

- *Tamara Bezuidenhout & Marié-Heleen Coetzee*
University of Pretoria, South Africa

Constructing nation and identity in post-apartheid South Africa: a reading of Janice Honeyman's pantomime version of *Peter Pan*

South African theatre has a long history of importing, translating, and adapting a variety of European scripts and stories and of staging them in different and innovative ways. Post-apartheid, the practice of theatrical imports and 'translations' continues in the productions produced on local stages. Pantomime is one such genre that has been transported to South Africa and that has been absorbed into the South African entertainment offerings. Little attention has been paid to the ideological implications of translating or reinterpreting pantomime texts into the postcolonial and post-apartheid South African context. This study aims to investigate the re-appropriation, translation and staging of colonial pantomime texts, formats and content in the postcolonial and post-apartheid South African theatrical context by exploring the ways in which Janice Honeyman's 2007 pantomime of Peter Pan: a Swashbuckling Adventure constructs nation and identity within this context. Tamara Bezuidenhout has had a 30 year career as a designer and director and is a postgraduate student and Marié-Heleen Coetzee is Head of Department, Department of Drama, University of Pretoria.

Keywords: colonialism, Disney, Disneyfication, *double localisation*, hegemonic masculinity, identity, imperialism, Janice Honeyman, J. M. Barrie, nation, pantomime, postcolonialism, *Peter Pan*.

Introduction

This article takes the construction and representation of nation and identity in post-apartheid South Africa by means of theatre, specifically through pantomime, as its central theme. It will broadly map a relationship between British colonialism and theatre in South Africa, positioning theatre as a potentially hegemonic force. Through noting pantomime's most significant predecessor (the *commedia dell'arte*) and a brief discussion of the carnivalesque, it will position pantomime as a potentially counter-hegemonic tool that could destabilise the residual colonial ideals related to articulating constructs of nation and identity in South Africa. As a case in point, the article will interrogate Janice Honeyman's adaptation of the Peter Pan tale for the South African stage.¹

South African theatre has a long history of importing, translating and adapting a variety of European and American playtexts and stories. Post-apartheid, the practice of theatrical imports and 'translations' continues in both the medium and content of many productions produced on local stages.² Pantomime is one such genre that has been transported to South Africa and that has been absorbed into the South African offering of entertainment options. To date, research on pantomime in South Africa has centred mainly on the British tradition³ of pantomime, on the introduction of pantomime in the South African theatrical suite, and on historical overviews of pantomime in South Africa until the 19th century.⁴ Literature tracing the historical progression of pantomime focuses largely on the development of pantomime from as early as the 18th century, but places very little emphasis on the genre into the 20th century. Little attention has been paid to the ideological implications of the translation or reinterpretation of pantomime texts within a postcolonial and post-apartheid South African context. In relation to this, the potential for enforcing hegemony through these translations as they pertain to nation and identity in the South African context has largely been ignored. This study thus aims to investigate the re-appropriation, translation and staging of British pantomime texts, formats and content in the post-apartheid South African theatrical context by exploring the ways in which Janice Honeyman's 2007 pantomime, *Peter Pan: A Swashbuckling Adventure*, engages with notions of nation and identity. To do so, it is necessary to briefly locate pantomime in South African theatre history.

Contextualising pantomime in South Africa

South African theatre, in broad terms, has a three-tier heritage – a British colonialist, an Afrikaaner nationalist and a pre-colonial, indigenous performance history.⁵ British theatrical imports reached South African shores as early as the late 1700s and followed two broad developmental pathways, namely works mirroring British forms, aesthetics, and themes, and African transpositions of themes and content via the British form.⁶ The aforementioned development concerns this study. By 1910, South Africa's British theatre heritage was so entrenched that it became the basis for South African theatre in form and practice until the 20th century.⁷ Pantomime is part of this heritage.

The first South African pantomime,⁸ *The Kaffir War* or *The Burnt Farm*, was “presented as part of the Equestrian Gymnastics in 1850.”⁹ This ‘Grand Pantomime’ provided an opportunity for the ‘old’ and the ‘new’ worlds of the region to interact. Following the British tradition, the first Christmas pantomimes that were billed in South Africa were *Babes in the Wood* and *Harlequin and the Cruel Uncle* that were staged in 1859 in the Cape Town Theatre.¹⁰ These pantomimes were based loosely on the generic tales of the same names, following the style and format that by this stage had become synonymous with pantomime in Britain. In mapping the development of pantomime as a genre within South African theatre, Kruger notes the ways in which elements of the traditional British pantomime have been amended and adapted through language, staging and nuances in plot to become characteristic of South African pantomime.¹¹ These characteristics include the use of a variety of languages within the text; the provision of contemporary updates for the texts; direct references to the socio-political environment of the country; the use of local imagery and symbols. In contemporary times, the use of celebrities in key performing roles becomes a marker of South African pantomime.¹² While the characteristics of traditional British pantomime have been reworked into the South African context,¹³ the introduction of ‘local content’ into the performance text is typical of a colonial *modus operandi* in that it served to socialise and entrench imperialist ideologies in colonised territories.¹⁴

In establishing a colony, settlers would often institute elements and signs of their homeland to orientate and remind themselves of the life they had known.¹⁵ The colonies became representative of the Empire, trying to create traditional images of their homeland in Britain, while adapting local traditions and symbols to create their own sense of belonging “to an Anglo-Saxondom” and the new territory.¹⁶ One of the foremost cultural practices was the production of texts and play texts, many of which would also be used to attempt to ‘civilise’ the people native to the country.¹⁷ These productions, including pantomimes, started to include scraps of language and customs of the native inhabitants, which would be used as a source of comedy for the colonialists, but also as a point of access for the colonised. Fantasia specifically notes that pantomimes used a method through which to instil and promote national pride and unity within the British colonies.¹⁸ In the same way, theatre more generally was often designed to inculcate in the colonised “British tastes and values, regardless of the exigencies of the local context.”¹⁹ It was not uncommon for newly acquired territories to experience their first taste of British theatrical culture during Christmas by means of an annual and traditional pantomime. To allow the colonised peoples to engage with the productions, the inclusion of native languages into the text would be made and elements of ‘local colour’ would be introduced. Thus, for example, words or phrases from indigenous languages, or the inclusion of elements of indigenous traditions and beliefs or local symbols and imagery in their annual pantomime intended to localise and make the pantomimes more accessible to the ‘natives.’²⁰ Through this use of theatre, the positioning of the indigenous peoples in opposition to that of the settler would be reinforced, reflecting the ‘natural order’ of ‘civilisation’ that coloniser and colonised

should recognise and identify with.²¹ South Africa as a colony was no exception - specifically during the Victorian and Edwardian periods.²²

In the South African colony, the British theatre heritage (including pantomime) served to establish a hierarchy of cultural and artistic discourses which foregrounded the values and perspectives of the dominant order and generally worked towards its advancement. As the “perception of images rests upon epistemology, the practice of dialogue rests upon the nature of discourse, and the forms of representation” are determined by dominant thinking and practices in societies at large,²³ theatre can inscribe a variety of codes of dominance and mastery in terms of race, gender, sexuality and language within the stage space. In doing so, it also perpetuated values and ideological positions associated with this heritage long after British rule in South Africa came to an end by 1910.²⁴

However, pantomime’s relationship to the *commedia dell’arte* indicates that it also has the potential to operate counter-hegemonically, specifically if read through the lens of the carnivalesque.²⁵ For Bakhtin, the carnival offered a sanctioned space for destabilising centre/margin relations by allowing for the conceptual and physical delimitations set up by the dominant order (centre) to temporarily blur or be erased.²⁶ The marginalised were “centralised as visible sites of transgression and inversion,” operating in a space that inverted, or uprooted the stability of the dominant socio-cultural and political order.²⁷ Dominant meanings, narratives and discourses were questioned and the possibility for permanent change posed.²⁸ Notably, cross-dressing, chaos, profanity, humour, parody, and the grotesque were important tools in ridiculing authority, foregrounding alternative histories and constructing counter-discourses in a moment of collective resistance.²⁹ Many of these tools are recognisable in the *commedia dell’arte* (which was a powerful mode of social criticism) and in pantomime. Whereas the carnival invites participation in a world of costume, mask and fiction,³⁰ the carnivalesque invites a “special type of communication impossible in everyday life.”³¹ Bakhtin argues that the carnivalesque is a literary mode that destabilises, subverts and liberates the assumptions of dominant literary modes and systems of authority, and re-conceptualises the power dynamics that operate in cultural spaces. The notion of the carnivalesque has been applied to a number of areas outside of literature. It is in this regard that the *commedia dell’arte* offered a carnivalesque space for social and political commentary. It offered a type of humour and a mode of performance that permitted the transgression of socio-political boundaries. Through these performances, servants could publicly laugh at their masters; women could ridicule their husbands and fathers; the lower classes could openly sneer at their upper-class compatriots.³² *Commedia dell’arte*, and by extension one of its successors, pantomime, therefore has the potential to act as a counter-hegemonic mechanism. McRae argues that while the time of carnival has waned, fragments of carnivalesque are to be found in spaces of popular culture, and as this article proposes, in the theatre.³³ Pantomime, with its references to popular culture such as politics and celebrity, and its overt use of elements of the carnival and festival, can be a space within/through which to realise the carnivalesque. The juxtaposition of the ‘real’

and the symbolic can open up interpretation 'gaps' in supposedly uninterrupted hegemonic discourses such as patriarchy and racism, and pave the way for other discourses and positions to materialise.

Despite its counter-hegemonic potential, British pantomime does not generally seem to actively access this potential. Instead, traditional British pantomimes make use of the tradition, established by the 20th century, of children's stories, fairy-tales, and nursery rhymes as the source texts for pantomimes.³⁴ In doing so, many pantomimes have become tools for reifying the values and beliefs of the dominant order in terms of, for example, race and gender.³⁵ Contemporary South African pantomime, steeped in its British theatre heritage, often follows the same route. Traditional pantomimes based on European fairy tales and folklore with a South African flavour, informed by local content and contexts, have become common and very popular in recent years. Examples of such pantomimes include those produced by 'panto-queen,' Janice Honeyman.³⁶ In many of her previous theatrical works, Honeyman has exhibited a preference for adopting and approaching texts from a largely postcolonial and post-apartheid perspective, including the texts of Athol Fugard and John Kani, as well as producing adaptations of Shakespeare and a number of musical productions.³⁷ In terms of her pantomimes, she takes well-known European fairy-tales, changes them into the pantomime format, and adapts them to address the nuances and issues relevant to the South African public. Topics that are often explored include the multi-ethnic nature of the South African populace; prevalent class and socio-economic concerns; and quite frequently, reference is made to the influence of politics and political figures that are newsworthy or cause controversy. The question then arises whether pantomime in South Africa can be divorced from its ideological roots through the process of translation to support the schema of a post-apartheid South Africa.

The politics of representation

The notion of translation in theatre centres on the problematics around 'translating' or transposing performance conventions or texts from one ideological and cultural context to another. This is specifically relevant to South African theatre as South Africa's colonial history and, by extension, its apartheid history, brings to the surface complex considerations that reflect the fact that cultural interchange does not occur on neutral ground. Aaltonen, Pavis and Keuris maintain that making a translation of source text to a target text (and for a target audience) involves a variety of codes including the cultural and socio-political contexts of the text, the language and linguistic elements, performance conventions, as well as the translation from one theatrical format to another.³⁸

Translations may be 'true' to the source text and aim to portray the text and performance conventions as faithfully as possible, or may contain free translations and adaptations of the source text to the target text, changing elements or whole sections of the source text, or use a play as the source text from which to write a new play which is re-contextualised and directed towards a targeted audience. It is

this latter approach that Honeyman has attempted to use in her theatrical translation of the *Peter Pan* tale. Central questions that surface in theatrical translation are those that relate to agency, the point of view presented as the lens through which the translation takes place, the economic considerations that can impact on representation/misrepresentation and the relationship between the source (text) and the target (con)text. In the case of Barrie's *Peter Pan*, the source of Honeyman's *Peter Pan*, the last is a significant consideration as it articulates with the British-South African history and constructions of nationhood.³⁹ In addition, this article proposes that Honeyman also used Disney's 1953 animated film *Peter Pan* as a source text. In this regard, it will be further argued that Honeyman made use of a number of specific and problematic techniques in her translation of the *Peter Pan* narrative.

Peter Pan

Written in the early 20th century, the story of *Peter Pan* was originally developed for the British stage in 1904, and was later reworked into a published novel in 1911.⁴⁰ In 1953, Disney produced the animated film of the same name. Set in Victorian England, the narrative of this children's story centres around a young boy, Peter Pan, who "would not grow up," and follows his adventures with the Darling children – Wendy, John and Michael – into the Neverland: the place of dreams and fairy-tales, a place where children who do not want to grow up go to remain children forever. Peter Pan and his band of Lost Boys, the Darlings, and a variety of magical creatures have adventures with Tiger Lily – the princess of the 'Red Skins'⁴¹ – and Captain James Hook and his pirates. Ultimately, the Darling children, with the Lost Boys in tow, decide to return to the safety of Britain, home, mother and growing up, while Peter Pan continues his adventures in the Neverland.⁴² Brewer notes that while Barrie's original text revolves around the lead character of Peter Pan, the content specifically centres on common imperialist beliefs of the time including the use of racial and gender stereotyping.⁴³ In the same way, Disney continued to perpetuate the stereotypes common in Barrie's 19th century text.

Brennan comments that "one of the most durable myths has certainly been 'nation'" and continues that "race, geography, tradition, language, size or some combination of these seem finally insufficient for determining national essence, and yet people die for nations, fight wars for them, and write fiction on their behalf."⁴⁴ Anderson conceptualises nation as ranging from a geographical entity to a cultural unit, and notes the manner in which individuals who do not know each other, and in many other ways are not similar or hold similar ideas, identify themselves within the same conceptual structure of nation, as belonging to this same nation and operating within a set of understood boundaries.⁴⁵ Bhabha, speaking to the mechanisms of constructing the conceptual structure of nation, argues that the construction of nation, and by extension national identity, is both a cultural and a narrative device: narratives of origin, geo-political affiliations and psycho-social associations reify interpretations of nation and create the assumption of an 'us-ness'

that segregates one nation from other nations on multiple levels.⁴⁶ This relates to the centre/margin, us/them, self/Other dichotomies created as part of colonial rule and positions nation as “apparatus of symbolic power.”⁴⁷ Nation often seeks to represent itself as stable, homogenous, innate and unified. This article posits that in his narration of *Peter Pan* Barrie constructs a complex picture of Victorian British masculinity that was prevalent at the time and one that resonated clearly with constructions of British national identity during this period.

As Nagel notes, “masculinity and nationalism articulate well with one another” and the modern form of Western masculinity emerged at about the same time and place as modern nationalism.⁴⁸ The patriarchal social order, “where power is held by male heads of households over all junior males, females and children,”⁴⁹ aligns with the power dynamic maintained by the coloniser over the native within the British colonies. This article argues that it is within this patriarchal-colonial bind that Barrie’s *Peter Pan* was staged, and that Disney would perpetuate; and it is within the interface of the public/ private dual spaces that the concept of nation is developed. Within the patriarchal structures of the public sphere, men have control over all things economic and political and maintain control over the private sphere as head of the household. In the marginal private space, women become bound to the home and are domesticated. Extrapolating from the concept of centre/margin dynamics, family units of male domination then become a microcosm of the greater institution of the nation; and the relationship between men and women, and public and private, become representative of nation itself. The male-dominated public space marginalises the private ‘feminine’ domain of domesticity. Further to this model of nation, masculinity represents the “foundations of the nation” and femininity, as well as being in a supportive function to the masculine role, is required to be the “the custodian(s) of tradition” and respectability.⁵⁰ It is through this model that the Victorian British masculine identity was constructed and maintained. Although it is important to note that Barrie’s text *Peter Pan* is not the main concern of this article, his construction of Victorian British masculinity and nationhood, and the consequential responses to the Other through these, are integral to the make-up of the text, and to the representation of nation and identity within this narrative.

Taking into consideration this construction of Victorian British masculine identity, it is interesting to note that initially, Barrie considered an alternative title for the text – *The Great White Father* – which is indicative of the central theme of the tale: an exploration into the realm of the white male in Victorian British colonies.⁵¹ In the colonies, a white man was seen as representative of white British imperialism and lorded over the members of his empire: be they his wife, his children, his servants or his animals. In her argument discussing the “perils of white masculinity” within Barrie’s text, Weaver-Hightower draws attention to class as part of this representative function.⁵² Mr Darling is suspended between the leisure and freedom of the wealthy and the struggle of the working class;⁵³ whereas Peter is governor of this working class, i.e. the fairies and the Lost Boys, and Hook is an example of the

upper class that is at liberty to entertain his fantasies of sailing the seven seas and other adventures.

Further to this, the Disney film positions Mr Darling as “grumpy and bumbling,”⁵⁴ a man who has decided that everyone has to grow up some time. Although he is a relatively comical character in the film, he continues to represent the behaviours stereotypical of Victorian British masculinity: aloof, reserved, severe and decisive. This character of Mr Darling is contrasted, somewhat, to Disney’s representation of Hook. Deacon discusses the altered image and role that Hook plays, commenting that the ‘Disneyfied’ Hook “is more comical and cowardly than he is frightening.”⁵⁵ Ohmer describes Disney’s Hook as sexually ambiguous, “an eighteenth-century fop, with long curly hair and a long waistcoat...effeminate.”⁵⁶ This contrasts with the image of hegemonic masculinity established in Barrie’s version of the narrative, but also seems to equate negative behaviour with the feminine.

Furthermore, and as it relates to the feminine dynamic within the British identity, both Wilson and Brewer comment on the role of women in Barrie’s text, specifically contrasting the characters of Wendy, Tinker Bell and Tiger Lily in terms of their race, class and sexuality.⁵⁷ In a discussion documenting the image of colonial women in the late 19th century in South Africa, Dagut notes that there was a risk that “women who are portrayed as ‘heroines,’ ‘victims’ or ‘villains,’⁵⁸ will appear to be little more than the doughty ‘settler’s wives,’ helpless ‘ladies’ and vicious ‘memsahibs’ of 19th-century imperial mythology,”⁵⁹ that is to say that these women could only be portrayed simplistically as either feisty, weak or nasty, reducing women to a few simple core traits that serve a specific ideological agenda. Similarly, both Barrie’s text and Honeyman’s versions of *Peter Pan* reinforce these one-dimensional portrayals of women as well as perpetuating the patriarchal constructions of the virgin, mother, eroticised Other (whore) and villain.

Most specifically, the role of mothers in the *Peter Pan* narrative is vitally apparent: as the mothers of the nation, women are required to reproduce, to populate and build the nation, especially in the case of a new and growing nation in the imperial colonies.⁶⁰ This responsibility of birthing the nation, gives credibility to the belief that nation is natural, “organic and biological” in its foundation.⁶¹ By extension, motherhood was given a new prestige and dignity and it was considered the “duty and destiny” of all women to become mothers to the future generations of the empire.⁶² In addition, women assumed responsibility for socialising the nation, passing on “culture and value-system, together with a sense of national membership.”⁶³ It was at this point in colonial development, that the need for respectability and the fight against moral degradation also became prominent. It was at this point that the crafting of the British national identity began to take greater shape – forming specific and clearly defined categories within which colonisers and colonised alike were placed. These constructs of motherhood are not only central to the *Peter Pan* narrative, but also to the construct of nation within the story. Much as a mother is responsible to her child, and to her family, she becomes

responsible to the nation she represents and the national pride she has to instil in future generations.⁶⁴

Springer argues that Wendy is representative of the 'mother,' the 'motherland' (Britain) and of Queen Victoria's role as the 'Great White Mother,' complementing Peter's father-figure image.⁶⁵ The importance of this role is clear in Peter and the Lost Boys' constant search for a mother, which they find in the white purity of Wendy – a theme continued in Honeyman's *Peter Pan*. Further, in the model of the virgin/ mother/ goddess, Wendy "embodies female self-doubt and fear of sexual involvement."⁶⁶ She represents the virginal integrity and "purity" of white British women: she acts as the nurturing mother-figure to the boys on the island, represses her own sexuality and desires, unlike the Other female characters on the island. In this way, Wendy is bowing to the expectations of a hegemonic masculine society and fulfilling the needs of the imagined community of the British nation. Representing Queen Victoria's colonial voice, Wendy educates, civilises and disciplines her charges, including her nursemaid, her brothers, the Lost Boys and even Captain Hook – themes paralleled clearly in Honeyman's *Peter Pan* as will be demonstrated later. Further to this, Wendy comfortably adopts the position of feisty settler wife to Peter's pretend colonial 'great white father' and husband role. Ideologically, her identity and her role in raising the nation is controlled and consumed with scenes of domesticity and mothering.⁶⁷ The borders of her existence are patrolled by the largely male experience within the narrative, and she is restricted to the home environment by Peter Pan.

As is common in both the Barrie and Disney versions, the conflict among the female characters to draw the attention of the white colonial man is palpable. Weaver-Hightower notes in her discussion of pantomimes and island parodies, that these texts often include 'interracial romances' frequently involving an island princess, such as Tiger Lily, falling in love with and desirous of a white male coloniser, such as Peter Pan and, as this article poses, threatening the stability and integrity of the nation.⁶⁸ While Barrie's portrayal of Tiger Lily is fairly stereotypical of a 'Red Skin,' noting she is the daughter of the Chief, she is portrayed as exhibiting the savage lust assumed by the Victorian nationals to be inherent in all native women. As is shown in Disney, her accented language marks her racial inferiority by inferring limited education and a lack of access to power - marginalising her. Continuing this pattern, Disney makes an interesting distinction of nation and nationality through the use of accents in the *Peter Pan* film. While the Darling children, Hook and the pirates all have recognisably British accents, Peter Pan and the Lost Boys have American accents. In relation to language, the 'Red Skins' speak in broken English indicative of their Other status in the film. This use of accents has been used as a means of identifying Self as it applies to the American nation in the Disney version. The character of Peter Pan has been identified as representative of the young, adventurous American frontiersman along with his band of trusted friends, while Hook and the pirates are the invading colonisers threatening to drive them off their land. Peter Pan's eventual victory over Hook then becomes representative of a much larger victory over any attack on American soil.

In Barrie's 1904 text, these images of victory and violence riddle the pages: the colonies were places of war and death, the natives were perceived as dangerous beasts and savages. Barrie's play text offers both warnings of the unknown and fear of strangers, but also that of national pride and the desire to expand the empire on to previously unknown territories. *Peter Pan* echoes the widespread British conviction for the need to defend the colonies against those that would attempt to seize control of them, and, as is indicated by Brennan,⁶⁹ is concomitant in the process of building a sense of national unity.

Barrie's narrative of *Peter Pan* was conceptualised at the height of British wars with the Boers in the colonies in South Africa and the text consistently emphasises the importance of fair-play and 'good form' in war-like activities, specifically in Barrie's reference to battles between the Lost Boys and the pirates. Following Barrie's lead, Springer comments that *Peter Pan* expresses the imperialist idea that 'inferior' races, such as the pirates (or perhaps Boers), operate below the acceptable war-like activities of the British army, and that these should be seen as distasteful.⁷⁰ It can therefore be deduced that Barrie's 1904 play is intended to reinforce British values, and again reiterate the superiority of British culture and ideals and sense of nationhood as they relate to the imperial project.

Janice Honeyman's Peter Pan

This article will now interrogate the ways in which Honeyman's translation of this pantomime engages with ideological underpinnings of the Barrie and Disney texts, taking into consideration the very issues of identity and nation. In proposing the use of these source texts, specifically the Disney film text, there are two elements to keep in mind: first, direct replications and translations of the plot, set, casting, costuming, songs and music, direction and dramatic language from the Disney version to the Honeyman version, and, secondly, the 'Disneyfication' by Honeyman of those elements of her production that had not, or could not, be directly translated from the Disney version into her version of *Peter Pan*. It should also be noted that while these media forms are clearly not the same – the Disney version being an animated film and the Honeyman version being a stage production – the comparisons made relate to visual cues which audiences familiar with the 1953 Disney film versions of *Peter Pan* would be able to recognise in Honeyman's pantomime. In the same way, as was indicated previously, that while translation occurs literally through language, the translation of visual cues should also be considered when examining the adaptation of visual texts such as theatre and film from the source text(s) to the target (con)text.⁷¹ This article argues that Honeyman has employed three distinctive translation techniques when writing and directing her pantomime of *Peter Pan*: namely reproduction, Disneyfication and what this article terms, *double localisation*.

In terms of reproductions of the Disney version of the text, Honeyman's text begins quite overtly with the presentations of the visual constructions of London and the Neverland that replicate those found in the Disney animated film. Ohmer's

discussion notes the images of scenes in London and the Neverland that are produced in the animated film and which have become iconic of the *Peter Pan* tale.⁷² Most specifically, she makes reference to the scene where the children take flight over London, leaving for the Neverland “over London, landing on the hour hand of Big Ben and then soaring over St Paul’s and London Bridge.”⁷³ This follows with aerial shots of the Neverland Island, providing a bird’s eye view of the splendour before the children actually arrive, and finally Marooners/ Skull Rock where Tiger Lily is held captive by Captain Hook. Each of these scenes offers detailed graphic representations of key locations within the narrative, many of which rely on re-interpreting Barrie’s text or constructing elements not mentioned by Barrie at all. Further, in each of these scenes, the audience – whether it be a Barrie, Disney or Honeyman audience – is presented with a specific construct of the dominant culture it is depicting, portraying Britain during the Victorian period (London); the idealised perception of the colonies and the native people found there (Neverland Island); and the potential danger located in the Dark Continent of the colonies and Others, much like the threat of the ‘*swart gevaar*’⁷⁴ during the South African apartheid era, is embodied in Skull Rock. In each retelling and translation, a new layer of meaning is added to the previous version, and a new interpretation of the narrative is presented, flavoured with the hegemonic influences of the new version of the story until in Honeyman’s version, the juxtaposition of these layers exposes the imperialist underpinnings of the narrative which are reinforced through this layering process.

Moving beyond the realm of direct reproduction, however, this article posits that Honeyman’s pantomime has also engaged in a process of Disneyfication specifically as it relates to issues of identity in terms of gender and race. The term of “Disneyfication” was coined in the mid-1990s and has been adopted by a wide variety of theorists⁷⁵ to describe the process of turning “the flesh-and-blood world we all inhabit into a replica of Disneyland: sanitised, safe, entertaining and predictable.”⁷⁶ Noting the relationship between consumerism and Disneyfication, Ellwood also comments on the totalising control by the American media conglomerates – including Disney – on world news and entertainment, and how this encourages a homogenous perspective of the consumer while equally creating wants and offering merchandising to fulfil these wants for the consumer.⁷⁷ Further to this, by Disneyfying her production, it should be understood that Honeyman’s pantomime guarantees to fulfil the promises made by Disney of “fantasy-enriched, sentimentally-compelling, fun-packed entertainment for children-of-all-ages mass audiences.”⁷⁸

While Disneyfication, massification and consumerism go hand-in-hand, in the case of Honeyman’s *Peter Pan*, this article argues that so do Disneyfication and discrimination. Holbrook argues that it is the ‘childlike innocence’ of Disney that is most insidious,⁷⁹ as it is through simplistic and often caricatured representations of race, gender, age and ethnicity that demeaning stereotypes are reproduced and reinforced.⁸⁰ In this vein and arguing Disney’s increased “emphasis on sexuality and the exotic ...in the construction of female heroines,” Lacroix⁸¹ notes that differences

between white and black female characters in Disney films relate largely to physique, costuming and iconography.⁸² This dichotomous white/black construct is also indicative of us/them, Self/Other, centre/margin relationships that are produced in the original text and reproduced in Honeyman's re-telling. The Disneyfication of female characters of colour reinforces the Victorian perception within the colonies that native women were overtly sexual by nature.⁸³ Further to this are the usual dichotomous associations of white and black representing good and evil respectively, ultimately reinforcing images of white imperial goodness and the potential evil represented by the dark savage.⁸⁴ White female characters are shown to be physically weaker and "incapable of action."⁸⁵ In addition, their demeanour is shown as being demure and conservative, and their costuming traditional and romantic.⁸⁶ It is this image of the conservative, romantic, traditional and proper white young 'lady' that is echoed in Honeyman's Wendy. Wendy is representative of the "us," "Self," "white," "centre" characters within this construct. At all times, Wendy's costume is relatively shapeless, covering almost the full extent of her body; she is portrayed as a 'lady,' and her body positioning is never suggestive or sexual. In sharp contrast to this image, Lacroix comments that Disney's female characters of colour have an increased focus on the body, ethnicity and sexuality as can be seen through the portrayal of these characters through their costuming, direction, iconography and camera angles.⁸⁷ The characters are physically strong, voluptuous, exotic and sexually mature – echoed in Honeyman's *Peter Pan*. This follows the perception of characters of colour, especially female characters, as being servants assigned to domestic chores but with uncontrollable lustful urges. Further to this, costuming often focused the gaze of the audience on the physicality of the characters of colour.⁸⁸ In relation to Honeyman's Disneyfied Tiger Lily, her costuming covers only her chest and pelvic areas, revealing her face, upper chest, midriff, arms and legs. She is barefooted and is often shown in sexually suggestive positions, whether standing or seated, making suggestive comments like "Me make great hooker."⁸⁹ In this way, Honeyman's use of framing, direction and costuming, creates an impression of polarising white characters and characters of colour - and of reinforcing colonial stereotypes.

Honeyman's *Peter Pan*, like Barrie and Disney, further makes use of race as one means of identifying the Other. This is most prominent in the casting of specific Other characters, such as casting characters of colour in comical or inferior roles, and positioning female characters as Disneyfied colonial virgin/ sexualised native stereotypes. The Darlings, Peter Pan, Hook and Starkey are all cast with white performers, whereas Other characters such as Tinker Bell, Tiger Lily, Clementina Coconut and Smee are cast with performers of colour.⁹⁰ This continues to place the characters of colour at the margins of this centrally white story. Othering is demonstrated by their stereotyped station, their lack of education, their use of language (which operates, similar to Barrie's use of language, as a symbolic marker of power), and immoral behaviour. Characters of colour such as Tiger Lily, Smee, Clementina Coconut and Curly are portrayed as uneducated and their speech is often accented, broken and basic. This impacts on the notions of nation and identity

in as it sets up centre-margin relations that privilege whiteness and its associated values that are reflective of apartheid thinking.

The casting choices seem to position characters of colour as inferior and subservient to white characters in Honeyman's pantomime. Each of the characters of colour, in some way or another, works or reports to a white '*baas*'⁹¹ such as Smee to Hook, Tinker Bell to Peter Pan and Clementina Coconut to Mr and Mrs Darling. In addition, they are generally personal assistants or nannies, further reinforcing the racial hierarchies associated with the colonial project. Honeyman uses a chorus that includes fruit and flower-sellers: all low-paying positions of servitude are taken by characters of colour. In direct contrast to this, white characters are wealthy consumers, owners of homes, and vehicles, and in positions of authority and responsibility.

This racial hierarchy also furthers the representation of hegemonic masculinity as constructed in/through various characters, including Mr Darling. A relatively absent father who issues instructions to his household staff (and animals), refers to his wife and children by diminutive food names ("little noodles," "my sweetest sugar-lump"⁹²) and who is more concerned with his bank balance than with spending time with his children. Hegemonic masculinity is further revealed through references to the behaviour of "English gentlemen"⁹³ such as the use of good form and fair play, and through characters such as Starkey claiming to be "doing his gentlemanly duty"⁹⁴ when he saves the Princess Tiger Lily from the Skull Rock. Peter Pan and Starkey are presented as brave and deserving of good things such as defeating Captain Hook or as "clever and strong and handsome and a hit with the girls."⁹⁵ Women, especially (women of colour) in the production are frequently voiceless and are placed in positions of weakness requiring men to save them, such as when Wendy and Tiger Lily are tied to Skull Rock.

As a final translation technique, and as has already been mentioned, this article argues that Honeyman has also made use of a method we term *double localisation*. *Double localisation* refers to the process used by Honeyman to situate or localise her pantomimes within a specific geographical, historical and socio-political matrix; this in turn allows her viewers to position themselves within this 'location,' so to speak. In this way, Honeyman has localised the play text to the South African context and within this context has further localised the text to the Greater Johannesburg region. For example, she makes references to areas in and around Johannesburg such as 'Braamfontein,' 'Zoo Lake' and 'Bruma,' and refers to well-known South African politicians such as former Minister of Health 'Manto Tshabalala-Msimang,' thereby locating the play within the South African context, specifically, within Johannesburg and the surrounding areas in the period 2004 – 2007.⁹⁶ Double localisation can serve to make the production accessible to a target audience. While many directors use localisation as a manner of translating a text into a given context, the unique quality in Honeyman's technique is that she will re-contextualise an already contextualised work. For example, Honeyman has already adapted the play text of *Peter Pan* into the South African context (first localisation)

through the use of local accents and broadly accepted local references to advertisement jingles and national politicians. She then alludes to more specific references confined to the Johannesburg area (second localisation) such as suburban and metropolitan areas, specific languages spoken in these areas and making use of stereotypes that may appeal to those native to these areas. This second level of localisation relies on the audience having an intimate knowledge of the 'in-jokes' and being able to relate to the regional humour and use of stereotyping that is prominent in this technique. This form of localisation is not unusual within the South African context and is reminiscent of the use of 'local colour' by early colonisers to insert elements of British theatrical culture through the genre of pantomime into the landscape of the South African colony, thus reinforcing imperialist ideological control over the native inhabitants. In this way, colonial values, stereotypes and images are naturalised and appear to be a reflection of the world outside of the play text/production – the "us-ness" that informs understandings of nation.

For example, the audience is drawn into the action through the reference to products with which they are familiar such as "PC game *Tomb Raider*," "*17 Magazine*" and "*Weber Mini Braai*." Honeyman also makes use of popular advertising catch-phrases in South African media, such as "*L'Oreal*- because you're worth it," and "*Klipdrift* – met eish, ja" and "*I love when you talk foreign*."⁹⁷ In addition, well-known social messaging such as *Drive Alive* and sponsor advertising for the Johannesburg radio station Jacaranda 94.2 also make the audience feel comfortably situated.

The production relies on the audience recognising overt stereotyping, such as the Dame character Clementina Coconut who is not present in either the Barrie or the Disney versions. Although Clementina follows the usual traditions of the Dame - the character is performed by a man who is obviously dressed as a woman - she is one of the comical characters and addresses the audience directly. However, this character reinforces stereotypical racial characteristics: a coloured woman originating from the Cape Flats sporting a heavy, stereotyped 'coloured' accent, missing front teeth and very curly, unruly hair, she at various times 'hikes up' her skirts, sits knees spread, and swigs from a hip-flask. The name 'Coconut' insinuates an identity that is 'brown on the outside, white on the inside' and is a derogatory term for a person of colour ascribing to perceived 'white' values.

This stereotype and how it has been used in Honeyman's *Peter Pan* further relates to notions of the uncivilised native, unable to function outside white control. This infantilisation of characters of colour is exemplified through the relationship between Wendy and Clementina. Wendy reprimands Clementina by saying "That's no way for a nice, normal nursie to behave!"⁹⁸ clearly implying that Wendy, a child, knows the proper way to behave, and is in a position to correct an adult's behaviour, inverting the adult-child relationship between them. The inversion of the adult-child relationship is largely permissible as Clementina's race implies that she is inferior and subservient to the white authority, even if it is exercised by a child. Moreover,

performers of colour such as Tinker Bell, Smee and Clementina Coconut are generally positioned in comical, supporting or submissive roles. Characters, such as Clementina Coconut and Tinker Bell, are clearly portrayed as devious, untrustworthy and rude (“Do you have hot broccoli up your bum?”⁹⁹) in the production.

In accordance with imperialist thinking and as it relates to nation and identity in post-apartheid South Africa, white men have command over all women, children and Neverland “natives,” with characters of colour placed in positions of inferiority. As it relates to gender, the production clearly shows a polarisation and Disneyfication of female characters, as well as overt sexualisation of the native woman in the character of Tiger Lily. Honeyman’s *Peter Pan* shows that women do not drive the narrative, but rather are on stage – through their stereotypical characterisation – to highlight the strength and control of the white male characters. Throughout the narrative, women and Others are placed in positions of weakness to raise the profile of the white man and promote the concept of hegemonic masculinity and in most cases are silenced by the reduced status of the Other in the narrative. Whether it be constrained by the hegemonic confinements of colonial motherhood as experienced by Wendy, the limitations of access to language and education as expressed by Tiger Lily, or the colonial position of servitude and inferiority, as exhibited by Tinker Bell – each of the principal female characters in Honeyman’s *Peter Pan* is silenced by their role in this production. Ironically, it is the stereotypical construction of the dame character of Clementina Coconut, a coloured woman, played by a man, which is given the only ‘female’ voice in this production.

Conclusion

Tracing the argument of Othering to the *Peter Pan* narrative and the notion of white hegemonic masculinity as representative of nationhood, this study has argued that the 1904 Barrie text and the 1953 Disney adaptation both support imperialist ideologies, specifically as they relate to the positioning of the white male as the centre in relation to the marginalisation of the female, child, and natives. Moreover the Honeyman version has made use of both the Barrie and Disney versions as source texts for her translation of *Peter Pan*, and the processes of reproduction, Disneyfication and double localisation to engage her audience. In reading Honeyman’s production of the text in relation to casting, staging, representation of identity markers and dramatic language, we have concluded that Honeyman’s pantomime seems to reinforce the imperialist ideology prevalent in Barrie’s 1904 text. Moreover, Honeyman’s production has used an imperial genre (pantomime) to present a Disneyfied imperial text (*Peter Pan*) to a post-apartheid South African audience. Whilst pantomime’s carnivalesque potential opens up possibilities for transcending the trappings of form, context and content, it appears that Honeyman’s production reinforced these trappings and articulated notions of nation and identity that seem contradictory to the ideals of a post-apartheid South Africa.

¹ Janice Honeyman (born Cape Town 1949), has received many awards for her productions. She has directed stage and television productions for children and has a particular affinity with music theatre. Her pantomimes, apart from the one referred to here, include "Snow White" (2008), "Pinocchio" (2009) and she is currently working on a version of "Jack and the Beanstalk" (2012).

² T. Hauptfleisch, "The shaping of South African theatre: an overview of major trends," in *Words and worlds: African writing, literature, and society - a commemorative publication in honor of Eckhard Breitingner*, ed. S. Arndt and K. Berndt (Trenton: NJ: Africa World Press, 2007).

³ Although pantomime has become associated with Britain, an investigation into pantomime through a reading of *Pantomime-Mime. History*. 2009. <http://www.pantomimes-mimes.com/pantomime-history.html> (accessed August 26, 2009), M. Kruger, "Tradisionele elemente en kontemporere tendense in die pantomime - 'n teater-historiese ondersoek" (PhD diss., University of Stellenbosch, 1997) and J. Schacker, "Unruly tales: ideology, anxiety, and the regulation of genre," *Journal of American Folklore* (2007): 381-401, indicates that the origins of pantomime are neither exclusive to nor native to Britain. According to Schacker, M. Kruger, "English pantomime: reflections on a dynamic tradition," *South African Theatre Journal* 14 (2000): 146-173, J. Waterman, "Who says pantomime is dead?" *The Listener*, 1978: 826-7 and R. Leach, *Harrap's theatre workshop: pantomime* (London: Harrap, 1980), pantomime's most prominent antecedent is the Italian *commedia dell'arte*. The importance of mentioning the role of *commedia dell'arte* in this context relates not only to its relationship to the development of the genre of pantomime, but also to its ideological impact – specifically its carnivalesque potential.

⁴ For further discussion, see Hauptfleisch, "The shaping of South African theatre"; M. Kruger, "Tradisionele elemente"; and M. Kruger, "Pantomime in South Africa: the British tradition and the local flavour," *South African Theatre Journal* 17 (2003): 129-152.

⁵ Hauptfleisch, "The shaping of South African theatre."

⁶ A. Stathaki, "Adaptation and performance of Greek drama in post-apartheid South Africa" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2009), 9-11.

⁷ T. Hauptfleisch, "Beyond street theatre and festival: the forms of South African theatre," *Maske und Kothurn* 33: 1-2 (1987): 181.

⁸ Pantomime has its documented origins in Greece and Rome, owes its stylistic and thematic roots to the performed *commedia dell'arte* by French and Italian families of travelling performers and spread throughout Europe. Pantomime has become synonymous with British entertainment theatre since the 1700s (*Pantomime-Mime. History*. 2009. <http://www.pantomimes-mimes.com/pantomime-history.html> (accessed August 26, 2009)). The genre developed from the interlude-like harlequinade, to the introduction of the Joey the clown character that developed into the Dame, and finally being associated with the Christmas festival and children's fairy-tales.

⁹ Hauptfleisch, "The shaping of South African theatre."

¹⁰ Kruger, "English pantomime": 146-173.

¹¹ Kruger, "Pantomime in South Africa": 129.

¹² M. Taylor, *British pantomime performance* (London: Intellect Books, 2007), 21.

¹³ Kruger, "Tradisionele elemente," 16-17.

¹⁴ See H. Gilbert and J. Tompkins, *Postcolonial drama: theory, practice, politics* (London: Routledge, 1996), 6-8; and D. Butts, "The beginnings of Victorianism," in *Children's Literature: an illustrated history*, ed. P Hunt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 86-87.

¹⁵ J. V. Fantasia, "Entrepreneurs, empires and pantomimes" (PhD diss., University of Sydney, 1996), 167-168.

¹⁶ Fantasia, "Entrepreneurs," 231.

¹⁷ Gilbert and Tompkins, *Postcolonial drama*, 7-8, 15.

¹⁸ Specifically during war campaigns, most notably the campaign against the Boers in the second Anglo-Boer War of 1899. During these pantomimes the playing of military marches, the singing of 'God save the Queen,' as well as presenting images of brave British soldiers and vilifying Boer soldiers through the fairy tale plots were commonplace (Fantasia, "Entrepreneurs," 174-192).

- ¹⁹ Gilbert and Tompkins, *Postcolonial drama*, 15.
- ²⁰ Kruger, "Pantomime in South Africa": 129-148; Gilbert and Tompkins, *Postcolonial drama*, 8.
- ²¹ Gilbert and Tompkins, *Ibid.*; Fantasia, "Entrepreneurs," 173.
- ²² Gilbert and Tompkins, *Ibid.*
- ²³ S. E. Case, *Feminism and theatre* (London: Macmillan, 1988), 114.
- ²⁴ Translations of, for example, canonical texts often actively undermine the ideological underpinnings of the source text to set up counter-discourses or counter-texts that preserve many of the identifying components of the original text while attempting to alter its power-structures and incorporating performance elements from marginalised or oppressed cultures. The aim is to give these a voice (Gilbert and Tompkins, *Postcolonial drama*, 18-19). Hauptfleisch's "The shaping of South African theatre" shows that music, melodrama and satire were key techniques through which the status quo was queried (incidentally these are also techniques closely associated with pantomime). In this way, theatre can also act as a counter-hegemonic force.
- ²⁵ M. M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his world*, trans. H. Iswolsky (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1984).
- ²⁶ D. Hayman, "Toward a mechanics of mode: Beyond Bakhtin," *A Forum on Fiction* 16:2 (1983): 101-120.
- ²⁷ L. McRae, "The postmodern Prometheus: collective, experience and the carnivalesque," *Transformations* 3 (2002): 6.
- ²⁸ While Bakhtin's interpretation of the carnival and his notion of the carnivalesque offers the potential of a "world turned upside down" (McRae, *Ibid.*), a subversion of power dynamics and resistance to the dominant order, it has also been proposed by Bakhtin's critics that the controlled environment within which this resistance occurs simply acts to maintain hegemonic control and reinforce inequalities.
- ²⁹ McRae, *Ibid.*
- ³⁰ See McRae, who traces the development of meanings attached to the carnival and the carnivalesque from the Middle Ages to the present.
- ³¹ Bakhtin, *Rabelais*, 10.
- ³² R. J. Goldstein, "Fighting French censorship," *The French Review* 71: 5 (1998): 786.
- ³³ McRae, "The postmodern Prometheus": 9.
- ³⁴ J. H. Davis and M. J. L. Watkins, *Children's Theatre* (New York: Harper & Row, 1960), 4.
- ³⁵ Fantasia, "Entrepreneurs," 231.
- ³⁶ Kruger, "English pantomime":156.
- ³⁷ For a full list of Janice Honeyman's professional biography of productions and awards, see Bezuidenhout, T.L.K. "Lost in Translation: A postcolonial reading of Janice Honeyman's *Peter Pan*," (MA diss., University of Pretoria, 2012), 235-237.
- ³⁸ See S. Aaltonen, "Rewriting representations of the foreign: the Ireland of Finnish realist drama," (Joensuu: Joensuu University Press 1996), 103-122; P. Pavis, "Theatre studies and interdisciplinarity," *Theatre Research International* 26: 2 (2001):161; and M. Keuris, "Found in translation: Chekhov revisited by Reza de Wet and Janet Suzman," *Journal of Literary Studies* 20:1 (2004): 148-164.
- ³⁹ See M. Brewer, "Peter Pan and the white imperial imaginary," *NTQ* 23:4 (2007): 387-392; H. Blackford, "Mrs Darling's scream: the rites of Persephone in *Peter and Wendy* and *Wuthering Heights*," *Studies in the Humanities* 32: 2 (2005): 116-144; H. Springer, "Barrie's Peter Pan (James M. Barrie)," *The Explicator* 65: 2 (2007): 96-100; A. Varty, "Locating Neverland: Peter Pan and parlour games," *NTQ* 23: 4 (2007): 393-402; and A. Wilson, "Hauntings: anxiety, technology, and gender in Peter Pan," *Modern Drama* 43:4 (2000): 595-612, for detailed discussions about Barrie's *Peter Pan*.
- ⁴⁰ As indicated by A. Birkin, *J. M. Barrie and the lost boys: the love story that gave birth to Peter Pan* (London: Constable, 1979), while this book, *Peter and Wendy*, is perhaps the most well-known of Barrie's works, the character of Peter Pan began to develop almost a decade earlier with the publication of Barrie's first story of *Peter Pan: The Little White Bird, or Adventures in Kensington Gardens* (A. B. Kavey and L. D. Friedman, *Second start to the right: Peter Pan in the popular imagination* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2009), xi). In 1906, Barrie published a further story titled *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens*, which documents Peter's escape from his nursery and

subsequent adventures in Kensington Gardens before travelling to the Neverland. It is at this point that the tale of *Peter Pan* and his adventures, made popular on stage, in books and in film, begins to take shape (Kavey and Friedman, *Ibid*).

⁴¹ This is a reference made in Barrie's text to the peoples more correctly referred to as Native Americans.

⁴² J. M. Barrie first produced the stage version of *Peter Pan* in 1904 and published a novel by the same name in 1911. The text underwent several rewrites and edits between 1904 and 1911 (Birkin, *J. M. Barrie*, 104). References used in this study are based largely on the 1904 play text as well as inclusions from the 1911 edition, reprinted in 1999.

⁴³ Brewer, "Peter Pan": 388.

⁴⁴ T. Brennan, "The National longing for form" in *The Postcolonial Studies Reader*, ed. B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths and H. Tiffin (London: Routledge, 1995), 172.

⁴⁵ B. Anderson, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, 2nd edition rev. and extended (New York: Verso, 1991), 6-7.

⁴⁶ H. Bhabha, *Nation and narration* (London: Routledge, 1990), 139.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*.

⁴⁸ J. Nagel, "Masculinity and nationalism: gender and sexuality in the making of nations," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21:2 (1998): 249.

⁴⁹ J. Tosh, "What should historians do with masculinity? Reflections on nineteenth-century Britain," *History Workshop* 38 (1994):18; G. Day and A. Thompson, *Theorising nationalism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 117, 119.

⁵⁰ Day and Thompson, *Ibid*.

⁵¹ Birkin, *Ibid*.

⁵² R. Weaver-Hightower, *Empire islands: castaways, cannibals, and fantasy conquests* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 190-193.

⁵³ A. Wilson, "Hauntings: anxiety, technology, and gender in Peter Pan," *Modern Drama* 43: 4 (2000): 595-612.

⁵⁴ S. Ohmer, "Disney's Peter Pan: gender, fantasy and industrial production," in Kavey and Friedman, *Second start to the right*, 151-187.

⁵⁵ W. A. Deacon, "Disney's pirates as anti-piracy: promoting family values and morals through an unlikely group of villains and knaves," *Lehigh Student Award Winners*, 2005. <http://0-jsaw.lib.lehigh.edu> (accessed April 19, 2012).

⁵⁶ Ohmer, "Disney's Peter Pan," 173.

⁵⁷ See Wilson, "Hauntings" and Brewer, "Peter Pan": 387-392.

⁵⁸ S. Dagut, "Gender, colonial 'women's history' and the construction of social distance: middle-class British women in the later nineteenth-century South Africa," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 26:3 (2000): 557.

⁵⁹ The term lady is a construction of gender that "promotes particular hegemonic ideals of femininity" (K. McGarry, "Passing as a 'lady': nationalist narratives of femininity, race, and class in elite Canadian figure skating," *Genders* 41 (2005)) specifically associated with notions of virtuosity, good behaviour, and high social standing.

⁶⁰ This refers back to Queen Victoria's role as the 'great white mother' and mother of the British nation as monarch of the British Empire.

⁶¹ Day and Thompson, *Theorising nationalism*, 119.

⁶² A. L. Stoler, "Carnal knowledge and imperial power," in *The Gender Sexuality Reader*, ed. R. N. Lancaster and M. di Leonardo (London: Routledge, 1997), 255-256.

⁶³ Day and Thompson, *Theorising nationalism*, 120.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*.

⁶⁵ Springer, "Barrie's Peter Pan."

⁶⁶ D. F. Sadoff, "Mythopoeia, the Moon, and Contemporary Women's Poetry," *The Massachusetts Review* 19:1 (1978): 98.

⁶⁷ J. M. Barrie, "Peter Pan or the boy who would not grow up," (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1928), 44.

- ⁶⁸ Weaver-Hightower, *Empire islands*, 193.
- ⁶⁹ Brennan, "The National longing for form," 172.
- ⁷⁰ Springer, "Barrie's Peter Pan," 96.
- ⁷¹ See Pavis, "Theatre studies and interdisciplinarity"; Gilbert and Tompkins, *Postcolonial drama*, 6-9.
- ⁷² Ohmer, "Disney's Peter Pan," 151-187.
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁴ The 'swart gevaar' means the 'black danger' in Afrikaans and was a term used by the Nationalist party during the apartheid era to instil a threat of danger in the South African white population of a potential uprising of the oppressed black population (D. Posel, "Whats in a name? Racial caegorisations under apartheid and their afterlife," *Transformation* 47 (2001): 50-74).
- ⁷⁵ See E. Bell, L. Haas, and L. Sells, *From mouse to mermaid: the politics of film, gender, and culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995); H. A. Giroux, *The mouse that roared: Disney and the end of innocence* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999); J. Zipes, "Breaking the Disney spell," in Bell, Haas and Sells, *From mouse to mermaid*.
- ⁷⁶ W. Ellwood, "Inside the Disney dream machine," *New Internationalist* (1998): 308.
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁸ M. B. Holbrook, "Time square, disneyphobia, hegemickey, the Ricky principle, and the downside of the entertainment economy: It's Fun-Dumb-Mental," *Marketing Theory* 1:2 (2001): 142.
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 143.
- ⁸⁰ See D. L. Hurley, "Seeing white: children of colour and the Disney fairy tale princess," *The Journal of Negro Education* 74:3 (2005): 221-232; S. C. Berggreen and K. Lustyik, "Multiculturalism vs Disneyfication: how Disney retells multicultural stories as unicultural tales," *The Broadcast Education Association 48th Annual Convention: Open Category*, 2003; and L. Dundes, "Disney's modern heroine Pocahontas: revealing age-old gender stereotypes and role discontinuity under a facade of liberation," *Social Sciences Journal* 38 (2001): 353-365.
- ⁸¹ C. Lacroix, "Images of animated others: the orientalizing of Disney's cartoon heroines from *The Little Mermaid* to *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*," *Popular Communication* 2: 4 (2004): 213-229.
- ⁸² A discussion of the concepts of 'blackness' and 'whiteness' falls outside the scope of this article. Terms referring to people of colour (black and coloured) as used in this article are contested and this article does not assume to encompass debates around these terms. This article acknowledges the problematics relating to cultural identity and racial classification.
- ⁸³ G. Jahoda, *Images of savages: ancient roots of modern prejudice in western culture* (London: Routledge, 1999), xiii.
- ⁸⁴ Hurley, "Seeing white":223.
- ⁸⁵ Lacroix, "Images of animated others": 222.
- ⁸⁶ See Lacroix, "Images of animated others": 221, and Berggreen and Lustyik, "Multiculturalism vs Disneyfication."
- ⁸⁷ Lacroix, "Images of animated others": 222.
- ⁸⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁹ This comment is made in direct reference to the position in a rugby team, however, when placed in the context of the scene of Tiger Lily flirting with Starkey, groping her breasts and presenting herself physically to him in a sexual manner, it can only be construed as having a double meaning. (Janice Honeyman, *Swashbuckling Adventure, Peter Pan, The Pantomime*. Joburg Civic Theatre, Johannesburg. October-December 2007).
- ⁹⁰ See note 82.
- ⁹¹ The term 'baas' (loosely translated as master) is problematic in the South African context as it was the term used by black persons to refer to white men during the apartheid era indicating subservience and therefore refers to an era of inequality and, in many cases, mistreatment, of black South Africans.
- ⁹² Honeyman, *Swashbuckling Adventure, Peter Pan, The Pantomime*. Joburg Civic Theatre, Johannesburg. October-December 2007.
- ⁹³ Barrie, "Peter Pan."

⁹⁴ Honeyman, *Swashbuckling Adventure, Peter Pan, The Pantomime*. Joburg Civic Theatre, Johannesburg. October-December 2007.

⁹⁵ Hook's description of Starkey in Honeyman, *Swashbuckling Adventure, Peter Pan, The Pantomime*. Joburg Civic Theatre, Johannesburg. October-December 2007.

⁹⁶ Dr Manto Tshabalala-Msimang was appointed Minister of Health in 1999, but become known notoriously for her statements regarding the treatment of the HIV and AIDS in 2004. She died in 2009 of complications related to a liver transplant she had received in 2007 ("Manto Tshabalala Msimang dies," *Mail and Guardian*, December 6, 2010).

⁹⁷ Honeyman, *Swashbuckling Adventure, Peter Pan, The Pantomime*. Joburg Civic Theatre, Johannesburg. October-December 2007.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ Tinker Bell's comment to Wendy in relation to the way she speaks in Honeyman, *Swashbuckling Adventure, Peter Pan, The Pantomime*. Joburg Civic Theatre, Johannesburg. October-December 2007