, I describe the functions and processes through which filmic intertextuality operates in more detail next.



# CHAPTER THREE: A SPECTRUM OF INTERTEXTUALITY; STRATEGIES AND TECHNIQUES

This chapter will explain the history, development and functionality of filmic intertextuality. I will trace the history of intertextuality as a concept mostly used in literary studies to its eventual transition into film studies. As a result of the transition from literary to film studies, there developed two main academic approaches that describe filmic intertextuality as a practice. These divergent approaches developed as a result of post-structuralist and post-modernist interpretations of meaning generation, the one situating the author as the site of meaning creation and the other the audience.

Thus, Chapter Two will individually explore and describe the two different approaches to filmic intertextuality, first investigating filmic intertextuality as a practice of *encoding* before then investigating filmic intertextuality as a practice of *decoding*. After gaining a thorough understanding of the different functionalities for each practice, I will establish a conceptual framework for filmic intertextuality that combines key aspects of both practices in order to best relate the processes of intertextuality with a cultural memory. Lastly in this chapter, I will go on to describe three formal filmic techniques that Olwagen uses for enacting intertextuality, and describe how these filmic techniques are able to function intertextually. Here I will describe the filmic techniques of *tableaux vivant* compositions, film music and direct address as they operate to intertextually connect Olwagen's films with an Afrikaner cultural memory.

During the second half of the twentieth century, an academic movement arose which started to question contemporary theories of ontology and epistemology as a response to the atrocities of World War II and the American counterculture movement of the 1960s (Dillet 2017:517).<sup>29</sup> The prevailing ontological and epistemological views at the time were objectivist and essentialist; relegating notions of identity and representation as *a priori* (Woodward *et al.* 

and rejected the traditional social, economic, and political norms of American culture (Hayes 2022:[O]).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> World War II refers to the global conflict fought from 1939 to 1945 in which countries such as the United Kingdom, Russia, and the United States of America allied themselves against Adolf Hitler's Nazi Germany and his Axis supporter (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum [O]). After WWII, in the 1960s and 1970s, a counterculture movement developed in America that consisted of a generation who opposed the Vietnam War,



2009:396).<sup>30</sup> The wave of academics to follow, deemed 'post-structuralist' thinkers, critiqued these theories as figures of binary opposition and 'regimes of truth' (Woodward *et al.* 2009:396). Fredric Jameson, Michel Foucault, and Jacques Derrida, among others, argued in their work that knowledge cannot be defined in an objective manner and should rather be interpreted as a deeply subjective matter (Dillet 2017:518). The approach to knowledge as subjective led to opportunities for exploring many new perspectives on social and cultural processes and formations, including representation and identity.

Since the disciplines of film and media studies directly dealt with modes of representation and identity politics, they were inevitably exploited for their potential to explore and represent subjective experiences. Post-structuralist academics such as Roland Barthes and Julia Kristeva focused their attention on the subjective experience of an 'active audience', placing the process of knowledge creation within the audience's experience of texts – a view that rejects existing notions of an objective 'AuthorGod' (Ott & Walter 2000:429). In focusing on the audience's experience of texts, academics also realised that audiences relate their current experience of a text with that of other texts experienced previously, necessitating further investigation into the relationships between different texts, i.e. intertextual relationships (Ott & Walter 2000:429).

The theoretical notion of intertextuality was first popularised within the field of critical literature studies, used to compare the influence of similar ideas and styles in different texts of literature (Mazierska 2011:16). Later, the concept of intertextuality formed part of the development of adaptation theory, as scholars began to investigate the relationships between pieces of literature that have been adapted into plays or films (Mazierska 2011:16). Many scholars agree that the French literary critic Julia Kristeva first coined the term 'Intertextuality' in her interpretation of Mikhail Bakhtin's work, a fellow literary critic and Russian philosopher (D'Angelo 2009:33).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Ontology and Epistemology are both philosophical fields of inquiry, where ontology investigates the nature of being and existence and epistemology investigates the nature of knowledge and learning (Felgueroso 2022:[O]). A priori is a Greek term that refers to knowledge that is not generated from experimental evidence, but that is rather based in qualitative deduction and speculation (Woodward *et al.* 2009:396).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> For more information on the 'active audience' see: Barthes, R., 1977. *Image-music-text*. and Kristeva, J., 1984. *Revolution in poetic language*.



Kristeva based her idea of intertextuality on Bakhtin's notion of 'dialogism', which proposes that any text accretes meaning through a formal and necessary relationship that exists between itself and similar texts that precedes it (Stam *et al.* 1992:208).<sup>32</sup> Kristeva expands on Bakhtin's notion of a 'necessary relation between texts' by arguing that not only does a text cumulate meaning through its relation to other texts, it is then also able to utilise and alter the meaning of the transposed texts. Kristeva (1984:60) defines intertextuality as "the transposition of one (or several) sign system(s) into another", emphasising that the act of transposition not only duplicates the sign system(s), but ultimately transforms its core positionality. This expanded notion of dialogism as intertextuality is further explained as "any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another" (Kristeva 1986:36). However, Kristeva's conception of intertextuality suggests a linear connection between a text and those that precede it. This linear conception of intertextuality has been contested and expanded on by other academics.

Michael Riffaterre (1984) and Gerard Genette (1997), for example, expand on Bakhtin and Kristeva's ideas by describing intertextuality as the perception a viewer has of the relation between a text and all other texts active in cultural production (Stam *et al.* 1992:209-210). This interpretation of intertextuality posits that a text does not accrete meaning from linear connections with preceding texts only, but rather from linear and parallel connections as audiences perceive a text in relation to all texts that surround it (Stam *et al.* 1992:209; Fisk 2010:109). Thus, intertextuality is described as a process through which an audience assigns meaning to a text, a process in which they relate the text to their accumulated knowledge of cultural codes, based on their experience of other texts (Fisk 2010:109). By incorporating an audience's perception of a text into the functionality of intertextuality, a great deal of emphasis is placed on the subjective experience of the viewer. However, this later description of intertextuality leads to some ambivalence in the conceptual understanding of intertextuality.

To detail the emerging ambivalence, I look to a past definition for intertextuality. Gerard Genette's (1997:1) definition of intertextuality eloquently hints at this ambivalence – "all that sets [a] text in a relationship, whether *obvious* or *concealed*, with other texts" (emphasis added).

 $<sup>^{32}</sup>$  See Bakhtin's (2010) *The Dialogic Imagination* for more on the idea of dialogism.



Genette's definition of intertextuality acknowledges that much of intertextuality's functionality is based on the perception of the audience, but also accounts for instances in which the audience may not be aware of intertextual occurrences. This distinction between 'obvious intertextuality' and 'concealed intertextuality' causes a split in the resulting conceptual development, leading to two divergent approaches towards intertextuality.

One approach to intertextuality focused on the perception of the audience as the key operational area for intertextuality, but the other approach considered intertextual occurrences which were intentionally inserted into a text by the author, thusly bringing the specific site at which intertextuality operates from into contention (Ott & Walter 2000:430). Academics working in film studies were primed to acknowledge these ambivalent occurrences of intertextuality (obvious vs concealed) as they increasingly recognised occurrences where directors directly quoted or referenced other cultural artefacts in their films (Stam *et al.* 1992:207). Because of film's coded nature and capacity to incorporate other types of audio and visual media (Stam *et al.* 1992:207), film studies can be considered a key source for expanding on the obvious-concealed ambiguity.

As academics further investigated the different sites and processes of intertextuality, a plethora of different naming conventions emerged for distinguishing specific interpretations and applications of intertextuality. For instance, throughout his seminal work on the functions of intertextuality, Gerard Genette renamed his interpretation of intertextuality several times, changing it from intertextuality to 'paratextuality' (Genette 1992), then to 'transtextuality' (Genette 1997). Establishing a coherent nomenclature for the concept of intertextuality was further hindered by scholars working in different disciplines, who would apply the concept to field-specific occurrences. As a result, there exist many different terms for various (yet similar) conceptions of intertextuality. For the sake of consistency and brevity, I choose to use the word *intertextuality* as a hypernym to describe filmic occurrences of intertextuality and the varying processes or functions it encompasses that are pertinent to the study.<sup>33</sup>

For most interpretations of filmic intertextuality, two main lines of thought exist regarding the sites and processes through which intertextuality operates – some academics investigate

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Hypernym is the term used for a word that constitutes a broad range of distinct concepts (Nordquist 2019:[O]).



intertextuality as a practice of encoding, while others describe it as a practice of decoding (Ott & Walter 2000:430)<sup>34</sup>. Both of these distinct approaches to filmic intertextuality serve as primary markers in outlining key processes and functions of intertextuality.

# 3.1. Intertextuality as a practice of encoding

Media scholars in the 1980s observed an increasingly popular trend in film and television where explicit references were made to other cultural texts, and doing so with great success. The academics investigating this phenomenon soon realised that the success of this type of elicit referencing lies in its access to an accumulated past knowledge of popular cultural texts, i.e. a cultural memory (Collins 1992:333-334). Within his larger study of post-modern modes of communication, Umberto Eco (1985:261) touches on this concept of referencing cultural knowledge in his investigations of reusing and recycling past texts within new artistic texts, as the act of repeating the "already said" (Collins 1992:333). Eco (1985:170) refers to this repetition and reference of cultural knowledge as a type of 'intertextual dialogue' and describes its operations as "...[a] phenomenon by which a given text *echoes* previous texts" (emphasis added). Eco (1985:170) then goes on to state that, while intertextual dialogue can operate in obscurity, it is most effective when operating explicitly and recognisably within a text.

From Eco's interpretation of explicit intertextuality's efficacy, it is possible to situate *intent* as a factor in the functionality of intertextuality, and, thusly, also position the author of a text as a site from which intertextuality operates (Ott & Walter 2000:430). The author of a text is able to explicitly insert cultural references in their work as a means of inserting meaning into their text, which intentionally shapes the experience of their audiences (Ott & Walter 2000:434). In this instance, when the site from which intertextuality operates is the author of a text, intertextuality is used as a device for encoding.

Eco (1985:172) points to the classic 1982 film *E.T.* (Spielberg) as an exemplary instance of this type of encoded intertextuality. In Spielberg's film the titular character, an extra-terrestrial

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>Ott and Walter (2000) briefly uses the terms encoding and decoding in describing some aspects of intertextuality, but ultimately do not use the terms in identifying specific descriptions of intertextuality. However, the objectives of this research project align with this conception of intertextuality and will use the terms to describe key features of intertextuality.



being, is disguised under a sheet and taken trick-or-treating in a Californian suburb. On this Halloween excursion E.T. encounters a child dressed as Yoda, a fictional character from *Star Wars* (Lucas 1977-2005). Eco (1985:172) highlights that during this encounter, E.T. responds to the Yoda costume with some kind of familiarity or recognition, when E.T. almost "hurl[s] himself upon [Yoda] in order to embrace him, as if he had met an old friend". While the film never shows E.T. to be aware of the *Star Wars* (Lucas 1977-2005) films, the presence of a child dressed as the Yoda character means to signal to the audience that the *Star Wars* (Lucas 1977-2005) films do exist in the on-screen world of *E.T.* (Spielberg 1982).



Figure 4: Yoda as seen from E.T.'s perspective. E.T. 1982. Screenshot by Author.

In the *Star Wars* (Lucas 1977-2005) films, the Yoda character was first introduced to audiences two years prior to the release of *E.T.* (Spielberg 1982), in *Star Wars: the empire strikes back* (Kershner 1980). The diminutive Yoda is a small, green Jedi master travelling between various galaxies as an imperial rebel, fighting an intergalactic war against the Galactic Empire. Therefore, when E.T. seems to recognise Yoda, without any knowledge of the *Star Wars* (Lucas 1977-2005) films, Spielberg is emphasising the veracity of the E.T. character's



intergalactic origins. By drawing from the audience's cultural knowledge of other films set against an intergalactic backdrop, Spielberg is able encode into E.T. a familiarity with space travel. In this example then, Spielberg is able to draw from the audience's cultural knowledge of *Star Wars* (Kershner 1980) as a means to encode additional meaning into his film *E.T.* (Eco 1985:172).

Eco (1985:172) notes the strengthening of this intertextual moment in view of Spielberg's close connection to the creator of the *Star Wars* film franchise, George Lucas (Eco 1985:172), as well as the relation between Yoda and E.T as both being characters designed for screen by Carlo Rambaldi. In this example then, Eco (1985:172) argues that Spielberg is able to draw from the audience's cultural knowledge of *Star Wars* (Kershner 1980), and their possible knowledge of these films' production, as a means to intertextuality encode additional meaning into their reading of *E.T.* 

Eco (1985:172) specifically refers to this form of intertextual dialogue as a practice of *quotation*, and while he does acknowledge the existence of other practices within intertextuality, he does not explore them. I, however, do explore other practices of intertextuality that can be used as devices for encoding, as stated in the aims and objectives of this research project.

Gerard Genette (1997) describes different forms of literary intertextuality that may offer the current study the chance to explore alternative practices for intertextuality applicable to film. Importantly, Genette's (1997:2) intention with renaming his interpretation of intertextuality to 'transtextuality' was to use it as an umbrella-term that subsumes distinct sub-categories of textual relation. Genette (1997:2-5) distinguishes between four different practices used to establish relations between one literary text and another:.

- *Intertextuality* is described by Genette as the practice of relating one text with another (or several others) through presenting the tangible presence of the external text within the primary text. Umberto Eco's (1985:172) example of Yoda presented in *E.T.* (Spielberg 1982) is an apt illustration of this practice.
- Paratextuality refers to relations that are formed when some marginal element of the text (e.g. a title, advertising material, cover art, etc.) links it to another external text. I



offer here an example for this practice in the promotional poster for *The silence of the lambs* (Demme 1991), which portrays a recreation of Philippe Halsman and Salvador Dali's 1951 print *In Voluptas Mors*. By inserting a representation of Dali's (1951) print into the promotional poster for *The silence of the lambs* (Demme 1991), the poster urges the audience to intertextually associate notions of mortality and femininity represented by Dali's print with the plot of the film, where a young female FBI agent is tentatively tasked with finding a serial killer targeting and killing young women.



Figure 5: Silence of the lambs poster and Salvador Dali print, 2023, [O].

• Metatextuality is described as a practice in which one text relates to another text by positioning itself as a critical response or commentary to the external text. Spoof films, such as The naked gun (Zucker 1988) and Scary movie (Wayans 2000), are quite blatant examples of metatextuality, often just lampooning popular trends of the time as a form of commentary. See my example of metatextuality in the movie posters for Scary movie



(Wayans 2000) and *Scream* (Craven 1996), where it can be seen how *Scary movie* (Wayans 2000) takes the iconography of *Scream* (Craven 1996), among other similar films in the thriller genre, and intertextually lampoons their earnest attempts to be 'scary movies'.



Figure 6: Movie posters for [left] *Scary Movie* (Wayans 2000), 2023 [O]; and [right] *Scream* (Craven 1996) movie poster, 2023, [O].

• Hypertextuality is similar to the practice of intertextuality, but instead of the text presenting the actual external element, it necessitates a "transformation" of the external element before presenting it in the text. Genette emphasizes the practice as a process of transformation, in which the external element is modified, extended or elaborated on. Genette (1997:157) offers the film Play It Again, Sam (Ross 1972) as an example of hypertextuality, pointing to how the film uses Casablanca's (Curtiz 1942) portrayal of a charismatic and seductive Humphry Bogart as source material, and transforms it's ideas of masculinity and sex-appeal in order to



juxtapose the romantic struggles of its own main character in Woody Allen. I present here some promotional material for the film which directly announces the intertextual transformation of *Casablanca* (Curtiz 1942), the source material, in *Play It Again, Sam* (Ross 1972).



Figure 7: Promotional material for *Play ItAgain, Sam* (Ross 1972), 2023, [O].



Figure 8: Movie poster for *Play It Again, Sam* (Ross 1972), 2023, [O].

From the different forms of literary intertextuality that Genette describes above, I am able to discern a conceptual framework for filmic intertextuality, as an encoding practice, which aligns with the aims and objectives of this research study. Genette's descriptions of literary intertextuality and hypertextuality are most applicable to my aims of describing filmic intertextuality as they lend themselves to the visual capabilities of film narrative. The other practices for intertextuality can also be applied to film studies and may offer further exploration into the intertextual operations of films. For example, both *Johnny is nie dood nie* (2017) and *Kanarie* (2018) offer opportunities to explore paratextual relations in their titles and promotional material. However, these practices do not directly deal with the visual presentation of a film's narrative, and therefore their inclusion will only serve to dilute the focus of the study.



This study combines key aspects from Genette's descriptions of literary intertextuality in order to create a conceptual framework for filmic intertextuality as a practice of encoding. As mentioned above, Genette's descriptions of literary intertextuality and hypertextuality resonate the most with the visual nature of inquiry in this research study because they, unlike the other practices, deal directly with visual representations of the film narrative. This direct interaction with the narrative of the film is crucial in linking the operations of filmic intertextuality with the operations of cultural identity, which also operates through a process of narrative.

The basis of my conceptual framework for intertextuality as a practice of encoding is as a practice of relating one text with another external to it. Working from this basis, I also combine Genette's descriptions of intertextuality and hypertextuality to describe this practice of relation as one that presents an external element, whether changed or unchanged, within itself. Thus, intertextuality as a practice of encoding can be understood as the practice of relating one text to another text through a process of presenting elements from the external text within itself – either presenting the actual element unchanged or altering the external element before presenting it.

In establishing a conceptual understanding of how intertextuality is able to operate as a practice of encoding pertinent to the objectives of this research study, I can further expand the conceptual framework surrounding it by investigating different strategies that can be employed in practicing encoded intertextuality. Stam *et al.* (1992:211) offer five basic strategies for encoding filmic intertextuality, which serve as a basis from which to explore different modes of enacting filmic intertextuality further.

# 3.1.1. Celebrity intertextuality

Celebrity intertextuality is a strategy where the presence of a specific celebrity in a text may relate the text to the cultural milieu surrounding the celebrity, as well as the other work they have done (Stam *et al.* 1992:211). This strategy for encoding intertextuality relies on celebrities that are famous for playing conventional characters or genre specific roles. Here I can mention performances such as Clint Eastwood's stoic outlaw persona as seen in *The good, the bad and the ugly* (Leone 1967) that intertextually contributes weight and seriousness to his later performance as a no nonsense police officer in *Dirty Harry* (Siegel 1971), or Chris Pratt's



portrayal of a fumbling goof in the *Parks and Recreation* (Daniels & Schur 2009-2015) television series manifesting intertextually in his later work, where even though he is playing a serious superhero lead role in *Guardians of the galaxy* (Gunn 2014), his goofiness is still highlighted for some comic relief.

# 3.1.2. Genetic intertextuality

This strategy for encoding intertextuality operates similarly to celebrity intertextuality, but instead of using the presence of a celebrity to relate a text with the other work of that celebrity, it establishes the same relation by presenting the kin of a celebrity as a proxy (Stam *et al.* 1992:211). An example I can offer here to illustrate this strategy for intertextuality is Jaden Smith's attempt at evoking his father's (Will Smith) propensity for action movies by starring in his own action films such as *Karate Kid* (Zwart 2010), or *After Earth* (Shyamalan 2013) where he even co-stars with his father. Another is Michael Gandolfini reprising the role his deceased father (James Gandolfini) played in the television series *The Sopranos* (Chase 1999-2007), intertextually evoking his father in the film that serves as an origin story for the character, *The many saints of Newark* (Taylor 2021).

#### 3.1.3. Intratextuality

Intratextuality is an intertextual strategy through which a text refers to itself in a process of mirroring, or through representing its own form within itself (Stam *et al.* 1992:211). An example I can give of this type of intertextuality is the 'movie-in-a-movie' trope as seen in *Tropic Thunder* (Stiller 2008), where the plot revolves around a group of actors who unknowingly end up in a life-or-death situation while attempting to make a war movie. The characters (who portray a troupe of actors) believe that the actual life-or-death situations they find themselves in are all part of the elaborate filming setup. Therefore, *Tropic Thunder* (Stiller 2008) is a film about filmmaking, and uses intratextuality to parody the grandiose illusions of actors and directors attempting to make the violence and suffering of war movies as real as possible.



#### 3.1.4. Auto-citation

Auto-citation refers to an intertextual strategy where an author of a text refers to their own body of past work, or instances in which a text that is part of a series refers to other texts within the same series (Stam *et al.* 1992:211). Narrative franchises often make use of this type of intertextuality by calling back to events and people in previous films as a way to intertextually justify or further the plot of a new film. As an example I point here to the 2021 *Marvel Cinematic Universe* (MCU) television series, *Wanda Vision* (Schaeffer 2021), in which the entire plot revolves around the grief of a character whose husband was killed in the earlier MCU movie *Avengers: Infinity War* (Russo bros. 2018). The same character is then driven to evil by this grief and later became the main villain in the MCU film *Doctor Strange in the Multiverse of Madness* (Raimi 2022).

# 3.1.5. Mendacious intertextuality

Mendacious intertextuality refers to a strategy in which a text refers to an invented, fictitious external text (Stam *et al.* 1992:211). This strategy can also be referred to as pseudo-intertextuality (Stam *et al.* 1992:211). I consider Quentin Tarantino's (2009) fictitious Nazi propaganda film, *Stolz der Nation*, in *Inglourious Basterds* to be an example of this type of pseudo-intertextuality, where the fictitious film plays a major role in the plot of the film, serving as the basis for the films climactic end, and where it is often referenced by the characters in the film.

While all of the strategies for encoding intertextuality described above are valuable illustrations of relationships between texts, they either concern themselves with relations confined within a single text (intratextuality and auto-citation) or relations to broader oeuvres of work (celebrity or genetic intertextuality), and not instances of intertextuality that directly relate two distinct texts to one-another. The strategies for encoding intertextuality outlined in 2.1.6 to 2.1.8 offer a better assessment of intertextuality for instances where two specific texts are directly associated.



# 3.1.6. Intertextual quotation

Quotation as an intertextual strategy refers to situations where a text *faithfully reproduces* and presents elements of an external text within itself (Eco 1985:170). This strategy can be considered the most deliberate and explicit form of encoded intertextuality, as it is able to faithfully reproduce the external element or present actual excerpts from the external text within its practice of encoding.

Ott and Walter (2000:430, 437) describe this strategy for intertextuality as "creative appropriation and inclusion", a process that invites lateral associations between the texts. The primary function of intertextual quotation as a strategy is to relate one text to another by drawing parallel associations between commonly shared aspects of the texts (Eco 1985:170). Because intertextual quotation operates on such an explicit level, and can often make use of actual excerpts from another text, there tends to be a lot of caution surrounding its use in the film industry (Ott & Walter 2000:438). Directors are often hesitant to present material that is private or protected by copyright or intellectual property laws, and as a consequence of this restriction, most intertextual quotations found in films are positive in nature and often celebrate the referenced text (Ott & Walter 2000:438). One way for the film industry to easily enable intertextual quotation and side-step the legal pitfalls of copyright and I.Plaws, is to utilise texts that have become part of the public domain.<sup>35</sup> A recent example I can offer is the 2022 film Nope, by director Jordan Peele, which uses intertextual quotation of photographs by Eadweard Muybridge (1887) known as *Plate Number* 626 (1887). Peele uses these images in his film not only as a key part of the narrative, but also as a figure that is emblematic of the film's conceptual exploration into Hollywood's propensity for spectacle, and its historic issues with racial representation (Kenigsberg 2022:[O]).

The plot of *Nope* (Peele 2022) follows a brother and sister team who work on their family's horse farm in providing horses to be used in the filming of movies. Even though their family claims to be famous in that they are descendants of the unknown jockey imaged in Muybridge's

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> The public domain refers to artistic materials that are not protected by copyright or intellectual property laws, that can be used freely by the public. Artistic materials become part of the public domain if they are never copyrighted or when their term of copyright expires after a set duration of time, usually 90 to 100 years (WHAT IS THE PUBLIC DOMAIN? 2023:[O]).



photos, the brother and sister still struggle to keep the horse farm running as marginalised black people working in Hollywood. Throughout the film the brother is shown to be a skilled horse rider, and much of the film's plot revolves around the different horses on the farm that are used in films as beings of spectacle, as were the jockeys in Muybridge's work.



Figure 9: Muybridge's images of 'horse in motion'. *Nope.* 2022. Screenshot by author.



Figure 10: OJ working with a horse on the set of a film. *Nope*. 2022. Screenshot by author.

By using actual images from Muybridge's (1887) study *The Horse in Motion*, Peele is then able to intertextually emphasize the striking similarities between the conceptual explorations of his film Nope (2022) and the circumstances of Muybridge's work in 1887 (Kenigsberg 2022:[O]). According to Kenigsberg (2022:[O]), Peele's "point is that the identity of the Black horse rider is probably unknown, and from the start of movies, the camera – with its power to see – has also left certain people, and certain stories, unseen". Here Peele intertextually associates the brother and sister of the film with the unknown jockey in Muybridge's study, who, despite their horse riding skill and contribution to the film industry, remain marginalised.

# 3.1.7. Intertextual plagiarism

Intertextual plagiarism refers to instances where the author of a text presents an external text's elements as though they are novel to the text itself; a rather banal strategy of undeclared intertextuality (Eco 1985:170; Genette 1997:2). This type of intertextuality can also be considered as closely aligned with the practice cultural philosopher Fredric Jameson (1991:17)



terms *pastiche*, in as far as it operates similarly to parody or other forms of intertextuality but without the ulterior motives of commentary or criticism; a type of 'blank' intertextuality.<sup>36</sup>

A blatant example of intertextual plagiarism is Shia LeBeouf's critically acclaimed short film *HowardCantour.com* (2012), which was exposed as an almost-verbatim recreation of a 2007 comic, *Justin M. Damiano*, by Dan Clowes (McMillan 2013a:[O]). LeBeouf (2012) lifted most of the dialogue and imagery for his film directly from *Justin M. Damiano* (Clowes 2007) without citing or crediting Clowes, and proclaiming it as "a film by Shia LeBeouf" (McMillan 2013a:[O]). LeBeouf would later go on to apologize for not crediting Clowes, stating that he was only *inspired* by Clowes' (2007) work and tried to create something novel from it, again, failing to acknowledge that it is an adaptation of Clowes work (McMillan 2013b:[O]).<sup>37</sup>

LeBeouf's claim that his intertextual plagiarism was a form of creative inspiration and, presumably, adaptation points to another benefit in exploring intertextual plagiarism as a strategy despite its unethical nature. Intertextual plagiarism allows investigation into intertextual practices that are less explicit than that of intertextual quotation.

In similar instances of intertextuality, one often finds that the plagiarised text is intentionally altered, mostly in appearance and not in concept, in order to avoid any direct resemblance, and thusly positions the external element as a transformed element of intertextuality. This process in which the external element is transformed before being presented, illustrates not only intertextuality's ability to transform the external element itself, but also the audience's experience of it (as in the case of intertextual plagiarism's attempts to render the reference unrecognizable to the audience) (Eco 1985:170). The main objective of intertextual plagiarism is to function as inconspicuously as possible, and consequently limits the extent to which it is able to operate as a strategy of encoding.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Jameson (1991:17) describes *pastiche* as a practice of imitation, like parody, but devoid of any critical intent. Thus, Jameson considers *pastiche* as a form of 'blank parody', where something is imitated for no reason other than to attempt and imitate its success.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> LaBeouf's apology for not crediting Clowes an apology that also seemed to be plagiarized from yahoo-answers – an instance of intertextuality beyond the scope of this research project (McMillan 2013b:[O]).



#### 3.1.8. Intertextual allusion

Intertextual Allusion may be considered the most abstract form of encoding intertextuality, as it involves the process through which an external element is transformed and inserted into another text as a means of evoking *and* commenting on the subject of the external text (Stam *et al.* 1992:211). Intertextual allusion does not simply insert an external element into a text in order to associate with the external text, but rather transforms the external element in such a way that it transforms the significance of the external text, making it incorporable into its own textuality (Riffaterre 1984:142-143; Genette 1997:2).

The operational processes of intertextual allusion can often manifest as instances of imitation or exaggeration, where the representative features of an external text are amplified or isolated in order to concentrate its significance, resulting in a distillation of the external text (Ott & Walter 2000:435). The guiding principle for this process of transformation and distillation of an external element for intertextual allusion must be to transform it in such a way that it can meaningfully and expressively fit within the textuality of the new text (Stam et al 1992:221).

An example of intertextual allusion that serves to illustrate its functionality as a strategy for encoding can be seen in Lars Von Trier's 2011 film *Melancholia*, in which he enacts intertextual allusion by recreating the 1851 painting, *Ophelia*, by J. E. Millais. Von Trier (2011) is able to draw from the cultural knowledge of Ophelia, a character in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, by imitating and recreating J. E. Millais' (1851) painting of Ophelia in his film. Millais' (1851) painting of Ophelia has come to be regarded as the visual epitome for the character drama that Ophelia experiences in the play, and is considered as part of the cultural index for notions of beauty, femininity and agency (Peterson & Williams 2012:4-8). Von Trier (2011) then is able to transform Millais' (1851) painting into a cinematic scene with his own characters and context substituting that of the original painting, ultimately signifying the cultural index of beauty, femininity, and the agency associated with Ophelia as a part of *Melancholia*'s textuality.





Figure 11: J.E. Millais, 1851, Ophelia, Oil on canvas, Tate gallery London.



Figure 12: Justine as Ophelia, Melancholia, 2011. Screenshot by author.

In comparison, all of the strategies for encoding intertextually described above attempt to insert some form of meaning into the textuality of their own texts by drawing from external texts (Ott & Walter 2000:435). As such, these instances can be considered processes of encoding meaning into a text (Ott & Walter 2000:435). In viewing intertextuality as a practice of



encoding meaning into a text, the question arises as to how intertextual strategies are able to accomplish this.

In order to examine how intertextual elements are able to encode meaning into a text, it is important to understand that these intertextual elements are fragmentary in nature and interrupt the linear unfolding of a text to varying extents (Iampolski 1998:30). With intertextual plagiarism being the exception in striving to operate as inconspicuously as possible, both intertextual quotation and allusion operate through instances that explicitly interrupt the natural flow of a text, in order to emphasise to the audience that the presented element has an external origin. Intertextual allusion executes this type of interruption with much more finesse than intertextual quotation, as it transforms the external element so that it may conform somewhat to the rest of the text's qualities, instead of blatantly inserting the external element as quotation does.

The interruption these intertextual strategies cause within the natural flow of a text also interrupts its traditional means of creating meaning through linear narrative development (Iampolski 1998:30). This enables a text to insert the external meaning of the intertextual element in a particular instance of stasis (Iampolski 1998:30). This process of interruption and insertion is one of the key characteristics of intertextuality as a strategy for encoding, and serves as a functional indicator for encoded intertextuality in the analysis of Christiaan Olwagen's selected films.

A caveat to this process of encoding intertextuality however, is that the more abstract the strategy for practicing intertextuality becomes the more dependent the intertextual element becomes on the capacity of the audience to recognize it, and the more ineffective it becomes at encoding its intended meaning (Ott & Walter 2000:436). Gerard Genette (1997:2) also warns that the full meaning of an encoded intertextual element necessitates that the audience has an awareness of the external text it is referring to, otherwise the external element would become unintelligible to the audience. At this point then, where the efficacy of intertextuality's ability to function shifts towards the perception and awareness of the audience, the whole approach to intertextuality as a practice also shifts towards where it is considered as a practice of decoding.



# 3.2. Decoding intertextuality

Another approach to investigate the functionalities of intertextuality views intertextuality as a practice of decoding rather than one of encoding. This conceptual approach towards intertextuality mostly finds its roots in the work of literary theorists and semioticians, such as Roland Barthes and Jacques Derrida, who theorised the 'active audience' principle in their critique of the 'Author God' (Ott & Walter 2000:429). From these perspectives intertextuality is described as a much more abstract process, one that does not posit the author of a text as the master of its meaning, but rather as a process of meaning generation that operates out of a matrix of knowledge possessed by the audience. Roland Barthes (1977:146) explains that a text does not exist as a novel creation born from the omnificence of its 'Autor God', and should rather be considered as an amalgamation of all other cultural texts that precede it and have ultimately allowed for its existence. In considering a text as an amalgamation of multiple other texts, Barthes (1997:168) also identifies the audience as the active site at which meaning is generated, through drawing from their cultural knowledge and thereby uniting a text with the other cultural texts of its amalgam, in order to attribute meaning to the text.

Michael Riffaterre (1984:142) also describes intertextuality as a necessary practice of decoding within the mind of the audience; the decoding of intertextual elements based on a corpus of cultural semiotic structures. As such, filmic intertextuality as a practice of decoding refers to the process through which an audience generates meaning from a film, specifically *because* the film operates out of a textual matrix that constitutes all other cultural texts around it (Stam *et al.* 1992:208). In this interpretation of intertextuality, a text's function is not dependent on the audience's explicit knowledge of an external element, but rather the connotations they unconsciously make within the network of texts that constitutes their textual culture (Ott &Walter 2000:434; Stam *et al.* 1992:210).

In his book, *The memory of Tiresias: intertextuality and film*, Mikhail Iampolski (1998) extrapolates Ferdinand de Saussure's work on linguistic anagrams and paragrams as a means to metaphorically model some of the functionalities through which filmic intertextuality is able to work. From a literary definition, the anagram is described as resulting from a process where the individual letters of a word are rearranged in a manner that forms a new word or phrase, and for Iampolski (1998:17), a text exists in the same way an anagram does, as a result of



external texts being rearranged and remodelled in such a way that a new text is formed. This interpretation mirrors Roland Barthes' (1977:146) notion of a text existing as an amalgamation of all other cultural texts that surround it. Iampolski also goes on to situate the audience as the active participants in creating meaning.

Iampolski (1998:17) explains that the methodology through which an anagram operates shifts the act of meaning creation away from the traditional and linear (horizontal) association between individual elements of a word, instead encourage the audience to generate meaning by vertically associating the individual elements of a word with that of an external word. Intertextuality as a practice of decoding then also exists as a process of vertical association, where the meaning of a text is generated by an audience associating vertically with an external network of cultural texts (Iampolski 1998:17).

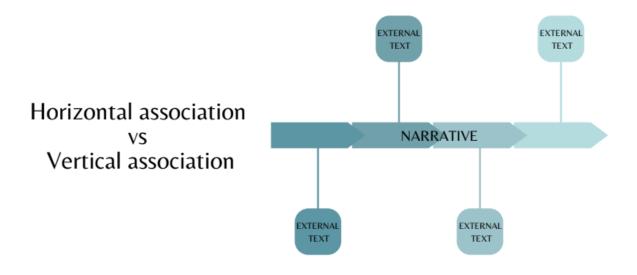


Figure 13: Horizontal and vertical associations in intertextual meaning making. Graphic by author.

Iampolski (1998:27) likens this act of vertical association that an audience practices in reading a text to the act of reading hieroglyphics, where the audience recognises separate external elements that have been combined and is then able to generate new meaning from its new arrangement. Russian film director and film theorist, Sergei Eisenstein, offers an explanation for how reading a hieroglyph is similar to reading a film. Eisenstein (2014:30) considers a



hieroglyph as the fusion of separate elements that results in the representation of something new, and explains that while the separate elements on their own each correspond to a specific *object*, their combination can be read as a newly formulated *concept*. For Eisenstein (2014:30), film scenes operate similarly to the hieroglyph when separate shots with distinct objects are intentionally combined in a montage that can be interpreted by audiences as a newly formed concept.

According to Eisenstein (2014:30), if an audience is shown an image of a mouth and an image of a bird, it is possible for them to decode the concept of singing; show them an image of a knife and an image of a heart, and they may decode it as sorrow. Similarly, an audience is then able to watch a montage in a film and decode from its exposition of shots some form of contextual meaning (Eisenstein 2014:30). In accordance with the concepts described above, intertextuality can be described as a practice of decoding when an audience is able to generate contextual meaning from a text by reading it as an amalgamation of independent elements, (as in the hieroglyph) which can then be vertically associated with external elements that exist within a network of other cultural texts (as with the anagram).

Importantly, the external network of texts that an audience is able to associate with and draw from in intertextual decoding is a network of common textual knowledge that has been formed by the selection, condensation, and preservation of culturally created sign systems (Ott & Walter 2000:432). These sign systems, however, do not function as specifically recognizable references or citations, but are rather anonymous, unconscious cultural milieus that an audience draws associations and meaning from (Barthes 1977:146,160). The network of cultural texts that informs intertextuality as a practice of decoding starts to resemble the networks of significant matters that inform cultural memory, which, as stated in Chapter Two, operates through media texts such as films (Assmann 1995:132).

To better comprehend how intertextuality works as a practice of decoding, it is beneficial to look at the example offered by Iampolski (1998:44) – a decoding of the 1941 film *Citizen Kane*, by director Orson Welles. Iampolski (1998:44) explains how certain elements presented in the film can be decoded to uncover the central question of the film along with the characters. The plot of *Citizen Kane* follows a reporter tasked with investigating the dying utterance of a billionaire newspaper mogul, the titular Kane, to uncover what the mogul intended to say about



his life and newspaper empire with his last word. At the start of the film, the audience is led through the vast grounds of Kane's estate before arriving at his giant castle, called Xanadu. Inside the castle, Kane dies with a snow globe in his hand, having uttered his last word: "Rosebud". The film repeatedly emphasises a link between the snow globe and the word 'rosebud', and from this Iampolski (1998:44) decodes the snow globe as a visionary space, associated with mystic crystal balls used in spiritual séances, or, possibly, the glass orb in Leonardo da Vinci's (c.1500) painting *Salvator Mundi* (Iampolski 1998:44).



Figure 14: Charles Kane holding a snow-globe after his death, Citizen Kane, 1941. Screenshot by author





Figure 15: L. Da Vinci, c. 1500, Salvator Mundi, Oil on wood.



Figure 16: Photo of actress Pauline Frederick performing a mock séance, c. 1910, US Library of congress.

For Iampolski (1998:44), the snow globe can be decoded from a cultural network of texts as an object associated with divination, which might offer the audience the association of the snow globe with Kane's efforts to envision the meaning of his own world (Iampolski 1998:44). Some more explicit references are made to other works of literature in *Citizen Kane* (Wells 1941), for example, the name of Kane's castle, Xanadu, refers to the Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1816) poem *Kubla Khan*; the word 'rosebud' relates to a character and the plot of the Charles Dickens (1870) *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*. Iampolski (1998:45) does not explore these references as explicit intertextual connections, but instead describes how they serve as a typological network of relations in the way that the film, Coleridge's poem, and Dickens' novel all share common themes of deciphering mysterious utterances or dreams and a plot that mirrors the posthumous nature of both the poem and novel, which were never finished by their authors and their meanings left to speculation.

In presenting his example of the associations between *Citizen Kane* (Welles 1941), *Kubla Khan* (Coleridge 1816), and *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* (Dickens 1870) in such a way where it spans both explicit referencing and unconscious association, Iampolski exemplifies how intertextuality does not operate as two mutually exclusive practices of encoding or decoding,



but rather operates on a spectrum that spans between these practices (Ott & Walter 2000:434). For the purpose of realising its aims and objectives, the study draws from all the academic theories of intertextuality discussed in this chapter, and presents a conceptual framework for the functionality of filmic intertextuality that both incorporates and unifies the different aspects of intertextuality. This conceptual framework proposes that filmic intertextuality is a practice that oscillates between two poles of operation, encoding and decoding. The figure below illustrates this spectrum of filmic intertextual practice.

# FILMIC INTERTEXTUALITY



Figure 17: Spectrum of filmic intertextuality, by author.

At one end of the spectrum illustrated above, intertextuality is a practice of encoding, which situates the author of a text as the site from which intertextuality originates and operates. At this end of the spectrum intertextuality is an intentional process, where the author inserts an intertextual element into the text with the purpose of generating meaning. The author, based on their participation in the textual culture with the audience, is able to anticipate the likely associations or decoding practice of the audience. As such, the generated meaning rests on the audience's *recognition* of the intertextual element as originating from another cultural text, and their associations with it.

The other end of the spectrum, which considers intertextuality as a practice of decoding, situates the audience as the site where intertextual meaning originates and operates. In this instance, intertextuality functions as an unconscious process where meaning is generated by the audience, who unconsciously draw from their network of cultural texts and sign systems to make meaning of the intertextual element. These associations made in the process of decoding



are not necessarily deliberate considerations, but rather the product of cultural memory's meaning-generating functionality.

Due to the fact that the author and audience simultaneously interact with the matrix of a cultural knowledge, both consciously and unconsciously, it is erroneous to posit encoding and decoding as binary practices operating in isolation. When referring to intertextuality in this study, it is considered a practice that continuously oscillates between encoding and decoding, between author and audience. The following image represents a more detailed illustration of this spectrum of practice.

# FILMIC INTERTEXTUALITY AS PRACTICE



Figure 18: Filmic intertextuality as practice, by author

Having established the reasoning for this study's spectrum approach, filmic intertextuality as a strategy can be expected to tend toward encoding or decoding, depending on the intertextual element's recognisability and intentionality. The intentionality of the intertextual element will then draw it toward the encoding side, while recognizability will draw it toward the decoding side. The balance between the pull from either side can never be static or uniform; it will necessarily differ for each audience member based on variables such as birthplace, upbringing, recall, cultural participation, and a plethora of others. The balance will also differ for each individual depending on their knowledge of the author's intentions or, even more curiously (but beyond this study's scope) the author's level of awareness of their intention. A vast array of strategies then exists on this spectrum of filmic intertextuality, which all are both encoding



and decoding to some degree. However, the better an audience is able to consciously recognise the intentional intertextual element, the more successful it will be.

This study will not consider the tension between encoding and decoding, but rather focus its attention on the centre area of the spectrum where there is both author intentionality and audience recognition. At this centre area of the spectrum the strategies of intertextual quotation and intertextual allusion can be located. In straddling the centre of convergence between encoding and decoding, the author and audience are best able to collaborate on the production of a text's meaning through intertextual practice. The centre of this spectrum is where different texts are most able to interact with one another as a shared cultural network of texts and where there is access to the largest amount of shared meaning between the author, text, and audience. As such, this study proposes that filmic intertextuality is best able to access cultural memory at the centre mark of the intertextual spectrum.

In this understanding of intertextuality, cultural memory presents as the network of texts within which intertextuality is able to operate. A network of culturally significant texts that can simultaneously be accessed by the author and the audience in order to generate meaning within a text, is then an integral aspect of cultural memory and filmic intertextuality. In accessing a cultural memory, filmic intertextuality is able to access the cultural narrative housed by the particular cultural memory. This narrative informs the construction of cultural identity. By extent, in accessing cultural memory, filmic intertextuality can also engage with the cultural identity.



# FILMIC INTERTEXTUALITY AS PRACTICE



Figure 19: Filmic intertextuality as a practice and cultural memory, by author.

Thus far, the chapter has described filmic intertextuality as operating on a spectrum that stretches between intertextuality as a practice of encoding and intertextuality as a practice of decoding, and established that filmic intertextuality relies on its contact with cultural memory across the spectrum to interact with cultural identity. From this, the study puts forward an operational definition for filmic intertextuality, that best aligns with the objectives of the research study, in the following points:

- Filmic intertextuality is a practice of collaborative meaning-making between author and audience.
- Collaborative meaning-making operates through the author's intentional use of an intertextual element, and the audience's recognition of the author's intent.
- The meaning generated in this collaboration is a process of associations drawn from a larger network of texts that exists within the shared cultural memory of the audience and author.

This three-part operational definition for filmic intertextuality guides the analysis of intertextual occurrences in the films *Johnny is nie dood nie* (Olwagen 2017) and *Kanarie* (2018) and therefore assumes that Olwagen intentionally inserted the intertextual occurrences into the films. Before the analysis commences, section 2.3 outlines the formal techniques of intertextuality that Olwagen uses: *tableaux vivant*, film music, and direct address.



## 3.3. Formal techniques of intertextual practice

The formal techniques of intertextuality in Olwagen's two films, *Johnny is nie dood nie* (2017) and Kanarie (2018), are formal filmic conventions that are distinct in their ability to reach into cultural memory and stimulate renewed considerations of cultural identity. As such, these distinct formal filmic conventions will be referred to as formal techniques of intertextuality. As suggested earlier in the study, there is a level of recognition (that is not to say intention or necessarily cognisant recognition) involved in intertextual practice of meaning-making between author and audience. The line of communication used in this instance is film. As a storytelling medium, film's form allows a viewer to read narrative, and interpret each element of the film they encounter based on their working memory of other films (Bordwell et al 2010:54-55). Directors weave filmic elements together in the design of their films, they structure these elements as a system of relations in order to give a film its form (Bordwell et al. 2010:55). Film form enables an understanding of the film as a whole from an interpretation of the relation and interaction of elements within itself (2010:54-55). As such, when the audience engages with a film text, they are able to draw meaning both from the film, through its distinct elements' relation and interaction, as well as from the context or cultural memory that the film exists in (2010:63).

A film consists of both narrative and style (Bordwell *et al.* 2010:55). The narrative is the overlap between the plot and the story – the former refers to the events in the story world that are explicit and presumed; the latter indicates the parts of the story that are explicitly presented to the audience along with additional material that is added during production (Bordwell *et al.* 2010:55) The style of a film is determined by formal choices in *how* the plot is discoursed, or 'told', including formal notions such as sound, transitions, *mise-en-scène*, lighting, and more (2010:76).<sup>38</sup> As such, the narrative, a meeting of story and plot, operates through a cause-and-effect relationship within the film's internal logic, dictating any changes in circumstances, such as time and space, that occur within the narrative of a film (2010:75). The internal logic of a film is called the 'diegesis' of a film, and can be thought of as any audio or visual elements that

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> *Mise-en-scène* is a French term that is used to describe everything that appears within the frame of a film, and among other things, encompasses things such as the costumes of the actors, the props used by the actors and the set decoration (Bordwell et al 2010:169).



are presented as explicitly occurring in the on-screen world of a film, elements that the characters of a film are aware of and can interact with (Bordwell *et al.* 2010:76).

Stylistic choices, or formal properties, are able to operate both within and without the internal logic of a film simultaneously. Formal filmic elements that operate outside of the film's internal logic, are considered non-diegetic (Bordwell *et al.* 2010:77). Non-diegetic material includes all audio or visual elements that are presented as extraneous to the on-screen world of a film, elements that the characters of a film are not aware of and cannot interact with (2010:77). Bordwell, Thompson and Smith (2010:77) provide an illustration of the overlap between story and plot and how they straddle the diegetic and non-diegetic:

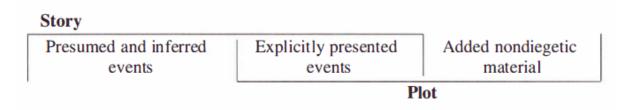


Figure 20: Chart describing the spectrum that constitutes narrative, Bordwell et al. 2010:77.

Since formal filmic properties can function both diegetically and non-diegetically, their functionality aligns closely with the processes through which intertextuality operates, and are therefore appropriately adept at configuring intertextual elements in a film. As such, this research study identifies and focuses on those configurations of formal filmic techniques that offer the best avenues for exploring filmic intertextuality. I identify *tableaux vivant* compositions, film music, and direct address as three formal filmic techniques especially adept at functioning intertextually, as their basic process parallels that of intertextuality to a great extent. These three formal filmic techniques are also explicitly used in the intertextual occurrences of both *Johnny is nie dood nie* (Olwagen 2017) and *Kanarie* (2018), and are also integral parts of the film's narratives. Therefore, I describe the basic intertextual functions and processes of these formal filmic techniques in the following section.



## 3.3.1. Tableaux vivant compositions as intertextual technique

The term tableaux vivant finds its origin in the French language and can roughly be translated as 'living picture' (Peucker 2007:30). The Tableaux vivant as a practice, however, can trace its roots back to medieval pageants and open-air festivals during the Renaissance period, where people would pose motionlessly as a living display of a famous literary scenario or paintings (Jacobs 2011:88). Later, during the end of the 18th century and the start of the 19th century, this practice of recreating and embodying famous artworks with living bodies became a fashionable parlour game of the bourgeoisie (Peucker 2007:30) and inspired philosophers and playwrights to explore the dramatic capacity of such a practice in other media (Jacobs 2011:88). During the late 19th and early twentieth century, film pioneers such as Georges Méliès and Edison used tableaux vivant compositions in their motion pictures as a means with which to explore new models of filmic narrative; to punctuate action and emphasise specific dramatic instances in a moment of pause, where the audience is able to linger and digest the scene before them (Jacobs 2011:92).<sup>39</sup> The use of tableaux vivant compositions continue in contemporary film, where directors have shifted the artistic focus of tableaux vivant compositions to the circumstances of representation and self-investigation, exploring what it means to present the human figure on screen (Jacobs 2011:94).

The *tableaux vivant* composition can be viewed as a nexus for several different representational media (film, photography, painting) and is keenly adept at overlaying visual codes onto itself, making it well suited to the processes and compositions of film (Peucker 2007:30-31). A filmic *tableaux vivant* composition refers to the practice in which the bodies of actors and the *mise-en-scène* of a film are positioned to recreate a still photo or painting within the frame of a film (Jacobs 2011:88). Brigitte Peucker (2007:31) describes the textual heterogeneity of a *tableaux vivant* composition as a process of textual layering, where one text supplements another through "suggestive semantic resonance". The process that Peucker (2007:31) describes here is one in which a *tableaux vivant* composition is able to layer texts on top of each other in a

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> See the following for historic uses of *tableaux vivant* compositions in film:

Mysterious Portrait (Mélies, 1899), An Artist's Dream (Edison, 1900), The Artist's Dilemma (Edison, 1901), The Animated Painting (Edison, 1904) and The Living Playing Cards (Mélies, 1904).



manner which emphasizes the similarities and correlations between the texts, and is consequently capable of supplementing meaning from the one text into the other.

While we can refer back to *Ophelia* (Millais 1851) in *Melancholia* (Von Trier 2011) as an example of a *tableaux vivant* composition, I also present Zack Snyder's (2009) *Watchmen* rendition of Leonardo DaVinci's (c.1496) *The Last Supper* as an example. In *Watchmen* (Snyder 2009), Silk Spectre, the central figure in the shot, is celebrating her retirement as leader of a vigilante superhero group. To her right sits the Comedian character, which will later go on to betray her and ultimately bring an end to the entire group itself; the Judas of this tableaux. Snyder (2009) uses the *tableaux vivant* composition of *The last supper* (DaVinci c.1496) as a means of supplementing the film's narrative, emphasising the similarities between the Comedian's betrayal and that of Judas, and foreshadows the demise of the entire group.



Figure 21: The last supper in Watchmen (Snyder 2009), 2023, [O].





Figure 22: The last supper, Leonardo DaVinci, c. 1496. Tempera on gesso, Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan.

The *tableaux vivant* composition is able to supplement meaning between texts as it operates in instances of stasis, where it uses its inherent static nature to halt the natural flow of images in a film, also halting the narrative of the film, and then superimposing its own meaning in the interim (Pethö 2013:81). The way in which a *tableaux vivant* composition functions makes it an effective strategy for intertextuality, since it operates in *stasis*, consistent with the *modus operandi* of filmic intertextuality. As is discussed in the following section, both of Christian Olwagen's films, *Johnny is nie dood nie* (Olwagen 2017) and *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018), make use of *tableaux vivant* compositions, each time as a technique with which to engage the audience's relation to the films' content by intertextually referring to key figures within Afrikaner cultural history. Olwagen similarly refers to key international figures that historically impacted broader Afrikaner culture in his choice of film music, as discussed below.

### 3.3.2. Film music as intertextual technique

Michel Chion (2021:215) functionally categorizes two forms of sound found in film, and distinguishes between diegetic sound and non-diegetic sound based on its perceived origin.



Sound that is classified as diegetic belongs to the internal logic of a film, where the characters of the film are aware of the sound and the audience is able to identify the source of the sound as present in the on-screen world (2021:215). Non-diegetic sound, on the other hand, operates externally to the logic of a film, where the characters of a film are not aware of the sound as it originates from a source that is not present in the action of the on-screen world (Chion 2021:216).

Bordwell, Thompson and Smith (2010) offers some delineated categories for different types of filmic sound in their spatiotemporal exploration into film sound's capacity to enhance the experience of a film:

- *Diegetic sound* has a source in the on-screen world of a film, i.e. the sound is produced in the story world. Some examples of diegetic sounds include the words spoken by characters, noises made by objects in the film, or music heard by characters in a film (2010:278). Diegetic sounds represent any sound that originates from the on-screen world, but these sounds can be presented in different and distinct ways and therefore diegetic sound can be subdivided into four distinct categories.
  - On-screen diegetic sound is the first sub-category of diegetic sound, and refers to sounds that originate from identifiable sources present in the shot of a film (2010:279). On-screen diegetic sound presents the physical source of a sound on screen, like a car radio, and thus the source of the sound can be both seen and heard simultaneously.
  - o *Off-screen diegetic sound*, the second sub-category of diegetic sound, refers to sounds that originate in the on-screen world, but are not visually present in the shot of a film (2010:279). Off-screen diegetic sound originates from sources in the story world that are alluded to, rather than shown and usually takes the form of environmental sounds, such as traffic noise, or bird song.
  - o *External diegetic sound* is the third sub-category, and is used to refer to sounds which emanate from identifiable/shown sources in the on-screen world, that all characters are aware of and can interact with (2010:284).



External diegetic sound can either be on-screen or off-screen, and is always perceptible by all the characters in the shot.

- o *Internal diegetic sound*, the last sub-category of diegetic sound, refers to sounds that originate within the on-screen world, but which *only some* characters are aware of or can interact with (2010:284). Internal diegetic sound can be either on-screen or off-screen, and is usually presented as narrated thoughts originating from the mind of a character, or auditory hallucinations, which only a particular character or a select few characters are able to hear and interact with.
- *Non-diegetic sound*, the opposite of diegetic sound, is any sound that does not exist in the diegesis of a film, where there is no source for the sound present in the onscreen world and no characters are aware of the sound or able to interact with it (2010:279). Non-diegetic sound is then *only perceptible to the audience* of a film, and while it exists externally to the diegesis of the film, it is able to enhance the experience and understanding of a film (2010:279).

Most classifications of non-diegetic sound are limited to the common forms it takes within film, namely mood music and voice-over narration, but explorations into alternative uses of non-diegetic sound in avant-garde films reveal it to be a complex tool with which to shape an audience's experience of a film (Stam *et al.* 1992:61-62). Music used within a film is especially adept at enhancing an audience's perception of a film, as it is able to participate in the action of a film by feeding off or into the events on screen (Chion 2021:218). The music of a film is able to punctuate or undercut the emotion of a scene by contributing its own rhythm and beat, it is able to connect and separate space and time when it is repeated or interrupted, it can also provide dramatic tonality and highlight overarching themes through mood (Chion 2021:218).

Film music is thusly able to span and transition between the internal and external logic of a film world, contributing to the diegesis of a film while existing externally to it, which situates it in a unique position of quasi-self-awareness, where it is able to intentionally interact with the audience's experience of a film (Bordwell *et al.* 1985:33). Film music is a mediated aspect of film, due to its ability to interact with an audience, and can serve as a tool with which an author



can encode additional meaning into a film (Stam et al. 1992:61). By considering that film music is able to span the external and internal environments of a film, and can be used to encode additional meaning, it also becomes a practical means of configuring intertextuality in film. As is described in the next section, Christiaan Olwagen's use of music from the *Voëlvry* movement for the soundtrack of *Johnny is nie dood nie* (2017) serves as an intertextual technique with which to engage with notions of Afrikaner culture (Pieterse 2019:379). In *Kanarie* (2018) Olwagen also uses music to reflect on Afrikaner culture, by having the characters of the film sing familiar international pop songs and Afrikaner church hymns, while looking directly at the camera, and thus directly at the audience. This inclusion of the audience in the intertextual moment though eye contact between audience and character is known as direct address.

### 3.3.3. Direct address as intertextual technique

The dramatic notion of 'breaking the fourth wall' refers to the act of acknowledging the presence of the audience from within a text's diegesis (Brown 2013:2). This process finds its origins in the metaphorical 'fourth wall' of a theatre stage, the invisible barrier maintained by performers between the stage and the auditorium, and was ubiquitous in early cinema (Brown 2013:2; Kinney 2019:68). After the 1960s, breaking or transgressing this invisible barrier became a staple of independent and avant-garde films (Brown 2013:2; Kinney 2019:68). This effect is achieved through different methods, such as a performer breaking from character or revealing behind the scenes images of the film being produced (Brown 2013:1). The most prevalent method used is direct address – whereby a character, either staying in character or breaking from character into actor/narrator, directly addresses the audience by looking into the camera lens (Brown 2013:1).

When an actor addresses the audience directly, it foregrounds the intertextual continuity between the diegetic world of the character and the external world of the audience, affirming the audience's experience of interacting with a text (Kinney 2019:68). This bridging between diegetic and external ('real') worlds allows films to effectively emphasise and engage with the relationship between the audience and the characters (Kinney 2019:67). In his book, *Breaking the Fourth Wall: Direct Address in the Cinema*, Tom Brown (2013:13-16) describes the different functions of direct address and how they can operate in building a relationship with the audience. Below follows an overview of these functions (Brown 2013:13-16).



- *Intimacy:* when a character directly speaks to the audience of a film it may be considered a gesture of intimacy between the character and the audience. Such a gesture often solicits a sympathetic response from the audience, thusly aligning the emotions of the audience with that of the character
- Agency: direct address casts a particular character as having agency in both the diegesis
  of a film and the world external to it. Allowing a character to communicate directly
  with the audience of a film allows the character the agency to communicate beyond the
  scope of the film narrative.
- Superior epistemic position: when a character is able to communicate with the audience beyond the narrative of a film, they are presented as having knowledge that surpasses the bounds of the film diegesis. This positions the character as having access to transcended knowledge. By positioning a character in such a superior epistemic position, the audience is made to believe that the character can speak with authority on complex and important matters.
- Honesty: within the intimate space that direct address creates between a character and
  an audience, there exists the opportunity for a character to share their personal thoughts
  and feelings as a gesture of honest expression. Along with this sense of honesty in the
  act of direct address comes the perception of sincerity, which, when combined, is a
  formidable means of expressing the thoughts and ideas presented by a character in a
  film.
- *Immediacy ('Instantiation'):* direct address is able to manipulate an audience's temporal perception of a film by bridging the temporal space of a film's narrative and the temporal space of the audience. The character accomplishes this in instances of interaction with the audience. As such, direct address is able to transport the content of a narrative to the present situation of the audience by establishing a temporal relationship between the film and the audience.

Once direct address establishes a relationship between a character and audience, it affords the film a chance to use that relationship in a few different ways (Kinney 2019:67). The relationship can be used to directly *confront* the audience, often concerning divisive political



or social themes in a more direct and immediate manner than the film narrative is able to (Kinney 2019:71). Conversely, direct address can also form a relationship of *reciprocity* with the audience, in which thematic exchanges occur based on shared experiences (Kinney 2019:77). Another way in which direct address can use its relationship with the audience is in forcing a moment of *reflection*, pausing the narrative flow of the film and asking the audience to meditate on what they are being told or shown (Brown 2013:17). Direct address is quite capable of functioning as a technique of intertextuality, as it halts the natural flow of a film, breaks its internal logic, and then, in a moment of stasis, operates externally to the film.

A powerful example of direct address that illustrates its capability of emotionally interacting with an audience and configuring intertextuality, is a scene from the 2019 film *A Beautiful Day in the Neighbourhood* (Heller 2019). The film is a dramatization of the real-life relationship between journalist Tom Junod and Fred Rogers, a renowned and beloved children's TV show host in America. In the film, Rogers (Tom Hanks) persuades the journalist character (Matthew Rhys) to partake in a minute of silence, where they will "think about the people who loved us into being". During this minute of silence, the people surrounding them in the on-screen world also take the opportunity to reflect on Rogers' words, then Rogers turns to look directly into the camera, extending the invitation to those watching the film.



Figure 23: Fred Rogers directly addressing the audience in *A Beautiful Day in the Neighbourhood* (Heller 2019), 2023, [O].



In this instance of direct address, Mr. Rogers evokes an intimate, sincere, and honest connection with the audience, where he is able to transcend the film itself and directly interact with them. The direct address in this example pauses the natural flow of the film and asks the audience to consider the conceptual content presented, not only in the scene, but also in the entire film. The audience is asked to consider the people that loved *them* into being. This instance of direct address also configures intertextuality by associating the minute of silence with the real-life television show of the real Fred Rogers, which often asked its audience to partake in moments of quiet reflection.

This example demonstrates that moments of direct address and, by extension, filmic intertextuality, engage the audience's understanding of a film as a manifestly constructed object, and serve to enrich the audience's appreciation of the film, its content, and its ideas (Brown 2013:18). In the following chapter I will demonstrate that intertextuality critically informs my reading of Afrikaner identity in *Johnny is nie dood nie* (2017) and *Kanarie* (2018).



# CHAPTER FOUR: AN EVOLVING AFRIKANER IDENTITY IN JOHNNY IS NIE DOOD NIE (OLWAGEN 2017) AND KANARIE (OLWAGEN 2018)

This chapter provides the textual analysis of the selected films from director Christiaan Olwagen, *Johnny is nie dood nie* (2017) and *Kanarie* (2018). In this chapter, I use the conceptual framework of cultural identity as it is constituted by cultural memory described in Chapter Two, and combine it with the conceptual framework for filmic intertextuality described in the previous chapter. I use this combined conceptual framework as the basis for my interrogation of selected scenes from the films. The scenes are chosen for their recognisable occurrences of intertextuality, particularly, occurrences of *tableaux vivant* compositions, direct address, or film music.

The aim of investigating the intertextual occurrences in these films is to better understand how they could allow a contemporary Afrikaner audience member to reflect on an Afrikaner identity during and since the fall of *apartheid*. In order to accomplish this, I return to the key ideas and conceptual frameworks discussed earlier in the study and establish the relation between an idealised Afrikaner identity, the functions of cultural memory, and the construction of a cultural identity. Thereafter, I describe how techniques of filmic intertextuality are able to draw from a cultural memory and influence a cultural identity.

In Chapter Two I established a conceptual framework for *cultural memory*, where I have operationally defined it as a network of significant matters that a community can recall from when orienting itself towards the future. This network is then also described as comprising figurations of cultural memory, which are texts or rituals or monuments that have manifested as symbolic representations of the culture (Assmann 1995:129).

A community is then able to continually draw from the figurations of a cultural memory and perpetually construct their *cultural identity* (Hall 1989:69). This process of continual construction is possible because a community forms and maintains a cultural narrative of identity, where they are able to congruently relate their past figurations of identity to their present sense of cultural identity (Assmann 2011:15).



The apartheid government was able to utilise an Afrikaner cultural memory in manipulating the cultural narrative of identity as an attempt to establish *an idealised Afrikaner cultural identity*. The apartheid government drew from Afrikaner people's historic narratives of Christian heteronormativity and patriarchy in order to legitimise an idealised Afrikaner cultural identity, enforcing racial and gender constructs through a dominant hegemonic ideal of white, Afrikaner masculinity (Sonnekus 2013:24). Christiaan Olwagen is able to engage the narratives of an idealised Afrikaner cultural identity through practices of *filmic intertextuality* in his films, and draws from specific texts that are recognisable to his peers, texts that are shared and consumed by a community of 'sign-users'. This is possible because filmic intertextuality is able to engage the narrative of a cultural identity by accessing and relating different figurations within its cultural memory, guiding the audience to associate cultural texts and generate cultural meaning (Iampolski 1998:4).

I have also established an operational definition and conceptual framework for filmic intertextuality as a practice that operates on a spectrum between encoding and decoding. By considering the conceptions of cultural memory and cultural identity, as described above, relative to the functionality of this spectrum, I formulate a procedural approach with which to guide the textual analysis of the selected films. My intention with formulating such an approach is to ensure that all the key notions of this research study are considered within each instance of analysis.

The procedure I follow in investigating specific occurrences of filmic intertextuality starts by firstly identifying the dominant intertextual element within the intertextual occurrence, then I move on to describe the specific strategy or technique employed in the intertextual occurrence. Thereafter, I identify the external text to which the intertextual element refers, and then describe how an audience may generate meaning through possible (or probable) associations between the texts. Here I must remind the reader that, as explained in the previous chapter, the spectrum of filmic intertextuality operates between practices of encoding and decoding, which means that any practice of intertextual decoding is an inherently subjective experience.

As such, any intertextual associations I discuss here will ultimately be a product of my own, white Afrikaans male, subjective knowledge and experience. But the aim of discussing these associations is to exemplify the process through which filmic intertextuality operates, and to



also demonstrate how filmic intertextuality allows an audience to generate meaning from the associations they make between texts. Therefore, the intertextual associations I discuss below must be considered an exemplary paradigm for how Christiaan Olwagen accesses figurations of an Afrikaner cultural memory through filmic intertextuality that allows an audience to reflect on the evolution of an Afrikaner cultural identity.

# 4.1. Intertextual occurrences in Johnny is nie dood nie (Olwagen 2017)

Johnny is nie dood nie (Olwagen 2017) follows a group of friends as they reunite for a braai on the Sunday after Johannes Kerkorrel, figurehead of the *Voëlvry* movement, commits suicide. During the braai the friends reminisce about their days as students resisting the oppressive apartheid government (from their white, Afrikaner positionality), where the music of the *Voëlvry* movement served as the soundtrack to their sexual and political awakening. The film jumps between these two periods, apartheid past and democratic present, and juxtaposes the revolutionary ideals of the group of friends as students with their present existence as disillusioned adult suburbanites.

In this textual analysis I discuss occurrences of filmic intertextuality in the use of the three intertextual techniques of focus – film music, direct address, and *tableaux vivant* compositions – and moments of intertextual quotation and intertextual allusion that cannot be classified as having a primary technique. Additional selected intertextual occurrences where Olwagen combines different strategies and techniques of intertextuality are also discussed.

# 4.1.1. Film music technique of intertextuality: the music of a revolution

At the start of the film, the group of main characters are introduced to the audience as free-spirited students, drinking and smoking in a Volkswagen Kombi on their way back from a *Voëlvry* concert in 1989. As the camera drifts between Johnny, Lise, Hein, Anja, and Dirk, the audience can hear a live recording of Johannes Kerkorrel introducing each band member of the *Gereformeerde Blues Band* at a *Voëlvry* concert.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> The band name *Gereformeerde Blues Band* can be translated as the 'Reformed Blues Band'.





Figure 24: Johnny, Lise, Hein and Anja in 1989, Johnny is nie dood nie. 2017. Screenshot by author.

As Kerkorrel introduces, "Mr. Volume", "Hanepoot van Tonder", "Piet Pers" and himself in the recording, the camera focuses in on each of the characters, while the coinciding actor's name also flashes across the screen. Here, the recording of Kerkorrel introducing the band members serves as the intertextual element for this occurrence of filmic intertextuality. Christiaan Olwagen thusly configures this intertextual occurrence through the use of film music, where he uses the recording of Kerkorrel as non-diegetic music with which to intentionally interact with the audience's experience of the film (Bordwell *et al.* 1985:33).

In this technique of filmic intertextuality, Olwagen enables the non-diegetic recording of Kerkorrel to participate in the action on the screen (Chion 2021:128), effectively encoding the *Gereformeerde Blues Band* onto the characters of the film. When an audience then recognises the recording as an intertextual element, that has intentionally been placed there by Olwagen, they may generate meaning from specific associations they form between the film's characters and the members of the *Gereformeerde Blues Band* through a process of intertextual decoding. Some decoded intertextual meaning I offer here is generated by associating the raucous



revolutionary ideals of the young characters with the rebellious spirit of the *Gereformeerde Blues Band*, challenging the apartheid government's politics through music (Hogg 2019:[O]).

Kerkorrel and the *Gereformeerde Blues Band* garnered notoriety for writing and performing the song, *Sit dit Af!*, that would become an anthem of resistance during the *Voëlvry* movement's protest of the apartheid government's politics (Hogg 2019:[O]).<sup>41</sup> The band members were also considered out-laws by the apartheid government for their affinity with sex, drugs, and rock-and-roll, a title the band embraced and used in establishing themselves as agents of Afrikaner counterculture (Hogg 2019:[O]). The band subverted the apartheid government's Christian nationalist ideals by naming themselves after the largest Afrikaner church at the time, the Dutch Reformed Church, and Johannes Kerkorrel (an ironic alias that aimed at the Church) also challenged hegemonic ideals of masculinity and heteronormativity by cross-dressing for stage (Hogg 2019:[O]).<sup>42</sup>

By drawing from the *Gereformeerde Blues Band*'s members as figurations of Afrikaner cultural memory, Olwagen is able to encode the characters of the film with the same countercultural ideals as the band, presenting them as also resisting the Christian nationalist ideals of the apartheid government in their youth. Consequently, the audience is able to decode meaning from this association, where I consider the intertextual associations between the characters and the band to mean that the music of the *Voëlvry* movement served as a catalyst for young Afrikaner people to recognise and resist the trappings of an idealised Afrikaner identity, encouraging them to subvert the apartheid government's ideals of hegemonic masculinity and heteronormativity.

Later in this introductory scene of the film, the young characters are shown joyfully swimming in a lake while the narrator of the film goes on to proclaim that the *Voëlvry* movement was "a big, fat fuck you to P.W. Botha and his regime" (Olwagen 2017), after which the film suddenly

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> The title of the song *Sit dit Af!* translates to 'switch it off', and refers to the *Voëlvry* movement's protest of propaganda being broadcasted by the South African Broadcasting Corporation, urging people to switch it off (Hogg 2019:[O]).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Although Johannes Kerkorrel did come out as homosexual in his later life, he never seemed to express the desire for transitioning to another gender. Thus I use the term cross-dressing to refer to the act of dressing in clothes typically worn by other genders, without the intention of fully transitioning to the other gender (Transgender Terminology 2009:[O]).



cuts to the present time in which the characters have aged and are presented as disillusioned adult suburbanites.<sup>43</sup> This juxtaposition between the revolutionary youth of the characters and their subdued suburban adulthood is a recurring theme throughout the film.

### 4.1.2. Direct address technique of intertextuality

After the film cuts away from the group of friends as rebellious and careless students, the film shows Lise and Dirk preparing for a braai at their suburban house in the present 2002. The couple, now married, are bickering about a security wall that Dirk put up around their home to Lise's greatest annoyance. When Dirk insists that burglars will still be able to get over the wall and suggests they must add security spikes on top, Lise is shown to clearly be agitated not only with Dirk but with their entire suburban living situation, and storms off to their bedroom. When Dirk asks if she is still taking the medication her doctor prescribed her, it is revealed to the audience that Lise has been struggling with her mental health for a while and has been seeing a psychiatrist.

At this moment Anja can be heard knocking at the front door and Lise tells Dirk to go open while she fixes her hair. After Dirk has left, Lise turns to the camera as if it is the mirror and directly stares at the audience.

film. P.W. Botha was the State President of South Africa during apartheid, from 1978 – 1989 (Hogg 2019:[O]).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> All the dialogue quoted from the film is translated from Afrikaans to English as per the official subtitles of the



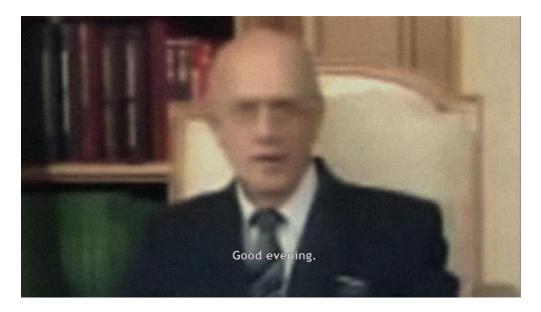


Figure 25: A quick flash of P.W. Botha's speech declaring a state of emergency, *Johnny is nie dood nie*. 2017. Screenshot by author.

An excerpt of P.W. Botha's 1985 speech flashes across the screen, declaring a state of emergency in South Africa and the apartheid government's deployment of the South African military to use extreme force to impose their apartheid policies. The excerpt of P.W. Botha's speech is an intertextual occurrence that interrupts the natural, linear unfolding of the film's narrative and is thus able to insert its own meaning into the film in this moment of narrative stasis (Iampolski 1998:30).





Figure 26: Lise fixes her hair and looks directly at the camera while audio of P.W. Botha declaring a state of emergency plays non-diegetically, *Johnny is nie dood nie.* 2017. Screenshot by author.

Olwagen combines a few strategies for filmic intertextuality in this specific occurrence, where he uses intertextual quotation in the excerpt of Botha's speech to contribute to Lise directly addressing the audience as a combined configuration of intertextual technique. Olwagen then also uses the audio of Botha's speech to further impart intertextual meaning into the occurrence as non-diegetic audio material (Stam *et al.* 1992:61). In employing intertextual quotation here, Olwagen is able to relate Lise's presented situation with that of Botha, and by extension South Africa as a whole, at the time of him declaring a state of emergency (Ott & Walter 2000:437). Thusly, by inserting a visual excerpt of Botha's speech and playing its audio non-diegetically over Lise directly addressing the audience, Olwagen is able to encode Botha's speech onto Lise, presenting her as actually giving the speech to the audience.

Olwagen uses the following extract of P.W. Botha's speech as non-diegetic audio (translated from Afrikaans to English): "Good evening. There comes a time in the history of nations, where a choice has to be made between unpleasant alternatives. The choice between war and an



immoral, paranoid peace is an example of this. The decision to declare a state of emergency, as I have done today, represents such a choice".

By playing the excerpt of Botha's speech while Lise is directly addressing the audience, Olwagen is able to bridge the internal world of the film with the external world of the audience, and establishes a personal relationship between the audience and Lise (Kinney 2019:68). In constructing such a personal relationship through direct address, Olwagen positions Lise as a site of sincerity and honesty, and attempts to elicit a sympathetic response from the audience (Brown 2013:13-16). The audience is therefore asked to associate Lise's present circumstances with the circumstances of the state of emergency declared in South Africa in 1985, and decode from those associations that the current state of an Afrikaner cultural identity is a direct result of the states' actions during that time.

Here I directly correlate Dirk and Lise's quarrels over the security of their suburban home with the "...choice between war and an immoral, paranoid peace..." mentality of the apartheid government. I further propose that 'Lise's speech' declares their identities as existing in a state of emergency, where they have chosen to abandon their past identities of revolutionaries warring against the apartheid government in favour of an insulated and paranoid suburban stasis. Therefore, I decode this instance of intertextual direct address and interpret that much of an Afrikaner cultural identity exists in this state of emergency, where Afrikaners must either choose to war against the legacy of the apartheid government and its racist ideals, or choose to be subdued by the economic privilege and suburban comfort that an idealised Afrikaner identity (Steyn 2001:40).

Throughout the rest of the film the narrative frequently returns to this theme of positioning the characters as fighting a war of identity, continually relating their young identities to revolutionary ideals and juxtaposing this with their adult identities as existing in a state of emergency.

### 4.1.3. Intertextual quotation in Johnny is nie dood nie (Olwagen 2017)

Olwagen makes regular use of intertextual quotation as a strategy with which to encode the film and its characters with themes of warring identity and revolutionary ideals, especially during the 1989 period in which the friends met. In the film, it is shown that the group of friends



met each other after Johnny was caught visiting Lise and Anja in their university dormitory. This visit got Lise and Anja expelled from the dormitory and Johnny offered them the chance to stay with him, Dirk, and Hein at their communal house. The house is presented as a counterculture haven, cluttered with party paraphernalia and inscriptions of revolution covering the walls.

Above the front door of the house, "*Huis van Terreur*" (House of Terror) is written on the wall. As Johnny and Anja carry a bed through the house, Lise stops and notices something written on a mirror in the hallway, she reads "sacred cows make the tastiest hamburgers" scribbled on the mirror and laughs. The camera stops following Johnny and Anja and lingers on the message in the mirror, which highlights it as an intertextual element. This message in the mirror is a quote often attributed to the American social and political activist Abbott 'Abbie' Hoffman.<sup>44</sup>



Figure 27: Lise laughs at an Abbie Hoffman quote written on a mirror, Johnny is nie dood nie. 2017. Screenshot by author.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Although Hoffman is often credited with the phrase "sacred cows make the tastiest hamburgers" there is some dispute about its origins and Hoffman's involvement in popularizing it (Popik 2017).



Abbie Hoffman was an American civil rights activist who later became famous for orchestrating elaborate protests against the American war in Vietnam and American economic systems of capitalism. He was known for his counterculture ideals and lifestyle, often seen under the influence of psychedelic drugs at counterculture events such as the Woodstock music festival (Tikkanen [sa]).<sup>45</sup> Hoffman was also the co-founder of the Youth International Party (Yippies), a satirical political group with which he regularly organised acts of protests that tended to blur the lines between political action and guerrilla theatre (Tikkanen [sa]).<sup>46</sup> The Yippie's often utilized absurdist humour in their political protests as a means of soliciting the greatest amount of media publicity, and therefore gained celebrity status as their flamboyant protests were televised worldwide (Joselit 2002:63).

Here Olwagen relates the characters living in the house with Abbie Hoffman, as he uses intertextual quotation to draw parallels between the characters' anti-Border war sentiments and Abbie Hoffman's activism against the American Vietnam war.<sup>47</sup> Intertextual quotation serves as a strategy with which to highlight similar aspects between different texts and therefore invite associations between them (Eco 1985:170). As a result, Olwagen is able to draw the parallels between anti-Border war and anti-Vietnam activism.

Olwagen specifically links the character of Hein with Hoffman, Hein's hat hanging on the mirror and explicitly stating later that Hoffman is an idol of his. The parallels between Hein and Hoffman are further illustrated by Hein's involvement with the End Conscription Campaign (ECC), a political organisation of people who opposed legislation of mandatory conscription in the South African military during the 1960s and 1970s (Baines 2003:172). In the film, Dirk warns that Hein must be careful with his involvement in ECC protests and with distributing their pamphlets, as this could get him arrested. This scenario is very similar to what

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> The Woodstock music and art fair was first held in 1969 outside New York in the USA, and was considered the largest counterculture music festival in history (Hayes 2022:[O]).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Guerrilla theatre is a style of public performance art that originated in San Francisco during 1965 as a form of social performance that is committed to revolutionary socio-political change (Putman 2022:[O]).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> The Vietnam war occurred from 1955 to 1975, and was fought between North Vietnam, supported by China and the Soviet Union, and South Vietnam, supported mainly by the USA. Although South Vietnam and the USA lost the physical war, the USA fought to claim a symbolic victory through various pro-USA war films and media (Kimball 1988).



happened to Hoffman in 1968, where he was arrested while protesting the conscription of American men into the Vietnam war, after which he became world famous in the highly publicized trial that ensued (Joselit 2002:64).

Here Olwagen uses Hoffman and his anti-Vietnam war persona to configure an Afrikaner cultural memory of the Vietnam war, and uses intertextual quotation to invite associations between Hoffman's political activism and Hein's ECC protests (figure 28). Indeed, as the other ECC poster shows below (figure 29), the Vietnam war was a prominent event in the cultural memory of Afrikaners at the time, as it was a major reference point for Afrikaner men conscripted to fight in the Border war. Many Afrikaner people turned to American films and literature of the Vietnam war to make sense of their experiences of the Border war, and adopted many 'Americanisms' to express their emotions and feelings regarding their situations (Baines 2003:175).



Figure 28: Johnny in front of an ECC poster, *Johnny is nie dood nie*, 2017. Screenshot by author.



Figure 29: End Conscription Campaign (ECC) Poster 1987, South African History Archive, 2023.



By using Hoffman's media notoriety to encode Hein and his ECC affiliation with Vietnam war sentiments, Olwagen urges the audience to associate Hein, and by extension the group's, revolutionary identity with American media representations of the Vietnam war. I interpret this association as demonstrating that the group's revolutionary identities are based on the sensationalised representations of American counterculture protesting the Vietnam war, instead of being based on sincere ideals of opposing an idealised Afrikaner identity. This could be because there did not exist a lot of media texts for Afrikaner people to reference in contextualising Afrikaner men fighting in a contemporary South African war, the last war being the Anglo-Boer War which ended almost a century earlier in 1902 (Baines 2003:175). However, some of the contemporary media depicting the Border war was produced and distributed by the government as a means of justifying the war and recruiting new members, while films such as *Boetie gaan border toe* (van den Bergh 1984) glorified the war. Consequently, many Afrikaner people contextualised their experience of the Border war, and their resistance to it, by turning to American narratives of the Vietnam war, which was glamorised by the media to mythical proportions (Baines 2003:175).

Because of this lack of reference and contextualisation, I consider that the film exposes a form of dissonance inherent in the cultural identity of the *Voëlvry* movement, where it did not operate as an identity of collective rebellion against the apartheid government's racist and heteronormative policies. Instead, it only served to create an identity for counterculture sex, drugs, and rock-and-roll. Near the end of the film the characters seem to have realised this dissonance in the development of their identities, as Hein jokingly asks in 2002 "[W]ho is this Mandela dude taking all the credit" for their role in toppling the apartheid government. When Dirk then argues that their efforts did aid in ending *apartheid*, Hein remarks that the participants of the *Voëlvry* movement "only came for the party" and "just showed up to get high and fuck" (*Johnny is nie dood nie* 2017). Dirk vehemently disagrees with Hein's belittling of their efforts with the *Voëlvry* movement, by insinuating that their movement was never truly revolutionary, but rather an elaborate excuse to party. Dirk reaffirms the heroism of the *Voëlvry* movement as the biblical stone that David cast at Goliath, bringing down Botha and the NP.

Earlier in the film, Olwagen explores this idea that the revolutionary identity of the *Voëlvry* movement did not amount to much other than excuses for counterculture partying in a seven-



minute-long sequence that follows Lise through an onslaught of debauchery at a house party full of sex, drugs, and rock-and-roll. This sequence, as a unit, is predominantly a sequence of intertextual allusion that orchestrates the abilities of *tableaux vivant*, film music, and direct address in such a way that no one technique can be considered predominant.

#### 4.1.4. Intertextual allusion in Johnny is nie dood nie (Olwagen 2017)

In 2002, the group of *Voëlvry*-revolution friends, discuss how sad it is that Johannes Kerkorrel became so commercialised before he committed suicide, reminiscing about the days at university when Kerkorrel (and the group of friends) were still so adamant in fighting injustice. They then go on to complain about how they use to fight for "bread and justice" at university, but now they only worry about "CD's, medical aid, fancy dinners and huge TV's" (*Johnny is nie dood nie* 2017). Hein describes the disdain for their subdued suburban adulthood as the result of a "post-revolution hangover" (*Johnny is nie dood nie* 2017).

The group are vocalising a feeling of dissonance in the narrative of their identities, where they feel that their circumstances as adults do not match the aspirations of their identities as youths. The film then goes on to show how Lise attempts to relive some of their youth when she tries to seduce Hein in the bathroom, asking him "for old time's sake? A little sex, drugs and rock-and-roll.", after which Hein protests and declares that he can't do it anymore. Olwagen suggests that the character's relationship with sex, drugs, and rock-and-roll played a role in the dissonance they experience between their past and present identities. While the group resisted the racist and heteronormative policies of the apartheid government, the lure of 'sex, drugs, and rock-and-roll' also motivated the fervour of their immersion in the revolutionary efforts of *Voëlvry*.

Olwagen makes use of intertextual allusion in a sequence with which he relates the group's search for identity in counterculture ideas to Lewis Carroll's (1865) story of Alice searching for her identity in *Alice's adventures in Wonderland*. The sequence follows Lise in 1989 as she moves around a raucous party at the group's communal house, where she spots Hein flirting with another girl dressed as a white rabbit (figure 30) and opts to follow them out of jealousy. Through her journey of following Hein and the other girl, Lise encounters several intertextual



elements from the Carroll (1865) story, such as the white rabbit (figure 31), a *Cheshire Cat* (figure 36), and a *Hookah smoking caterpillar* (figure 38).



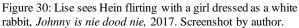




Figure 31: Alice chasing a white rabbit, *Alice in Wonderland*, 1951. Screenshot by author.

While Lewis Carroll's (1865) original story, *Alice's adventures in Wonderland*, depicts Wonderland as a curious, yet disturbing place that Alice has to navigate in finding her sense of identity, most contemporary adaptations have transformed Wonderland to be a much more darkened and hostile environment for Alice. <sup>48</sup> Contemporary retellings have also re-envisioned Alice as young adult, who has to face physical violence, psychedelic insanity, and sexual threat in navigating the darkened Wonderland and find her identity (Siemann 2012:175). This darkening of Wonderland can be seen as a result of the story being recontextualised over and over again to reflect contemporary cultural issues, and thusly becoming a 'cultural-text' (Siemann 2012:175). Therefore, the hostilities of Wonderland in contemporary adaptations have become reflections of contemporary issues surrounding young-adulthood, sexuality, memory, and identity (Siemann 2012:176). Contemporary adaptations of Alice and Wonderland, such as in video games and graphic novels, present this darkening of Carroll's (1865) original story in horrific detail, but I will reference images from the Disney film, *Alice* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Two contemporary adaptations of the Alice in Wonderland are:

<sup>•</sup> McGee, A. 2011. Alice: Madness Returns. The Videogame.

<sup>•</sup> Gregory, R. 2009-2001. Return to Wonderland. The graphic novel.



in Wonderland (Geronimi et al. 1951) in my research study as it remains a popular adaptation easily accessible on Disney+.

In the film, Olwagen makes use of intertextual allusion to associate contemporary representations of Alice navigating issues of young-adulthood, sexuality, and identity in Wonderland with Lise's attempt at navigating what it means to be a white, Afrikaans woman in the *Voëlvry* movement. Olwagen is able to do this because intertextual allusion evokes the subject matter of the external text and incorporates it into the intertextual element (Stam *et al.* 1992:211). In this process of intertextual allusion, Olwagen is also able to transform the subject matter of Alice and Wonderland so that it may better fit the textuality and context of the film (Riffaterre 1984:142-143; Genette 1997:2). Olwagen transforms the young Alice's journey through the strange and wonderful realm of Wonderland into Lise's young-adult journey through a house party filled with scenes of sex, drugs, and rock-and-roll. Through this transformation of intertextual allusion, Olwagen is then better able to associate Alice's search for identity in Wonderland with Lise's struggle to situate her identity as a privileged white, woman within the injustices of apartheid South Africa, as well as her sexualised role in the struggle of *Voëlvry* movement.



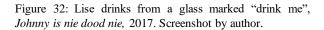




Figure 33: Alice after drinking a bottle labelled "drink me", *Alice in wonderland*, 1951. Screenshot by author





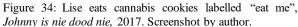




Figure 35: Alice eating a cookie labelled "eat me", *Alice in wonderland*, 1951. Screenshot by author.

As with Alice's story, Lise's journey into Wonderland is initiated by her chasing a white rabbit, (figures 30 and 31) before encountering and consuming a drink labelled "drink me", and eating an edible (cannabis confectionary) labelled "eat me", see images above. In the original story, drinking from the labelled bottle and eating the labelled cookies causes Alice to drastically change in physical size, which leads her to start question her identity, later asking "Who am I?". The swelling and shrinking of Alice's physical size and her resulting confusion is classically interpreted as representing the transition from childhood to adulthood, and her subsequent confusion tends to be associated with a dissonance in sense of identity that people experience during this transition (Gabriele 1982:378). Thusly, when Olwagen intertextually transforms the labelled bottle into alcohol and the labelled cookies into edible drugs, I interpret them as the activating agents for the dissonance in Lise's narrative of identity from student to adult.

Later in the sequence, Lise encounters Dirk dressed in a cat costume (figure 36), which is Olwagen's intertextual transformation of Carroll's (1865) classic *Cheshire cat* character. Throughout the different adaptations of Alice and Wonderland, the *Cheshire cat* seems to remain a constant figure to which Alice can turn for guidance, mentoring her morality in navigating Wonderland and finding her identity (Siemann 2012:178). Olwagen emphasises Dirk as a moral figure by doubling up his intertextual allusion in this scene, where he transforms Carroll's *Cheshire cat* character into Dirk dressed as *Die swart kat* ('The black cat')



(Nortjé & Cawood 1985), a character from a beloved Afrikaans children's television program from the 1980s and 1990s (figure 37).



Figure 36: Lise encounters Dirk dressed as a cat, *Johnny is nie dood nie.* 2017. Screenshot by author.



Figure 37: *Die Swart Kat* poster 1986, 2023, [O].

Die swart kat (Nortjé & Cawood 1985) follows the son of a police detective as he dresses up to fight crime in his neighbourhood at night, and was a popular television program among young Afrikaner boys in the 1980s. The character was shown to have impeccable moral character and was an inspiration for fighting crime and injustice (We need a reboot of Die swart kat 2020 [O]). In alluding to both Die swart kat (Nortjé & Cawood 1985) and the Cheshire cat, Olwagen encodes Dirk as a character with moral integrity to whom Lise can turn for guidance in finding her identity. With the associations between Dirk and Die swart kat (Nortjé & Cawood 1985), I interpret Dirk to be the only character that was not subdued by the depravities of the Voëlvry movement, and who was consistently virtuous in his attempt at resisting the racist and heteronormative policies of apartheid. This idea is reinforced later in the film when Dirk is the only adult of the group that does not think the Voëlvry movement resulted in nothing, proclaiming it to be "...the rock that struck Goliath between the eyes.", and insisting that its impact was "... fucking huge!" (Johnny is nie dood nie 2017).



Even though Dirk is positioned as a moral figure that can offer Lise guidance during the party, she does not go to him, and instead continues deeper into the mayhem in search of Hein, who is positioned as the antithesis of Dirk, fully committed to the counterculture identity of debauchery. Next, Lise encounters a man covered in tattoos (reminiscent of hexapedal lepidopterous worms) smoking a hookah, who sits among mirrors and cardboard signs reading "who are you?" (figure 38). This man is Olwagen's intertextual allusion to Carroll's (1865) *Hookah smoking caterpillar* (figure 39), a character who, in contemporary adaptations of *Alice's adventures in Wonderland* (Carroll 1865), often signals an explicit focus on Alice's identity (Johannessen 2011:58). In Carroll's (1865) original story, Alice stumbles upon the caterpillar and he repeatedly asks her "who are you?", a question to which she has no answer. In later adaptations however, Alice is told to seek out the caterpillar, as he possesses mystic knowledge that Alice may need in finding out who she is (Johannessen 2011:59). Olwagen thusly uses the intertextual allusion of the caterpillar to position the man smoking the hookah as someone who might be able to tell Lise who she is, and indeed she asks him directly "I want to know who I am".



Figure 38: Lise meets a man smoking a hookah, *Johnny is nie dood nie.* 2017. Screenshot by author.



Figure 39: Alice meets a hookah smoking caterpillar, *Alice in Wonderland*, 1951, Screenshot by author.

In Olwagen's intertextual transformation however, the man does not offer Lise some mystic advice or cryptic clue as in other adaptations, but instead gives her a pill to take, most likely some sort of drug, which Lise immediately swallows. By intertextually associating the hookah smoking man and the *hookah smoking caterpillar* as signalling a focus on Lise's identity, I decode this as an insinuation that the younger Lise seeks the answers to her identity struggle in



the sex, drugs, and rock-and-roll of the counterculture. This moment also speaks to the idea that the identities of these characters were, perhaps, shaped to a greater extent by the counterculture than by their revolutionary aims.

In the film, Olwagen uses this sequence at the house party to signal the start of the end for the *Voëlvry* movement and the group's joyful and carefree student days. Lise and Hein, who have been on-again off-again lovers up to this point, have a heated argument about monogamy and end their relationship, before Lise then goes on to find solace in Dirk. It is revealed that Hein and Johnny are actually homosexual and in love with each other, but they both know they can never be together. Johnny says that he has been conscripted into the military and the friends are furious at him for wanting to go through with it after all this time of resisting and protesting. Olwagen orchestrates this spiral of the friend group's circumstances in such a way to build towards a climactic scene in which he ultimately exposes the dissonance between the characters' identities as counterculture activists and social justice revolutionaries in a *tableau vivant composition*.

## 4.1.5. Tableaux vivant technique of intertextuality

In one of the final flashbacks to the group's youth, it is shown that Johnny has deserted his military conscription and has become *Voëlvry*. He is drinking and smoking with Hein in their VW Kombi, discussing how Hein will fly him to Amsterdam in order to avoid prosecution. In a moment of seriousness, Johnny tells Hein that "nothing that matters was fake", before they share a passionate kiss. The two then exit the Kombi to join a *Voëlvry* music concert down the road. Olwagen then cuts to scenes in which Johnny was caught and arrested by South African military police for having a homosexual relationship with another man. The military police are then shown to have pressured Johnny into becoming an informant for them, supplying them with information on his friend group's activities instead of having to join the military. Johnny thusly provided the military police with information on his friends until he could not handle it anymore and decided to join the military.

As Johnny follows Hein to the concert, he thinks back on these actions. A non-diegetic recording of Kerkorrel starting a *Voëlvry* concert is playing while Johnny reflects on his betrayal. Kerkorrel can be heard saying (Olwagen 2017):



We're going to play you some songs and shit. But first of all, look, we all know this is a great country, it is a wonderful country. And everything is very pretty here. It's awesome, awesome, awesome! So listen, then you should, if you want to get in the mood of everything is 'awesome, awesome, awesome', and everything is so nice, and so fucking great and so on, you should put on you rose coloured glasses, okay. So, I'm going to wear mine now, because it puts me in the mood, you know. Then I can submerge myself in warm, lovely rosiness. Okay! Okay, I am ready. And you all look so beautiful, and everything is so pretty, everything is nice.

Then Kerkorrel begins to sing a song in which he mocks the apartheid government, singing that their second biggest export is weapons and oppression. The song climaxes with Kerkorrel sarcastically singing that he wants more of this, "more, more, more! Give me more!" As Kerkorrel can be heard singing "give me more, more, more! Give me more!", the characters of the film are shown in a *tableaux vivant* composition (figure 42) that recreates the cover art of Kerkorrel's *Eet Kreef!* (Eat Lobster!) album (figure 43). While this *tableaux vivant* composition is the main technique of intertextuality in this occurrence, Olwagen combines it with film music in Kerkorrel's singing, and direct address as Lise stares directly at the audience, just as in the cover art.



Figure 40: Anja, Johnny, Lise, Hein and Dirk posed in a *tableaux vivant* composition of the *Eet Kreef!* cover art, *Johnny is nie dood nie.* 2017. Screenshot by author.





Figure 41: Eet Kreef! cover art 1989, Spotify, 2023

Olwagen lets the camera linger on the *tableaux vivant* composition for over ten seconds, pausing the narrative flow of the film and allowing the audience to inspect and digest the *tableaux vivant* composition he is presenting (Jacobs 2011:92). His strategy of using a *tableaux vivant* composition to configure intertextuality allows him to layer his narrative with external texts, supplementing it with different themes and meanings that resonate with the narrative (Peucker 2007:31). Olwagen also uses the non-diegetic music of Kerkorrel to add additional intertextual meaning into the scene (Stam *et al.* 1992:61), while having Lise directly address the audience in order to establish a relationship of reciprocity, where they may reflect on the shared experience of the narrative (Kinney2019:77). While Lise has this relationship with the audience, staring directly at them, and while the audience can hear Kerkorrel sing "give me more, more, more! Give me more!", Olwagen cuts to Lise in 2002, where she now sits alone at the table in her suburban yard, still staring into the camera (figure 44).





Figure 42: Lise sits alone at the table in 2002, Johnny is nie dood nie. 2017. Screenshot by author.

In firstly creating a moment for reflection in the stasis of the *tableaux vivant* composition, Olwagen asks the audience to reflect on the characters' identities as students. Here he asks the audience to associate the group's identity during the *Voëlvry* movement with the cover art of the *Eet Kreef!* album. The name of the album, *Eet Kreef!* (Eat Lobster!), and the visuals on the cover art is meant to represent the social and economic luxuries enjoyed by white people during *apartheid*, and depicts four white people enjoying a lavish feast of lobster and wine; lobster generally being associated with wealth and status (Gereformeerde Blues Band Biography 2022:[O]). By then associating the identity of the young characters with the *Eet Kreef!* cover art, I mean to understand that the *Voëlvry* environment in which the characters established their revolutionary identities was one of social and economic excess. In understanding that the characters were rebelling from a position of social and economic privilege, it becomes clear that they never had to fight for "bread and justice", and that the motivation for their struggle was never to gain social and economic empowerment, as they already had it.



From this, I also understand that the oppression the characters experienced during apartheid was far different from the oppression of black and coloured peoples at the time. This idea can be reinforced by the non-diegetic recording of Kerkorrel that plays before and during the *tableaux vivant composition*, in which Kerkorrel states that you have to put on your rose-coloured glasses in order to get in the mood of the *Voëlvry* movement. By viewing the *Voëlvry* movement through rose-coloured glasses, it becomes possible for the characters to see the struggle against the apartheid government's oppression of black and coloured people's rights as the ideal opportunity to also rebel against conscription into the army and the pressures of having to conform to an idealised Afrikaner identity.

This is the source of dissonance in the cultural identity of the characters and the *Voëlvry* movement, where their revolutionary identities were never based in protesting the oppression of apartheid as experienced by black and coloured people, but was rather based in protesting their own sense of oppression in belonging to the social constructs of an idealised Afrikaner identity (Laubscher 2005:324). Here the *Voëlvry* movement did not necessarily stand to oppose the apartheid government's policies on racist segregation as it so widely claimed, but rather focused on opposing its ideals of hegemonic masculinity, Christian heteronormativity, and mandatory conscription into the military (Marlin-Curiel 2001:160). As a result of this, when the apartheid government fell, the *Voëlvry* movement dissolved as it had nothing more to oppose, nothing else to rebel against (which would not be true if the intention was to fight the continuing racial injustice in the wake of *apartheid*).

In the film then, when Olwagen cuts away from the *tableaux vivant* composition to the group's suburban life in 2002, he eloquently displays the characters' loss of identity. In the *tableaux vivant* composition, the characters had an excess of reasons to protest, to be angry, to rebel against an idealised Afrikaner identity by engaging in the counterculture of sex, drugs, and rock-and-roll. However, in the present there is no more apartheid government, no more institutionalised enforcement of an idealised Afrikaner identity, and thus, there is nothing for them to be angry with, nothing to rebel against. Herman Wasserman (2004:6), an Afrikaner journalist who identifies as one of the *Voëlvry* movement participants, states that after the fall of *apartheid*, the revolutionaries of the *Voëlvry* movement had nothing left to do, "emigrated inside, to suburban safety and privatised culture and religion" (in Laubscher 2005:323).



As such, the *Voëlvry* movement identity has transformed into one of insulated and paranoid suburban adulthood. This creates major dissonance in the characters narrative of identity, as their privileged suburban lives are a direct result of the apartheid constructs they protested against as students. In essence, their revolutionary identities fell with the apartheid government, and they now have no identity left to turn to but the one that they so vehemently opposed.

Johnny is nie dood nie (Olwagen 2017) explores how some young Afrikaner students experienced the oppression of an idealised Afrikaner identity as an invasion and censorship of their cultural expression under threat of arrest or military conscription. The film shows how these students resisted mandatory conscription, social and economic sanctions, religious hypocrisy and the government's racist and sexist policies through public displays of counterculture protest. *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018) on the other hand, explores a much more personal experience of an idealised Afrikaner identity, as it follows a young Afrikaner man who must constantly resist the South African military's enforcement of an idealised Afrikaner identity.

# 4.2. Intertextual occurrences in Kanarie (Olwagen 2018)

Kanarie (Olwagen 2018) follows a young Afrikaner man, Johan Niemand, who is conscripted into the South African military to fight in the Border war. In order to avoid combat, Johan joins the South African Defence Force Church Choir and Concert Group, also known as the 'Kanaries'. The Kanaries are a military concert group that tours the country and performs concerts for fellow soldiers as a way of providing moral support. While touring with the Kanaries, Johan befriends Wolfgang and Ludolf, who gradually introduce him to the burgeoning gay subculture in South Africa. Johan eventually falls in love with Wolfgang and the two young men struggle to reconcile their love within the strict confines of their masculine military and Christian heteronormative environment.

*Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018) was released quite soon after *Johnny is nie dood nie* (Olwagen 2017), but it seems that Christiaan Olwagen became much more adept at constructing and utilising intertextual occurrences in this short period. While *Johnny is nie dood nie* (Olwagen 2017) had many individual occurrences of intertextuality dispersed throughout, *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018) contains relatively few intertextual occurrences. However, the intertextual occurrences that



Olwagen constructs in *Kanarie* (2018) are epic, sweeping sequences of intertextuality containing dense combinations of intertextual techniques. Although these sequences of intertextual occurrence combine different techniques of intertextuality, I identify and investigate them from the primary technique of intertextuality present in each.

In the film there are three main sequences of intertextual occurrence. The first is a sequence which primarily operates through film music in configuring intertextuality, but also makes use of direct address and intertextual allusion. The second sequence uses direct address as its primary technique of intertextuality, but also makes use of film music and a sequence where the moments of intertextual allusion take on more prominence than any particular technique. The final sequence primarily makes use of *tableaux vivant* compositions to configure intertextuality, but also combines it with film music. Once again, I procedurally investigate these sequences of intertextuality, starting with identifying the specific strategies and techniques Olwagen employed in the intertextual sequence. Thereafter, I identify the external texts to which the intertextual elements refer, and then describe how an audience may generate meaning in each instance of intertextuality.

## 4.2.1. Film music technique of intertextuality: a small-town story

The first sequence of intertextuality in *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018) occurs at the very start of the film, when the audience is first introduced to Johan Niemand. Olwagen combines film music and direct address as intertextual allusion in order to introduce Johan and an overview of his upbringing to the audience. Olwagen takes the audience on a dramatic journey of song and dance through key aspects of Johan's childhood that influenced the character's sense of identity.

The film opens with Johan dressed in a wedding gown and wearing full makeup. Johan joyfully exclaims to the two friends helping him dress up that he looks just like "...princess Diana".<sup>49</sup> Johan's introduction in a wedding gown is meant to signal to the audience that, while he is comfortable exploring an effeminate or androgynous side, he is fearful of being caught

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> All quotes of dialogue I make from the film are translated from Afrikaans to English as per the official subtitles of the film.



presenting as such. When one of the two school friends asks "what if your parents come home?", Johan hesitantly answers that his parents won't be home for some time. Johan is aware that presenting effeminate in any way would be perceived as transgressive and, possibly, disciplined by his parents The two friends then offer to give Niemand 50 ZAR, enough for two new records, if he parades down the street in the wedding gown.

The intertextual sequence starts with Johan walking down a quiet suburban street dressed in a wedding gown and full makeup. The Bronski Beat song, *Smalltown boy* (Bronski 1984), plays non-diegetically while Johan and his two friends move down the street. Olwagen then introduces the title of the film in bold, white lettering and cuts to Johan, now dressed in a manner resembling 80s pop icon Boy George (figure 45). Johan stares directly into the camera and sings along to the *Smalltown boy* (Bronski 1984) song. By transitioning from *Smalltown boy* (Bronski 1984) as non-diegetic film music to on-screen diegetic music where Johan sings to the audience, the sequence's most prominent intertextual technique is that of film music.



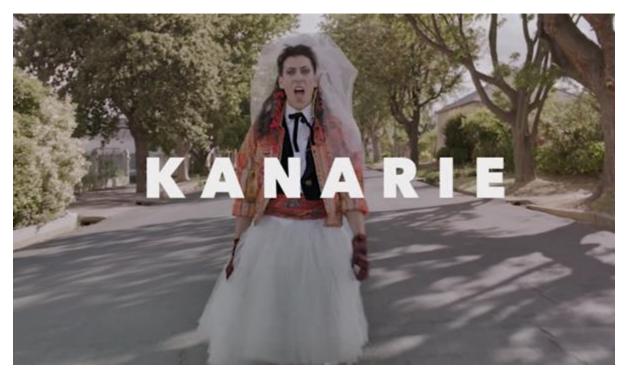


Figure 43: Johan Niemand dressed as Boy George. Kanarie, 2018. Screenshot by author.

By employing the film music technique of intertextuality for this sequence, Olwagen enhances the audience's understanding of the film through a popular song that communicates the overarching themes of the film (Chion 2021:218). Additionally, by transitioning the music from non-diegetic to on-screen diegetic music, Olwagen bridges the internal and external worlds of the film, linking the audience's experience of the film with the experiences of the character on-screen (Bordwell *et al.* 1985:33). Olwagen also employs a direct address technique in this scene, where Johan looks into the lens, to strengthen the personal relationship already created between the character and the audience through the film music (Kinney 2019:67).

By primarily configuring this intertextual sequence in the film music of *Smalltown boy* (Bronski 1984), Olwagen encodes the narrative of the song into the exposition of the film. In this way, Olwagen establishes the premise of the film through the lyrics of the song and the audience's existing associations with Boy George. The *Smalltown boy* (Bronski 1984) song



follows the story of a young man who is bullied and ostracised from his small-town community for being homosexual, and ultimately runs away from home (Gould 2019:[O]). From the lyrics "run away, turn away, run away", the semi-autobiographical song is meant as a plea for homosexual men to escape the abuse and intolerance of restrictive, conservative small-town views and rather seek reinvention in big cities (Gould 2019:[O]).

By intertextually relating the narrative of *Smalltown boy* (Bronski 1984) with the narrative of the film, Olwagen aligns Johan's situation with the song's expression of the desire to escape the abuse and intolerance of homosexuality in small, conservative communities. Olwagen goes on to present some examples of small-town views that Johan has experienced in his childhood in a musical-film-style performance of the Bronski Beat song. In this sequence, Johan sings and dances through enactments of snippets from his childhood, where other characters represent him before joining him in the choreography. As a result, the audience may intertextually associate these snippets of Johan's childhood with the small-town views referred to in the lyrics of *Smalltown boy* (Bronski 1984).

Some of the childhood moments include being bullied as a child for sewing clothes, while another shows some older women being judgemental of Johan for competing in a floral arrangement contest. The snippet where Johan is shown to have done ballet as a child (figure 46) is also an intertextual allusion to the film *Billy Elliot* (Daldry 2000). *Billy Elliot* (Daldry 2000) follows the story of a young boy living in a small town, who is relentlessly bullied for his passion for ballet (figure 48). Johan's costume also alludes to the iconic ensembles worn by Boy George (figure 47), a pop-singer famous for his flamboyant and androgynous fashion (Sarkari 2016:[O]).





Figure 44: Niemand dancing next to a scene in which he did ballet as a child. Kanarie, 2018. Screenshot by author.

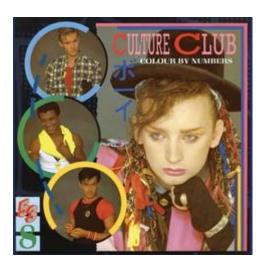


Figure 45: Boy George on the cover art of Colour by numbers.



Figure 46: Billy Elliot poster 2000, 2023 [O].



Olwagen's intertextual allusion to the androgyny of Boy George and the narrative of *Billy Elliot* (Daldry 2000) within the film music technique of *Smalltown boy*'s (Bronski 1984) narrative speaks to Johan's experience of small-town views on ideals of heteronormative masculinity. By associating Johan with the androgynous, flamboyant figure of Boy George, I decode that Johan does not conform to his community's heteronormative ideals of masculinity. I also decode that Johan's past is fraught with abuse for not conforming to the masculine ideals set out for him, which do not include sewing, loving flowers, or a passion for ballet. Indeed, ideas of heteronormative masculinity were a major part of the apartheid government's idealised Afrikaner identity, and any person seen transgressing these ideas were severely punished (Du Pisanie 2001:69).

Olwagen uses this technique of intertextuality to illustrate Johan's failure to uphold the conservative ideals of heteronormative masculinity during *apartheid*. Niemand's identity is suggested to be shaped by abuse from his community for this failure. The intertextual sequence ends abruptly when Johan's reverend catches him in the street, wearing the wedding gown. The reverend, who represents the paragon of an idealised Afrikaner identity as a Christian patriarchal authority figure (Sonnekus 2013:24), reprimands Johan for his transgression, ordering Johan to take off the dress before Johan's father sees him. When Johan returns to his house, he finds that the mailman has delivered his call-up papers announcing his conscription into the South African military to fight in the Border war. Johan will be forced to confront his sense of identity and masculinity within the confines of the apartheid military, where the heteronormative standards of an idealised Afrikaner identity are institutionally enforced (Ncube 2021:97).

While Johan will not be able to 'run away' from his small town as the *Smalltown boy* (Bronski 1984) suggest, his conscription into the military and subsequent joining of the 'Kanaries' will allow him to travel to the big city of Pretoria and experience the burgeoning gay subculture that the city has to offer. Olwagen further explores Johan's struggle with identity, masculinity, and sexuality while he is in a club in Pretoria, constructing an intertextual allusion sequence through the direct address technique.



# 4.2.2. Direct address technique of intertextuality: club androgyny

After Johan is conscripted into the military, his mother urges him to join the Kanaries to possibly avoid combat deployment. When the Kanaries accept Johan, he befriends two other military conscripts in the choir group, Wolfgang and Ludolf. The three young men share a similar taste in music, and throughout the rigours of basic training camp their bond grows quickly. On a weekend when the friends have military passes from basic training camp, Wolfgang invites Johan to join them at a club in Pretoria to drink, sing, and dance.

Important to note here is that the military of the apartheid government was a space of hypermasculinity, and that there were institutional rules which prohibited and punished any transgressions from an idealised Afrikaner identity (Sonnekus 2013:24).<sup>50</sup> Within this environment of hypermasculinity, the Kanaries were considered to be an effeminate group because they did not participate in active combat with other soldiers. Other conscripts looked down on the Kanaries and referred to them with the Afrikaans slur 'moffies'. Even in the club, where they experience more freedom, they are still slandered as 'moffies'. This position reveals the Kanaries as to already be a complicated site of conflicting taxonomies for masculinity (Ncube 2021:96).

Therefore, Johan's journey in navigating his sense of identity, masculinity, and sexuality grows extensively more complicated within the already-complex environment of the Kanaries. However, when Johan and his friends leave the confines of the military and escape into the city for a weekend, they are much freer to navigate ideas of masculinity and heteronormativity. Olwagen demonstrates this by constructing a club sequence in the direct address technique of intertextuality. In this sequence, Johan directly addresses the audience, initiating a moment stylised as a music video, in which various dancers dressed as androgyne celebrities from the 19080s are also shown directly addressing the audience in their performance. It is clear that, for this sequence of intertextual allusion, Olwagen's primary technique of intertextuality is direct address.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> This research study uses the term hypermasculinity to refer to overexaggerated constructs of hegemonic masculinity, where masculine ideals such as physicality, aggression and heteronormative sexuality are celebrated and transgressions are severely punished.



The sequence is initiated when Johan makes eye-contact with the audience by looking into the camera lens. This triggers a cut to Johan's internal world, where he is again dressed as the Boy George alter-ego. The camera then swings to another character, dressed as Annie Lennox (figure 49), directly addressing the audience in dance. As the camera moves around the room the audience is addressed by several more characters dressed as celebrities famous for their androgyny, including Michael Jackson, Prince, David Bowie (figures 51 and 52), Boy George, Grace Jones and more. The direct address technique that Olwagen uses here intertextually alludes to international popular figures that publicly express their androgyny and gender queerness in a way that Johan cannot.

When a character directly addresses the audience, it foregrounds the intertextual continuity between the narrative of the film and the external world of the audience, enabling intertextual communication with the audience (Kinney 2019:67-68). Since the intertextual technique of direct address is able to intimately communicate with the audience, it is also able to *confront* the audience with the bigoted gender views and expectations of the time (Kinney 2019:71). Direct address also uses the moment of confrontation it creates to urge the audience into a moment of reflection, considering the associations between the characters and narrative that they are presented with in the intertextual occurrence (Brown 2013:17).





Figure 47: A character dressed as Annie Lennox. *Kanarie*. 2018. Screenshot by author.



Figure 48: Image of Annie Lennox. 2023,[O].

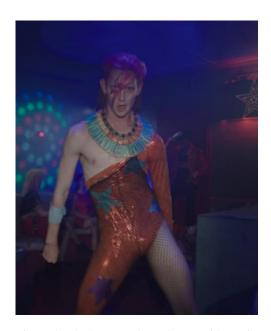


Figure 49: A character dressed as David Bowie. *Kanarie*. 2018. Screenshot by author.



Figure 50: David Bowie performing as Ziggy Stardust. 2023, [O].



Here Olwagen uses the parade of genderqueer celebrity lookalikes directly addressing the audience to intertextually confront them with a cultural memory of pop stars who gained success and acclaim while transgressing then-current ideas of hegemonic masculinity and heteronormativity. By associating Johan with Boy George as an alter-ego, along with the genderqueer celebrity dancers, I decode that an idealised Afrikaner identity suppresses and prohibits Johan from freely exploring and expressing his identity in the way of the alluded celebrities. Therefore, I consider Johan's shift to his alter-ego as indicative of his desire to transgress the masculine and heteronormative ideals of an idealised Afrikaner identity and the hypermasculine expectations of the military, and his shift back as indicative of the institutionalised fear of cultural contempt and the very real threat of legal action.

Johan's environment in the military and the Kanaries come to represent the main institutional forces that dictate his internal identity. The military environment during apartheid was one that strictly enforced standards of hegemonic masculinity, as its soldiers were expected to represent the national superiority of an idealised Afrikaner identity (Sonnekus 2013:24). Therefore, the apartheid military became an environment where performances of hegemonic masculinity and hypermasculinity were rewarded, and any effeminate or homosexual behaviours were punished. The Kanaries' religious connection to the church further adds institutional regulations on Johan's environment and identity, as it utilises Christian ideals of purity and heteronormativity which Johan is expected to conform to (Gray 2021:5).

Johan struggles to reconcile his experience of masculinity and sexual identity within the institutional conformity of these environments, and begins to question the control they have over his identity (Gray 2021:4). When Johan and the rest of the Kanaries go on a tour around the country, singing for families of conscripts fighting in active combat, Johan slowly starts to realise how the military and the Kanaries are using them as tools with which to spread and enforce ideas of hegemonic masculinity and heteronormativity steeped in Christian nationalism. Olwagen later represents this institutional role that the Kanaries play in enforcing an idealised Afrikaner identity, when he presents a sequence of *tableaux vivant* compositions of the Kanaries for conscripts on the front lines.



# 4.2.3. Tableaux vivant compositions configuring intertextuality

After one of the Kanarie's performances for families of conscripts, a woman approaches Johan and two other members of the Kanaries, and begins to question the role they play in the war. The woman directly asks Johan, "what is the purpose of the Kanaries"? To which he replies that they deliver a message of hope to the people who have loved ones in the military. The woman then describes this message that they are spreading as propaganda, which one of the other Kanaries refutes immediately by saying that they spread 'the word of God'. The woman questions if they then represent the military or the Church, to which the Kanarie replies "...both". Johan is clearly unsettled by the woman's claims and soon starts to think that the Kanaries' are complicit in the apartheid government's institutional enforcement of an idealised Afrikaner identity, as he struggles to reconcile this idea with his own complicated identity.

After the woman has confronted Johan and the other Kanaries, the head reverend of the Kanaries lectures Johan and Wolfgang about what is right and what is wrong. As he drives them to their overnight accommodations, he states that, politically, they may never truly know what is right and what is wrong, but he can say with certainty that praising God through song is right. He then goes on to tell Wolfgang and Johan that they are heading to the front lines of the war next, to sing for the men who need it most, the men in active combat. The confrontation with the woman and the lecture from the head reverend seems to have rattled Johan, as he tells Wolfgang that their romantic relationship is 'not right', and reminds him that it is illegal to be homosexual in South Africa. Wolfgang questions Johan, asking him if he doesn't want to be together, to which Johan can only reply "it's not about what I want".

In this scene Johan verbalises the subjugation and self-censoring of his identity under the institutional authority of the military and the Kanaries. And by being a part of the Kanaries himself, Johan thinks that he is complicit in the subjugation of other people who do not conform to ideals of hegemonic masculinity and heteronormativity. Olwagen goes on to represent the Kanaries' active participation in an intertextual sequence of *tableaux vivant* compositions.

Before they start the performance, the head reverend dedicates the song to the men who have wives and girlfriends back home, and jokes "sorry we could not bring them along". As the Kanaries perform, Olwagen begins a sequence of *tableaux vivant* compositions in which he



recreates real-life photos taken of Border war with characters in the film. The sequence of *tableaux vivant* compositions recreate a series of photographs that depict two men posing naked with their guns (figures 53 and 54), a shirtless soldier smoking a cigarette while posing with his tactical gear (figures 55 and 56), another soldier posing with his gun and a pornographic magazine (figures 57 and 58), a black child holding a piece of spent artillery (figures 59 and 60), and the dead body of a black man tied to a military vehicle (figures 61 and 62).



Figure 51: A *tableaux vivant* composition of two men posing naked with guns. *Kanarie*. 2018. Screenshot by author.



Figure 52: A photo of two men posing naked with guns in Oshivello 1981. 2023, [O].





Figure 53: A *tableaux vivant* composition of a man posing with tactical military gear. *Kanarie*. 2018. Screenshot by author.



Figure 54: A photo of a man posing in tactical military gear. 2023, [O].

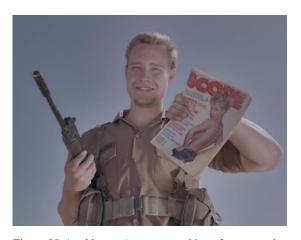


Figure 55: A *tableaux vivant* composition of a man posing with a gun and pornographic magazine. Kanarie. 2018. Screenshot by author.



Figure 56: A photo of a man with a gun and magazine. Liebenberg. 2010.





Figure 57: A *tableaux vivant* composition of a young black child holding spent artillery. Kanarie. 2018. Screenshot by author.



Figure 58: A photo of a young black child holding spent artillery. Liebenberg. 2010.



Figure 59: A *tableaux vivant* composition of a man's dead body on a military vehicle. Kanarie. 2018. Screenshot by author.



Figure 60: A photo of a dead SWAPO fighter on a military vehicle. Liebenberg. 2010.

By using the *tableaux vivant* technique of intertextuality in this sequence, Olwagen encodes the films with self-referential representation (Jacobs 2011:94). Olwagen is able to collapse the space between the characters performing the *tableaux vivant* and the subjects in the photos they are recreating, bringing the textuality of the photos into the textuality of the film. Olwagen is



able to do this precisely because of the *tableaux vivant* composition's self-referential nature—the *tableaux vivant* composition references its own methodology of representation as a film in presenting the composition of the photograph (Peucker 2007:31). Not only does the *tableaux vivant* relate the historical subjects of the images with the characters of the film, but also emphasise the idea of 'performance' relating to the displays of heteronormative, hypermasculine apartheid military soldiers. If the *tableaux vivant* compositions then position the context of the photographs as a performance, I associate the circumstances of the people 'performing' the photos with the circumstances of the Kanarie's performance of an idealised identity Therefore, just as Kanaries perform to uphold the Christian heteronormative ideals of an idealised Afrikaner identity, so too do the characters in the *tableaux vivant* compositions, and thereby the people in the photos, perform to uphold the hegemonic, hypermasculine traits of an idealised Afrikaner identity, traits enforced by the institutional authority of the apartheid government and its idealised Afrikaner identity.

Viewing the *tableaux vivant* compositions as such, I consider the men posing naked with guns (figure 53) to represent a performance of the South African military's hegemonic, hypermasculinity and its compulsory heterosexuality (Gray 2021:5). Similarly, I consider the two men posing with tactical gear (figure 55) and a pornographic magazine (figure 57) as performances of an idealised Afrikaner identity, where the men embody the hypermasculine heterosexual aesthetic idealised by the South African apartheid military (Sonnekus 2013:24).

The *tableaux vivant* compositions of the young black child (figure 59) and the dead body of a black man (figure 61) present another side to an idealised Afrikaner identity that rests on white superiority and power. It seems that that Olwagen included these *tableaux vivant* compositions in order to emphasise that, in addition to the institutional tactics for excluding femininity and homosexuality from an idealised Afrikaner identity, racial exclusion was also of great import to this idealised identity and was also upheld by the institutional laws used to segregate people of colour from the white Afrikaner (Ncube 2021:97). While these *tableaux vivant* compositions can be viewed as perpetuating the aesthetic exploitation of the black body, they also indicate how the apartheid government propaganda presented black people as racially inferior, as the enemy meant to be vanquished by the 'Afrikaner' (Pieterse 2019:380). By considering these *tableaux vivant* compositions as performances meant to aid in the propaganda of an idealised



Afrikaner identity, I decode Johan's dawning awareness of how the Kanaries are not only aiding the subjugation of homosexual people, but also the violence against oppressed racial groups in the Border war and under the apartheid regime.

After the *tableaux vivant* sequence of recreated photographs, Johan seems to have internalised the fact that the Kanaries are actually an institutional mouthpiece of the apartheid government, meant to spread and maintain their ideals of racial superiority, hegemonic masculinity, and Christian heteronormativity. He bursts out in anger when Ludolf says that the performance was good, calling the Kanaries a joke. Later in the film, Johan tries to subvert the Kanaries' role in supporting hegemonic masculinity by combining the Culture Club (1983) song Victims, sung by Boy George, with an Afrikaans folk song and attempts to include it into a performance. He is severely reprimanded by the head reverend, who says the song is "amoral subversive smut", and warns him about doing so again.

When Johan protests and asks why the song cannot be included, the head reverend barks, "Because I say so! As your chaplain, your officer and your superior... I say so!" After the head reverend leaves, Johan laments to his fellow Kanaries, "we sing in a choir but we don't have a voice!" This altercation between Johan and the head reverend serves to illustrate Olwagen's intent for the intertextual occurrences to evoke engagement with the film's themes and the film's idealisation of a particular identity. The authority of the head reverend in both a religious and military capacity works to silence Johan's expression of identity. It reveals how an idealised Afrikaner identity has institutionalised the views of Afrikaner people to reject femininity and homosexuality, how it creates environments that force people to suppress their true identities, and how people are institutionally forced to perform hegemonic masculinity and heteronormativity. As such, Olwagen is able to use techniques of intertextuality to engage the audience in discourse on how the apartheid government institutionalised an idealised Afrikaner identity and used it to maintain power.

The textual analysis of Olwagen's two films above may then afford audiences the chance to reflect on three distinct aspects of an Afrikaner cultural identity during and after the reign of the apartheid government. In *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018), Olwagen uses configurations of intertextuality to reflect on the individual experience of Afrikaner cultural identity during apartheid. In *Johnny is nie dood nie* (Olwagen 2017), Olwagen uses configurations of



intertextuality to reflect on resistance to an Afrikaner cultural identity under *apartheid*, before then reflecting on the loss of Afrikaner cultural identity after the apartheid government fell. In attributing continuity to these three aspects of Afrikaner cultural identity, it becomes possible to decern an possible evolution of Afrikaner cultural identity within Olwagen's film. By then reflecting on the authoritative, Christian nationalist control Johan experienced over his identity, one can understand the counterculture rebellion identities of Lise, Anja, Hein and Dirk. And by reflecting on their outright dismissal of their own cultural identity, their present dissonant suburban identities are explained. Thus, the oppressive idealised Afrikaner identity enforced by the apartheid government served to inspire the counterculture rebellion Afrikaner identity of the *Voëlvry* movement, and when the apartheid government fell and there was nothing left to rebel against, there was nowhere left for an Afrikaner cultural identity to return.



# CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

In my textual analysis of *Johnny is nie dood nie* (Olwagen 2017) and *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018) above, I examined how Christiaan Olwagen uses intertextuality to engage the audience in discourse on how the apartheid government institutionalised an idealised Afrikaner identity and used it to manipulate an Afrikaner cultural identity. In this discourse, Olwagen and the audience are then able to reflect on the evolution of an Afrikaner cultural identity by exploring how the characters of the films experience and react to the apartheid government's enforcement of an idealised Afrikaner identity. In *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018), Johan's experience of sexual and gender oppression in the Kanaries resulted in his revelation that an Afrikaner cultural identity was based on Christian nationalist ideals of hegemonic masculinity and heteronormativity. In *Johnny is nie dood nie* (Olwagen 2017), the group of friends opposed the apartheid government's enforcement of an idealised Afrikaner identity, which emphasised Christian purity and racial superiority, through counterculture resistance in the *Voëlvry* movement. The characters ultimately had to let go of their revolutionary counterculture ideals to assimilate to the post-apartheid realities and adulthood.

By narratively presenting the characters' experiences of their developing identities through intertextual techniques of *tableaux vivant* compositions, film music, and direct address, Olwagen is able access the textual network of an Afrikaner cultural memory, and associate the characters experience of identity with the audience's cultural memory of *apartheid*. Thus, Olwagen and the audience are able to reflect on the evolution of an Afrikaner cultural identity since apartheid by intertextually associating their cultural memory of apartheid with the character's experiences of identity. I conclude that Christiaan Olwagen and his audience are able to reflect on the evolution of an Afrikaner cultural identity by intertextually associating the narratives of *Johnny is nie dood nie* (Olwagen 2017) and *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018) with their own Afrikaner cultural memory of apartheid.

In order to trace how I reached this conclusion, I briefly return to each chapter and summarise the key concepts that allow Olwagen and the audience to reflect on an Afrikaner cultural identity in *Johnny is nie dood nie* (Olwagen 2017) and *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018).



In Chapter One I introduced the background and context of the study by describing the current environment for cultural identities in post-apartheid South Africa, where identities exist in constant process of reinterpretation and revision. I then described how films such as *Johnny is nie dood nie* (Olwagen 2017) and *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018) serve as tools with which an audience can engage and reinterpret the broader Afrikaner cultural identity. Before conducting a textual analysis of these films, I identified cultural identity, cultural memory, and intertextuality as the main concepts for investigation through qualitative research.

In Chapter Two I started my qualitative investigation into cultural identity by firstly outlining my conception of a historic Afrikaner cultural identity, based on Christian nationalist ideals of hegemonic masculinity and heteronormativity. After outlining my conception of a historic Afrikaner cultural identity, I investigated what constitutes a cultural identity in general, and established cultural memory as a key constituent. I then described the functionality of cultural memory by exploring the different dimensions it operates from, and concluded that the different dimensions of cultural memory work to form a network of culturally shared texts that can be recalled in the process of forming and orientating a cultural identity. This functionality of cultural memory then served as the basis for the cultural identity conceptual framework.

In Chapter three I investigated intertextuality to establish how it can function within the textual network of cultural memory and cultural identity. I started my investigation by describing two distinct academic approaches to the practice of intertextuality, one as a practice of encoding, the other a practice of decoding. I described intertextual encoding as a practice in which the author of a text intentionally inserts intertextual elements to encode additional meaning into the text. The practice of intertextual decoding I described as the audience's unconscious process of generating meaning by relating elements within a text to other texts. In order to best utilise the functional link between intertextuality and cultural memory, I created a conceptual framework for filmic intertextuality that combines these two practices into a collaborative process spectrum of meaning-making based on a shared cultural memory.

Before I moved on to the textual analysis of the selected films, I identified and described three formal filmic techniques which I identified in the films that Olwagen deploys to create key intertextual engagement. I investigated how the filmic techniques of *tableaux vivant* 



compositions, film music, and direct address were able to operate intertextually and also described how they can narratively engage the audience's cultural memory.

Chapter Four then combined the conceptual framework I had established for cultural identity in Chapter Two and the conceptual framework I established for filmic intertextuality in Chapter Three, to establish a complete framework from which to perform the textual analysis of *Johnny is nie dood nie* (Olwagen 2017) and *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018). Through textual analysis of the films, I investigated how Olwagen uses intertextuality to access an Afrikaner cultural memory in the films and reflect on the evolution of an Afrikaner cultural identity. From my findings in the textual analysis, I was able to conclude the contributions and reflections that follow.

#### 5.1. Contribution of and reflection on the research

In this study's investigation into cultural identity, I described the importance of cultural memory in functionally establishing and maintaining a cultural identity. By then describing the dimensionality of cultural memory I was able to establish a conceptual framework for the functional interactions between cultural memory and cultural identity. Though there are paradigms that relate cultural identity and cultural memory, this study specifically relates the concepts by describing the dimensionality of cultural memory according to socioanthropological interpretations of culture and socio-cultural interpretations of memory. Therefore, the conceptual framework that this research study has established for the intricate functions between cultural memory and cultural identity expands on the limited body of literature describing cultural identity from the context of socio-anthropological culture and socio-cultural memory. It also contributed to existing scholarship in that it provides one possible theory for how cultural memory and cultural identity operate in relation to one another.

The conceptual framework that the research study established for filmic intertextuality may similarly serve to expand the academic literature on intertextuality in the film studies discipline. As the notion of intertextuality was conceived in literary studies long ago by scholars such as Kristeva (1984) and Genette (1997), there exist plentiful academic writing describing its function within literature, which led to many academics such as Stam *et al* (1992) and Iampolski (1998) working to transfer ideas of intertextuality into the academic literature of film studies. This is the reason two divergent approaches to intertextuality as a filmic practice exist,



one as a practice of encoding and the other as a practice of decoding. Consequently, most of the academic literature on filmic intertextuality either describes it as a practice of encoding or decoding, and few venture into the overlap between the two. Thus, when I established the conceptual framework for filmic intertextuality that functionally incorporates both practices, I contributed to the limited body of knowledge that considers the interaction of the two practices of filmic intertextuality.

While the conceptual frameworks for cultural memory and filmic intertextuality described above may contribute to the academic literature of cultural memory and filmic intertextuality as general conceptions, the greatest academic contribution of this research study will come from its positioning of these concepts within an Afrikaner context. There is limited scholarship in which conceptions of cultural identity, cultural memory, and intertextuality have been described within the South African context. Furthermore, within this limited body of scholarship there exists even fewer sources that have specifically applied these concepts to an Afrikaner context. This research study's investigation into the functional interactions between filmic intertextuality and Afrikaner cultural identity thus specifically contributes to the academic literature on these concepts as applied to the context of Afrikaner culture.

## 5.2. Strengths and Limitations of the study

While considering and reflecting on the contributions this research study has made to academic literature on cultural identity, filmic intertextuality and Afrikaner cultural identity, it is also important to recognise that no study exists without limitations and shortcomings. Therefore, I reflect on the strengths and limitations of this research study as to aid in the critical process of academic exploration. I consider the strong points of this research study to be the conceptual frameworks that I established for approaching both concepts of cultural identity and filmic intertextuality, and the way they are structured to cohesively unite in analysing the selected films. I believe these conceptual frameworks to be the strong points of the study because they are concisely constructed to investigate the focus of the study, namely Afrikaner cultural identity as engaged through filmic intertextuality. The conceptual frameworks are constructed in such a way that they can harmonise the interplay between cultural memory and both practices



of filmic intertextuality, encoding and decoding. Thus, the frameworks are efficient tools for investigating the main objectives of the research study.

While these conceptual frameworks serve to carefully accomplish the objectives of this research study, they are only able to function within the subjective experiences and associations of the person applying them. I consider this to be one shortcoming of the research study, where it relies completely on my own subjective interpretations of the intertextual occurrences in the selected films. If the study were to gather and compare multiple viewers' or scholars' intertextual interpretations of the occurrences in the films, it would be possible to identify a more detailed and nuanced understanding of how intertextuality in Olwagen's *Johnny is nie dood nie* (2017) and *Kanarie* (2018) allow an audience to reflect on an Afrikaner cultural identity.

I also consider my investigation into the formal film techniques that configure intertextuality to be limited, relative to the body of knowledge surrounding formal film theory. Further exploration into other formal film techniques that are able to configure intertextuality might serve to reveal intertextual occurrences and linkages in the films I have analysed that operate in addition to instances of *tableaux vivant* compositions, film music, and direct address. It will also benefit the understanding of the study if a conceptual framework can be established that unifies the inherent operations of formal film techniques with the functionalities of intertextuality.

#### 5.3. Suggestions for further research

As discussed above, the research study specifically focuses on the interactions between filmic intertextuality and Afrikaner cultural identity, and while it successfully describes these interactions, there is the opportunity to explore these interactions from other contexts. As discussed in Chapter Two of the study, I limit my interpretation of an Afrikaner cultural identity to a socio-anthropological context so as to not overreach the scope of the study. However, conceptions of Afrikaner cultural identity can be greatly influenced by theories of post-colonialism and identity hybridity. Therefore, investigating an Afrikaner cultural identity from the contexts of post-colonialism or identity hybridity could serve to offer great insight into the conceptual interactions explored by the research study. Here for example, one can turn to



Ramutsindela's (2001) Down the Post-Colonial Road: Reconstructing the Post-Apartheid state in South Africa, or Zack-Williams' (2017) Africa Beyond the Post-Colonial: Political and Socio-Cultural Identities, for further research through a post-colonial lens. Or one can turn to Müller's (2022) A precarious hybridity: war, mission, nationalism, anti-nationalism and the Murray family of South Africa and Wasserman's (2000) Re-imagining identity essentialism and hybridity in post-apartheid Afrikaans short fiction for an identity-hybridity lens through which to approach Afrikaner cultural identity. Additionally, one can look at the work of Gobodo-Madikizela, Mahmood Mamdani and Chrisi van der Westhuizen for perspectives on cultural identity in South Africa after the fall of apartheid.

In order to further understand cultural identity as it is influenced by the operations of cultural memory, one may also do further research by directly comparing the processes of cultural memory with that of myth making and invented traditions. Here a good starting point might be Hobsbawm and Ranger's 2012 book, *The invention of tradition*, in which they explore the intricacies and processes through which traditions can be invented. One might also look at Plate's 2016 book, Representing religion in world cinema: filmmaking, mythmaking, culture making, to further understand the role that mythmaking plays in film and culture creation.

The films selected for the research study, *Johnny is nie dood nie* (Olwagen 2017) and *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018), also mostly deal with male perspectives on Afrikaner cultural identity, and limit their depiction of female experiences of oppression under the apartheid regime. Thus, it is also important to do further research in establishing the female experience of oppression under an idealised Afrikaner identity. The films similarly omit, by design or not, much engagement with the experiences of black and brown people under the apartheid regime. Critics of the films have emphasised that even though the films deal with *apartheid*, they fail to address the racial and political turmoil caused by the segregation of black people in apartheid South Africa. Lindsey Green-Simms (2022: 155) specifically highlights the problem with omitting racial tensions and experiences under apartheid in *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018), stating "it is hard to tell [...] whether *Kanarie* is itself silencing black voices or whether the film is registering this silencing in order to critique it. And likewise, though Johan certainly begins to open his eyes to the oppression around him, it is difficult to tell to what extent he becomes fully conscious of *apartheid*'s injustices and aware of his own participation in the system".



Therefore, one can turn to other films that more directly deal with the effect of political and racial tensions during apartheid on the development of an Afrikaner cultural identity. Christiaan Olwagen's (2019) latest film, *Poppie Nongena*, for instance deals with the complex racial experiences of people under apartheid rule and tracks their interactions from vastly different positions of power in apartheid society, which may serve as a valuable point of departure for further exploration.

Another avenue to pursue is Olwagen's use of film music cross-diegetically, especially in *Johnny is nie dood nie* (Olwagen 2017) and *Kanarie* (Olwagen 2018), where the music is ambiguously placed in a way that bridges or transforms the diegetic/non-diegetic sound dichotomy, stitching the audience into the diegesis. Considering Olwagen's use of cross-diegetic music would not only contribute further to the study of Olwagen's intertextual practice and directorial choices, but also to the body of scholarship on cross-diegetic film music. Lastly, a further contribution to the body of research Olwagen's filmic work and his intertextual practice would be a consideration of how all of Olwagen's films speak to one another intertextually. It would also deliver great insight to compare the intertextual efficacy of Olwagen's work compared to the work of other directors' with a focus on cultural identity, specifically South African identities in leu of *apartheid*.

## 5.4. Closing remarks

In concluding this research study, I ponder the journey underwent to investigate my specific cultural heritage and identity. I consider the geographic environment, political circumstance and temporal evolution that has led to describing an Afrikaner cultural identity here and now (2023, South Africa). Much of the questions I had of people and places in the past have been answered, but many more questions have emerged. While this research study has granted me a much deeper understanding of the historical evolution of my cultural identity, it has also revealed that the process through which it evolves is unpredictable and fragile. This conclusion is reflected in the title of the study, an intertextual reference to the song *Fortuinverteller* (2004) by Andries Bezuidenhout and the *Brixton Moord and Roof Orkes*. Bezuidenhout describes the song in an interview as follows:



"Dit gaan oor iemand wat 'n fortuinverteller gaan sien. Sy kan die toekoms voorspel, maar hy wil eerder oor sy verlede uitvind. Dis vir hom net so duister soos die toekoms. Dit gaan oor die soeke na identiteit." (Andriesbezuidenhout.com 2012:[O])

(It is about someone who goes to see a fortune teller. She can predict the future, but he would rather find out about his past. It's as obscure to him as the future. It is about the search for identity.)



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