

Racial Attitudes and Genre Attributes in South African Cinema:

A Case Study of *There's a Zulu on my Stoep*

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ABSTRACT

Given the current debates on the nature and function of the South African film industry in terms of local themes, local characters and settings, audience appeal, and structural questions involving subsidy, and censorship, this study addresses these issues in a case study of a local film production, **There's a Zulu on My Stoep** (1993). It investigates two themes in relation to the film: race and genre. Methodological analysis is undertaken from an ethnographic perspective which includes, interviews with the producer/scriptwriter/lead actors, focus group discussions with audience members, and semiotic analysis of the film itself. The study addresses the construction of race within a film text and the audiences' responses to this construction. Findings, in this regard, suggest that the racial construction in the film is ambivalent in terms of racial stereotype. Further, the audience recognizes the racial theme in the film and appears to respond to the dominant message system of the film. Secondly, this study examines the relationship between the comedy genre and its popularity with the audience. The findings indicate that the alternating involvement and distance of the audience in response to the narrative comedy is a significant contributory factor to their enjoyment of the film. Recognition and familiarity with characters and settings also contribute to audience appeal. Furthermore, the genre, in its condensation of social and historical experiences provides the audience with an opportunity for diversion for affirmation of commonly agreed upon values and symbols.

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Case Study: There's a Zulu on my Stoep

A film is difficult to explain because it is easy to understand (Metz, quoted in Monaco, 1981: 128).

In this chapter, I examine the empirical investigation of my objectives outlined in Chapter I in relation to the film, **There's a Zulu on my Stoep**. Data was derived from several methods including interviews, semiotic analysis of the film itself and focus group discussions. The findings of the interviews and the semiotic analysis are discussed in relation to the theory outlined in previous chapters. The findings of the focus groups are related, and this is followed by a discussion which draws together the previous research methods as well as theory. I attempt to see how the participants make meaning of a film and, in particular, the relationship between racial attitudes and genre attributes and the meaning made of the text. The chapter closes with a conclusion which attempts to highlight the significant findings of this study in relation to the theoretical framework and objectives outlined in Chapter 1. A critique of the study is offered as well as some suggestions for future research. Prior to the analysis, a brief review of the story is provided.

Synopsis

The narrative revolves around a friendship between Zulu Rakabela and Rhino Labuschagne. The two grow up on a bushveld farm together. One day at the insistence of Rowena (Rhino's childhood sweetheart) Zulu finds himself with a tin on his head facing the barrel of Rhino's .22 rifle. Zulu is betrayed and humiliated by his friend, Rhino, and this sours their friendship. Twenty-five years later, a street-wise Zulu, complete with American accent, is deported from the United States back to South Africa to serve out a sentence for car theft. Rhino is on the brink of financial disaster. Married and now divorced from the evil Rowena, he faces an alimony claim as well as the loss of his near bankrupt game farm. However, he still has his cute, bright adopted daughter, Tienkie, a ten Year old black child. Tienkie was part of the problem in his relationship with Rowena because she and her new boyfriend, Diehard, are the stalwarts of a radical right-wing organisation called T.I.R.D. (Threatened Immigrants Right Wing Defence). Diehard is assigned to transport Zulu from the airport. Diehard has bought a Scratch and Win ticket and finds himself with a chance of winning R500 000 on a show at the Lost City. Zulu steals Diehard's car and the ticket, and sets off to claim the money for himself. Diehard sets off after him. In the course of the chase, Zulu and Rhino are thrown together again and rather than explain why he is driving a stolen police car, Zulu offers Rhino a half share in the profits from the Scratch and Win ticket. They set off for the Lost City with Tienkie in tow. They find themselves having to change skin colour in order to outwit Diehard and Rowena - Rhino becomes black and Zulu becomes white. Meanwhile, Tienkie befriends Prince William, while his father, the Prince of Wales, is off cavorting in the bush with Camilla. Rhino and Zulu, in disguise, have to face a T.I.R.D. meeting where they are unmasked. They are tied up at the end of a plank overhanging a cliff. On the other end of the plank a young elephant sits waiting for her mate. It remains for Tienkie and Prince William to rescue the heroes through a series of pranks played on Rowena and Diehard. The story ends with a triumphant embrace of Zulu, Rhino and Tienkie. Tienkie realises Zulu is her real father. Rhino and Zulu's differences have been resolved.

Interviews

One of the hypotheses outlined in Chapter I was that comedy as a genre has a wide audience appeal. Furthermore, I aimed to discover if films designed to change racial attitudes still encompass some implicit racism. In order to examine these issues, I undertook interviews with the producer, screenwriter and lead actors.¹ They were of an open-ended nature, with questions constructed so as to elucidate the following dimensions: intention in making the film, emphasis on particular themes, image of target audience, relation of film to others within the genre, commercial viability, and the role of local film production. The questions varied depending on the particular role of the interviewee in the production process. The interviews all took place in Johannesburg in the interviewee's home. Each interview lasted approximately 45 minutes.

The interview approach was utilised to examine the process of the production culture; this term refers to the structures, functions and processes by which the creation, production, distribution, exhibition and reception of film content is undertaken and achieved (Peterson, 1976, in Tucker and Shah, 1992:326).

Film content is regarded as the result of decisions made by producers and associates influenced by a variety of factors which operate at three levels: The industrial/institutional level refers to factors such as market considerations and competition with other media organizations. The organizational level refers to such factors as production techniques, product conventions and casting decisions etc. The individual level concerns perceptions, attitudes and ideas of writers, directors, producers and others involved in the creation of a film. The interaction among these levels is complex, although influence tends to flow from the top down. Traditionally, this approach to the production of culture tended to be apolitical in that it did not evaluate cultural forms, but rather emphasized the mechanisms which produced these forms. However, the approach was ideological in that it took the capitalistic order for granted. This served to conceal the fact that cultural products derive from specific sociopolitical and economic relations and tend to strengthen the status quo. In ignoring this aspect, the relationship between the process of cultural production and the cultural products themselves, as well as the implications thereof, for understanding race relations and other social phenomena, remained unquestioned.² Therefore, a more enlightening approach, looks at the mechanisms and procedures of production as well as how ideas about race are integrated into the production process and are then reflected in cultural products (Tucker and Shah, 1992: 327).

The above approach will be used as a framework for the analysis of the interpretive material, consequently, the headings and categories used, have been imposed on the data for the purpose of analysis. The data often takes the form of anecdotal material in order to illustrate a particular point. As is the case throughout the chapter, responses introduce themes that are discussed in other areas of the chapter.

The Institutional Level

This section examines issues such as market considerations, competition with other organisations, subsidy, and censorship in relation to the film, **There's a Zulu on my Stoep**.

Film production has an integral relationship with economic conditions in society. Films are organised as products, and although they are not the product of economic factors per se, their structure is significantly shaped by them. This is borne out in the following statements made by the producer of the film.

The production costs of **Zulu**³ were around R6 million which is a huge budget for a South African film, because of all the stunts etc. Local productions usually budget around R2,5 millions. The money which is made at the box-office goes towards prints and advertising, and paying theatres and distributors. We then sell the film to M-Net for about R300 000, which still leaves us in a loss situation. We get a lab and stock grant of about R300 000 and a subsidy of R 1,2 million for making over R200 000 at the box-office and for qualifying as a local production. However, this still leaves us in an accounting loss. As a result, **Zulu** was specifically designed to be, what is termed, 'transportable', that is, available for international distribution. The reason we invested so much in **Zulu** was that we were prepared to take the risk on overseas sales. We had to alter the original draft of the script in order to make it international. **Zulu** was originally, a local character, but we made him into an exile with an American accent and Rowena was also American, because Leon⁴ was sensitive about offending right wing sensibilities too much. We had to break even, and when it comes down to it, without the subsidy we would have made a loss. In fact, the only way an independent industry can compete with Hollywood is through state support. Our foremost constraints are financial. We're at an immense disadvantage in relation to American productions which have an average cost of over \$30 million (US). We cannot hope to compete with the likes of **True Lies** and **Total Recall** and we end up having to compromise (Bold, 1994).

It is evident that local film productions face constant competition from foreign productions, and this is a factor which contributes to the necessity for a state subsidy system. The subsidy system in South Africa was discussed in Chapter 2, which asserted that the local film industry is only viable because of the subsidy scheme; this claim is supported by the above statement. In Chapter 2, it was stated that, ideally, subsidies assist the producer in a capitalist economy ignore the logic of the market place which influences the quantity, quality and style of film made. However, it is clear from the above statement that producers cannot ignore the commercial nature of film production. Consequently, the style and quality of film made is determined to some extent by economic conditions. Critical or controversial approaches are forfeited for commercially successful themes in order to obtain subsidy.

The issue of censorship was also discussed in Chapter 2. It is an important consideration in the production of any film for general release, because the censorship process is a significant aspect in the controlling of content, and, this is deemed to be in the public interest. As a result, stories are tailored to conform to material acceptable to censors, and as such, the dominant moral climate in society is strengthened. The producer of **There's a Zulu on my Stoep** says in this regard:

Andre⁵ was our barometer of what would pass the censorship board and what wouldn't, because of his previous experience in this field. They are very inconsistent in their approach: South African films do not get away with blasphemy and expletives while foreign productions do. We had to tone down some of the sexual suggestion in the film. In fact, the inclusion of the adult humour was a mistake in terms of the decision to market the film as a kids film. We also ran into problems when words like 'nigger' were

used by the directors - Gray and Leon - after we [the producers] had explicitly said they were not to be used. Our research on the film in L.A. has highlighted these issues as a fundamental problem of the film (Bold, 1994).

Market considerations are also an important factor in the creation of film content. Consider the following:

We had to take account of Schuster's conventional market which was the *boere* market, *platteland* Afrikaners and a slightly racist humour. In some of his candid camera movies he took the mickey out of the right wing, which marked the beginning of the break with this market. The **You Must be Joking** movies were predominately in Afrikaans, but **Untag** was in English which meant a further shift in Leon's demographic. **Sweet and Short** introduced the 'new South Africa' demographic and **Zulu** was a continuation of this process. Schuster is no longer an Afrikaner folk hero but a South African folk hero. The shift in the demographic has meant some Afrikaner followers have been lost, but at the same time some have stayed - we've also managed to cross over into the black market. Leon gets stopped all the time by black and white people who want to shake his hand and show their appreciation for him. In his new script, **Mr. Bones**, Leon is the only white person (Bold, 1994).

The above discussion of the market for Schuster films ties in with the **discussion** of the Afrikaans cinema-audience in Chapter 2. Tomaselli and Tomaselli (1987) indicate that this audience tended to be a small town, rural or lower income city family market. It also bears out the changing composition of Schuster's audience to encompass English speakers as well as a black audience. This demographic shift corresponds to the recent trends in the demographic profiles of cinema audiences discussed in Chapter 2 which highlights an increasing black cinema audience as a prime target market.

It is clear that the producers identified the growing amount of black cinemagoers as a potential market. As a result, characters were created with whom the widest variety of audiences could identify. They were also concerned with attracting an audience with disposable income as well as catering for the international market.

Zulu was written with a broader audience in mind: we tried to limit 'in' gags to allow for an overseas audience - South Africa was much highlighted in the media at the time, reconciliation, right wing, etc. We tried to satisfy local and overseas audiences. It paid off well, but next time around I'll pick an African theme again, but stay clear of any topical content, thus focusing more on the worldwide audience (Schuster, 1994).

It is interesting to note the following comments from a newspaper article written about the films. It accords with the producer's comments concerning the shift in the demographics of Leon Schuster's films, and also refers to the precedence of profit motivation.

In this film more than ever I sense that Schuster is a genuinely original and anarchic South African comedy talent who hasn't found his voice, or more accurately his voice has been gagged by rank commercialism. Consider this. Schuster's entire comic identity derives from the Afrikaner identity, yet he makes the film in English and angrily rejects right-wing Afrikanerdom. It's quite a brave thing to flip your finger at the past but it's also a risky move for which he may pay dearly at the box-office if the brutality of his satire alienates his core audience (**Sunday Times**, 5/12/93).⁶

The time of release and target audience are further crucial elements contributing to the potential success of a film. **There's a Zulu on my Stoep** was released in late November of 1993 at the beginning of the Christmas film season. It was marketed as a film for children.

The move towards a children's market began in **Untag** and **Sweet and Short** with the introduction of Alfred Ntombela. Leon found he worked well with a kid as a foil. He decided to push **Zulu** more into this market - with success. However, we made a huge structural mistake in the script by focusing on the children and incapacitating our heroes for the climax of the movie (Bold, 1994).

Once again it is evident that **There's a Zulu on my Stoep** attempts to maintain Schuster's traditional market, the family market, but at the same time, it explores new ones such as the black market and an international market.

The Organizational Level

This level in the production process refers to issues such as product conventions, production techniques, casting decisions and so on. **There's a Zulu on my Stoep** was financed, produced and exhibited by white dominated capital.

Toron⁷ has financed six of Schuster's films right from the **Candid Camera** days but we soon realised that this was not the way for Leon's career to go and decided to develop and build up his comedic potential. At the outset of this project we [the producers and director] agreed to allow Leon a lot of creative control, which he did not have previously on **Sweet and Short**. It became a very difficult situation, and, ultimately I believe being 'star-dependent' is the wrong way to make a film (Bold, 1994).

The producers' cultivation of Leon Schuster's career is significant in terms of the discussion of the relationship between the production company and the audience in Chapter 4. In the past, local audiences signaled their approval of Leon Schuster's films through buying tickets. The producers recognised Leon Schuster had discovered a 'magical formula' and developed it in a particular way to ensure financial success. The above discussion also illustrates the complex relation amongst those in control of the production and highlights the fact these people are significant determinants in the creative and production choices and decisions concerning the film.

Leon Schuster argues that for him profit is a consideration but "while I'm driving at a movie I hardly think about money - I want the creative process to be good on film, and I'll go to extreme lengths to try and accomplish that. The real worries begin with release, whether its going to be pudding or mud. After two weeks at the box-office you start thinking about those bucks in the bank" (Schuster, 1994).

Casting choices are also significant in the attraction of an audience. The use of an Americanised South African as Zulu and an American female supporting actress as Roweria serves two purposes: it promotes the film within an international market and legitimises the film for the local market. Local audiences resistance to local productions is referred to in Chapter 2. Michelle Bowes, who plays Tienkie, proved so talented at auditions that the script was rewritten for her to alter the character from male to female and this part was extended.

The maker's perceptions of their audience also motivated the use of particular design techniques, for example, the introduction of numerous animals, such as the lion and the elephants; the first sight Zulu has of Africa is of the donkey cart; and the Zulu dancers outside the Lost City as the Prince of Wales arrives. Schuster argues "the strongest thing we've got cinematically for us in this country is Africa, and during test screenings of the movie in L.A. with international audiences it became clear that the uniqueness of **Zulu** lay in the bush and animal scenes." (Schuster, 1994). A critic in the **Sunday Times** writes: "There is an air of panic about the way Schuster piles in every theme which may appeal to a foreign audience - from ecology and wildlife to political lampoons - but not one of them ever gets fully developed" (**Sunday Times** 5/12/93). In Chapter 2 it is suggested that, historically, local productions have showed American, colonial and white myths about Africa. It is evident that **There's a Zulu on my Stoep** trades on these tourist-eye-view images in order to maintain the interest of an international audience, and in so doing, serves to reinforce the myths about Africa.⁸

The Individual Level

This level looks at the perceptions, attitudes and ideas of the writer, producer and associates involved in the creation and production process.

Leon Schuster explains that he wrote this film to reflect the changes which were occurring in South Africa. At the Cannes Film Festival he was watching the movie **Sarafina** and found he was profoundly affected by it. He felt he wanted to make a film that showed the positive side of South Africa in a humourous way.

I just had this gut feeling that the timing was right for that type of movie coming from S.A. at that point in time. Also I really wanted to tell this story. It had to do with a very special relationship I had as a kid with a young African called Pom-pom. He was the child of our domestic servant and we became great buddies, throwing the kleilat, playing pranks, etc. It was very innocent and spontaneous ... up to the point where I went to high school and somehow he didn't fit in anymore - it was just not on being 14 years old and having a black buddy. During this period he left, and I've never heard of him ever since. This thing bothered me for many years, I experienced guilt and I often wondered what happened to Pom-pom. I wished I could meet him again just to say sorry about turning my back on him at that stage. I imagined that he would be bearing grudges and that it was up to me to make up to him. Thinking about this, and bearing in mind the whole situation in the country at the time, apartheid being abolished, new S-A. etc., I decided to use the above experience as a backdrop to my story and build a comedy around it which has an element of reconciliation, that is, bury the grudges of apartheid and leave the audience with a message of hope (Schuster, 1994).

It is evident that two events in Leon Schusters' personal life, **Sarafina** and Pom-pom, were instrumental in his writing of the script. He felt a need to expiate his guilt as an Afrikaner, for apartheid. It, thus, is apparent that Leon Schuster's personal experiences, were incorporated into the script. These ideas are qualified by a variety of factors such as production constraints, the moral climate, the dominant political climate and so on.

John Matshikiza indicates that he took the part of Zulu because "The script was a cheeky look at the more ridiculous aspects of South African society." (Matshikiza, in **Blush**, Dec. 1993). "It's a really funny movie and I suppose more light-hearted and humourous movies should be made in South Africa especially at this stage in our lives, to help people relax a bit from the day-to-day

strain on us all" (Matshikiza, in **Drum**, Dec. 1993). This statement points to the entertainment aspect of film, and the argument that film offers some type of escape from reality. In Chapter 4, it is argued that this escape from reality is not really an escape but rather a confrontation of ourselves in a different mode that allows a release. This issue brings us to a discussion of the genre aspects of the film.

Genre Considerations

There's no doubt, comedy is a successful genre, and that's why we continue to make them (Bold, 1994).

The question of the repetition of formulas, and conventions in relation to a particular genre is clearly revealed in the following statement:

If they've [the audience] got used to that type of movie coming from me, they'll be expecting more of the same stuff in the next one. When making a movie for the S. A. audience I believe mixing topicalities with satire is a good thing – **Sweet and Short** proved that. **Zulu** took over where **Sweet and Short** left off: the anticipation of the new S.A. and then the reality (Schuster, 1994).

Once again the relationship between the audience and the filmmaker is highlighted, where the dialectic in the production of social meaning is revealed in that neither the filmmaker nor the audience is solely responsible for the generation of popular formulas.

Schuster goes on to say the audience wants "comedy situations that they understand, that is, the whole right wing element, the dream of winning money with Scratch and Win, and wrongs of the past being rectified" (Schuster, 1994). This statement attests to the mythmaking function of film described in Chapter 4, where contradictions of social life which evoke anxiety are mediated in film and magically resolved to allow for catharsis in the audience. In fact, Schuster refers directly to the "fable-like" quality of his scripts. This issue is re-affirmed by John Matshikiza who argues that "comedy is a good medium, but it's an easy way out - everything is made funny... Comedy is great because it breaks down people's inhibitions and gets people thinking about things they may not particularly want to. It can also go much further than drama for example, because it doesn't offend" (Matshikiza, 1994). This statement alludes to the assertion that conflicts are disguised in imaginary relationships such that they do not provoke anxiety but allow the audience to resolve them vicariously.

Schuster corroborates Matshikiza's perspective in the following statement:

If **Zulu** had been written without all the visual comedy it might have had [some influence on the audience], that is, had we utilised the same theme to make a serious drama, I believe it would really have made audiences think. The main purpose of the movie was to entertain, which is the foremost task I've set myself out to do. However, I've had feedback from whites referring to the shooting of the can on the young **Zulu's** head as "heavy stuff, which I didn't need to be reminded of" (Schuster, 1994).

Comedy is useful if you don't offend and stay as close as possible to the truth (Schuster, 1994).

In Chapter 4 it is suggested that genre films draw from popular literature, other media and so on. **There's a Zulu on my Stoep** clearly amalgamates ideas from a variety of sources. Jeremy Dowson of the **Cape Times** suggests:

The story line... is drawn from three distinct sources: **Trading Places** and **True Identity**, for the race switch main plot; and the **Home Alone** series, for the large role two gadget happy children play. However, there's also an odd reference to our own cinematic heritage - especially **eLollipop** and **The Gods Must Be Crazy**. (**Cape Times** 6/12/93).

The controversy surrounding the film, **The Gods Must Be Crazy**, was related in Chapter 2. The debate on the racist representation of the San arose as a result work in anthropological circles. It is unlikely that **There's A Zulu on my Stoep**, will arouse such attention for representations which may be considered problematic. This brings us to an examination of ideas and opinions concerning the racial constructions in the film.

Racial Constructions

Schuster says: "There is so much in this country to write about because of the vast differences in culture. When I was writing **Zulu** I had to be sure I wasn't stepping over the line" (Schuster, in the **Daily News** 9/12/93). In terms of the depiction of the characters, he

was very cautious about offending people, but believed that because of the factual background of the story, there are things I just need to show. Some people were sceptical about the can on the head scene, believing it to be too harsh for comedy. However, things like that really happened in South Africa, and incidentally this scene was told firsthand to me by someone up in the far Northern Transvaal as a big joke. Zulu's character was very clear in my mind: as Pom-pom he should be naughty, pranking and very likeable. Rhino's character was far more difficult: you start a movie with a white boy shooting a can off a black boy's head, and you're not likely to have a lot of sympathy for the white character. This bothered the producers more than it did me - Zulu was the one who needed the sorry and I believed I had to go to some extreme to achieve this (Schuster, 1994).

Matshikiza suggests: "**Zulu** was supposedly a South African story but placed all the characters from other countries. The fact that Zulu was an exile was also a cop out." The script did not give Matshikiza the opportunity to explore the full possibilities of a black-white switchover because he had to pretend to be a fascist German baron. "It would have been more interesting to pretend to be a white Afrikaner instead. So we cheated slightly there" (Matshikiza, in **Blush**, Dec. 93) "I think sensitive issues like the TIRDs was handled in the wrong kind of way. Avoiding the fact that this is a South African film by using American and German characters was a problem. They were cop outs. There is a more bizarre kind of humour to be got out of the South African situation" (Matshikiza, 1994).

John Matshikiza mentioned that the experience of being made up as a white man was particularly difficult. He said people reacted to him differently. In one incident at the Lost City, Thabo Mbeki, an old family friend could not recognise him, and was "completely surprised" to discover who he really was. (Matshikiza, in **Drum**, Dec. 1993).

Problems arose on the production when Zulu's character, which is central to the narrative, was subordinated so that the portrayal of Rhino's character could be expanded. It is interesting to note the differing responses to this issue. Bold says: "I realised when I first saw the script that Leon had not given himself the most important part, but he did not seem to find it a problem

until we were actually in production. We had numerous debates concerning the ending as to whether it should be Rhino or Zulu or a combination of the two who throw the kleilat and rescue the children" (Bold, 1994). Schuster says:

When we got to the final dramatic scenes we were suddenly faced with major problems, looking back at what we'd done and especially taking into consideration the development of Zulu's character. As per script Rhino was the one who would save Tienkie and William from the evil Diehard, but somehow it started to feel wrong. The whole final scene was re-scripted and Zulu got the saving scene - which was right, but believe me caused a lot of grief between producers, writers and directors (Schuster, 1994).

John Matshikiza, on the other hand, says the following:

I disliked the arguments on set because Leon wanted to go in certain directions - my character was taking over the movie and giving Leon less of part. He wanted to reduce Zulu and make him a slightly nastier character. It was difficult having Leon as the boss. The producer had to come onto set and sort out a bad situation. I got really upset. Leon wanted to undermine Zulu and portray him as a child-abandoning good-for-nothing and I refused. Leon couldn't believe it. He thought he was giving me the part as a gift. The racism was never blatant - people don't realise they're being racist (Matshikiza, 1994).

While I do not want to become involved in a discussion of the personal frictions within the production, I have used these comments to illustrate that the text is a reflection of differing attitudes and perceptions of the significant parties involved. The end product is the result of numerous contestations concerning the course of the plot. This corresponds to the assumption of a cultural studies approach which regards the text as the site of a struggle for meaning.

Matshikiza's comments correspond to the discussion of inferential racism in Chapter 3. Hall (1981: 12) argues that racism must be understood in terms of structures, practices and discourses, and not simply something which arises from certain individual human beings.⁹ Leon Schuster had the best of intentions in creating a film with an "anti-racism message" (Dowson, in the **Cape Times**, 6/12/1993), yet, his interaction with Matshikiza belies this claim. Inferential racism can cohabit with a liberal discourse because ideological discourse doesn't depend on the conscious intentions of those who compose the statements (Hall, 1981: 12-13). Matshikiza identifies the ideological discourse of the film in the following statement:

The film had a white middle class perspective. What was a shame for me, was that it was a great idea for a crossover reception which didn't go far enough. It should have gone further. The thing to do is give the audience what they want but not in the way they expect it. I think that is what film is for - South African audiences need to learn (Matshikiza, 1994).

This statement introduces the issue of the film audience, which brings us to a discussion of audience responses to the film.

Reception

The movie broke box-office records within days. It's been a megahit with black viewers and a hit among Bloemfontein's whites, if that says anything. What makes it depressing is that Schuster has become South Africa's film industry (Burger, in **Weekly Mail and Guardian**, 23-29/12/93)

I've had the best feedback from blacks with Zulu than any other movie I've ever done. I'll stop at it service station and the attendant will spot me and imitate throwing a kleilat shooting, Laduuuuuma! I believe that in many instances Zulu resembled their own situation in South Africa - the suffering and humiliation of the past, getting some back at the perpetrators and finally the reward of getting his child. The black audiences roared at Diehard and Rowena being punished by the kids - had they not been those radical righties I don't think the scene would have gone down with them quite as well (Schuster, 1994).

The film's success surprised me because I'm not accustomed to South African film. I realised when watching for the second time that Leon gives audiences what they want and the mass audience in South Africa doesn't have high expectations. It touches the humour that South Africans want to see. The interesting thing about this film is that it was the first film that came out of conservative audience and appealed to a wide spectrum of people. Up to now I'm approached by black and white people who rave about the film (Matshikiza, 1994).

Matshikiza's statement alludes to the shift in demographic discussed above in the institutional level. It also ratifies an issue discussed in Chapter 2: the fact that South African audiences have been subjected to Hollywood cinema for so long that they expect a particular kind of film. The tradition of slapstick humour established by Afrikaans film has also served to sustain certain expectations in local film production. Chapter 2 suggests that the issue of giving the public what it wants is a marketing cry, because, in fact, South African audiences have never known what films are available, or made any demands for what they think they should have.

A further comment by Matshikiza substantiates this perspective concerning the type of expectations audiences have of local films:

Filmmakers need to look at our own realities - write small stories - personal stories - tragedies, cops and crooks. There are endless stories to be told and they're not. A part of the reason is that there isn't this film culture in South Africa. Our task is to create films which develop a local culture in which people can recognise themselves (Matshikiza, 1994).

Audiences want to see themselves. It gives them a sense of identity. Both whites and blacks identified With Zulu. His antics weren't so far removed that people couldn't recognise themselves (Matshikiza, 1994).

Schusters' opinion of what South African audiences want is a "story they can identify with" "We have to stay human. If they like the characters, they'll like the situations surrounding the characters, providing they're cleverly thought out and original" (Schuster, 1994). It is interesting to note that both Matshikiza and Schuster stress local identity as being of prime importance for audience response. This is an important objective in the light of the discussion of local film production in Chapter 2. The success of past South African films can according to Blignaut be attributed to "their inherent South African identity. They are about South Africans arid South African situations, which local audiences can appreciate, enjoy and with which they can identify" (Blignaut, 1992: 99).

Semiotic Analysis

One objective of this study proposed in Chapter I was to determine if the film contained any implicit racism. A further objective was to examine the comedy genre with a racial theme. In order to investigate these issues it was necessary to analyse the film itself. As a result, semiotic analysis of the film was undertaken. This method elucidates how the film embodies meaning or signifies it to the audience by focusing on signs indicating identity and relations, and what they signify. The relationship between the signs, and the codes and conventions which make the signs in the narrative understandable, and which shape its actions, are analysed. Their-juxtaposition occurs according to certain rules that convey a particular version of reality. Codes are logical relationships which allow messages to be understood and are used to ascertain the film's ideological perspective (Berger, 1991 23). For example, at a simple level, most films assert the code that crime doesn't pay. The net effect is the reinforcement of a particular moral code, a version of what is natural, possible and desirable in society.

Procedure

The important signifiers and what they signified were examined. The system that gave these signs meaning was identified. An attempt was made to identify the underlying codes and what ideological and sociological matters could be found. The paradigmatic structure¹⁰ of the text was analysed by identifying the central opposition in the text as well as what paired opposites fitted under the various categories. The question as to whether these oppositions have any psychological or social import was addressed. The syntagmatic structure of the text was examined and an attempt was made to determine how the sequential arrangement affects meaning. The findings were combined, and are discussed and interpreted below. Headings and categories have been applied to facilitate the consideration of the material, however these distinctions are somewhat arbitrary since the themes form a complex web of interrelationships.

Findings

There's a Zulu on my Stoep is a comedy, played mostly for laughs, with a happy ending. Its story and setting allow for slapstick and satire (aimed at highlighting the absurdity of racial prejudice). The plot of the relationship between the main characters, Rhino, Zulu and Tienkie allows the film to explore the relationship between comedy and melodrama. As an instance of narrative comedy the film requires a happy ending which takes place in terms of populist melodrama.¹¹

The title, **There's a Zulu on my Stoep**, is a good place to begin since it is of particular significance to the overall framework of the text. The term, Zulu, in the title serves to symbolise a black person. Zulus are the only 'tribe' recognised by foreigners, as a result, this term attracts attention and plays on their associations with 'Africa'. The term, stoep, refers to the Afrikaans word for verandah or patio, but it connotes the frame of reference from which the statement is made, which is that of an Afrikaner's home who sees the black person threatening his/her space. The suggestion is that this space is being challenged. This scenario links to the notion of communities in conflict discussed in Chapter 4. Thus, the title establishes the parameters for the meaning system of the text; it advises that the dominant cultural perspective is that of the white Afrikaner.

The Spatial and Sequential Context

The introduction of the notion of communities in conflict above in relation to the film implies several concomitant generic characteristics which are discussed below using the theory outlined in Chapter 4.

In Chapter 4, it was suggested that the animation of the spatial context of a text is through the interrelationships of the main characters. Schatz (1993) suggests that genres of indeterminate space play out oppositions located in the attitudes and interrelationships of the main characters. The constellation of characters and their representative attitudes provide points of reference for the other characters. It is evident that **There's a Zulu on my Stoep** can be categorised as a genre of indeterminate space. Rhino is placed in opposition to Zulu, and these two together, are placed in opposition to Rowena and Diehard. In Chapter 4, it was suggested that the notion of doubling is a standard motif of the genre film. The doubling of the characters is said to involve the setting up of an unstable social type in relation to a stable social type. This is illustrated in the doubling of Rhino and Zulu, as well as in the case of Rhino and Zulu versus Rowena and Diehard. The implications of these oppositions is discussed later.

The characters have to learn to adjust their personal dispositions to that of the social setting. The social setting in the text is a rural game-farming area in post-apartheid South Africa. The narrative is concerned with playing out the conflict in this spatial context. The opening scene is of a country road which fades into the distance, the accompanying music has the following lyrics: "Memories of yesterday never fade away". The atmosphere is one of harmony. The young boys, Rhino and Zulu, are good friends who have fun and play pranks. A disruption in the harmony occurs when Rowena coerces Rhino into shooting the can off Zulu's head. Zulu cries with shame and humiliation.¹² This scene is significant because it establishes the power relations between black and white. It is the event which marks the break in the innocence in Rhino and Zulu's relationship; they now know which side they fall on. Zulu's allegiance to Rhino has been destroyed. It is this conflict which the narrative attempts to resolve. The conflict only begins to be resolved when they are locked up in the basement together and re-enact the can scene. They are further subjected to a series of challenges which force them to draw together. The narrative emphasizes the bond between the characters and their remorse at being at odds with each other. It is the tensions between the two heroes, white and black, that make the story compelling.

Rhino's conflict with Rowena is established in the scene where the messenger comes to deliver the summons; the basis of their conflict is the fact that Rhino has an adopted black child. Zulu's conflict with Diehard is set up when he arrives back in South Africa to serve out the rest of his jail sentence under Diehard's supervision, and he steals Diehard's Scratch and Win ticket and his car; in so doing, Zulu challenges authority and is perceived as a criminal. The narrative is characterised by an intensification of these conflicts.

The characters and the social practices they represent in the plot, work at unconscious level to signify the suppressed traumas, hopes, fears and concerns of the Afrikaner culture at a time of political instability. Each character represents a distinct manifestation of contemporary cultural concerns; Zulu is the returned exile, Rhino is the traditional farmer who accepts the ideals of the new South Africa. Rowena and Diehard are the right wing extremists who oppose the changes in South Africa. Rhino and Zulu work together to show the right wing extremists that their way of thinking is inappropriate in the social setting. Zulu has to resolve his anger concerning the past and re-embrace his friend, and Rhino has to learn to perceive Zulu, not as a criminal, but as

someone who does not always think of himself and is prepared to rescue the lives of children. Rowena and Diehard serve two purposes within the narrative; they not only act as the source of satire of the right wing, but also act as a metaphor for apartheid. Tienkie, as Rhino's daughter serves to indicate the resemanticisation of what constitutes an Afrikaner to incorporate a definition which includes all colours. This corresponds to a similar trend in wider society in which the Afrikaner identity was attempting to sustain some kind of legitimacy in the changing society. It is evident that the characters animate the process of cultural integration and their ultimate goal is to develop a position which will enable them not to leave the community, but exist within it (Schatz, 1993:89).

The text adopts a similar narrative pattern to that of the screwball comedy outlined in Chapter 4. It reflects a concern with the theme of racial confrontation in terms of the rites of contemporary society. However, it alters the male-female polarity for a black-white polarity. The plot is set in a society which the attitudinal and behavioural codes have been determined, that is, prejudicial attitudes and behaviour are inappropriate, and are being contested by the main characters. The main concern of the narrative is that of individual integration which is expressed in the oppositional relationship of the couple, Rhino and Zulu, in order for the reconciliation of the cultural contradictions to be achieved. The integration becomes socially significant only in the sense that the relationship reflects contemporary attitudes. They confront racial and social conflicts basic to South African society. Rhino represents the concern of the Afrikaner in society, while Zulu represents the concern of blacks. They negotiate a 50-50 deal, in terms of the split of the prize money. Zulu has to get rid of "the chip on his shoulder" and Rhino has to overcome the association that all "blacks are bad".

The resolution of the conflict constitutes a point in the narrative where a temporary solution or compromise is offered. The villains, Diehard and Rowena, are overcome through a series of pranks played on them by Tienkie and Prince William. They receive their just desserts when they are both blackened - Rowena falls into a *koekkepan* of black dye and Diehard gets black soot in his face. This process is similar to a 'tarred and feathered' ritual and serves to signal to the audience that the villains are outcasts in society because their attitudes and behaviour are inappropriate. In the scene when Rhino and Zulu are locked up in the basement, they recognise the irreconcilable nature of their oppositions and attitudes. Zulu has to resolve his bitterness before he can be reassimilated with his friend, while Rhino has to recognise the significance of Zulu's experience. This moment marks their attitude shift from a mutual cynicism to a yielding to the forces of friendship. Rhino and Zulu work together to rescue the children from the villains - Rhino talks Elsie, the elephant, into releasing them from the plank, and Zulu throws a mud missile which hits Diehard in the face.¹³ Tienkie realises Zulu is her father and is reunited with him. Although the ending does not resolve the basic cultural dilemma between Rhino and Zulu, it does convert it into a palatable context which resolves the conflict quickly. Rhino and Zulu's conflict is mediated in their integration as a family - they are both fathers to Tienkie - "one for casual and one for formal wear". Their opposition which represents the cultural conflict is reduced to a single pole. Their integration as a unit at the emotive climax serves to mask the sense of loss associated with the compromising of the conflicts. The integration process ritualises the basic cultural ideal of reconciliation prevalent in South Africa at that particular historical juncture. The ending suggests a resolution of the problem through the mutual teamwork of white and black. Rhino and Zulu mutually overcome the enemy apartheid.

The Racial Opposition

A structural analysis of the associated oppositions in the film revealed the central opposition in the text is black and white. The encoding in the narrative incorporates further binary oppositions such as poverty and wealth, discord and harmony, good and bad, pragmatism and morality.¹⁴

Zulu's association with 'bad' is evident in that throughout the narrative it is stressed that he is a criminal or crook. He steals cars, and has been convicted for grand theft. He steals Diehard's Scratch and Win ticket, trinkets from Rowena's home, and Brigitte's earring. Tienkie and Rhino, initially, mistake him for a poacher. His attitude towards those in power is evident in his cynical rejection of authority at the prison, as well as in the car with Diehard and his sidekick. Zulu's action often poses some problem or danger to a white person which serves to associate him with a sense of discord.

In contrast, Rhino is associated with 'good' in that the first time we see the older Rhino, he and Tienkie are chasing a poacher. His essential goodness is further entrenched in his genuine caring for his daughter. He is prepared to work hard in order to provide her with the best. His humble farmhouse is contrasted with the opulence of Rowena's home. Tienkie's words, "on the farm is best" establishes the holism of the farm life and it conveys an association of harmony. Rhino is portrayed as someone with a strong sense of morality, in comparison to the pragmatic attitude of Zulu. His first response when he meets Zulu again as an adult is to say "I'm taking you in", signaling his disapproval of Zulu's behaviour. His attitude is reaffirmed on several occasions thereafter. It is only at the end in the basement scene, and when Zulu rescues the children that Rhino can approve of him and respect his point of view. Zulu could not have been reunited with his daughter if it had not been for the effort and sympathy of the understanding Rhino. Rhino's simple, comic character corresponds to the discussion in Chapter 2 of the Afrikaner stereotype which has predominated in Afrikaans film. He serves a similar function to these previous characters in the creation of a sense of humorous solidarity in which traditional values are upheld.

It is evident that the poles of the oppositions define Zulu as different from Rhino. Zulu's character in relation to and in opposition with Rhino provides a way for the film to articulate racial difference. This theme derives from the tradition in Afrikaans film, discussed in Chapter 2, in which the theme of English/Afrikaans differences shifted to an emphasis on black/white differences. Zulu admits to similarities between himself and Rhino, his reverse double, but he maintains distinctions as well. The audience is shown his differences in style, morality and culture, all of which are associated with his race. Zulu's clothing, the blue denim jacket and jeans, reflect his modern American style, and his cap with the dollar sign acts as a metaphor for his desire for money. In contrast, Rhino wears a safari/farm look suggesting his traditional local identity.

Together, Rhino and Zulu reveal the contradictions of race in the South African society. Zulu's discussion of the negative connotations associated with the word 'black' is a focal point in the text. He draws attention to the fact that black is bad, and white is pure. However, the narrative aims to illustrate that this distinction is not mutually exclusive. We are shown that white is also bad, in the villainisation of Rowena and Diehard, while black can mean good too, such as when Zulu saves the children. His racial banter with Rhino, while it sets them apart culturally, reminds audiences that it is possible to engage productive differences working together.

Analysis reveals that the Zulu-Rhino pairing is only one of numerous layers of character doubling in the film text. A further level of doubling is one of audience interpretation: Zulu can be evaluated in an affirmative or negative manner as someone allied with white power or someone that resists it. The effect of locating images of racial difference in a binary meaning system is one of ambivalence in terms of audience interpretation. Zulu is depicted as using his power to make fun of the extremists in society. This allows the audience to participate in a discourse of assimilation. Zulu's antagonistic power and sense of irony towards participation in white culture allows the audience to co-operate in a discourse of difference. This dual meaning system implies the text is not open to numerous evaluations, as suggested by a cultural studies approach, but ambivalent. The biracial hero team is a perfect vehicle for the ambivalence with regard to racial difference in the coexistence of mechanisms of inclusion and of repulsion, especially when articulated within a comic form. Consequently, in its representation of black difference as disruptive, yet assimilable and controllable, the film functions in a racist way.

The Stereotype

Stereotypes usually refer to characters that merely represent types and nothing else, however racism is rarely this straightforward. More often it works on an inferential level through associations with ambivalent racial types located in the history of racial domination. Many of the black characters in **There's a Zulu on my Stoep** are one dimensional or homogenized, and as a result, tap into racist myths, by implying blacks are stupid, funny, or criminal, and consequently a population to be transcended. For example, the driver of the car who stops for Rhino, Zulu and Tienkie is portrayed as being more interested in soccer than in driving his own car. Shadrack, Rowena's gardener, is depicted as willingly available to attack her and be beaten up, so she can practice her self defence routine. This process serves to dismiss the complexity of the black identity. The representation of Zulu as a criminal constructs him within a trouble/dangerous dichotomy outlined in Chapter 3, in that whenever we see him he is creating trouble or danger to a white person. This association might be construed by an uncritical audience as compelling evidence confirming prejudice. Zulu is also portrayed as the entertaining figure in the sense that he makes jokes and plays pranks. These categories according to Hall (1981) serve to confirm the general premise that blacks are inferior.

The Inversion

[Leon Schuster] deliberately flies in the face of sanitising political correctness, cracking appalling racist and sexist jokes, peopling his screen with offensive stereotypes, but in each case he has a distinctive inversion to offer. The worst racial gibes are delivered by Zulu disguised as a white man and a white man disguised as a black one, a device which exposes the pointlessness of such jokes because it shows each man insulting himself (**Sunday Times**, 5/12/93).

It has been shown above that the representation of Zulu places him in a double bind: he is both insider and outsider, identified with, but distinct from Rhino. According to Cloud (1992: 314) the double bind is the fundamental basis for the functioning of the stereotype. The audience needs to know Zulu, yet at the same time his 'otherness' needs to be retained. For the text, the solution to the use of stereotypes is to invert them, in order to re-evaluate in a positive way what has historically been negatively valued by the dominant culture. Rhino becomes black and Zulu becomes white in order to draw attention to the absurdity of prejudice. For example, the scene where Brigitte says she can smell blacks from a mile away places it firmly within the realms of the racist stereotype. However, the absurdity of her comment is revealed because the

audience knows the baron is really black. Rhino, in disguise, drinks from Rowena's milk carton and she responds angrily that she will be poisoned by "jigaboo germs". The audience knows Rhino is white and that Rowena's judgement is purely based on skin colour. The fact that Rowena mistakes the disguised Rhino for black reveals her prejudice, which sees all blacks as the same. When in disguised, Rhino grabs onto Zulu's leg and begs his 'master' for forgiveness. The Prince of Wales responds that this is no way to treat a human being. The underlying code is that blacks ought to be perceived as human beings too.

The inversion of the black and white characters, however, is problematic in that the overt positive message about race issues does not overcome the way difference is articulated and the associations it carries. Although Zulu's character can be subject to contradictory critical evaluations, it serves the needs of the dominant culture to depict blacks in stereotypical ways. The paradox of power cannot be escaped: the dominant factors in society need to portray both the assimilation and exclusion of racial differences. Thus, it can be argued that Zulu's construction is potentially a legitimization of racist attitudes towards blacks. His doubleness serves as a way to associate him with the white hero in order to prove their differences and the white characters moral superiority.

The Genre

Chapter 4 showed that genres work ideologically by setting up viewer expectations and exploiting cultural contradictions to resolve social crises. The problem with comedy is that it suffers from the constraint of lack of representation of reality, and thus legitimacy. Zulu is allowed to express anger and resistance, but these expressions of difference and identity are reduced to individual morality. His political crisis is reinterpreted as a moral crisis and as an individual who fails to meet his responsibilities.

Many of the jokes use traditional stereotypes about black people as the basis for the humour. This connects to the discussion of stereotypes in comedy in Chapter 3. Consider Diehard's comment about being kissed on his forehead by Zulu's "big fat lips". The scene where Rowena says "Nigger down", is also significant. The audience knows the baron is really black and that is why he lies down on the table when Rowena shouts at the dog. There is an ambivalence with regard to the perspective from which these scenes are depicted. It is not evident whether we are Zulu or with him. It is evident that the subject matter of these jokes is race, with the same categories of racially defined characteristics and qualities, the same power relations, and the same basis which moves and motivates situations. According to Hall the comic light in which the scenes are set creates a sense of disavowal in the audience (Hall, 1981:17). Racist joke telling in conditions of superiority and inferiority reinforces the difference and perpetuates unequal relations because the point of the joke is predicated on the existence of racism. The categories of race relations are reproduced while they are normalised through laughter. Although filmmakers may have had the best of intentions, the problem of prejudice and racism is not resolved because the discourse in which the film is viewed and interpreted is not controlled (Hall, 1981: 18).

The Myth

Chapter 4 discussed the cultural role myths play in conceptualizing historical or social events and relationships with regard to a particular ideological framework. The explanation of race relations in **There's a Zulu on my Stoep** takes on a mythic characteristic which reflects the perspectives of those in control of the production process. The narrative invites the audience to identify with Rhino and Zulu's struggles, but the comic light in which they are set, relieves the

audience of the responsibility to acknowledge the social and political conditions underlying race relations in South Africa. Every time a scene becomes too serious, it is countered by a moment of light relief. This serves to interrupt the flow of the narrative such that the audience's identification with the characters is broken in order to alleviate the potential anxiety it may evoke. For example, in the scene where Rhino and Zulu are locked in the basement together, both the characters and the audience are forced to acknowledge the tensions between them. Rhino suggests Zulu has a huge chip on his shoulder and Zulu suggests Rhino can never really understand what it is like to be black in South Africa. The replay of the can on the head scene is transformed into a gag. Thus, the cultural conflict is never really resolved: its real significance is masked.

The film offers a mythical explanation of apartheid in that it describes conditions without analysing the social context in which the institution developed. Rather, apartheid appears as an acceptable, logical part of history which relegates it to a naturally occurring phenomenon. By not examining the conditions underlying the development of apartheid the film exonerates moderate whites, like Rhino, of responsibility for the exploitation and suffering of blacks, and places the blame on extremists such as Rowena and Diehard. Because Zulu's suffering is set in the past it doesn't impinge on Rhino's sensibilities too much. The story, as a result, rationalises suffering as an inevitable step towards acceptance.

It can be concluded from the examination of the text in relation to the ideology of race that residual traces of racist constructions still persist. Considerations about race occurred in the context of a complex process of producing films - a process that takes place itself within the framework of social relations between blacks and whites in South Africa. It is significant, however, that the ideological discourse of the text constrains a wide variety of individuals. Therefore, the task for the future is to change the terms of the argument, question the assumptions and break the logic.

Discussion Groups

Chapter I identified one of the problems to be investigated by this study as why comedy as a genre appeals to audiences. Furthermore, it was suggested that the recognition of genre attributes contributes to the popularity of the genre. I aimed to investigate if comedy with a racial theme was less threatening than other genres with a racial theme. I also aimed to investigate whether contradictions in the racial attitudes of the film are problematic in any way for the audience, and, whether or not, these have any effect on racial attitudes in the audience. In order to examine these objectives it was necessary to undertake an analysis of audience responses to the film. As a result, this study adopted an ethnographic audience research method in accordance with a cultural studies perspective described in Chapter 1. Interviews with audience members were held to allow them to define what gives them pleasure, provide a description of how their life history relates to the text, and talk about personal identifications.

Sample

Twenty participants were involved in the focus groups. Four groups brought together five people to discuss their reactions to the films. Two of the groups were composed of black participants while the other two were composed of white participants. The groups were assembled by asking a friend to invite four other friends of the same race group to view the film. An effort was made to achieve homogeneity with respect to age and education, since the aim was to examine cultural differences in reaction to the film. All groups were composed of both sexes. Two focus groups took place in Johannesburg and two took place in Durban. Each

discussion group took place in English. Most participants were students, although a few were unemployed or working, and two participants were still at school. Participants tended to be predominantly middle class. On average they attend movies once every six weeks.

Procedure

Each discussion group proceeded as follows: Viewing took place at the friend's home on a video cassette recorder which was set up, and time was allowed for mutual familiarisation between interviewer and participants. Refreshments were provided. The film was viewed, with the interviewer observing accompanying conversation. A discussion following the screening was held, to examine the participants' reactions to racial constructions and recognition of genre attributes. The discussion continued until all the relevant issues had been covered. Discussion of the more pertinent issues was usually on the initiative of the interviewer. Each discussion group lasted on average forty-five minutes. Responses were recorded and subjected to a qualitative analysis, that is, an intuitive close -reading. The results of the focus groups were then examined.

Findings

Some of the elements of the film which participants spontaneously talked about were: the action, the comedy, the ending, the settings, the pace, and the story. There was an overall positive response to the film from all groups, and it was described as primarily funny. However, some participants felt the pace was slow and that the story was weak. They found some aspects of the movie silly, especially the ending; it was too predictable, unrealistic or unresolved. There was a rejection of the film on aesthetic grounds, and in this regard, reference was made to the crude humour and simplistic storyline.

An intention of the discussion groups was to examine movements in and around the issue of race in terms of audience perceptions of racial constructions in relation to their own racial attitudes. Within the limits of this framework the study had several interesting things to say.

Racial Constructions

The favourite character overall for black and white participants was Zulu. They all agreed he was the hero of the movie. Some of the responses to the question as to why they liked Zulu were the following: He is "funny", "naughty", "plays jokes on people", "not a conformist and does his own thing", "has got character because he isn't always good", "he causes shit for the honkies", and "he's bad but in a nice kind of way". These statements suggest that the audience recognise Zulu's association with the 'bad', 'discord', 'pragmatic' binary oppositions outlined above in the semiotic analysis of the text. The participants' awareness of the dimensions in which the characters are polarized (Good-Bad) links with the approach which regards genre films as contemporary myths: characters are perceived according to moral themes which concern the tangle of human relationships and their dynamics as they face everyday personal dilemmas. It appears that Zulu's appeal lies in his 'badness', his non-conformism, rejection of authority and sense of fun. In contrast, Rhino was summed up as "pretty arbitrary", and "irritating". One black participant felt Zulu was justified in feeling angry and bitter towards people, and towards Rhino in particular, because "[Zulu] hadn't had an easy life. He was constantly fighting against people who were trying to make it difficult for him". This response gave me the impression that the participant had identified with Zulu. He evaluated Zulu's behaviour in terms of his own experience and concluded that Zulu's attitude was acceptable given his circumstances.

In response to a question concerning whether the participants felt Zulu was stereotyped in any way, there was some disagreement. Some black and white participants felt they did not like his portrayal as a criminal. Other participants felt that although there was some stereotyping in the film, it was not a problem because the film was "trying to overcome stereotypes". One of the white groups tended to be less critical of, and less involved in black presence in the film in relation to the other groups. In the other white group, a self-consciousness was noted in relation to the discussion of the portrayal of race, suggesting a heightened sensitivity to this issue. An issue which did emerge in one of the black groups was whether the portrayal of blacks in the film should aim for authenticity, or attempt to create positive images of blacks. Participants in this group felt they wanted to be shown realistically, but especially in terms of the positive aspects of themselves.

The portrayal of Rowena and Diehard was seen as very humorous and not problematic in any way. Participants recognised the TIRDS similarity, to the Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging, "with a similar sign and everything". They felt that the satirical portrayal was justified, "because those people really have the most ridiculous ideas" and "they deserve to be laughed at". Some of the participants suggested that the right wing would definitely not approve of the way it had been portrayed. In this respect participants felt the producers of the film were being "careful" in the depiction of Rowena as an American and Diehard as a German. This assertion affirms Leon Schuster's attitude in his interview in which he professed a concern for not offending people.

The Racial Theme

The ability to discern and generalize a theme of the narrative was encountered in all the groups. One participant suggested the film was about "getting blacks and whites to forget their differences and work together", while another felt it was about "making fun of the prejudice". Some participants mentioned they liked the "comic and mocking look at racism". The most frequent theme of blacks and whites resolving their differences may be seen as participants' own conclusion or their perception as to what the producers are trying to say.

It is interesting to note that the messages identified correlate to those described in newspaper articles about the film. Consider the following: The movie "looks at inter-racial issues. It is Schuster's movie for peace." (**Vista**, 26/11/93). It "should help South Africans laugh at themselves" (**Daily News**, 17/11/93). "The bottom line is a none-too-subtle message of brotherhood and harmony in the New South Africa" (**Blush**, Dec. 93), "'one nation' symbolism" (**Daily News**, 16/12/93), "a white/black friendship" (**Natal on Saturday**, 18/12/93). "The central play-off between the two characters is pretty universal - early friendship, friction then reconciliation when they reluctantly come to accept that they must work together in order to survive. It sounds like an allegory for South Africa" (**The Star Final**, 19/11/93). This suggests that the newspaper critics perform a significant function in the translation of the dominant ideological perspective of the film for the public.

With regard to a question concerning whether the film had any impact on the participants, some of the responses were the followings "I found this film to be entertaining but I don't think it's really powerful enough to have any effect on me, I'll probably have forgotten it in a couple of days time", "This film had some heavy moments like the call shooting scene which I didn't like. People want to go to movies and be entertained and not have to deal with stuff like that which makes them feel guilty", "I didn't really get emotionally involved in the film so it didn't really have too much of an impact", "Maybe, if the movie hadn't been so funny, and was more serious then I might have felt more for the characters", These responses suggest that participants believe

that serious films are likely to *have* more of an impact on them because they demand a degree of emotional involvement. This corresponds with Leon Schuster's perspective in this regard described in the interview material. The responses also imply that the participants attend movies primarily for entertainment. A participant admitted that while she knew films were just stories she liked to get away to another world and not leave to think about her problems. This response clearly reveals that films offer some kind of relief from everyday concerns.

There was also the suggestion that scenes or films which evoke a negative emotional response such as guilt, discomfort, or pain are rejected as unappealing: "I find that South African movies when they get heavy, freak me out, sometimes its just too painful to watch a movie about apartheid or something like that. Like **Sarafina** - I just cried the whole way through and felt really awful". "The problem with movies when they try to say too much is that people just switch off. That's why this film got the right balance between being entertaining and actually saying something." These responses substantiate the postulation in Chapter 4 that the mythmaking function of films deliberately, serves to mask unpleasant events which may evoke anxiety in the audience. This is further supported in the semiotic analysis of the film which revealed that potentially problematic scenes in the film are set in a comic light in order to diffuse their effect on the audience. The following statement by one of the participants upholds this claim: "because this film was a comedy, you don't have to take it too seriously and the things which it deals with like race isn't so much of an issue"

Most participants understood the allusions to the common cultural heritage, to puns etc. They were able to make sense of Zulu's comment "I thought things had changed here" given their understanding of the historical context of race relations in South Africa. They also understood Zulu's reference to Sharpeville when he says he left in 1976 because he "got tired of being the wrong colour". Thus, it becomes evident that encoded in the narrative of **There's a Zulu on my Stoep** are signs which gain cultural significance when interpreted against the framework of South African social history. Participants tended to be aware of the intertextual nature of the text in which the narrative is based on a theme which draws together associations from other texts. At one level, the film was likened to a South African version of **Home Alone**, while one participant referred to Rhino and Zulu as de Klerk and Mandela: "Its almost as if this film is talking about what was happening in South Africa, like you know de Klerk and Mandela talking about the way the new South Africa was going to work." Another participant in the group responded: "I agree the connection is there, but think of the implications. Zulu stole the winning ticket, so what does that say about blacks in South Africa," This response is especially significant, because it is one of the few statements which indicates that the participant recognised the ideological ramifications of the film.

Genre Attributes

Participants were questioned about the genre attributes of the film. All participants recognised the film as a comedy. They referred to the jokes and gags as indicative of this categorisation. All participants recognised the film as a satire or a "mockery". They indicated that this was one of the factors which contributed to their enjoyment of the film. Participants felt they liked the film because it was funny, but more than that, because it told a story "about the kind of people you know exist in South Africa but makes us laugh at them". "If it hadn't been for the satire, this movie would have been boring. Slapstick gets a bit tiresome after a while. Satire is a far more clever kind of humour." The latter comment supports the notion in Chapter 4 concerning the multifaceted characteristics of comedy which utilises various modes and forms within a

single narrative. It also confirms the hypothesis proposed in Chapter I that recognition of genre attributes contributes to popular appeal.

There was some awareness that the film was not just a comedy but had some "elements of drama as well" One participant said she liked the fact that "there was some emotions between the characters" and that she liked the ending especially. This statement supports the assertion in Chapter 4 that narrative comedy is compatible with contemporary melodrama.

The formulaic aspects of the film were also identified. One of the participants referred to "the usual pattern of these types of films which always have a happy ending" A further response in this regard is the following: "I sort of knew what to expect ... what with the bad guys getting what they deserve and everything turning out okay for the good guys in the end." A participant recognised that Leon Schuster films adopt repetitive conventions and techniques: "I saw that same trick of making a white guy black in other movies. I think Leon Schuster did it before as well in one of his other films." He added that he thought films should try and be original instead of using ideas from other films. This response indicates the constant challenge facing filmmakers in the production of formulaic popular culture: to devise novel, original settings and dramatic action for the characters in order to retain the audience's interest.

All participants showed an awareness of the film as separate from reality. They knew that the characters were acting and that the film had been designed for audience enjoyment. Participants appeared to attribute their lack of involvement in the film to the fact that it was a comedy. "To laugh at things you have to stand back and think why they're funny ." Comedy's lack of representation of reality appeared to create a sense of distance between the participants and the narrative. For example, one participant said: "the funny situations like Rowena walking into the door wouldn't really happen in real life." This response accords with the discussion of comic forms in Chapter 4 which asserts that gags, jokes and comic events undermine expectation and play with logic.

In some cases participants experienced both distance and involvement, simultaneously, by positioning themselves inside and outside the narrative. Consider the following statement which recognises the narrative as a source of involvement: "I liked the characters and wanted to find out what happened to them" but this same participant goes on to say: "Its nice to see a film and recognise the places the characters go to, like the Lost City. It gives me something to identify with", which suggests a degree of distance. The latter response corresponds to the interview findings which suggested that those involved in production believe audiences want to identify with local characters and settings.

Discussion

Participants' statements cannot be regarded as self-evident facts, thus what is of importance is the interpretation made thereof. Prior to this discussion some qualificatory remarks are required.

Several considerations must be taken into account in the examination of the findings. Variables such as class, race, educational background were aspects at work in the group exchange, and, therefore shaped the understanding of the meanings produced in the situation. It should also be remembered that this sample was a small educated group whose perceptions may be more sophisticated than the population at large. Consequently, this study does not have the scope to

make any generalisations or extrapolations outside the context of the sample, and any conclusions drawn should only be considered in relation to the particular film and its context.

It should also be kept in mind that data derived from these discussions is not necessarily predictive of responses to the actual film, since the setting and expectations were completely different. Film audiences attend a film with an explicit set of assumptions, that is, an expectancy of potential enjoyment and these predispositions colour the perception of the film. The combined dark theatre, intense image stimulus, sense of isolation, and relaxed stance make the audience more emotionally susceptible to the film. The participants in the discussion groups knew, prior to viewing the film, that they were part of a study, and this obviously had an effect on their accompanying attitudes and behaviour. For example, the power relations pervading the interview situation may have affected the responses. The setting of viewing the film at a private home on video may also have had an impact on the responses. Responses are also affected by other variables such as degree of familiarity with the film medium, and familiarity with the society being presented. Four participants had viewed the film already, when it was shown on circuit. Interestingly, half of the participants indicated that they would not have watched the film out of choice. Given that **There's a Zulu on my Stoep** was a very popular film, it is evident that this sample of participants was not the conventional market to which Leon Schuster films appeal.

In Chapter 1, it was suggested that cultural studies approaches introduce the notion of conscious decoding on the part of the audience, and suggest films can be decoded oppositionally as well as hegemonically. Readings of texts are connected to the way subjects are historically positioned in relation to each other, such that the decoding strategies available to different sectors of the audience are structured and limited by their position in the social structure. Given this premise, different interpretations are possible in the face of one given image. In this study the black and white participants did not choose to interpret the film differentially. As a result, it can be concluded that the variable of race was not significant. A possible explanation for the finding in the light of the theory, was that the participants' class or social background was not significantly disparate to produce different interpretations of the same text.

The findings of the interviewees and the semiotic analysis of the film supported one another in the claim that the film was encoded according to a message of reconciliation. The question of the participant's response to this message arises. It appears from their responses that they accepted this dominant message system; they recognised the racial theme and racial opposition, and made no oppositional meanings. Given that the participants' interpretation of the film was based on their general social experience as well as their response to the particular message, an explanation for this situation may be that the participants had a personal interest in the outcome of the cultural conflict the film animated, and as a result, accepted the argument of reconciliation. In other words, the message system of the film complemented their personal perceptions and attitudes in a desire for reconciliation between black and white in South Africa.

Semiotic analysis of the film suggested that the representation of Zulu in relation to Rhino was ambivalent. As a result, it was suggested that at the level of audience interpretation, the text is not potentially open to appropriation by audiences, which is argued by cultural studies.¹⁵ If we assume that this is the case, then a possible explanation for the participants' positive response to Zulu arises: He can be perceived in an affirmative manner as being aligned with white culture or in a negative manner as being resistant to it. The participants appeared to respond to the latter possibility. However, it can be argued that they only responded to this depiction, because he is

simultaneously allied with white culture. If he had not been aligned with Rhino in any way, he may have been rejected by the audience. The audience could safely respond to Zulu's negative construction because he did not pose any threat to the overall social order in the narrative. Thus, the audience's positive perception of Zulu was ensured through his ambivalent construction. This factor seems to support the successful crossover reception of the film referred to in the interview material. This explanation has significance in the light of one of the aims of this study, that is, to discover if contradictions in racial constructions were problematic for the audience in any way. The participants' responses seemed to indicate that they recognised the racist stereotyping, but because the character was positively perceived, the stereotyping was not as problematic. I believe it may have been, if the character of Zulu had not been likeable.

Participants' responses suggest that the pleasure they derived from the film appears to be generated by an alternating involvement generated by the identification with the local characters, settings and so on, and distance from the narrative generated by the comedy attributes.¹⁶ A possible explanation for this aspect of viewing pleasure derives from the account of the function of the genre film in Chapter 4.

The film in its generic form fictionalises the problem of racial conflict and, in effect it disappears as a problem. The text transforms individual conflicts into an escapist fantasy and resolves them on a depersonalised and collective level. As such, the participants are not accountable for their resolution. Semiotic analysis of the film revealed that the narrative interweaves real life problems with improbable narrative elements such as gags, comic events, coincidences and so on. This offers the participants the possibility of projecting themselves into a position of relief with disbelief, with the resultant response that: 'this is too unrealistic to be taken seriously'. Even though the audience recognises the basis of the mythic conflict, the blatant stylization of the film mediates the need to deal with the conflict and its associated discomfort. The film paradoxically synthesizes escapism and everyday problems, therefore, on entering the fictional universe enough of the participants' real life identities was introduced to allow a merging of thoughts and feelings between the two types of existence (Fiske and Hartley, 1990: 88, 131). In the light of this explanation, it can be concluded that the comedy genre in South Africa will continue to be played out and appeal to audiences, as long as collective values on a specific issue need to be renegotiated under the guise of entertainment. Furthermore, the commercial market will continue to attempt to create a product which connects with the lived desires of popular audiences.

The above interpretation needs to be related to the objectives of this study outlined in Chapter 1. Firstly, it meets the objective of examining why comedy as a genre appeals to audiences in its suggestion that comedy as a genre appeals to audiences because of the alternating involvement in and distance from the narrative. Furthermore, it meets the proposition that this factor coupled with the laughter, which is generated as a result of the recognition of the jokes, gags, wisecracks and comic events, contributes to the popular appeal of the genre. These factors are obviously mediated by characters and settings with which the audience can identify. Secondly, the above interpretation also illustrates that comedies with racial themes are less threatening to audiences than other genres because the racial conflict is masked by setting it in a comic light. As a result, the hypothesis in this regard, postulated in Chapter 1, can be accepted.

Critique

Some of the research questions that were devised at the initial stages of this study, essentially fell into a functionalist research paradigm. For example, the question as to whether the film affects racial attitudes in the audience falls directly into the realm of effects research. As indicated in Chapter 3, research trends have shifted from this type of research to a critical and a cultural studies paradigm. The decision to use a cultural studies approach as a theoretical framework for this study, meant that some of the research questions did not relate well to the methodology used. For this reason some objectives were not met by this study.

The study was unable to ascertain whether a film with a racial theme has any effect on audience racial attitudes, however in this regard it did establish from the semiotic analysis that the film, **There's a Zulu on my Stoep** does carry a racial theme and, furthermore, the focus groups showed that the participants were able to identify this theme and evaluate it in terms of their own attitudes and value systems.

The question as to whether films change attitudes or reinforce pre-existing ones could not be addressed, because this problem would have been more suited to a pre-test post-test research design and a quantifiable measurement of racial attitude. In order to assess racial attitudes of the participants, the question as to what political party they supported, was posed. All black participants supported the African National Congress, as well as most of the white participants, although one white participant supported the Democratic Party and two white participants supported the National Party. Thus, there was a degree of homogeneity with regard to the racial attitudes of the participants. It was suggested above that the film may have reinforced pre-existing attitudes in the participants, although this was not proved conclusively. If the racial attitudes of the participants in the groups had been more disparate, the responses to the films may have yielded more information in this regard, and this question could have been investigated further.

This study proved to be too large given the time constraints, number of research methods and research questions. I believe it could have been improved if it had focused on either racial attitudes or on genre attributes. At times, I found it difficult to assimilate the two subjects and felt that I did not do justice to either aspect. I would also have preferred to concentrate specifically on one methodology: the reception analysis. I found this to be a particularly useful research method for extracting a wide variety of data and I believe with further experience in this regard, results could prove even more fruitful. Furthermore, it would also have been more productive to have undertaken more focus groups with a wider sample of participants.

A further problem with the study was that the reception analysis took place too late in terms of the political changes in South Africa. If the discussion groups had been conducted prior to the 1994 general elections when anxiety and apprehension about the outcome was still prevalent, the audience may have been more aware of the affirming aspects of the narrative and its relevance to their current sociopolitical situation.

Conclusion

From a cultural studies perspective, the film, **There's a Zulu on my Stoep** selects highly connotative symbols of people, geographical associations, clothing and language which the audience immediately recognises as familiar and as representative of the dramaturgy of differing cultural communities in South Africa. The sign system in the film gains significance via the cultural experiences of South African society which constitutes the audience's ideological and

ethical standpoints, psychological attitudes, tastes and value systems. The semantic wealth of the film offers a richness of visual irony, satire and social ridicule that reveals the confrontation of these cultural discourses. The resolution of the conflict integrates meaning by elaborating a supposedly 'universal' discourse such that common societal symbols and meanings are accepted. The cultural indicators both provide information about the wider social framework and are moulded by the combination of productive forces operating at particular historical time.

The historical account in **There's a Zulu on my Stoep** reflects a view of events which is instrumental in the formation of a dominant memory, which is constantly changing as a result of the tensions between groups, class alliances and economic conditions. Although it serves as a symbolic representation of the hopes, dreams, and fears of a dominant cultural front within society, it registers changes in the cultural climate and the Popular mood including current experiences of national identity, attitudes toward social tensions, faith in traditional values and institutions, and reactions to new phenomena emerging on the cultural horizon.

It can be concluded that the film, **There's a Zulu on my Stoep** reacted to and expressed the aspirations, ideas, and realities within the society which produced it. The film exhibits a complex mediated relationship with its context. This supports Hall's assertion that any critique of popular culture must examine the link between the text and the historical moment in which it was produced.

Notes

¹The director, Gray Hofmeyr, was not available for an interview.

² One need only look at the way a small sector of the population in South Africa was empowered at the expense of the black-driven motor of apartheid economy to be convinced the development of capitalism in South Africa is inextricably linked to views about race.

³ The interviewees abbreviate the titles of films. Zulu refers to **There's a Zulu on my Stoep**. Untag refers to **Oh Schucks It's Untag**.

⁴ Leon refers to Leon Schuster, the scriptwriter and one of the main characters in the film.

⁵ Andre Scholtz was the producer, while Edgar Bold was the executive producer.

⁶ In this chapter quotes are drawn from newspaper clippings which were collected by a company called News Clip for Andre Scholtz. These clippings have not been individually referenced in this dissertation, because the referencing was incomplete in the original presentation. Only the publication name, and date of publication were included.

⁷ Toron Screen Corporation, in association with Koukus Troika films formed Zulu Productions - the production company for **There's a Zulu on my Stoep**.

⁸ For a discussion of myths concerning Africa in relation to the Films of Jamie Uys, see Tomaselli, K. (1992) *The Cinema of Jamie Uys*, In Blignaut, J. and Botha, M. (eds.) **Movies, Moguls, Mavericks. South African Cinema 1979-1991** (Showdata: Cape Town) p. 191-232.

⁹ Air incident which occurred on set during the production of the film provides a good example of this process.

Labourers who had been hired to assist with set construction were not allowed to eat the same food as the regular crew. It was assumed that they would want to eat mielie meal and stew. Members of the crew refused to work until this issue was resolved. This incident was not the result of the decision of an individual person but rather the consequence of a practice which remained unquestioned, until someone drew attention to it.

- ¹⁰ Saussure makes the distinction between synchronic and diachronic analysis of a text. The former looks for patterns of paired oppositions in a text (the paradigmatic structure) while the latter focuses on the chain of events (the syntagmatic structure) that forms the narrative.

Paradigmatic analysis of a text involves searching for hidden patterns of oppositions embodied in the text that generate meaning. Meaning is based upon establishing relationships, and the most important relation in the production of meaning in language is that of opposition. Levi Strauss suggests that syntagmatic analysis gives the text's manifest meaning (what happens) and the paradigmatic analysis gives its latent meaning (what the text is about). Levi Strauss is concerned with the way narratives are structured and how this organization generates meaning. He has undertaken a great deal of work on myths and argues they are significant because they tell stories; the structured relationships between the characters and what these relationships mean are the object of attention and not the way the story is told. According to Levi Strauss myths give coded messages from cultures to individuals. The task of the analyst is to crack the code.

Syntagmatic analysis examines the sequence of events that forms a narrative. There is a logic to narrative texts and the arrangement of the elements affects the meaning made of that text. The Russian folklorist, Vladimir Propp, undertook the comparison of themes of fairy tales according to their components which resulted in a morphology or description of the tale according to its components and the relationships between them and the whole. The essential narrative unit Propp used, was a function, which referred to an act of a character, defined from the point of view of its significance for the course of the action. Functions are stable constant elements; their number is limited; and the sequence of functions in a narrative is always identical. All fairy tales are structured according to these functions. Narratives regardless of genre are composed of certain functions that are essential to the creation of a story. Propp's concept of functions can be applied to all kinds of texts in order to make syntagmatic analyses. Many contemporary stories contain many of Propp's functions. Fiske, J. and Hartley, J. (1990) **Reading Television** (London: Routledge) p. 51; Berger, A. A. (1991) **Media Analysis Techniques** (California: Sage Publications) p. 14-20.

- ¹¹Thorburn defines melodrama as "a sentimental and artificially plotted drama that sacrifices characterisation to extravagant incident, makes sensational appeals to the emotions of its audience, and ends on a happy or at least reassuring note" (in Schroder, 1998: 76) These features are the conventions or established rules of the genre which permit an encounter with deeply disturbing materials not an escape. In other words, the film offers the viewer a contract in which they can explore individual and social tensions and face behaviour which threatens prevailing moral codes but at the same time reassures them that it will end on a morally acceptable note and be interspersed with frequent implausibilities so viewers can suspend involvement and withdraw to a position of superior distance, should they feel uncomfortable with the fictional display. As the audience is knowledgeable about the aesthetic conventions of comedy and melodrama they expect a constant occurrence of improbable happenings, a blatant constructedness of plot, coincidences and overdone characterisations. Schroder, K. C. (1988) *The Pleasure of Dynasty: The Weekly Reconstruction of Self-Confidence*. In Drummond, P. and Paterson, R. (eds.) **Television and its Audience. International Research Perspectives** (London: British Film Institute) p. 76.

¹² It is interesting to note that Bobo Seretsane, who played the young Zulu, found this scene particularly emotional. The make-up artist commented that she did not have to apply tears for him, because he was already crying.

¹³ The ritual of the k1eilat throwing is established in the opening scenes when the boys are playing. In order for Rhino to recognise Zulu when they are older, the ritual is replayed. At the end of the narrative the ritual is introduced once more so that Zulu can save the two children. It is also the means by which Tienkie recognises Zulu as her father.

¹⁴ Herewith follow some of the binary oppositions identified in the text. These differences are implied and not given, but without them the text has no meaning.

White	Black
Good	Bad
Harmony	Discord
Moral	Immoral
Staid	Roguish
Soft	Hard
Warm	Cold
Traditional	Modern
For family values	Not for family values

¹⁵ It has been argued that social groups and subcultures have the power to oppose and mediate dominant encodings of texts, using the contradictions and openness in these texts to misinterpret the dominant ideology with respect to race, class and gender (Fiske, 1986, in Cloud, 1992). Condit (1989, in Cloud, 1992) replaces this concept of polysemy with polyvalence which refers to the evaluation of signifiers in texts differently as opposed to Fiske's notion of attribution of new signifiers to texts. The concept of polyvalence suggests that the openness of texts is limited, however this argument can be taken further to assert that instead of polysemy, texts offer multiple but structured meaning systems which complement the system's overall hegemonic framework. In the light of this argument, Cloud asserts that oppositional representations of racial identity partake in a multistructured yet hegemonic social totality, Cloud, D. L. (1992) "The Limits of Interpretations: Ambivalence and the Stereotype in Spenser: for Hire". **Critical Studies in Mass Communication**, Vol. 9. No. 4, p. 313.

¹⁶ A study conducted by Schroder analysed audience pleasure on an involvement/distance dimensions where viewers commute between the two polar opposites. Some sustain a level of involvement interspersed with moments of critical distance to some fictional features, while others are basically distanced with moments of fictional involvement. Entering the realm of liminality occurs when the audience member adopts a subjunctive mode of discourse and projects him/herself into a fictional character. Schroder, K. C. (1988) *The Pleasure of Dynasty: The Weekly Reconstruction of Self-Confidence*. In Drummond, P. and Paterson, R. (eds.) **Television and its Audience. International Research Perspectives** (London: British Film Institute) p. 66-70.

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