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Simultaneous Imitation: The Fluidity of Indonesian and South African Cinema

At the start of the 2010s, two films were released that depict eerily similar structures, found in *The Raid: Redemption* (Evans, 2011, Indonesia) and *Dredd* (Travis, 2012, South Africa). Whether it be the invasion of a tower, armored police protagonists, antagonists as gang leaders in Tama (Ray Sahetapy) and Ma-ma (Lena Headey), tactics of said antagonists, or aggressive encounters with the towers' inhabitants, these films undoubtedly denote a comparable narrative. Although *Dredd* and *The Raid* were created at nearly opposite ends of the globe, audiences and critics alike have detected these similarities and initiated the films' controversial reception. The fanbases of each film have accused the directors of plagiarism amidst a variety of mediums, from web articles to YouTube comment sections to fan videos. However, this rift is complicated by the directors themselves who denied any such influence from each other, where alternative sites of inspiration were credited instead. Although the directors' statements differ from the media's accusations of appropriation, these similarities between the films extend beyond the diegesis and into the marketing campaigns. Thus, an investigation into the temporally overlapped production processes, socioeconomics of each nation (Indonesia and South Africa), specific scenes, and motives of each director must be dissected to uncover how these similarities emerged (between the films and their marketing processes). This investigation will allow their appropriation to be understood not as one sided (which the media has portrayed), but rather how

these films borrow from each other simultaneously (and transnationally). That is where zones of potential/explicit contact (between the films) can be cemented, which reveals the ways in which Indonesian and South African cinema must operate within the global mainstream. Before these points of contact can be justified through the films, the directors themselves, or the nations' economics, each films' transnational production process must be briefly examined.

Dredd was the first film produced by Cape town Studios which began production in 2010. It was partly funded by the NFVF association (National Film and Video Foundation), which is an organization created to "help reflect South African culture and language to both local and international audiences" (Ebrahim, and Ellapen, 174). This funding presents an ironic method of film making where the local is assisted by the global, which can be found in South Africa's tendency to create transnational co-productions. *Dredd* is one of these co-productions where South Africa and the UK have joined forces for the production and promotion process. However, the film's cross-cultural conception does not end between these two nations, rather, it is extended through *Dredd*'s intended international audience, where the economic evolution of South Africa plays a crucial role within the films' creation. That is because this globalization (of South African cinema) coincides with Indonesia's similar entrance into the mainstream (at the same time) which will also be elaborated shortly. Therefore, this transnational motivation begins to position *Dredd* and its story in a less isolated state regarding its proximity with *The Raid* (which came out a year earlier). Now *The Raid* must be credited for its equally cross-cultural creation. For starters, filmmaker Gareth Evans, who wrote and directed *The Raid*, was born in the UK. This means that the film's Indonesian iconography, actors, setting, and language are processed through Evans' inherently Welsh mind. Although this dynamic does not infringe upon the structure of the story (since Evans wrote the film), it speaks to the film's accentuated

consumerism through the presence of a foreign filmmaker. This foreign presence is also found in the film's score, which was co-written by Mike Shinoda, who is a member of the American rock band Linkin Park. Focusing more on the screenwriters, the motif of British entanglement between these two films is emphasized since *Dredd's* script was written by renowned screenwriter Alex Garland, who is also British. This will play a central role when *Dredd's* leaked script is contextualized alongside director Evans' atypical creation of *The Raid*. However, before this can be done, the state of Indonesian and South African cinema must be compared (economically) to justify the films' similar transnationality. That will act as the foundation for how *Dredd* and *The Raid's* similarities are navigated, to uncover how and where they take influence from each other.

Starting with Indonesia, its socioeconomic evolution can be traced back to the nation's financial crisis under President Suharto in 1998. The following decade led to the transition of political and economic power from the state to the people within the "reformasi era" (Barker, 5). This shift in policy led to the nation's decentralized cinema industry where local films experienced a boom of production. This newfound market allowed for independent film makers to exist alongside the nation's introduction within the global flow of capital where the nation's pop culture had been transformed. More specifically, this era culminated into "Indonesia's film industry today (which) sees a mix of large commercial companies, smaller independent companies, and a small but thriving indie scene" due to this evolution which gained momentum in the mid-2000s (Barker, 7). This is where the reformasi era can be understood as the economic foundation for *The Raid's* wider target audience. Since these Indonesian-made films were distributed alongside foreign film imports at the time, Indonesia's post-reformasi market economy recognized its growing audiences' contributions to the industry's success. Attention

was then directed toward local audiences as the nation's economy experienced a feedback loop where television, film, and news consumption increased among the population ahead of this influx of local and foreign content. That is how the nation's social and economic changes can be found as indicative of this popular cinema culture that has integrated Indonesia into transnational markets. However, there was backlash toward this commercialized mode of film making on behalf of those who advocated for authentic Indonesian art (national cinema). This anti-commercial outlook possessed exclusionary ideals regarding the country's compensation of transnationality for profit, which shows how this new age of cinema was not met with a uniform reception. More specifically, the existence of Gareth Evans as director of *The Raid* embodies the fear of these national cinema advocates due to the nations' global attention and monetary success at the hands of his cross-cultural production (*The Raid*). However, these critics cannot overshadow the fact that through "new modes of production and new modes of audience engagement, Indonesian cinema has emerged as one of the most dynamic pop culture industries in Asia, (which) increasingly integrated into global flows of capital and media products" (Barker, 6). To put in simpler terms, the globalization of Indonesia's cinema industry was forged out of the nation's decentralization and attention toward its audiences ahead of the failure of the old order in 1998. That is how *The Raid* can be viewed as a film which accentuates its local iconography through a foreign filmmaker (Gareth Evans) to appeal towards both local and international audiences. Now that Indonesia has been credited for its cinematic expansion through commercialization, South Africa must be turned to. This comparison will expose how *The Raid* and *Dredd*'s influence over each other begins with their conformity to meet the demands of the transnational market economy, through intertextuality.

South Africa's reintegration into the international mainstream (post-apartheid) presented an abundance of effects on both its economy and cinema industry. In what can be considered a redefining period, the nation's racial representation on screen, its state funding, and treaties with foreign nations mark this socioeconomic change. For starters, Christopher Meir's article on the South African cinema industry illuminates their tendency to create transnational co-productions as indicative of these new economic tactics. These co-productions assisted in the nation's goal of promoting its newly democratized status since audiences from each nation were put in contact with these films. What allows these transnational co-productions to exist are the treaties and funding of organizations such as the NFVF association. As mentioned earlier, this organization ironically uses foreign nations to assist in the productions and promotion of South African culture/cinema. That is precisely where "the seeming paradox of a strategy which utilizes transnational co-productions to stimulate and develop local film production" (Ebrahim and Ellapen, 173) can be understood as an obstacle. As elaborated by Meir, this transnational filmmaking obstructs the democratization of the country's cultural representation due to the conflicting economic agendas of these co-productions (coming from elsewhere). Thus, the same way these co-produced films exist as "films that meet international creative and commercial demands," the preservation of South African culture and content is subsequently skewed (Meir, 220). Here, transnational content is gained while South African content is lost amidst these co-productions. Lastly, these treaties illuminate gaps within the nation's globalization since certain Anglo-European areas have been sided with while Asian and African treaties have not been established. That is why this limited overlap of national identity showcases how these co-productions should be viewed as more than just commercial objects but also ideological proponents. Whenever these transnational films are created, South Africa chooses to expand its

capital at the expense of its cultural authenticity, which infringes upon the country's attempts to democratize its on-screen representation.

Dredd is precisely one of these transnational co-productions due to its assistance from the UK in both the filming and marketing process. The existence of this film coincides with the NFVF treaty that was signed between South Africa and the UK in 2007, since Garland began *Dredd*'s script in 2008. It can now be understood how *Dredd*'s British affiliation acts as the basis for its potential influence from and on *The Raid*. South Africa's fusion of national identity through these co-productions, along with its pressure to expand globally, are what initiate its conscious and unconscious contact with *The Raid*, which gained public success as *Dredd* navigated its post-production and reshoots. To meet the demands of this newfound international commercialism, the marketing and conceptualization of these films were done so with a transnational audience in mind, which will allow *Dredd* and *The Raid*'s influence over each other to be viewed as intertwined with their nation's economics. That is what constitutes the similar environments that these films were born into, and how a parallel can be drawn between Indonesia and South Africa's simultaneous entrances into the global mainstream. A similar dynamic is seen through Bollywood within the early 2000s, which will support these arguments around *Dredd* and *The Raid*'s imitation for profit (once these three nations are triangulated). However, that will come after these films' production timelines are explained.

Although *Dredd*'s script was completed in the spring of 2010, *The Raid*'s had just begun in the summer of 2010, which is the very summer where this controversy begins. The writing of *The Raid* began when director Evans abandoned another Indonesian action thriller by the name of *Berandal* (for financial reasons) which he also wrote. In an interview with Emma Brown from Interview Magazine, Evans states: "when I did *The Raid*, it was because I spent two years trying

to get the budget for this other movie (*Berandal*) that I really wanted to make. I couldn't find a budget, couldn't get that up and running. I ended up side-lining that previous script and going off to work on *The Raid* as a backup project—as a plan B” (Evans). This nonchalant attitude toward the creation of *The Raid* is complicated by the fact that this was the same summer that *Dredd*'s script was leaked. Thus, when director Evans states how “the original script for *The Raid* 2 pre-existed *The Raid 1*,” one can understand how this film was spawned out of an economic necessity following the failure of Evans' passion project (*Berandal*). That is how a point of contact between Evans (a British film maker) and the leaked script of *Dredd* from renowned British screenwriter Garland would be possible, since both events happened between July and August of 2010 (being the *Dredd* leak and *The Raid*'s conception). Another aspect which promotes Evans' potential awareness of Garland's script comes after one realizes that *Berandal* “had nothing to do with police, nothing to do with undercover cops—it was just a normal guy, finding himself involved in the Mob” (Evans). Thus, one must account for the fact that Evans' new film (*The Raid*) suddenly possessed these police elements following the leak of *Dredd*'s script. To emphasize Evans' connection to financial pressure even further, the success of *The Raid* is what led to the resurrection of his previously cancelled passion project (*Berandal*), “where it became this reverse engineering thing where the script for *Berandal* was written, and then it became retrofitted after *The Raid 1* existed to make it into a sequel” (Evans). If director Evans has already admitted to recontextualizing *Berandal* to assist its success (as a sequel), then why couldn't this same dynamic be seen for the recontextualization of *The Raid* ahead of Garland's script? That is how the motivation (or lack thereof) for Evans' film, along with its proximity to *Dredd*'s leak, establishes the first point of potential contact between the two films.

However, in a separate interview with lead actor Iko Uwais, Evans is asked directly about his awareness of *Dredd* during the making of *The Raid*.

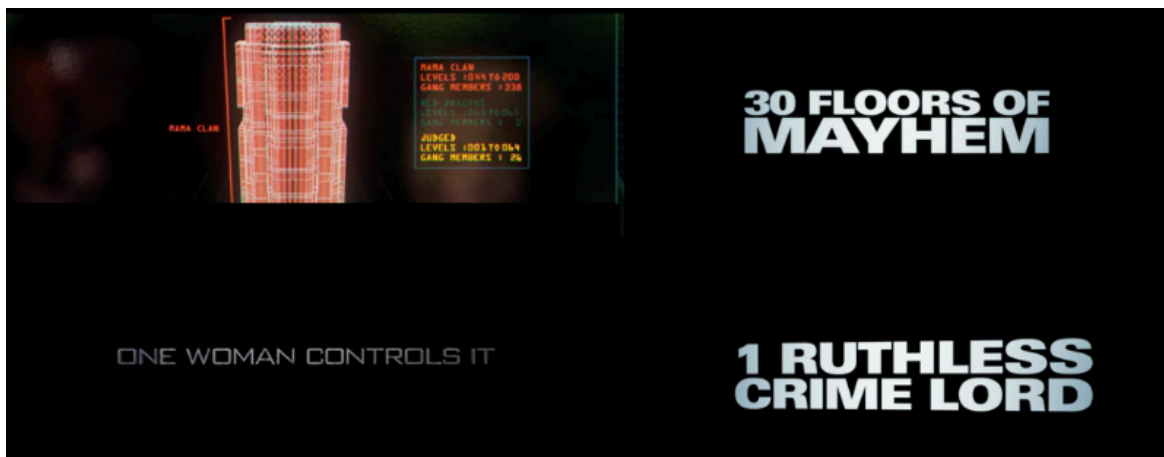
Evans' response confirms his awareness of *Dredd*'s plot (albeit after *The Raid* was written) which showcases his embodiment of Bloom's anxiety of influence theory once his treatment of *The Raid* is said to have changed. Evans states: "while we were in post on *The Raid*, I was telling a friend what the story was about (...) and he said, that's like the new Judge Dredd movie. And I said, "What?" He sent me a link that explained the story, and I said, "Oh God, we have to get this released very, very soon" (Evans). What complicates his awareness of *Dredd*'s plot is that it happened during the postproduction (spring of 2011) which is still a year before *Dredd*'s release. Therefore, Evans' friend made the connections between these two films for him, which would prove *The Raid*'s script as untainted by *Dredd*'s (according to Evans). However, before this statement can be understood as a potential lie (in terms of when Evans was made aware of *Dredd*), the fact that he expedited *The Raid*'s release after hearing this showcases the economic pressure at play. This anxiety ridden reaction to the similarities between his film and *Dredd*'s are what constitute Evans' "exhaustions of being a late comer" within the competitive transnational market and is what supports his alleged untruthfulness on exactly when he discovered *Dredd*'s script (Bloom, 12). Despite Evans' commercial motives for *The Raid*, what is most peculiar is his emphasis on alternative sources of inspiration rather than *Dredd*. Evans' exhibits no anxiety when referring to his influence from *Die Hard* (McTiernan, 1988, USA). Here, he states: "again, I knew nothing about Judge Dredd until post-production, but yeah, all the influences came from stuff like *Die Hard*" (Evans). This anxiety towards *The Raid*'s connection with *Dredd* does not sustain Evans' apparent plagiarism but rather showcases how Evans' words within the media could lead critics to believe he is trying to cover his influence or

prove his authenticity (originality) through the counterintuitive reference to other sources of inspiration. While actual images from *Dredd* had not been released until 2012, any influence that could have taken place on *The Raid* would occur at the level of structure (within the script), which connects Evens' film back within the realm of auteur theory and anxiety.

At this point in the navigation of these two films' controversial reception, it is time to prioritize which aspects of the production have the most tangible effects on the structures of the films, through the help of more auteur theorists. Barry Grant's book, *Auteurs and Authorship: A film Reader*, demonstrates how the screen writer possess the most authority on a films' plot, characterization, iconographic structure, and implicit themes (which are precisely the zones of contact between *The Raid* and *Dredd*). The screenwriter is pedestalized when Grant states how "a movie is a response to reality in a certain way that must first be found by a writer" (Grant, 155). His outlook on auteurs and their relationship to cinema then insults directors as a "hustler-plagiarist who has (...) dominated, exploited and occasionally enhanced an art form still in search of its true authors (Grant, 156). This perception of the screenwriter vs the director is personified by Evans and his testimony regarding the financially motivated creation of *The Raid*'s script. His existence as a writer-director balances this identity of the "plagiarist" (who may have been influenced by *Dredd*'s leaked script) and the auteur (who re-contextualizes the action-film structure of *Dredd* and *Die Hard* in the context of Indonesia). Again, this is not to diminish the authenticity/art of either film but rather to illuminate how their intertextuality is assisted by the fact that both films' directors are also the writers. The director of *Dredd* for most of the production was Pere Travis, until he was fired during the postproduction. This was due to a multitude of reasons which included criticism from the film's producers that *Dredd*'s rough cut "didn't feature enough action." This resulted in Alex Garland becoming the new director of

Dredd, where his authority as the screen writer was reunited with his status as director. Even though this criticism of *Dredd*'s rough cut (in late 2011) exposes more of the pressure that exists when conforming to transnational audiences, it showcases how *Dredd*'s notable mimicry of *The Raid* came when Garland entered the director's chair, found in its eerily similar trailer (which will be expanded upon). The fact that both films' imitation of each other is only arguable after the simultaneous existence of each films' director as also the writer, proves how this similar structure between *Dredd* and *The Raid* aligns with Wollen's theory on how auteurs are difficult to discern due to their inability to control all facets of the film's production. Thus, when the writer is given the same control as the director, any similarities that have existed in the script (found in specific scenes, and similarities within the marketing) will be accentuated. This cements how "directors must be defined in shifting relations, in their singularity as well as their uniformity" (Wollen,143). That is how the films' similarities can be understood to stem from their socioeconomic environments, and the excess control on behalf of these British film makers who fuel the arguments of notorious auteur theorists that films are amalgamations of both influence and style.

Now the marketing of these two films can be unveiled as the first public site of contact. This will be done through close analysis of the trailers of each film which will expose the influence of *The Raid* over *Dredd* (ahead of *The Raid*'s success), rather than the previous



argument which argued *Dredd*'s involvement within the economically stressed creation of *The Raid*. *Dredd*'s trailer was released three months after *The Raid*'s American premiere. That is what constitutes the temporal gap between the public success of Evans' film, and *Dredd*'s time to construct its trailer in a way that would expose its influence from *The Raid*. These trailers explicitly depict three aspects of the narrative structure, either through title cards, verbal narration, or cinematography which showcases these similarities at play (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Frame enlargement from *Dredd* and *The Raid*'s trailers.

Out of the four images within figure 1, the top and bottom left belong to *Dredd*'s trailer while the top and bottom right are from *The Raid*'s. For starters, these trailers isolate both Rama and Ma-ma's characters as the antagonist in control (seen in the bottom two pictures). Then, the number of floors within the buildings are physically stated. This is seen as a title card in *The Raid*'s trailer (top right picture) and as a graphic with voice over in *Dredd*'s trailer (top left picture) which states "levels one to two hundred." The trailers also stress the verticality of the story as a quest to the top of each building, which is shown through low angle tilt shots of each tower (Figure 2) and a title card within *Dredd*'s trailer.



Figure 2. Frame enlargement from *Dredd* and *The Raid*'s trailer.

That is how *The Raid*'s trailer can be seen as the basis for *Dredd*'s trailer ahead of its success after September of 2011 (since *Dredd*'s trailer was released in June 0f 2012). To better suit their film for these transnational audiences, *Dredd*'s producers along with newly instated writer-director Garland have imitated one of the most successful actions films at the time (being *The Raid*) to assist *Dredd*'s financial success. Therefore, the intertextuality between the two films in this instance allows South Africa's cross-cultural means of production to be understood as reflective of the nation's post-apartheid economy, which presents a "paradox when it comes to utilizing transnational policies to stimulate and develop local industries and artists" (Meir, 223). Before scenes from the films themselves can be argued alongside these transnational politics and plagiarism, these films' connection to Bollywood must be understood (conceptually).

Neelam Wright complicates the criticism of Bollywood's appropriation of American films, which allows this three-way comparison to be made (between India, Indonesia, and South Africa). Wright illuminates how Bollywood remakes are understood as apart of the nation's economic liberalization during the 1990s and onwards. This is where Bollywood's balance between parody and pastiche (of foreign texts) allows elements of its Indianness to be expanded globally after they have been translated through the context of these American films (in the remake). Their industry proves how "Hindi cinema's increasing desire for world-wide appeal and

its attempts to reel-in Indian diasporic audiences can be considered primary catalysts for the cinema's increased modernization and experimentation” (Wright, 5). This experimentation and expansion embodies the same logic as the expansion seen within Indonesian and South African cinema. After triangulating these cinemas, one can realize how the artistic nature of their film is indivisible from their attempts to enter the mainstream (regardless of influence). Thus, when Wright explains how Bollywood’s imitation “offers such (local) audiences a way of enjoying, understanding, and accessing these foreign texts, whilst conforming to a specifically Indian filmic language,” the cultural recontextualization of Bollywood’s remakes can then be understood within *Dredd* and *The Raid* (Wright, 7). This will require analysis of two scenes from each film, to depict the fragmented cultures and styles within the two films (being Indonesia and South Africa’s entanglement with both the UK and their intended global audiences).

These similar scenes will unveil the cultural and generic differences between the films, despite their transnational productions and argued awareness of each other. This again invokes

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support the potential awareness that the films have of each other, one must perceive said scenes as if they were imitating each other either way, as a form of translation from one culture to the

other. Regardless of whether these scenes were implemented into *The Raid* ahead of *Dredd*'s leaked script or implemented into *Dredd* ahead of its reshoots (during *The Raid*'s success), the process of finding these potential points of influence allows us to better understand Indonesian and South African cinema's tactics for transnational appeal. This will begin with the children encounter scenes (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Frame enlargement from *Dredd* and *The Raid*

In each film, there is a scene where both police units encounter children within their respective buildings. In *Dredd*, the children possess guns as clearly a part of the antagonistic force whereas in *The Raid*, it is unclear as to whether the child is a part of the enemy gang since he is unarmed. So, in *Dredd*, the kids are stunned as a warning, while the kid in *The Raid* is murdered for his potential gang affiliation. These two different fates of the children reveal an attitude toward the portrayal of both police brutality and children regarding South Africa and Indonesia (when we account for the fact that both film's police forces have the same infiltration-mission). The fact that *Dredd* was filmed and produced within both the UK and South Africa, and that it is linguistically English, assists this less antagonistic depiction of police (since the film is closer

aligned to the ideals of the western world). However, Indonesia is much more distant (geographically and culturally) from western hegemonic codes, which allows this rawer and more realistic encounter to be understood as a fragment of non-western culture that slipped through the cracks of this commercial film. Pointing out these fragmented cultural differences within these eerily similar situations acknowledges how each scene could have been transposed from the other national context, which cements how these countries operate differently within the mainstream (even with their entanglement with the west). Although this close analysis doesn't pick a side as to which film is plagiarizing which, it acknowledges the possibility of both films' borrowing of each other within the diegesis or script, to showcase how the texts themselves deploy the same structure differently. Another scene that depicts the same situation through different execution can be found in the intercom scenes (Figure 4).



Figure 4. Frame enlargement from *Dredd* and *The Raid*

Here, each main antagonist uses their building's intercom to make an announcement about the police forces that have just entered. The left picture within Figure 4 is Tama, while the right picture is Ma-ma. Cinematographically, *The Raid*'s intercom speech prevents any identification with Tama's character as the only shot we see of him is this extreme close up of his

mouth, whereas in *Dredd*, Ma-ma is shown through a variety of shots that all encompass her face. This presents a contrast to the tonality of these intercom scenes where *The Raid* prioritizes the anxiety of the police force as they hear Tama's speech, but in *Dredd*, Ma-ma's perspective is prioritized where the viewer is meant to recognize her resentment toward this situation.

However, the largest difference between these scenes comes in the instruction that each antagonist gives the building. Tama calls for all inhabitants to join in on the attack (on the police within) where they'd be given free residency if they succeeded. Ma-ma does the opposite where she asks for the inhabitants to stay out of the way so her gang can make the attack. These differences between the two villains' (within the same situation) assists the theories of Mark Bould on how lower budget films (more specifically science fictions) enhance their spectacle through oscillations in form, which again calls attention to ways in which these countries' cinema enhance their appeal. Bould illuminates how *Dredd*'s action scenes "draw attention to its comic-book origins, (where) the duration of each shot emphasizes the composition of the image, with the sequence as a whole functioning structurally like a splash page in a comic" (Bould, 270). The fact that *Dredd*'s protagonist represents the character Judge Dredd from the British comic of the same name allows its treatment of Ma-ma's character to be understood as equally enshrouded in these unnaturalistic elements (which can be found within this intercom scene). Ma-ma's refusal to incentivize the inhabitants of the building in helping her mission aligns her character with the same unnatural (comic book) logic that is found in the graphic editing and oversaturated colors of the film. Her behavior here lacks the corruption of a realistic antagonist who would stop at nothing to achieve their goal, as seen in Tama's character within the intercom scene. This rift between the logic of comic books and realism also ties into the framing of these two villains. *Dredd* allows the viewer to voyeur into Ma-ma's layer as they would within the

pages of a comic during this scene, whereas in *The Raid*, the viewer is meant to feel just as imprisoned and restricted to the police force as they would be in real life (since Tama is not fully shown the same way the police cannot fully perceive him). This illuminates how *Dredd* emphasizes a different set of conventions, found in its comic book style and characterization, to appeal towards a more universal audience, whereas *The Raid* emphasizes the logic of realism to assist its appeal. That is what constitutes the simultaneity of the east and west within these films. It is not just their transnational production processes, but also how their treatment of the same situations within the films allows each nation's cinema to be better understood for their tactics of transnational appeal. Continuing with Indonesia and South Africa's attempts at spectacle within their newfound globalized status, the ways in which *Dredd* addresses its comic book logic through film form constitutes how lower budget science fiction films seek spectacle through the excess of certain techniques/characterization (when money is not abundant). Therefore, these manipulations to the form and content of this narrative structure to compensate for their lower budgets emphasizes *Dredd* and *The Raid*'s potential for seeking elsewhere for inspiration. That is because these moments of accentuated realism/comic book logic are specifically where these films sought to please international audiences, since *Dredd*'s rough cut was criticized for insufficient action and director Evans needed a way to fund his passion project known as the failed *Berandal*. Ahead of these financial predicaments, one can understand how both director Evans and Garland may have turned to each other's films for inspiration, where they utilized realism/comic book style to assist their films' spectacle through intertextuality.

Whether it be Evans' discovery of Garland's leaked script, or Garland's mimicry of Evans' film following its transnational success, the similarities between these two films' along with their cross-cultural means of production prove how "transnational forces sustain national

cinema” (Herbert, 30). As seen with Bollywood’s recontextualization and imitation of American films to enhance their global success, *Dredd* and *The Raid* have been born into nations that possess the same paradoxical means of boosting their local content with the help of the global. To cement this dynamic, Spain can be credited for its cinema industry of the late 1990s where “pan-European co-productions facilitated Spain’s ability to support a commercially viable “indigenous” film industry (vs HW)” which allows this connection to be made between *The Raid* and *Dredd*’s apparent intertextuality to enhance their own commercial viability (Herbert, 30).

Here, Spain’s pressure to meet “global trends” and sustain its success exists as a model for how these two films embodied this same pressure (Herbert, 29). More specifically, their pressure led to explicit and implicit changes within *Dredd* and *The Raid* following Evans’ films’ expedited release ahead of his knowledge of Garland’s script, and the eerily similar marketing strategies of *Dredd* following *The Raid*’s success. At surface level, this analysis of simultaneous imitation is to eliminate the idea that these similarities are a coincidence or inspired only from *Die Hard*.

Rather, this connection is to promote real world examples of Indonesia and South Africa’s transnational exchange of content (consciously and unconsciously) through these films’ means of production, narrative structures, and marketing similarities. However, such similarities complicate the potentially untruthful testimony of director Evans (regarding his awareness of *Dredd*) since these films’ different treatment of the same scenes/structure can be viewed as either calculated changes to hide one’s inspiration, or cultural fragments that slip through ahead of each nation’s attempts to please the mainstream. Either way, these accusations of appropriation (from the media and the fans) allow us to better understand the stakes of non-Hollywood cinema within the mainstream. That is where we can see how the anxiety of economic success and influence operates on behalf of non-Hollywood directors. These films’ apparent imitation and stylistic

translation of each other can be understood as ingrained into their transnational modes of film making/marketing which showcases their influence on each other. Therefore, *Dredd* and *The Raid* are not as separate as their released dates indicate ahead of South Africa, Indonesia, and the UK's culturally entangled productions, their quest for global audiences, and the directors' pressure to financially sustain their films (transnationally), which all justify Evans' and Garlands' incentivization to imitate each other.

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