

Snakes on a Plane and the prefabricated cult film

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The “cult” film, and as a subset of this, the “bad” film, have been the focus of increased discussion and interest both in fan and academic circles over the past few decades. As Ernest Mathijs and Xavier Mendik reveal in their editorial introductions of the 2008 book “The Cult Film Reader”, since the 1980s there has been a vast increase in the numbers and types of films which receive the label of cult.¹ This growth reflects both an increase in the audience reception and identification with films as cult and the reflection of this cult viewership by a development of serious academic interest in the reading of various films as cult or paracinematic. Mathijs and Mendik’s collection of articles in the aforementioned reader highlights the most recent trend in this ‘cult’ phenomenon, attempting to discern a specific understanding of what falls within the classification of cult film. While the articles assembled in the collection reveal a multitude of approaches to the cult film, from the ontological to the phenomenological, the focus on intertextuality and genre to the cultural position and experience of the event, a central theme to the understanding of what produces a cult reading or cult following of a film presents itself: namely, that such definitions of cult film rely on or assume the presence of a film object. Eco’s investigation of intertextuality in *Casablanca* (1942) takes as a given that the film object which is *Casablanca* exists in a recognisable form,² while Anne Jerslev’s retelling of the 1979 screening of *The Big Sleep* (1946) in Copenhagen assumes the

fixed existence of Howard Hawk's film.³ In recent discussions of active fandom, which is often related to notions of cult film appreciation, Henry Jenkins' arguments for textual poaching and fan production in relation to such cult objects as *Star Trek* assumes the presence of the film object as a fixed and complete centre around which the cult of fandom emerges.⁴ In short, and to cite another attempt at defining cult films, "cult" is largely a matter of the ways in which films are classified in consumption."⁵ Whether viewed as a reading protocol or a set of definable textual characteristics, the classification of a film as "cult" occurs only with the understanding that it exists as a tangible film object.

In light of this, the focus of this paper is contrary to previous understandings of cult. As I will endeavour to argue, *Snakes on a Plane* (2006) presents an evolution in both the classification of cult film and in the reading of cultural phenomena in relation to the creation of the cult film object. Through a discussion of the film's fan experience and the development of the film object I will place the identification of the *Snakes on a Plane* cult not within the realm of consumption of a finished product or object, but rather in the realm of anticipation and highlight the way in which this location of the cult label resulted in the prefabrication of the cult film object.

As a title, a concept, a synopsis and even, in an extraordinary way, a philosophy, *Snakes on a Plane* says it all. With these four words, New Line Cinemas gave prospective audiences all the information they really needed about the High Concept, action/horror genre flick released in August 2006 – namely that it would be bad, terrible, god awful, and almost certainly a cult film hit. The resulting film, directed by David R Ellis and filmed for a budget of just over \$30 million USD, delivered all that this title promised and placed the film firmly within the ranks of the appreciably terrible creature features and disaster films which have made audiences cringe with something akin to a pulped version of Burke's delightful horror.

The film launches the Hawaiian-set story of tourist Sean Jones who witnesses the murder of an important American prosecutor by an LA based mobster: Eddie Kim. Sean, agreeing to testify, is placed on a Red-Eye flight to LA while Kim employs all his powers of absurdist logic to find retribution. At this point, some 25 minutes in, the film willingly dispenses with plot and shifts to its true points of focus: the plane, Pacific Air Flight 121; FBI agent Neville Flynn, played by Samuel L Jackson; and most importantly, the snakes, some 500 specimens, a mix of real and computer generated.

With its stars in place the film soon gets down to business, releasing crates of snakes into pheromone drenched economy cabins and into conduits containing the planes electrical wiring. Audiences are treated with the full glory of all things snakes can and can't do, from uncoiling spring like

from concealed nooks to bite in cringe-worthy places, to chewing rodent like through essential electrical caballing. As passengers and crew are endangered through various serpentine encounters, Jackson must rise to true “asp” kicking form to save the day and save his witness. The culminating effect, as Andrew Mueller suggested in “The Guardian” in May 2006, is a plot from which “no possible cinematic good can come.”⁶ Yet this is, I would argue, the very position that the film hopes to enjoy.

There is a fascination that bad films hold; that they have spawned an ever growing mass of literature and academic interest, not the least of which includes the Monash “B for Bad Cinema” conference that was the first home of this paper, provides evidence of their continuing appeal. Although the various bad films which have been created over the years easily outnumber even the numerous written accounts of such films, there are some which stand out from the deluge as being endearingly, even inspiringly terrible. Opening his 1986 book, “The World’s Worst Movies”, Tim Healey explains:

Sometimes the badness of a movie may stem from unusually wooden acting, a lame script or rickety props. But sometimes the concept itself enshrines a surreal idiocy which enhances all other defects, like a mutant herd of monster rabbits, or the pickling of Hitler’s brain in a bottle.⁷

In such company, the placing of deadly serpents on an aircraft seems hardly out of place, and it is within this cannon of cinematic texts that *Snakes on a Plane* willingly constructs itself.

The film object *Snakes on a Plane* (from here on referred to as *Snakes*) certainly positions itself within the discourse of bad film and more broadly cult film. To consider the film through what Mathijs and Mendik frame as the “philosophy of the cult film,”⁸ *Snakes* can be understood as answering to categorisations of cult in terms of both ontological and phenomenological readings of the category. To clarify and locate the use of each of these terms, I appeal to the definitions of these philosophical perspectives on cult cinema explored within “The Cult Film Reader.” In the introduction to section one of this volume, Mathijs and Mendik define an ontological approach to cult cinema as primarily one concerned with identifying formal, stylistic or thematic qualities which describe a cult film by what is *inside* the text and considers how this regulates its meaning.⁹ Through such an ontological reading of the film, *Snakes* can be understood to pay tribute to several commonly acknowledged qualities of the cult film, most notably issues of badness, hyperbolic exaggeration of genre, intertextuality and explicit and explicitly detailed violence.¹⁰ Yet the significance of

Snakes is that the film itself is the least important aspect of its filmic experience. Unlike previous cult films, the phenomenon of *Snakes* did not begin with the film's release and the reception of the film object, but rather with the audience anticipation spawned from the suggestion of a title. The fullest understanding of the cult of *Snakes* is then one which can more usefully be determined through a phenomenological reading. According to Mathijs and Mendik, phenomenological approaches, in regards to cult cinema, are subjectivist in that "they rely upon reception or audience research to generate evidence about how conditions *outside* the text regulate its meaning."¹¹ Through considering the effect of "outside conditions," including the features of a film that are attributed by audiences and through its reception, an understanding of cult cinema based on its place within a cultural context can be achieved. Here the benefit of a phenomenological reading of *Snakes* is revealed in its ability to cater for an investigation of the cult nature of the film's audience. Yet, considering the primary cult audience for *Snakes* is one of anticipation rather than reception, even the use of such a phenomenological reading breaks with its previous understandings through relying not on the cultural impact of the object but the anticipation of the film's cult potential.

The phenomenon of *Snakes* began over a year prior to the film's premiere with a title and a posting on a blog. On 17 August 2005, screenwriter Josh Friedman, who had been approached to work on an upcoming New Line film with the revised title of *Pacific Air Flight 121*, revealed with much relief that the film, then still in production, would be reverting to its original name: "*Snakes on a Plane*". The film owes much of its fascination to this self-evident title, Friedman himself explains:

It's a title. It's a concept. It's a poster and a logline and whatever else you need it to be. It's perfect. [...] It's the Everlasting Gobstopper of movie titles.¹²

He himself has taken this to heart, continuing:

I become obsessed with the concept. Not as a movie. But as a sort of philosophy. Somewhere in between "C'est la vie", "Whattya gonna do?" and "Shit happens" falls my new zen koan "Snakes on a Plane."¹³

Between the title and the "philosophy" of *Snakes on a Plane*, a phenomenon began to take form. Before the film had even concluded principal photography in September 2005, fans had begun creating merchandise, art, and dialogue for the incomplete film. The film became the meme¹⁴ of the moment – spreading from blog to forum to fan site to film dialogue fo-

rums like the now defunct Snakesonaplane.ning.com, a site which allowed fans to suggest and vote on lines of dialogue they'd like to see in the film.

Fan fashion quickly emerged with *Snakes on a Plane* T-shirts, along with a fan tag for the film; the title written characteristically as "SoaP." Posters, art and trailer clips emerged referencing the premise of the film and its lead star Samuel L Jackson's past filmography. In October 2005 fans Chris Rohan and Nathaniel Perry of Subatomic Warp collaboration added to the growing mass of fan-creations with an R-rated audio trailer for the film inspired by Jackson's 1994 *Pulp Fiction* role. The characteristic line "I want these motherfucking snakes off this motherfucking plane," authored in this trailer became a hit amongst the wider fan community and increasingly appeared in subsequent fan productions.

By the beginning of 2006 thousands of sites buzzed with news, threads, forums and fan creations in ode to the combination of Snakes, Planes and Samuel L Jackson. The hub of the online craze soon became purpose built blog, "Snakes on a Blog," written by Law student Brian Finkelstein with the express mission of gaining its author seats at the film's LA Premiere. Here Finkelstein catalogued the mass of fan productions emerging in anticipation of the film, along with official news and release information. The site detailed the active celebration of the film-to-be and provided the epicentre for the growing cult community.

The expanse of this fan production feeds directly into the understanding of the film as a cult phenomenon, and perhaps provides the most useful moment to illustrate how the film breaks with the traditional ordering of the allocation of the cult label. The active celebration of *Snakes*, as well as the cohesive community and commitment detailed through the manner and mode of the fan productions fits within notions of cult film consumption detailed by Mathijs and Mendik in their definition of what a cult film might be.¹⁵ Yet this apparent adherence of *Snakes* to notions of consumption is in itself paradoxical as in this case the cult film remains un-consumed and still un-consumable throughout its active celebration. The paradox of the un-consumed cult object is furthered through its cyberspace phenomenon, which can be understood as providing a moment of pre-filmic "Liveness". Mathijs and Mendik construct the notion of "liveness" as "what all film consumptions have in common...in which 'being there' and 'being part' become important..."¹⁶ The cult experience suggests an element of exclusivity and of awareness; as being part of an experience which somehow magnifies the cultural importance of the appreciation of the object. Often such "liveness" is associated with the midnight sessions of *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* (1975), or the one-off screenings such as Jerslev's recollection of *The Big Sleep*. Yet the phenomenon of *Snakes* produced its owned

lived experience, even if the “liveness” in this case is virtual. The ‘being tapped-in’ to the *Snakes* virtual experience, knowing the newest sites and the latest fan productions, replaced the “being there” of the cinema event. The official *Snakes on a Plane* website furthered this virtual liveness, posting links to the latest and greatest fan devotions to keep its community of admirers in the loop. The *Snakes* community shared the experiences of a multitude of fan-art, -trailers, -music videos, -songs, -poems, -fiction, -fashions, -parodies, blogs and miscellaneous websites which swept across cyberspace, the truly important information such as how to say “Snakes on a Plane” in Esperanto, Klingon and American sign language, all faithfully recorded by archivists such as Finkelstein and his “Snakes on a Blog.”

The archiving and the shared experience of *Snakes*’ fan production, which ranged from the amateur to the professional and included everything from song covers to purpose written ballads, trailers and short films, posters and photographic re-enactments, located *Snakes on a Plane* within a specific cultural moment and distinguished it as a cultural icon. Speaking of the role internet chatter and fan interaction plays in the recognition of the cultural icon, Barbara Klinger explains:

Ultimately, the sheer volume of commentary matters most, including the dissonant postings on message boards, the different visions of fan fiction, and the varied appropriations of e-cinema parodies. In their heterogeneity, such discourses help to canonize the text and sustain its presence in the public eye.¹⁷

From a deluge of trailers and clips depicting Lego figures or Barbie and Ken dolls facing the horrors of lolly snakes attacking toy or paper aeroplanes, a number of fan creations as well as their creators became well known within this rapidly expanding community. An entertaining and prolific fan, DCLugi, contributed a number of videos, illustrating the extent to which the online responses to *Snakes* were often lovingly laboured over. A particularly well known offering, DCLugi’s cover of U2s “Sometimes you can’t make it on your own”, titled “Someone tell Sam Jackson he’s my bro”, exemplifies the techniques employed in much of the fans’ creative response. The video clip, which echoes the film clip of the original U2 song, depicts DCLugi as a convincing Bono crooning in front of digitally entered publicity shots of Samuel L Jackson and cardboard cut-out snakes. DCLugi’s clip highlights the intertextuality common to fan productions, referencing Jackson’s work in films from *Pulp Fiction* to *Unbreakable* (2000). It further references the fan community itself with the inclusion of Subatomic Warp’s line, as well as denoting an awareness of broader popular culture with the inclusion of the otherwise unconnected U2 song.

While the magnitude of the fan response to the film canonises it within the cultural memory, this phenomenon of fan appropriation and creation within itself is not unique. Certainly a number of other films over the past decade have had a similar response, most notably sagas such as *Star Wars* (1977-2005) and *The Lord of the Rings* (2001-2003), as well as such films as Artisan's *The Blair Witch Project* (1999). The latter, in particular, marks the power of the internet in both creating hype for a film and illustrating the interactive tendencies of online fans. A very low budget (\$35,000 USD) film released by Artisan Entertainment in 1999 following an extensive campaign selling the film as a "true story," the online hype for *The Blair Witch Project* resulted primarily from the ingenious use of film's official website. Articles, diary entries and supporting evidence was posted by the creators of the film to develop the back story for the film and lend weight to the notion that the plight of the characters was in fact, fact. Following the release and success of the film the *Blair Witch* style was harnessed in a number of spoof and e-parodies of the film including such titles as the "*The Bewitched Project*" and "*The OZ Witch Project*."¹⁸ Numerous blogs and discussion boards also took up the topic of the film creating both pre and post film hype which similarly canonised the text within the cultural sphere.

Nor is such participatory responses of fans an internet only phenomenon. As Henry Jenkins reveals in his book *Textual Poachers*, through analogies to the tale of the children's story of the Velveteen Rabbit and the slightly more adult tale of "I Grok Spock," the appropriation and reinterpretation of authorised text by fans for the purpose of unauthorised production has long been an aspect of fandom, often realised in the writing of fan fiction or the discussion and re-appropriation of meanings within the original. As Jenkins explains:

...intense interaction eventually leads many fans toward the creation of new texts, the writing of original stories. [...] This modification need not be understood as textual "disintegration" but rather as home improvements that refit prefabricated materials to consumer desires.¹⁹

While the style and magnitude of the fan response to *Snakes* is not in itself new, the examples of *Star Trek* and *The Blair Witch Project* preceding the outpouring of fan production for the 2006 film, the timing of the fan response in relation to the film object does mark a distinct break with past examples. Unlike *Star Trek* and *The Blair Witch Project*, the re-writing of the original text in the case of *Snakes* precedes the realisation of the finished film. The largest and most interesting part of the *Snakes* fan phenomenon preceded the release of official trailers and plot information, and

in some cases even preceded the conclusion of principal photography on the film. This aspect of *Snakes* highlights the way in which it deviates from traditional understandings of fan interaction and cult appreciation.

The importance of the *Snakes* experience in shifting previous understandings of how cult fandom interacts with the film object is highlighted in the consideration of the many e-parodies of the film. *Cats on a Plane* (2006), a professional looking short film directed by Cory Strassburger, provides a great example of a *Snakes* e-parody, depicting a group of airline passengers who are systematically attacked by a number of domestic cats which have been genetically modified by a lonely yet well-meaning scientist. The short film, which references the generic elements of the creature/disaster film, constructs an entertaining and believable reworking of the *Snakes on a Plane* theme. If we understand, as Klinger posits, that “parody works by identifying distinctive aspects of the original and rewriting them into a new narrative context through exaggeration,”²⁰ then *Cats on a Plane* constitutes a parody of *Snakes on a Plane*. The elements of the “animal threat” and “aircraft” are identified as the central aspects of the “original” and are reworked within the short film to produce a new narrative which is different yet extraordinarily familiar beneath its excess. Such an assessment however creates a disparity and represents a confusion of what we have established as the governing rules of the parody. To again appeal to Klinger,

Parody depends absolutely on the imitation of previous works, representing a mode on intertextuality that foregrounds the inevitable interrelation of cultural practices.²¹

While *Cats on a Plane* certainly references the genre expectations of horror/suspense present in the film, the notion that it directly references the “original” text of *Snakes* is debunked as the film object’s release succeeded the parody by at least a month. Such circumstances were not unique in the experience of the *Snakes on a Plane* theatrical release, with the sale of the straight to DVD Mexican film *Snakes on a Train* (2006) preceding the official film’s premiere by mere days.

The cult phenomenon of *Snakes* is then characterised by primarily temporal considerations: namely the move towards pre-emptive celebration rather than considered reception in the fan community. Unlike traditional understandings of fan production following the original text, *Snakes* is marked by the volume of unofficial readings of the film prior to its existence in the public domain. Yet this anticipatory fan response achieved more than simply valorising the film and canonising it within the social sphere. The inverting of the traditional timeline for fan interaction and participation in rela-

tion to the cult object created a unique set of circumstances that ultimately allowed for the “official” film to be influenced by the expectations of a widespread fan community.

The *Snakes* experience highlights the point of convergence between cultures of production and consumption, specifically embodied by the studios and mainstream media, and the fans and film viewers, respectively. The consuming culture of the fan overlapped with the producing culture of Hollywood as fans exercised a direct influence on the production of the film. This overlap illustrates further the significance of *Snakes* as a new form of cult object. According to Klinger:

Because parody emphasizes the inevitable intertextuality that marks cultural production, there is a certain “chicken and egg” circularity to the issue of origins.²²

While Klinger understands this circularity as the recycling of concepts throughout the greater history of both cinematic and literary history, *Snakes on a Plane* realises this circularity of influence within its own film/fan relationship.

As the fan response to *Snakes* developed in a large part before any pertinent information about the film was released, following the close of principal photography in September 2005, New Line noted a disparity between fan expectations and the film which had been made. This disparity most clearly presented itself through the film’s relatively weak MPAA rating which seemingly failed to match fan expectations of the film’s content. In an inspired move, New Line chose to listen to its fans. As director David Ellis revealed:

Internet sites started tracking us as soon as ‘Snakes’ was announced ... And we were smart enough to listen to them. That’s better than hearing, after the fact, ‘Oh, we liked ‘Snakes on a Plane,’ but it would have been really cool if they had done this.²³

In response to the fan craze, New Line paid for five additional days of shooting in March 2006. Rather than a traditional re-shoot to fix plot holes or fill in additional footage, the purpose of the re-shoot was to raise the film from a family friendly PG-13 rating, to a fan friendly R-rating. The re-shoot brought the film in line with the growing fan expectations through upping the violence of the snake scenes and incorporating what Ellis termed “Mile High Club nudity.”²⁴ The re-shoot also saw the inclusion of fan-authored elements such as Subatomic Warp’s distinctive line of dialogue featuring Samuel L Jackson’s favourite 13-letter profanity.

Further to the inclusion of raunchier and more violent images and fan-

authored dialogue, New Line Cinemas made the fans' involvement official. In collaboration with social-networking site TagWorld.com, New Line cinemas announced a *Snakes on a Plane* soundtrack song competition. The prize, won by LA based Captain Ahab, was the inclusion of their song "Snakes on a Brain" in the film, while runner up, Loudon Swain, had their song included on the official soundtrack release.

As Mueller explains, "this interactive aspect is what makes *Snakes on a Plane* such a significant cultural moment."²⁵ Unlike previous internet crazes or moments of excessive fan production, *Snakes* marks the moment at which fan culture blurs with the producing culture to confuse the boundaries of production and consumption within the cultural sphere. In this way, Klinger's notion of the chicken and egg circularity of origins and influence is captured within the history of a single film. The film, which fed the creation of fan texts, in turn draws upon the fan production in the creation of the original. The fan then, rather than reading and re-writing the original to better meet their expectations as Jenkins' *Star Trek* fans might, participate in the construction of the original. The original is then a parasite of itself, existing at once and always in relation to the fan-produced re-readings of its prior non-existent self.

This moment confirms Jenkins' notion of "convergence culture." Jenkins develops an understanding of convergence culture as a means to articulate the interaction of different media types, specifically, interrogating the point at which traditional or authorised media and new grass-roots, unofficial media intersect and interact in new and unpredictable ways.²⁶ This notion is defined by Jenkins in relation to the experience of the Photoshopped images of "Evil Bert" cavorting with Osama Bin Laden, which circulated from their point of production at the hands of an American high school student in 2001, through traditional media interest and coverage and fed back into a cultish re-appropriation of the images. The "Evil Bert" images marked the realisation of convergence culture as they created a moment of collision between new and old media which resulted in a new form of interaction between the corporate media producers and the grass-root media consumers.²⁷ Such cultural phenomena finds resonance with *Snakes*, which can be understood as demonstrating a point of convergence culture through its role as a site of interaction between online fan production and corporate Hollywood media. The move by the producers of *Snakes* to include elements of the fans' grass-roots culture in the production of its corporate media text marks the collision of previously disparate cultural entities. Rather than a top down effect of traditional media informing the readings of grass-roots culture, *Snakes* highlights the repositioning of the "poser," conceived of as cultural appropriator and fan creator, within the role of creating a cir-

cular construction of cultural production. Through incorporating fan culture into the production of the film text, *Snakes* represents a tailor made cult object that conforms to the anticipated readings of its fan community.

The final filmic object of *Snakes on a Plane* can then be understood as revealing a prefabricated cult film. Re-shot and re-made to meet the expectations of a pre-formed cult community, the film itself was guaranteed to meet with an almost text-book cult reading. Rather than an organic cult formation growing up around the completed text, the *Snakes* cult was fashioned by a desire for the object to sustain and complete the cult community. Its cult status is then determined not through a reading of the completed film object, but rather the completed film object is developed in response to an anticipatory cult reading. While objectless, the *Snakes* cult had already cemented itself within the cultural moment through an imagining of a possible filmic text. It required only the film object to fulfil the “possible” and to realise the cult’s initial purpose. It is here then that *Snakes* reveals its most interesting evolution in the understanding of the application of the cult label to a particular film object. Rather than demonstrating a film which is classified as cult through consumption, *Snakes* illuminates the possibility to create a cult text through the reference to a pre-arranged cult community; a cult of anticipated reception rather than of a consumerist following.

While the theatrical release of *Snakes* did not meet the expectations raised by pre-release internet hype, the movie only making a mediocre \$15m USD opening weekend, the Box Office results of the film are arguably of less cultural importance than the film’s pre-release experience. In the end, the film itself was an inevitability, more the by-product of the *Snakes* anticipatory cult rather than the genesis for a cult following itself. Prefabricated through the producers’ recourse to fan desires and pre-determined as cult by the construction of a pre-lived experience of fan production, the cinematic “good” and the unique quality of the *Snakes on a Plane* phenomenon lay in its interaction with and inspiration of its fans and the studio’s recognition of the fact.

Through the volume, the nature and the interactive quality of the *Snakes on a Plane* fan response, the film not only achieved the endearing fan recognition as “bad”, but also marked an evolution of the role of the fan within the valorisation and ultimately propagation of cult film.

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NOTES

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- ² Umberto Eco, "Casablanca: Cult movies and intertextual collage" 1986, reproduced *The Cult Film Reader*, ed. Ernest Mathijs and Xavier Mendik (Berkshire, England: Open University Press, 2008) 67-75.
- ³ Anne Jerslev, "Semiotics by instinct: 'Cult film' as a signifying practice between film and audience" 1992, reproduced *The Cult Film Reader*, ed. Ernest Mathijs and Xavier Mendik (Berkshire, England: Open University Press, 2008) 88-99
- ⁴ Henry Jenkins, *Textual Poachers: Television fans and Participatory Culture*, (New York, NY: Routledge, 1992)
- ⁵ Mark Jancovich, Antonio Lazaro Rebol, Julian Stringer and Andy Willis (eds.), *Defining Cult Movies: The cultural politics of oppositional taste*, (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 2003) 1
- ⁶ Andrew Mueller, "The tale of a serpent" *The Guardian UK* 27 May 2006, date of access: 15 January 2009, <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/film/2006/may/27/culture.features>>
- ⁷ Tim Healey, *The World's Worst Movies*, (London: Octopus, 1986) 4
- ⁸ Mathijs and Mendik, *Cult Film Reader* 15
- ⁹ Mathijs and Mendik, *Cult Film Reader* 15
- ¹⁰ Mathijs and Mendik, *Cult Film Reader* 2-4
- ¹¹ Mathijs and Mendik, *Cult Film Reader* 16
- ¹² Josh Friedman, "Snakes on a Motherfucking Plane" *I Find Your Lack of Faith Disturbing* 17 August 2005, date of access: 22 March 2009, <<http://hucksblog.blogspot.com/2005/08/snakes-on-motherfucking-plane.html>>
- ¹³ Friedman, "Snakes"
- ¹⁴ A meme is a cultural item or idea which is transmitted through repetition from one mind to another – an analogy to the biological transmission of genes.
- ¹⁵ Mathijs and Mendik, *Cult Film Reader* 4-6
- ¹⁶ Mathijs and Mendik, *Cult Film Reader* 4
- ¹⁷ Barbara Klinger, *Beyond the Multiplex: Cinema, New Technologies, and the Home* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006) 225
- ¹⁸ Klinger, *Beyond the Multiplex* 213
- ¹⁹ Jenkins, *Textual Poachers* 52
- ²⁰ Klinger, *Beyond the Multiplex* 213
- ²¹ Klinger, *Beyond the Multiplex* 207
- ²² Klinger, *Beyond the Multiplex* 222

- ²³ David Ellis Cited Glenn Lovell, "For 'Snakes', buzz, blogs began early"
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- ²⁷ Jenkins, *Convergence Culture* 1-2