Sounds of young Afrikaners

Popular music and processes of social identification

in and around Pretoria, South Africa

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Research Master Thesis in African Studies

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Popular music and processes of social identification in and around Pretoria, South Africa

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'We understand it still that there is no easy road to freedom. We know it well that none of us acting alone can achieve success. We must therefore act together as a united people, for national reconciliation, for nation building, for the birth of a new world.'

- Nelson Mandela in his inaugural address May 10th 1994

'Een ding het intussen vir my duidelik geword: Dis nie 'n land vir sissies nie.'

- Fred de Vries in *Rigting Bedonnerd*

'Revoluties worden op schepen uitgeroepen, utopieën op eilanden geleefd. Dat er nog iets anders moet zijn dan het hier en nu, is een troostende gedachte.'

- Judith Schalansky in *De atlas van afgelegen eilanden*

'Our deepest fear is not that we are inadequate. Our deepest fear is that we are powerful beyond measure. It is our light, not our darkness, that most frightens us. Your playing small does not serve the world. There is nothing enlightened about shrinking so that other people won't feel insecure around you. We are all meant to shine as children do. It's not just in some of us; it is in everyone. And as we let our own lights shine, we unconsciously give other people permission to do the same.

As we are liberated from our own fear, our presence automatically liberates others.'

- Marianne Williamson in *A Return to Love*

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Acknowledgements.

'A man alone will not survive'.

With these words, my academic career started in 2007, when sociologist Geert de Vries started the first lecture during the bachelor Cultural Anthropology and Development Sociology at the VU University in Amsterdam. Now, at the end of my studies, I would like to start my master thesis with these words.

Alone, I would not have been able to carry out this research. I experienced a lot of support as many assisted, encouraged and inspired me. This research would not have started and ended without the help of Ineke van Kessel. I am grateful that I had such a sharp supervisor standing next to me to inspire me, increase my historical consciousness and stand behind me to encourage me. I also owe gratitude to Mirjam de Bruijn, who stimulated me to focus on popular culture. Also, great thanks to Harry Wels, whose time and patience guided me along the ways that eventually led to graduation.

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1 Introduction.

This thesis is about how young Afrikaners[1] identify with the concept of Afrikaner and ways in which popular culture is used to reflect and shape these processes. As a conceptual gateway for this thesis extensive research about processes of identification in general and in South Africa in particular is drawn upon. Hence, the aim is to explore the dynamics of the concept of Afrikaner by looking at the ways it is presented and perpetuated by popular culture. This section introduces background information (1.1), poses questions (1.2) and gives a chapter synopsis (1.3).

1.1 Background.

The release of Nelson Mandela in 1990 and the first free elections in 1994 are manifestations of changes that took place during the last decades of apartheid in South Africa. Although these changes did not come about from one day to another, the African National Congress (ANC), led by Nelson Mandela and the National Party (NP) with F.W. de Klerk as its leader, rapidly switched political positions. After decades of being the freedom movement and, legally and illegally, the opposition, the ANC became the ruling party. Since 1948, the NP had been in the position to introduce the body of laws that formed apartheid, but in 1994 it lost its position as the political elite.

How did these political shifts influence South African society? They represented a broader transition, which meant the end of an era in which (homeland) blacks were not regarded as South African citizens, and coloureds and Indians were seen as subordinate citizens. Apartheid policies shaped South African society and determined everybody's daily life. In the transition of South Africa to a multiracial democracy, reconciliation is a central term. This process of reconciliation, literally meaning restoring relations, works two ways: the white minority has to accept and adapt to the new situation and the black majority has to recognise the whites as a minority. As a result, all South Africans are

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[1] In South Africa, traces of apartheid are still visible, for example in the way people refer to themselves and others in terms of ethnicity. All ethnic labels that are used in this thesis (whites, blacks, Indians and coloureds), are used because of the current usage in South African society. For the purpose of this research I define 'Afrikaner' as a white, Afrikaans speaking resident of South Africa (see chapter 2.1.2.1 for more information). Although this research is about ethnicity and ethnicity is a core concept in social sciences, - I am convinced that the use of those ethnic labels is constructive to get insights in processes of identification - I believe that the continuing use of those labels in daily life is not constructive.

confronted with the question: Who are you in the 'new' South Africa? How do you relate to your fellow South Africans and how do you relate to your own population group?

One can argue that South Africans born after the end of apartheid, no matter what race, do not have personal memories about South Africa under apartheid rule, as they never voted for any political party or contributed to South African society under apartheid. They all grew up while Nelson Mandela was president and all of them are citizens of the rainbow nation. However, these young South Africans do have constructed memories and views about the past they never lived.

One can also argue that everybody is connected to the history of his or her country or family. And yet, there is a difference between young Afrikaners on the one side and young Indians, coloureds, blacks or English-speaking whites on the other side; they are connected to the turbulent history because they are white, speak Afrikaans and have distinctive surnames. In the case of young Afrikaners this history might be troublesome as some might see them as descendants of the perpetrators of apartheid. The search for new societal relations is illustrated by the debate that arises by the intended name change of Pretoria and changes of street names. This debate has brought tensions and sensitivities to the surface (Jansen 2009: 30) and it shows the importance of being able to name and rename the city and to maintain visibility of ones culture.

Questions arising from these issues are: How do young Afrikaners give meaning to the concept of Afrikaner? How are young Afrikaners confronted with the past in daily life? How do they give meaning to constructed perceptions of the past and does it lead to shame or pride?

In order to be able to start answering these questions, it is useful to connect them to theories of processes of social identification. These processes are mostly seen as ways in which identities are constantly reconsidered and redefined: identities have a fluid, open-ended nature and are constantly being reconstructed, resulting in identities that are fragmented and dependent on contexts (Zegeye 2001: 1). It is therefore difficult to capture these dynamics, as the process of evolving identities is an ongoing one. Central to the discussion about identification is the dichotomy between 'us', 'the self' and 'them', 'the other'. It is by the confrontation between the self and the other that a notion of belonging and identity arises (for example, Ceuppens&Geschiere 2005). The roots of this

dichotomy are widely discussed in academic literature, for example by the social psychologist Henri Tajfel (1982), political scientists James L. Gibson and Amanda Gouws (2000) and Kurai Masenyama, sociologist, (2005). But is it reasonable to present processes of identification as ongoing and fluid? What if identity becomes subject of political debates? And in what ways can insights into these processes be found? Chapter two elaborates on these topics referring to academic literature.

To get insight into these complex dynamics of identification an appropriate tool is needed. Sociologist, political scientist and Africanist Denis-Constant Martin (2013) focuses on the relation between culture and politics. He provided three main categories of types of building blocks that are used in processes of identification: memories of the past, space and territory and popular culture. His special interest is on the role of popular culture and how it expresses communal identities.

Popular culture is one of the most visible ways in which young people express themselves. It is often said that in Europe in the 1980's, punk rock bands were popular, because they gave a highly educated, unemployed youth a voice about social issues they were facing. Apart from this, by consuming popular culture young people are also influenced by it. Popular culture might create a feeling of togetherness and as a result emotions might be intensified.

Furthermore, popular culture is often treated as a social practice, emphasising the complex dynamics in which abstract models and concepts are embedded to be able to better understand those processes of identification, as musicologist and social anthropologist Sara Cohen (1993: 123) argues. Michael Stasik (2010), who conducted research on the music scene of Sierra Leone, emphasises the role of music functioning as a societal 'mirror', in which it is 'taken as a reflection of prevalent social discourses and realities and, furthermore, as a representation of broader societal traits and structures' (Stasik 2010: 21). Music expresses personal characteristics, like a perception of the world and concerns, but also emotions, like joy and anger. The music one listens to might tell something about the subculture one wants to belong to. Even more interesting is the way in which these groups represent themselves and how they try to, by using popular music, include and exclude people. Popular music literally gives young people a voice to be heard. Popular music as consumed and produced by mainly young Afrikaners

poses the question: 'Who are you in the new South Africa, as Afrikaner?'

1.2 Research Questions.

This background information led to the following research question:

- In what ways do young white Afrikaners identify with the concept of Afrikaner when looking through the prism of popular music?

In other words, how does popular music reflect processes of identification, and how does it shape these processes?

The three sub questions link the prominent concepts of popular music, processes of identification and Afrikaners:

- What does the concept of white Afrikaner mean to young Afrikaners?
- How does popular music influence processes of social identification?
- What does the field of popular music (as consumed and produced by mainly Afrikaners) look like in South Africa?

By aiming to answer these questions, a combining of theories and empirical data are used. The theoretical part has already been briefly introduced: an elaboration follows throughout chapter two.

1.3 Thesis Outline.

Firstly, chapter two consists of a literature review, addressing the topics mentioned above, such as processes of identification (2.1) and the relation with music (2.2). Section 2.2.1 elaborates on the distinction between mainstream and progressive music. Chapter three continues with background information on the scene of the fieldwork (3.2) and prominent institutions (3.2.3). A clarification of the methodological basis of this research is presented in chapter four (4.1). This research is about perceptions of people, therefore it cannot solely rely on media discourses or surveys. What is needed is empirical data that studies Afrikaners in their daily lives. The practical issues – including background information of location and informants - is given in section 4.2, followed by ethical concerns (4.3), innovative and academic relevance (4.4), social relevance (4.5),

limitations of this research (4.6) and suggestions for further research (4.7). Chapter five explores the case of the 'De la Rey' phenomenon: a song that gave new life to the vivid debate about social identification in South Africa (5.1). It also illustrates several relations one can have with the past (5.2), history education (5.3) and the Boetman Debate (5.4). Experiencing loss is an often-returning topic in this research, section 5.5 elaborates on this issue, illustrated by a narrative by students (5.5.1).

Chapter six explores the case of mainstream versus progressive music by focussing on mainstream music. Several festivals and artists are analysed to show that mainstream music can be used to create and shape a certain image of Afrikaners. What is this image? How do they give meaning to the past? And what is the underlying interest of these artists? The Pretoria *Musiekfees* is introduced (6.1), with attention to the location (6.1.1), occasion (6.1.2), marketing (6.1.3) and performers (6.1.4). Steve Hofmeyr, a prominent artist and activist for Afrikaans is introduced in chapter 6.1.4.1.

Chapter seven focuses on progressive music, which aims to question given notions about Afrikaners. Why do they try to question those given notions? Moreover, what are these notions? What is their relation with the past of Afrikaners, and what is their message? Is there really a sharp difference between mainstream and progressive music? Chapter 7.1 introduces the Voëlvry Movement, which faced these issues in the 1980s. Furthermore, Oppikoppi festival is introduced (7.2), with attention to the occasion (7.2.1), location (7.2.2), audience (7.2.3) and performers (7.2.4). In this regard, Fokofpolisiekar is introduced, because they are one of the icons of this genre (7.2.4.1). Chapter eight aims to present a summary and tries to answer the questions posed in chapter 1.2.

2 Literature Review.

Before introducing the framework of literature, the most important assumption of this research must be stated: the 'Afrikaner community' is diverse and dynamic as a whole. Afrikaners are often presented as one ethnic group with one interest and one history. This is not the case and it is therefore impossible to investigate the meaning of music or history for the entire Afrikaner community, simply because this community does not exist. This research, however, tries to explore the meaning of music to a selection of young Afrikaners in and around Pretoria by keeping the diversities and dynamics in mind. Section 4.2.1. further elaborates on the informants of this research.

In the introduction, some important theories on processes of identification have been introduced. This chapter explores those theories by emphasising the context-dependent nature (2.1), the interaction between belonging and globalisation (2.1.1) and the preservation and emergence of boundaries between the self and the other (2.1.2). These three themes are chosen, because processes of identification take place in changing contexts and consider 'processes taking place *between* people' (Eriksen 2002: 59) to distinguish between 'us' and 'them'. Attention is also given to the debate on structure and agency in this matter. Section 2.1.2.1 elaborates on literature in which considerations about Afrikaner identity are discussed. Furthermore, attention is given to popular music and questions what is meant by 'popular' music. Finally, mainstream versus popular music is discussed (2.2.1). Theories on relations between processes of identification and popular music are further explored in the chapter 'The story of a song' (5.1), with reference to the popularity of one particular song.

2.1 Processes of Identification.

Processes of identification are related to questions of belonging: a concrete example is a passport that shows to which nation state one legally 'belongs'. However, where one legally belongs does not per se represent that person. Processes of identification are about how one perceives oneself, how one relates to others and how one gives meaning to his or her place in society. Identity can therefore not be seen as singular, but rather as a mosaic of identities: one person relates in many different ways to his or her surroundings, because one might be a student, friend, South African, chess player,

Afrikaner and daughter at the same time. It depends on the context which identities are most prominent. Identity is therefore in the process of constantly reconstructing and redefining. The words of social anthropologist Hylland Eriksen (2002) about ethnicity refer to this phenomenon:

> 'Research on ethnicity has opened up exciting new fields in social anthropology, and it still has much to offer. Nonetheless, we ought to be critical enough to abandon the concept of ethnicity the moment it becomes a straitjacket rather than a tool for generating new understanding' (Eriksen 2002: 178).

These are a few of the questions arising from this understanding of identity: How does the notion of belonging arise? How are notions of identity influenced? What can be the consequences of a strong notion of belonging? And under which circumstances does identity become important? The following section aims to gather understandings concerning these questions by using literature.

2.1.1 Belonging and Globalisation.

When talking about identities and the sense of belonging, anthropologists Bambi Ceuppens and Peter Geschiere (2005) make use of the terms autochthones and allochthones. They tried to argue that autochthones could claim 'natural' belonging, because of authenticity, in contrast to 'strangers', allochthones or even 'fake' autochthons (Ceuppens and Geschiere 2005: 386-387, 403). Being able to claim space and territory is one of three main building blocks that are used in processes of identification, as also Martin (2013) argues. 'Natural' belonging offers answers to questions about belonging. It may however also invoke stasis as a norm, where autochthony needs movement as a counterpoint to define itself (Ceuppens and Geschiere 2005: 386-387, 403).

Processes of globalisation are a major change in the world. The issue of belonging is fuelled by globalisation; cultural material crosses national boundaries via different flows (ethnoscape, financescape, technoscape, mediascape and ideoscape) (Appadurai 1990: 598). This material, whether it is goods, ideas, money, ideology or media, leads to an interaction between these flows and the closed nation states (Meyer&Geschiere in Ceuppens&Geschiere 2005: 387). Physical boundaries are by-passed, for example, the

state and its physical, political borders. This, however, results in a 'global conjuncture' of widely different trends that all converge towards a growing concern with belonging (Li in Ceuppens&Geschiere 2005: 387). Processes of globalisation seem to go hand-in-hand with processes of historical particularism. South Africa lost its pariah status in international relations since the 1990's and it became part of the global community and subject to processes of globalisation (Berger 2009: 154, 159).

Therefore, it seems that the discussion about autochthony and belonging is linked to intensifying processes of globalisation. Several cases show that democratisation and globalisation increased the fear of locals of being outvoted by 'strangers' (Ceuppens&Geschiere 2005: 386, 389). In this line of arguing, the search for a natural belonging is born out of fear amongst autochthones to lose their status (ibid: 390). Moreover, current debates on autochthony are driven by a basic insecurity, resulting in a virulent undertone. It represents a turn and leads to the deadlocked discourse of internal division and violence (ibid: 396, 403).

These autochthony debates are applicable to situations taking place all over the world, on larger or smaller scales. Within this research, these theories are used to analyse a few developments among Afrikaner students in South Africa. In the past, fear among Afrikaners of losing the dominant position in South Africa increased, resulting in an ideology of ethnic survival. Eventually, this fear led to a series of policies aiming to protect the status of Afrikaners, known as apartheid (Giliomee 2011: xviii). When looking into current events in South Africa, other manifestations of these fears are also found. One of them was the outburst of xenophobic violence in 2008 against guest labourers who found scarce jobs in the Gauteng Province. The violence led to the death of more than fifty people, about 10,000 refugees and 297 arrests (Website Mail&Guardian 2008). So, who 'the other' or 'stranger' is, depends on the situation: it might be blacks, as during the apartheid era, or guest labourers as in 2008, or others, as illustrated throughout this research.

To sum up, it is difficult to capture dynamics of identification, as the process of evolving identities is an ongoing one. Central to the subject of identification is the dichotomy between 'us', 'the self' and 'them', 'the other'. It is by the by the fear of losing status and the confrontation between the self and the other that notions of belonging and identity

arise. But where does the notion of belonging and boundaries between 'us' and 'them' arise? How are these boundaries reinforced? Moreover, what do these boundaries tell us? And is it possible to identify 'building blocks' on which processes of identification take place?

2.1.2 Boundaries.

As introduced earlier, notions of identities have a fluid, open-ended nature and are constantly being reconstructed, resulting in identities that are fragmented and dependent on the context, as argued by sociologist Abebe Zegeye (2001: 1). As a result, identities are abstract and exist through the capability of imagination. Identity is a *perception* of a shared status or relation (Boersema 2013: 27, *my emphasis).* One of the most prominent authors in this field is probably political scientist and historian Benedict Anderson (1991). He emphasises the importance of perception and imagination, because he emphasises the modern and abstract nature of communities in general, and the nation state in particular. Mass media and the printed book feed the feeling of belonging and can mobilise strong passions among its members (Eriksen 2001: 278).

However, communities are not only created and directed with the tools of symbols and language. Historian Lize van Robbroeck argues that it is mostly through crisis and confrontation with others that an identity arises (Van Robbroeck 2008: 125). The confrontation leads to an assessment of characteristics that one cannot identify with, the negative way, instead of identifying what one does associate with, the positive way (Winichakul 1994: 16). Negative ways of identifying creates a boundary between 'us', or 'autochthones' and 'them' or 'allochthones', and by the same token unifies; it may lead to a positive feeling about the self (Taylor and Moghaddam in Gibson and Gouws 2000: 279).

One of the most influential publications on the issue of ethnicity and social identification is social anthropologist Fredrik Barth's edited collection *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969). In the introduction Barth argues that processes of identification are political and social, rather than cultural phenomena. Furthermore, he argues that it is 'the ethnic *boundary* that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses' (Barth 1969: 15).

Since the introduction of this constructivist approach, the focus shifted from objective commodities towards understanding informants' beliefs, perceptions and understandings (Boersema 2013: 38).

Barth shifts the focus from the study of shared cultures to the study of boundary maintenance. By doing so, he explains the importance of imagination and how major cultural differences can exist within a single ethnic group. Imagined differences contribute to different perceptions, also between informants of this research. For example, for some informants constructed understandings of the past might be a source of pride, such as among the students of AfriForum *jeug*, and for some it might be a source of shame, as illustrated by the Boetman Debate. Eriksen formulates Barths argument as follows:

> 'The groups perceive themselves as different, and interacted on that assumption, proving their difference, to themselves and each other, through their interaction' (Eriksen 2001: 127).

To be able to draw a line between 'us' and 'them', boundaries need a firm base. Karen Cerulo (1997), professor in sociology, argues that these identity politics and 'social movements' represent a self-conscious form of agency, namely a 'collective agency'. This collective agency influences the perceptions of history, cultural arrangements and defines appropriate arenas for social, collective action. This results in a widely-shared meaning across the participants to generate hierarchy and generate the importance of the value of collective identities (Cerulo 1997: 394, 395).

This self-conscious form of identities eventually leads to an understanding of identity 'as the product of personal choice; a social category individuals actively decide to adopt or stress' (Waters in Cerulo 1997: 389). Moreover, agency, instead of structure, is a key term: people are in the position to act within the structural constraints imposed by power on their bodies (Eriksen 2001: 129), especially when a collective identity is stigmatised, as is the case in Boersema's research on Afrikaners as a moral community in transition, where people have the agency and will to respond (Boersema 2013: 27).

Does it mean that, although processes of identification are fluid, people might try to guide this process in a certain direction? That the concept of Afrikaner is a constructed

one and that it is utilised to serve certain interests?

Martin (2013) provides insights in these matters by identifying three categories of building blocks on which processes of identification take place. The first category is material consisting of constructed memories of the past. Those constructed memories provide ancientness, distinguish a group from other groups and legitimise power relations or the demand of increase of power. Constructed memories are important for the creation of identities, because it offers the past to the present and reveals roots and causes of present notions of the self. However, memories are not representations of history, they are rather selections, (re)constructions and (re)interpretations of past events, depending on the circumstances. Memories fill the gaps of official history by creating myths about historical events, figures and places (Martin 2013: 5 – 7).

The second building block is space and territory, because, according to Martin, 'memory is rooted in space' (Martin 2013: 6). Space and territory are transformed and given meaning to by the people who occupy the space and territory, and eventually 'a territory modelled and remodelled by human action may become one of the identity symbols of the group that occupies it' (Di Méo in Martin 2013: 6). Territory can become disputed between different groups who consider it their own. Naming and renaming, songs about the history of this territory, these are all ways of giving meaning to space and territory (Martin 2013: 5 – 7).

The third building block consists of popular culture. Shared symbolic codes, collective memory and events are used to distinguish different groups and to intensify cohesion, for example by music festivals, language and songs. These festivals are used to mobilise people who are supposed to belong to a certain group and to deliver a message. This message can at the same time present the group as a homogeneous entity to the 'outside' world, as well as increase the feeling of togetherness and belonging (Martin 2013: 5 – 7).

> 'The aim of identity entrepreneurs is precisely to convince individuals to choose and support a group whose borders these entrepreneurs define in order to make it appear unique, exclusive and pure' (Martin 2013: 7).

These three categories of building material in the process of constructing identities - memory and perceptions of the past, space and territory and popular culture - are used

to make people believe that they belong to a group. In this approach, music is a tool in the construction of identities.

The three building blocks of Martin are useful. However, an important aspect is hidden: the importance of language. Martin acknowledges the importance of language, as popular culture – and music in particular – consist of sounds and lyrics (Martin 2013: 27). This research however focuses on the perception of young Afrikaners and how they identify with the label 'Afrikaans' by looking at popular music. An important characteristic of the two music genres of popular music is that they are both performed in Afrikaans. Also, the importance of language is a returning topic in the debate about the name change of Pretoria, the introduction of two main festivals and interviews with students. The following section highlights a few considerations on the role of language.

2.1.2.1 Afrikaner Identities and Language.

Before drawing attention to the term Afrikaner and the role of language, it must again be stated that Afrikaners, no matter how they identify, are not an isolated, fixed ethnic entity in South African society. For the sake of this research, attention is only paid to white Afrikaans-speaking youth who identity themselves, if not otherwise stated, as Afrikaners. However, it also emphasises that speaking Afrikaans does not automatically mean that one identifies as Afrikaner. The researcher is fully aware that processes of identification also happen in reaction to other population groups and cross all those boundaries.

This chapter draws attention to the events surrounding the emergence of the term Afrikaner and puts these events into perspective. Furthermore, it introduces research that underlines the central role of language in identity by referring to quantitative research. Students interviewed for this research mainly considered themselves as Afrikaners, because they are white, speak Afrikaans and have a long history in South Africa. Family histories in particular are a source of good stories about roots in South

Africa. Without asking for it, some informants started to elaborate on their ancestors, sometimes going back to the time Jan van Riebeeck[2] landed at the Cape.

From this period, fifty-five years after Van Riebeeck had set foot at the Cape, an interesting story about the young man Hendrik Biebouw remains. The story goes that in March 1707, the *landdrost* of Stellenbosch found four men racing on horsebacks in a drunk state. As they caused chaos, the *landdrost* ordered them to leave and tried to hit them with a whip. Biebouw, one of those young men, then spoke the historical words: 'I shall not leave, I am an Africaander, even if the *landdrost* beats me to death or puts me in jail. I shall not, nor will be silent'[3]. By doing so, he was the first person to refer to himself as Afrikaner or Africaander. Eventually, the *landdrost* did put them in jail and gave the order to banish the four men. Biebouw's name was deleted from the Stellenbosch census a year later and he ended up in Australia after a shipwreck, as reconstructed in the 'biography of a people' of historian and political scientist Hermann Giliomee (2011: 22).

Fred de Vries (2012), a Dutch journalist who travelled through South Africa and spoke with a wide range of Afrikaners about losing political power and manage the new situation, provides interesting background information on Biebouw that puts the event in perspective: Biebouw was the son of Dietlov from Germany, a respected assistant of a doctor. Dietlov bought a slave in Cape Town with whom he had a daughter. Willemijntjie Adriaanse became his second wife, who originated from Rotterdam, the Netherlands and arrived in the Cape in 1688 with a group of Huguenot refugees. Willemijntjie and Dietlov had four children, including Hendrik. Hendrik Biebouw was a first generation South African from the Cape, with a half-sister who would not regard herself as European.

According to De Vries, this particular event marked the emergence of a new people: Afrikaanders of Afrikaners, who wanted to detach from the subservience to the Dutch East India Company. De Vries made the rather dramatic statement that Biebouw is the symbol of the Afrikaner urge for freedom, manifesting itself in several other historical events (De Vries 2012: 4, 5). This statement raises many questions, but it is true that the concept of Afrikaner is still vivid and surrounded by discussion.

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[2] On instructions of the Dutch East India Company (VOC), Jan van Riebeeck founded a settlement at the Cape of Good Hope on April 6th 1652 (Giliomee 2011: 1). This is more than 360 years ago, so eighteen generations!

[3] *... ik wil niet loopen, ik ben een Afrikaander, al slaat die landrost mijn dood, of al setten hij mijn in den tronk, ik sal, nog wil niet swygen* (Giliomee 2011: 22, De Vries 2012: 4).

Several authors, who publish about the question why Afrikaner is such a vivid concept, agree that language is inextricably connected to Afrikaners: 'Yet, it [language] is also the place where our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity, is constructed' (Weedon in Goldschmidt 2003: 216). In addition, Vincent Crapanzano, historian and professor in comparative literature states that '*taal*[4] gives the Afrikaners their identity', because it is the product of their historical fight for recognition (Crapanzano 1986: 30). 22% of the students of the Rand Afrikaans University in Johannesburg change language depending on their situation. 90% believes that language is the most important aspect of their identity (Goldschmidt 2003: 213, 217).

The importance of language became also visible when talking to students who might refer to themselves as Afrikaners because of the context in which they are raised, but they do not present themselves as such. Those informants, for example, prefer to speak English in public. There might be two different reasons for this language choice: firstly, they are either ashamed of speaking Afrikaans and do not want to be associated with the perpetrators of apartheid, or secondly, the language does not have any meaning for them. English is the language they use on a daily basis, so why should they suddenly speak Afrikaans? The choice of language might tell something about how these students refer to themselves and identify. One can choose what language to speak, in contrast to skin colour or surname.

An important note on the side: that Afrikaans is important in processes of identification does not only apply to white Afrikaners, because the majority of Afrikaans speakers are coloureds. According to the census of 2011, 13.5% of all South Africans regard Afrikaans as their mother tongue; for whites it is 60.8% and for coloureds it is 75.8% (Statistics South Africa 2011a: 27). Alfred Thutloa and Kate Huddlestone (2011), both linguists, investigated the importance of Afrikaans among Western Cape coloureds and concluded that although shifting to English might lead to an increase of prestige and socio-economic mobility, it appears that a 'community's own sense of self and cultural and/or linguistic identification acts as a buffer against a new language' (Thutloa and Huddlestone 2011: 66).

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[4] Afrikaans for language

The role of language is included in the analysis on how to understand processes of identification among informants of this research. As stated before, in order to be able to gather understandings, this research focuses on one of the building blocks on which processes of identification take place: popular music. Music mobilises people, serves to contribute to underlying sentiments, gives voice to young people and represent those groups. However, the term 'popular music' as used in this research poses a few questions: where does this term come from? Who decides what music is popular? Is it the audience or the artists? And what is the interaction between the two? The following section elaborates on these questions and argues that the occasion on which the music is performed also influences the meaning people give to the music.

2.2 Popular Music.

Karin Barber, cultural anthropologist with particular interest in popular culture in Africa, questions the European notion of 'popular' as the attitude towards 'the people' (1987: 6). She argues that this notion of popular is copied to Africa, where more complex factors appear: the distinction between popular, folk, rural art and high, classic urban art does not apply. Another, even more pressing problem, is the notion of 'the people', who in Africa, as in Europe, consist of a heterogeneous group of people, carrying out different rituals and having different attitudes (Barber 1987: 6). So, is the understanding of popular culture as culture for 'the people' a helpful one? And if not, how is it decided what is popular and what is not?

Barber mentions that popular culture is mainly defined by what it is not: it is neither traditional nor elite culture. This problematic understanding of popular culture is a reflection of the nature of popular culture (Barber 1987: 9, 11). She implies that the culture is directed to the audience as popular culture. This in contrast to Stasik (2010), who in his research on popular music audiences in Sierra Leone argues that music is not produced as popular music, but that it becomes popular by the meaning consumers give to it. There is no distinction between popular and classic music before it reaches the audience and they are the required force in processes of constituting popular music (Stasik 2010: 23).

This research about music and Afrikaners assumes that the audience makes the

differentiation between classic and popular music. It would however be naive to take only this assumption as a starting point for the analysis, because the audience adopts and adapts the music to its own reality. Stasik's argument might suggest that the context in which a song is adopted is created by a given structure.

It is argued that these realities are not fixed either and that these realities can be influenced by, for example the occasion and motives of the festival. This becomes visible when taking a look at the Russian feminist punk rock band Pussyriot. Their lyrical themes include feminism and political opposition, but even more controversial is their guerrilla technique of performing. With the combination of these themes and the performance in a cathedral, they amplified their message and increased the effect of their protest song. A song does not only establish meaning through the lyrics or the audience, but also through the situation in which it is used. When using this approach, underlying motives for the use of music become visible.

Therefore, the meaning of music is not only in the hands of the audience, but also in the hands of the people who create a certain atmosphere at the places where performances take place: the artists, the organisers of festivals and the sponsors.

Furthermore, as introduced in the literature review, identities are not fixed and one-dimensional. Identities are seen as a constructed mosaic of different, context dependent aspects. One's identity is highly context dependent, meaning that depending on the situation some aspects of one's identity may come to the forefront, and some may move to the background. How music is adapted and adopted therefore links to the context, as identities that are at the forefront depend on the context that may be influenced by the occasion and motivations of the event.

So, popular music is music that becomes popular by the audience that consumes it, adopts and adapts it. Moreover, how music acquires meaning depends on the context in which people consume it. As identity is context-dependent, the ways in which music in adapted also depends on the context. The empirical part of this research includes an analysis of the festivals in which music is consumed. Within this research, a distinction is made between mainstream and popular music. The following section elaborates on this issue.

2.2.1 Mainstream vs. Progressive Music.

The first and most prominent area in this thesis concerns popular music. To construct data, observations from festivals, shows, gatherings and interviews with students and artists are gathered. This research does not claim to include the entire music industry in South Africa. For the sake of this research, only mainstream and progressive music is taken into account and this research does not include influences from international artists or other music genres.

The first genre, mainstream music, mostly expresses sentimental romantic themes. By doing so, it confirms given perceptions of what it means to be Afrikaner, because the lyrics are about braai, religion, nationalistic sentiments, love and rugby and it sounds like *boeremusiek*[5] as characterised by anthropologist Kees van der Waal, and Steven Robins, sociologist and anthropologist (Van der Waal and Robins 2011: 764). Furthermore, it can be said that this popular music is used to encourage and strengthen a solid and stable notion of Afrikaners. It appears that performances of Steve Hofmeyr and the *Pretoria Musiekfees*[6] are important examples that distribute ideas on what being Afrikaner means. In the words of Andries Visagie, of the department of Afrikaans from the University of Pretoria and known for his research on the role of literature in the process of emancipation of Afrikaner men, popular music confirms, and progressive music examines and questions[7].

The role of mainstream music can be illustrated when focussing on the apartheid era. The structure of this society was meticulously planned by policies and determined the daily lives of all South Africans. Patterns of segregation aimed to construct a complex system in order to control the labour and movement of Africans by the strengthening of existing structures of segregation and the addition of new structures. It also 'defined and separated the country's four officially designated racial groups – Africans, coloureds, Indians and whites. To every extent possible, the boundaries between African ethic communities were sharpened' (Berger 2009: 114). Before and during the apartheid era,

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[5] *Boeremusiek* is an Afrikaans music genre in which the concertina (a type of accordeon) is one of the main instruments. Sokkiesokkiedans and boeremusiek go together: people will spontaneously grab each other to perform this type of ballroom dancing.
[6] Also see my contribution to the Annual Report 2012 of the African Studies Centre, page 26.
[7] 'Steve Hofmeyer, dat is soort muziek van, echt populaire muziek. Bevestigend van, niet bevraagtekenend ofzo, maar de andere groepen, de andere bands die je genoemd hebt, die zijn wel een beetje meer onderzoekend, bevraagtekekend'. Quote from an interview with Andries Visagie on September 7th 2012.

the FAK (Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Associations)[8] collected songs that contributed towards Afrikaner political mobilisation[9].

The new edition of the FAK song collection includes songs that originated during the Great Trek and songs from the last decades. Babette Viljoen, singer of the group 'Ken jy tant Mossie', aims to modernise FAK songs, because she wants to contribute to the continued existence and appreciation for especially the old songs. 'We want the youth to remember what our roots are'[10], is her main motive. Most of the new songs confirm given notions of Afrikaners and sing about love and topics from daily life, such as food, rugby and family. One of the new songs in the collection is 'Heaven on Table Mountain'[11] by Kurt Darren, a popular love song:

> I can remember the first kiss,
> Laurika on the radio.
> It is like a song – you are my number one,
> you love me and I love you,
> together we have build a house,
> a humble beginning, but this is enough for now.
>
> This is heaven on Table Mountain,
> an angel lies besides me,
> and this is all I want.
> And it is raining in the *Klein Karoo*,
> there is gold on the cornfields,
> I have got peace of mind.
> This is everything I want to say,
> it is raining in the *Klein Karoo*[12].

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[8] *Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge*

[9] The first edition of the FAK *sangbundel* was published in 1937. In 2012, 75 years after the first publication, a new edition was published including new songs, such as 'De la Rey' (see chapter 5).

[10] *En ons wil hê die jong mense moet weet waar kom ons vandaan, want hierdie liedjies kom uit die Voortrekker dae, jy weet, wat hulle gesing het met die ossewaens en die kampvure, so ja, dis eintlik maar om te onthou, hoofsakelik.* Excerpt from the interview with Babette Viljoen on *Aardklop Nasionale Kunstefees* on October 5th 2012.

[11] *Hemel op die Tafelberg*

[12] *Die eerste soen kan ek onthou / Laurika op die radio / Ek lewe 'n lied - jy's my nommer een / Jy's lief vir my en ek vir jou / Saam het ons 'n huis gebou / 'n Klein begin, maar dis genoeg vir nou / En dis hemel op Tafelberg / Daar's 'n engel wat langs my lê / En dis alles wat ek wil hê / Mmm en dit reën in die Klein Karoo /*

The second genre of popular music can be described as progressive music with mostly punk-rock bands and rap formations, such as Fokofpolisiekar and Die Antwoord. Their outspoken lyrics are about socio-political situations they find themselves in, as white Afrikaans speaking middle and upper class. They also delve into issues of religion and their own view on the role of religion. With their lyrics and performances they try to break away from the given notion of Afrikaners. They question given notions about Afrikaners and try to keep the options about those notions open. As a result, they aim to create an atmosphere in which the term Afrikaner can be discussed.

When looking at the categorisation of the two music genres, the following questions arise: How is music used to disseminate and confirm certain conceptions of *Afrikanerdom*? What questions are posed about these conceptions? Who is doing this? What does the popularity of these artists tell us about an underlying sentiment? And, is there a sharp difference between mainstream and progressive music?

2.3 Summary.

The previous chapter showed that it is through 'the other', whether it is autochthones or allochthones or commodities that bypass physical boundaries, that identities are developed. This development is an abstract process; crises and confrontations lead to an imagined idea of the self. However, this imagination becomes real in its consequences, because people act on the assumption of differences. These differences are amplified by a perception of boundaries that confirms and intensifies the difference between 'us' and 'them'. Those boundaries might be constantly reconstructed as an incomprehensible process, but they might also be the subjects of identity politics. The constructivists view on identity uses agency as a key term; collective agency - a self-conscious form of agency - influences perceptions of history and cultural arrangements. Popular music is one of those cultural arrangements and it influences perceptions of 'us' and 'them'.

The discussion on popular music shows the interaction between producers of music and the audience. It is this interaction through which music becomes popular. Most

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En daar's goud nou op die koringlande / Daar's 'n stilte in my gemoed / En dis alles wat ek wil sê / Mmm ja dit reën in die Klein Karoo.

important is the audience that adopts the music to fit its own circumstances, because without the audience there would be music, but no popular music. Furthermore, festivals or performances might have other intentions than just promoting the music. When festivals are organised by unions and spread an ideal or political message, music becomes a tool in the creation of identities. In a country where 'everything is politics'[13], this approach reveals hidden motives and demonstrates that music is more than a song.

The relation between music and social identification can be summarised as follows: 'music is one of the expressive means through which a cultural group constructs its identity' (Arom and Alvares-Pereyre in Martin 2013: 3). Music shapes, asserts and expresses abstract notions of belonging and shared identities. Music brings people together in physical spaces like music venues, festivals, bars, performances, but also in virtual spaces, such as radio stations and on the internet. By listening to it, dancing to it, playing it, and singing along with it, people share the same experience. By singing along with music, music can evoke constructed memories of the past. By playing music, people can claim space. By talking about music, people can express their notion of togetherness and, at the same time, their notion of otherness.

The following chapter elaborates on the background of the research. Chapter four provides information about the research design and methodology. Chapter five introduces a prominent song that evoked the discussion about social identification among young Afrikaners. In addition, several issues, such as different relations with the past, a generation gap and the experience of loss are discussed in this chapter.

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[13] Quote of on the informants: 'In South Africa, everything is politics. Everything, except our daily lives' Excerpt from the interview with Stefan, July 7th 2012.

3 Background of the Research.

This chapter provides background information to better understand the circumstances in which this research and fieldwork took place. A literature review has been presented in the previous chapter and the research design follows in the next chapter. This chapter elaborates on the informants and the city in which the fieldwork took place (3.1, 3.2 and 3.2.2). Background information on the city is given, because it introduces the name change debate, an often-recurring debate that shows the importance of territory, names and politics. The last section (3.2.3) focuses on institutions and organisations that are based in Pretoria and that organise demonstrations against the name change and music festivals.

3.1 Background of Informants of the Research.

This section elaborates on the informants and their background. Firstly, a short statistical section provides context about the demographic characteristics of Gauteng, the province where this research took place (3.1.1).

3.1.1 Statistics

The official South African statistics make a distinction between four population groups: Africans, coloureds, Indians and whites. White is not further specified, but talking of informants, the distinction between English-speaking whites and Afrikaans-speaking whites is often made. The census of 2011 shows that there are 51.77 million South Africans of which 13.5% speak Afrikaans at home (Statistics South Africa 2011a: 27). Only 43% of the Afrikaans speaking community is considered Afrikaners (white Afrikaans speaking), more than half are coloureds, mostly living in the Cape (Botma 2008: 51). The province of Gauteng has two major economic and populous areas: Pretoria and Johannesburg. 23.79% of all South Africans live in this area (Statistics South Africa 2011a: 18). Gauteng has approximately 5 million inhabitants between the ages of 15 and 34, of which 780,000, 15.6%, are identified as whites. 12.4% of the population of Gauteng uses Afrikaans as their first language, which amounts to 96,500 people (Statistics South Africa 2011a: 21, 25, 28). The informants of this research are mostly Afrikaans speaking whites between 15 and 34 years old.

3.2 Introducing the City.

The largest part of the informants of this research is from Pretoria. The city of Pretoria is introduced to give background information on the physical context of this research. By presenting general information about the distinction between the Central Business District (CBD) and the suburbs, the debate about the intended name changes is introduced. The debate receives attention, because it highlights the connection with the name of the city and the perceived importance of the visibility of culture and language. This debate returns in the section focussing on mainstream music, which introduces a demonstration that took the form of a festival.

3.2.1 General Information.

Pretoria, in the province Gauteng, is one of the three capital cities; South Africa physically implemented Montesquieu's 'trias politica': Cape Town is the legislative capital, Bloemfontein is the judicial capital and Pretoria is the executive capital. These three cities represent former republics and colonies. Marthinus Wessel Pretorius, who became one of the most influential figures of the *Voortrekkers*[14] after the death of his father Andries Pretorius, named the city Pretoria (Giliomee 2011: 177).

The following section focuses on the geographical characteristics of Pretoria, with special attention to the CBD and the suburbs. As in many South African cities, Pretoria is characterised by a major distinction between the CBD and its suburbs. It briefly touches upon this topic, because it illustrates the diverse, two-sided nature of the city. When discussing the concept of belonging, we need to pay attention to the physical space in which people feel safe.

3.2.1.1 Central Business District.

The Central Business District or the city centre of Pretoria refers to the area where one-way streets create an orderly pattern of blocks, where fast food restaurants spread their recognisable smell, cell phone stores, furniture shops and copy shops attract their consumers by playing their music as loud as possible and rundown apartments can be

seen (better known as the 'bad flats'). It is the area where money is made on the streets: where photographers earn their living by making official pass photos on the streets, where women sell living chickens and obscure remedies, where 'miracle doctors' advertise for free abortions, the return of former lovers and a healthy financial live, where 'boys' whistle to guide the cars to one of the scarce parking spaces and where mini taxi busses horn constantly to get the attention of the many pedestrians. It is the area full of people: people queuing for one of the high, grey, concrete towers of the ministries, people selling goods, begging for money and people who, at first sight, just hang around. And, as everywhere in South Africa, where there are many people, there are many cars[15].

3.2.1.2 Suburbs.

When driving to the more eastern parts of Pretoria, the scenery in the streets changes. Suburbs mainly consist of gated communities surrounded by electric fencing, barbed wire and high walls only accessible with remotes. The people who walk down the roads are mainly servants getting their taxi bus, but cars dominate the street scenes. As somebody said: 'Whites are born with wheels'. Gated communities are interspersed with shopping malls, restaurants and Woolworths (a large department store). Fences and walls are everywhere.

High crime rates, and the fear of crime, are the main reasons for these measures, but it limits the interaction between people. These measures do, in most cases, keep out criminals, but they also isolate people. People literally lock themselves in their houses and cars and then they can easily determine with whom they want to interact. Many informants from the suburbs never visited the CBD, mainly because they do not need to, because everything they need is available in the suburbs. Experiences in the CBD suggest that there is always the underlying message that it is unsafe to go there[16].

Andries Visagie also recognises geographical distribution among Afrikaners. He wrote his PhD thesis on male subjectivity in Afrikaans prose and published on gender and sexuality in Afrikaans literature. Before he discusses gender relation, the role of family

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[15] Descriptions are based on own observations and notes.
[16] Descriptions are based on own observations and notes.

and of popular culture he makes the following comment:

> 'Afrikaner students… I only get to see the Afrikaner students who make it to university. […] Pretoria knows a strong class distinction corresponding with the wind directions: East – West. If you stay in the East you are well off, if you stay in the West you are poor, because lower classes are living here'[17].

The previous section about the city centre of Pretoria and the eastern suburbs aims to give a superficial image of the city and the geographical distributions. The following section explores the vivid and long lasting name change debate. What does the fuss about the name change tell us about the arising sentiments – especially among the people who gathered at demonstrations against it? And what does the city mean to them? The discussion on this name change illustrates the awareness of the heritage and support for active opposition.

3.2.2 The Name Change Debate.

Although informants speak about Pretoria as their home city, the current official name is City of Tshwane. Various municipalities, councils and surrounding areas have been named the City of Tshwane since December 5th 2000. The area that used to be called Pretoria is now one of the councils of the City of Tshwane (Website City of Tshwane 2013a). The next intended step was to change the council's name from Pretoria into Tshwane as well and as a result the name Pretoria would disappear. This was postponed, because it evoked too much opposition, mainly from Afrikaners. Interestingly enough, opposition only started when the municipality intended to change the council's name into the City of Tshwane as well. This may cohere with the wide character of the City of Tshwane: it has become the third largest city in the world in terms of landmass, after New York and Tokyo, and Tshwane has about 2.5 million residents. It stretches 121km from East to West and 108km from North to South (Website City of Tshwane 2013b). Therefore, the City of Tshwane may be too large and abstract to raise opposition; when it comes to Pretoria, it affects people directly.

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[17] Excerpt from the interview with Andries Visagie, September 7th 2012.

Furthermore, at the same time the names of 27 street names were changed: Queen Wilhelmina Avenue is now called Florence Ribeiro Avenue. Queen Wilhelmina was queen of the Netherlands from 1890 till 1948 and Florence Ribeiro was the wife of Fabian Defu Ribeiro who, as a medical doctor, collected evidence of police brutality to patients who visited him for treatment. He and his wife were killed by the state in 1986, as found by the Truth and Reconciliation Committee (Website South African History Online 2013a). According to the Metro Municipality:

> 'The Tshwane street name project is aimed at ensuring that the historical injustices are corrected, that the dignity and heritage of all People of the City is restored and correctly reflected. It should be seen as a nation building exercise aimed at bringing social cohesion in Tshwane' (Website City of Tshwane 2013c).

However, as Hermann (25) argues, these name changes do not contribute to bring social cohesion, as, in his yes, it forms evidence of what he long supposed: the ANC municipality government tries to vanish Afrikaner history and 'historical injustices' from the streets. These 'historical injustices' are inevitably part of the history of a large number of the inhabitants of Pretoria, which makes it a very problematic statement for many. 'Why would otherwise Kerk Straat/Church Street, a name found in every little village, be replaced?[18]' asked Hermann. His explanation is that the church, the *Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk* (NG Kerk) played an important role during the apartheid era. There is no official government website of Pretoria and the website of Tshwane.gov.za is in black, green and yellow, which are also the colours of the ANC.

In the case of Hermann, these developments deepen his fear that a part of his history in Pretoria is taken away and will not return. Also, it does not only create confusion among citizens, Google Maps is struggling as well: one street is called Beatrix Street, Steve Biko Street, Jeppe Street, Voortrekker Street and Mears Street simultaneously. But is this fear reasonable? And did this not happen in the reverse throughout the 20th century? Why should the streets only be recognizable as Afrikaner names?

The official statement of AfriForum (part of the Solidarity Movement, with several branches aiming to protect the rights of the Afrikaans minority), bringing this case to court, is that there is insufficient argumentation why the name should be changed, at

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[18] Excerpt from the interview with Hermann, November 8th 2012.

such costs: '[…] What prompted them to change the names of 27 streets at great costs while many other council functions and services have fallen by the wayside?' (Website Polity 2012).

And this debate also mobilises a selection of inhabitants: during the Pretoria *Musiekfees*[19] on November 17th 2012, organised by the Solidarity Movement, twenty to thirty thousand people gathered early in the morning to celebrate Pretoria's birthday, Solidarity's birthday and to send a signal against Pretoria's name change. Announcer: 'Should Pretoria change its name?' Audience: 'No'[20].

Furthermore, the name changes and the arising debate might gain importance, because it fits into major policies of redistribution. Bossenbroek (2012), writer of an extensive study on the South African War[21], ends his book with fears for the future as these name changes might be the first measures from ANC politicians. According to Bossenbroek, redistribution is the leading principle, not the correction of historical injustices. If this is the case, the redistribution of land and commodities is the next phase (Bossenbroek 2012: 570). But did this process of claiming land – by the state or individuals – not take place in previous centuries in the reverse? Is this the time that the symbolic recognition of whites begins to fade, as Jansen (2009: 30) suggests? Radical plans come from the Economic Freedom Fighters of Julius Malema, the controversial and expelled ANC Youth League president, who states that all land should be transferred to the ownership and custodianship of the state, without compensation, and applied to all South Africans (Website EFF 2013, Website New York Times 2012). The wisest option is probably between the two options presented above: paying attention to the historical injustices and aiming to correct them and at the same time not ignoring arising sentiments.

The debate arising from the intended name change illustrates central points in this research: the dichotomy between 'us' and 'them' as introduced in the theoretical chapter and how music is used to mobilise people to raise their voices. An elaboration on the last issue follows in chapter six on the Pretoria *Musiekfees*. This case can also be analysed

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[19] Music festival
[20] *Moet Pretoria se naam verander?' 'Nee!'*
[21] The South African War (1899 – 1902) was fought between Britain and the self-governing Afrikaner (Boer) colonies of the South African Republic (the Transvaal) and the Orange Free State. (At the outbreak of war, Britain ruled the South African colonies of the Cape and Natal). (Website National Archives 2014).

through the prism of Martins (2013) argument: perceptions of the past play an important role in claiming space and territory. For some, the street names remind them of apartheid, of injustices of the past, as the ANC politicians argue. For others, these street names remind them of what they perceive as their past, that needs to be recognised as well, as Hermann, and others, argue. These differences in perceptions are enlarged, because as Martin (2013) argues, claiming space, also by giving names to streets, one claims to belong at that place. Claiming 'natural' belonging is driven by the fear of losing status, Ceuppens and Geschiere (2005) argue, and Hermann expresses this sentiment. It appears that he and other vocal Afrikaners in this debate claim 'natural' belonging and speak as autochthones by creating a sharp difference between 'us', Afrikaners who feel that their visibility in the city is taken away, and 'them', the ANC politicians who make these decisions. These sentiments testify of narrow historical consciousness, because in this line of reasoning, other population groups, as Ndebele or Tswana are also in the position to claim autochthony or 'natural' belonging.

Summarising the name change debate: this will continue to mobilise people and will continue to divide public opinion. Thus, it shows a deep connection with the city and its name. The name reflects a way in which people identify with their city and if this name would be replaced, it would feel as if something is taken away. Pretorians respond to the call to turn against the changes by organising demonstrations, festivals and sign petitions, mainly organised by institutions based in Pretoria. The following section presents these institutions who play an important part in this research.

3.2.3 Institutions.

This vivid debate is not the only reason why Pretoria is the place to be when it comes to Afrikaners. Istitutions that support Afrikaners are based in the city, due to its central place in history. Many of the informants are linked to these institutions, from being a student at the University of Pretoria, which does not automatically mean that they identify themselves with the ideology, an active member at one of the parties in the student council or part of the Solidarity Movement. Moreover, assembling in these organisations is a way to become visible.

Several of these institutions were founded before or during apartheid and relate to the Great Depression during which many unemployed Afrikaners from the countryside were driven to English-dominated cities in the hope to build a new life. New organisations and institutions were founded driven by the marginalised position of white Afrikaners. Some of these institutions aimed to save Afrikaner culture (language in particular), and already existing ones gained popularity. Afrikaans and adherence to the Reformed Faith became public symbols, and artistic expressions gained prestige (Giliomee 2011: 356, 400, 401). Moreover, the centenary of the Great Trek[22] in 1938 was an occasion in which pride and awareness was grown (Drwal 2013: 88). In this context, Afrikaner institutions were founded in the central city: Pretoria.

3.2.2.1 University of Pretoria.

The University of Pretoria, also known as TUC/TUK (Transvaal University College as the South African School of Mines was renamed in 1908), promotes itself as the only fully bilingual university institution in South Africa, with the student magazine in both Afrikaans and English (Merwe 2010: 89). However, this has not always been self-evident: during the 1930's, when Afrikaner nationalism grew, the board decided to only use Afrikaans in education. This led to the situation that, because of this decision, the Pretoria City Council withdrew its funds. However, the rector, Prof A.E. du Toit claimed that the university's first responsibility was the wellbeing of its Afrikaans speaking students (Merwe 2010: 91, 94). The second jubilee in 1980 once again showed the strong ties with the government: the state president Viljoen praised the university for producing people who strive to maintain Afrikaner culture. The students were called the new leaders of the nation[23] who needed to arm themselves in order to manage the responsibilities of safeguarding the future (Strydom 2010: 122).

As a result of the re-introduction of English in 1989, the visibility of the Afrikaner roots decreased. Since then, approximately 50,000 students have enrolled at one of the 1800 academic programmes in English or Afrikaans (Website UP 2011a, b). The university 'has transformed from a mainly white, Afrikaner institution to a multicultural,

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[22] The Great Trek is the migration of Afrikaners who moved land inwards from the – by the English dominated - Cape during the 1830's.
[23] *volksleiers*

multiracial university that offers quality education to South Africans from all walks of life' (Website University of Pretoria 2011b). According to Bawa and Preston-Whyte (2010), current students in higher education experience the rainbow nation every day; every South African, who is matriculated and meets the corresponding criteria, is able to go to university. In contrast to primary and secondary education, students are less affected by the preferences of their parents: 'it is widely believed that not many white parents feel comfortable letting their children share the same school with children of other races, particularly African children' (Bawa & Preston-Whyte in Kivilu et. al. 2010: 128, 129). Funds and scholarships are not available in abundance and the need for sufficient financial funds is neglected in their analysis.. However, higher education is the 'single most influential force for ameliorating social conflict and directing social change' (Bock in Goldschmidt 2003: 217).

3.2.2.2 The Solidarity Movement.

A second example of an Afrikaner institution based in Pretoria is the Solidarity Movement[24]. This movement has its origins in the Transvaal Miners' Association, a workers union founded in 1902. Since 1902 it changed its name four times. Since the late 1990's the movement increased its number of members (Website Solidarity 2013c). Their intention is to boost institutions that create a healthy environment for members and their communities. Their language of communication is Afrikaans and they support the ones 'unfairly disadvantaged by the government's affirmative action policies' with the slogan: 'We protect our People'[25]. The Solidarity Movement covers fourteen institutions traditionally having close ties with the Afrikaner community: Solidarity (the workers union and the most prominent branch), Helping Hand (inter alia giving out bursaries), AfriForum (monitoring civil rights), the FAK, since 2012 part of the Solidarity Movement), Sol-Tech (a technical training centre), Akademia (a telematics higher education institution), Solidarity Growth Fund (the empowerment fund), the Solidarity Investment Company, the Solidarity Property Company, The Campus, Solidarity Financial Services, the Solidarity Research Institute, the internet-driven media house, Maroela Media and Kraal Publishers. Like their head office, most components are based

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[24] *Die Solidariteit Beweging*
[25] *Ons beskerm ons mense*

in Pretoria (Website Solidarity 2013a/b, Website FAK 2013).

The FAK, founded in 1929, is the cultural network for Afrikaans. It supports the development and cultivation of Afrikaans as a language and culture and it coordinates several cultural associations. It took the lead to strengthen and extend the Afrikaans culture (Website FAK 2013). When using the terminology of the theoretical chapter, 'us' is in this case the Afrikaans speaking community, 'them' the speakers of other languages. One would therefore expect that the aims of the FAK would unite the whole Afrikaans speaking community, including coloureds, which form the majority of Afrikaans speakers. In an interview with an employee of the FAK, it is emphasised that the FAK welcomes all who support these goals. From own observations, mainly white Afrikaners attend the activities supported by the FAK. This might be due to the fact that the FAK also aims to strengthen Afrikaner culture, such as music, by organising celebrations and performances. Therefore, people who do not share the perception of Afrikaner culture would not further participate in these activities.

The FAK is mostly know by their *sangbundel*[26] which is the collection of folk music mostly known by older people who remember the songs which they were taught at primary school. To reach a younger audience and to make sure that more current traditional songs are recorded, a new edition was released in 2012. In chapter 2.2.1, more attention is given to the FAK and their song collection, since they play an important role in this cultural landscape.

3.3 Summary.

It can be said that Pretoria it is a city marked by its history and which houses a series of institutions important for Afrikaner culture and language. The intended name change and reactions to it show that Afrikaner identity is a sensitive topic: people who feel their history and heritage is threatened are eager to let their voices be heard. They assemble in organisations that are based in Pretoria to become visible. Assembling in organisations is one way to become visible; another way is to use the sounds of music, which is the main focus of this research.

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[26] the FAK collection of songs

4 Research Design.

This chapter aims to describe the design adopted to achieve the aims and objectives stated in chapter one. The first section (4.1) discusses the research methods used for this research, with the main focus on qualitative methods, such as participant observation, semi-open interviews and focus group discussion. Furthermore, attention is given to the practical issues and challenges of this research (4.2). This chapter concludes with ethical concerns, academic and social relevance, limitations and suggestions for further research (4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7).

4.1 Research Methods.

The central aim of anthropology is, to quote Bronisław Malinowski, one of the most important 20th century anthropologists: 'to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realise *his* vision of *his* world' (Malinowski 1922: 25, *my emphasis[27]*). The following section explains the qualitative research methods that are used to gather insights in order to understand the life of young Afrikaners in South Africa.

4.1.1 Qualitative Methods.

Qualitative research methods were the primary methods used to collect and analyse data during the fieldwork in Pretoria. The studies of small groups of informants show that qualitative methods are more suited to collect and analyse data than quantitative research. Qualitative methods are especially effective when studying subtle nuances in perceptions and life experiences as these methods enable the gathering of insights that would be left out by quantitative research (Babbie 2007: 312, 313). These kind of research data are difficult, if not impossible, to capture in numbers.

To gather these qualitative data, the ethnographic method is used. According to Karen O'Reilly, sociologist, contemporary ethnography subscribe the principles of Malinowski: 'the close study, over time, using participation and observation, of a group of people, with the emphasis on obtaining the insider view' (O'Reilly 2005: 21, 22).

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[27] It might be too obvious to state, but in my opinion ethnography does not only concerns men's vision of his world, but includes women's vision on her world.

Ethnographic methodology comprises two strategies: participant observation and non-participant observation (Gobo 2008: 4). The analysis of this research is mostly based on data gathered through qualitative methods; so participant observation and interviewing are highlighted in the following section.

4.1.2 Participant Observations and Semi- Open Interviews.

Participant observation was used to gain an understanding of phenomena from the point of view of informants. Participant observation has the following attributes: establishing a direct relation with the informants, staying in their natural environment, observing and describing their behaviour, interacting with them and learning their codes to understand the meaning of their actions (Gobo 2008: 5).

The aim of this research is to get insights of the meanings of actions and events for informants. These meanings can be communicated through words in an interview. In most cases, however, the meaning is taken for granted and only indirectly communicated by actions. 'But in every society people make use of this complex meaning systems to organise their behaviour, to understand themselves and others, and to make sense out of the world in which they live' (Spradley 2006: 10). In keeping with the emphasis on elucidating the role of popular music in processes of identification, participant observation is also used to highlight the internal conflicts among the informants, most notably those of socio-economic differences.

Semi-open interviews generate information about what people say they do, participant observation leads to insights into people's actions, leading to an analysis of the difference between actions and words. Furthermore, participant observation can challenge what is taken for granted (these things will not come up in interviews alone, because an informant must be aware of actions before talking about it). It might be the case that a student says he is not really into the 'Afrikaner-thing', but that he visits Afrikaner bars and festivals are part of his weekly routine and for him needless to mention. The interaction between participant observation and semi-open interviews is twofold: interviews are used to form a focus for the observations, and the observations will lead to new items for the interviews.

4.1.3 Focus Group Discussions.

A focus group discussion (FGD) was organised with the help of the FAK. The aim is to generate a wide range of experiences, opinions and responses (O'Reilly 2005: 1332). The added value of FGDs is that the ideas of informants are challenged, because they are confronted with contrasting ideas. Attention must be given to the participants of these FGDs: the group needs to be safe enough to share opinions, but varied enough to provoke the students. The researcher, or moderator, must prevent the problem of group conformity, which is the tendency to conform to opinions of the most outspoken members of the group (Babbie 2007: 309). The FDG took place at the head office of the Solidarity Movement.

4.1.4 Quantitative Research.

Quantitative research has not been carried out during this research, but earlier published (quantitative) research gives a sense of the context in which the fieldwork of this study took place. Those publications contributed to expectations and assumptions of what to expect from fieldwork. As Fetterman (1989) notes: 'The ethnographer enters the field with an open mind, not an empty head' (Fetterman 1989: 11).

4.2 Practical Issues.

4.2.1 Location & Informants.

The research location of this study is the city of Pretoria, South Africa. One of the reasons this city was chosen is because the researcher lived in Pretoria for eight months in 2006-2007 and was struck by the traces of apartheid that were still visible in town. The researcher used to live south of the city centre and worked in the northern part and walked through the inner city for 90 minutes each day. In this one and a half hour of walking, a white person was rarely seen passing by, in contrast to, for example, Hatfield Square, where one could easily find white students. Another reason for choosing Pretoria is because it is one of the cities where the Afrikaner community is visible through organisations and festivals, see chapter 3.2.3. for more information.

With regard to the informants, as a researcher one needs to have key informants to get introduced to the research scene. These people are not the most important informants as a source of data, but the research would be impossible without them. Most important are the countless people whom were interviewed during the six visited festivals and performances[28]. The researcher also spoke with a few artists: Francois van Coke and Jed Kossew – singer and guitar player of the punk rock formation Fokofpolisiekar and the researcher spent the day with One Crown, a Christian rock band in Potchefstroom.

During the fieldwork for this research, men were mostly interviewed, because it turned out that the audience of festivals mainly consists of men[29]. However, this choice is not only pragmatic: as Boersema and Visagie argue, young Afrikaner men are interesting to pay attention to. Changes in society might have had tremendous influences on relations between men and women and also on emancipation of women. As a result, men might not only experience loss in politics, but they also face changes in family relations. Boersema (2013) argues that Afrikaner men have not only lost privileges, but they also look 'less in control (or 'weak')' (Boersema 2013: 241). This does not meet the masculine ideas about strength, control and self-reliance. For young Afrikaner men, Afrikaner ethnic identity played an important part, as 'they reclaim their Afrikaner ethnicity to harness a masculine response to their status loss and cultural confusion' (Boersema 2013: 228). In addition, Visagie argues that music plays an important role in – particularly – processes of identification among men, because it is one of the ways to present themselves:

> 'A successful career in the music industry is an interesting role for young men to aspire. To place it in historical contexts: before and during the 1930's, one of the male roles was being a farmer or soldier. From the 1930's onwards, being an intellectual, politician or businessmen gained importance. Nowadays, young Afrikaners feel excluded from political or economic power and therefore it is not profitable to present yourself as a

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[28] Oppikoppi in Northam, Limpopo, Pretoria *Musiekfees* at the amphitheatre at the Voortrekkermonument, Aardklop *Nasionale Kunstefees* in Potchefstroom, Music Mania in Centurion and Park Acoustics at the amphitheatre at the Voortrekkermonument. Performances of Steve Hofmeyr, Bittereinder, One Crown, Fokofpolisiekar, VanCokeKartel and Jack Parow (these are the main artists and bands).
[29] Based on own observations.

politician or businessman (because of BEE). This is why arts, more particularly music, are ways to express own identities and this became a new role to aspire'[30].

Moreover, many hours were spent with students of the University of Pretoria, mainly the student association of anthropologists and sociologists and researchers and professors attached to this university. The students of AfriForum *jeug* shared their opinions and perceptions during a one-and-half-hour interview and a group of young church members of *Die Ooskerk* who assemble every week to exchange ideas on their lives and belief was joined. Furthermore, a one-and-a-half week was spent camping with the youth of *Die Voortrekkers*. Many hours were spent with people participating in their daily life and talking about music and their vision on South African society. In order to find informants, several organisations that aim to promote or protect Afrikaner culture were contacted.

Not all experiences gathered during the fieldwork are explicitly used for the research. However, all interviews and observations contributed to the understanding of perceptions of a section of young Afrikaners.

4.2.2 Getting Access.

Popular culture is one of the central themes of this thesis and was a practical starting point: people are easily found at music venues and festivals in a relaxed atmosphere; popular music as consumed and produced mainly by Afrikaners is very vivid with bands like Fokofpolisiekar, Die Heuwels Fantasties, Jack Parrow, Die Antwoord and Bok van Blerk, and big festivals like Oppikoppi. Furthermore, popular culture is an easy topic to

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[30] *En volgens mij is het een van de rollen die jonge mannen kunnen aspireren, als een manier om zich te profileren en zich uit te lichten boven de maatschappij. In de jaren dertig was een van de mannelijke rollen de boer en de soldaat. Pas na de jaren 30 kwam de rol van de intellectueel en politicus. Daarna konden Afrikaners zich goed vinden in de economie: de zakenman was een van de belangrijke manier om zich te verheffen boven de gewone mensen. Nu hebben jongeren het gevoel dat ze geen doorgang meer hebben tot de politieke en economische macht. En daarom is het niet betalend om je te profileren als politicus of als zakenman, want ook de economie voor gereserveerd met BEE. En daarom zijn de kunsten, en de muziek specifiek, om uitdrukking te geven aan een eigen identiteit.* Excerpt from interview with Andries Visagie on September 7th 2012.

talk about: it is close to the heart of the informants and it is a way of representing youth culture and personal taste.

To facilitate entry into the community and build rapport, the first three weeks of fieldwork were spent with an Afrikaner family in Pretoria with children who go to university. This allowed for introduction into the community and the familiarisation with the first research location: Oppikoppi Festival, a festival in the countryside with 15,000 young visitors. When back in Pretoria, the student area of Hatfield, the church and the FAK were discovered.

The 'friend-of-a-friend-approach' as used in this research to meet new informants is a non-random sampling technique in which the researcher selects new informants via the informant's network. It is also known as the 'snowball technique' (Bernard and Ryan 2010: 367, Kelly 2006: 291). Entering somebody's personal life is easiest via friends or other relatives. The disadvantage is that one only gets access to people in the same social circle. Therefore, it is important to have more lines of enquiry to make sure one does not depend on one informant. Besides trying to gain access through organisations such as the church, *Die Voortrekkers*, die FAK, and AfriForum *jeug*, a personal network and lecturers from the university helped to find people who did not affiliate with such organisations.

4.3 Ethical Concerns.

Anthropology is a discipline that enters people's daily life, so attention to ethical concerns is needed. The *Code of Ethics* of the *American Anthropological Association* (AAA) provides guidelines (Robben 2007: 331-336). Transparency is the keyword for the code: be transparent to your informant, funders, colleagues and others. I agree with Berreman (2007): 'I believe it to be a drastic mistake for a committee to be appointed to create a substitute code, *in toto,* in response to what are said to be the changed realities of the moment [...]' (Berreman 2007: 315).

This research took place in situations where the conditions for interviews were not optimal, for example: it was too noisy in a bar to introduce the research, the consequences of participating and the opportunity to agree with participation. Making

the data anonymous was the best solution to overcome this issue: the informants were assigned an alias.

Another, more personal consideration was taken into account. Before going into the field a pre-analysis of the informants showed that politically right wing radical youth may be part of the research. A strong rejection of every race-based ideology on behalf of the researcher may influence the data. Options to deal with this were to either conceal or reveal the researcher's opinions during the interviews. It transpired that the first option was preferable: it gave informants room to give their opinion and it created space to try to understand their background.

4.4 Innovative Aspect - Academic Relevance.

Studying popular music as a way to understand society, gather stories and to get access to informants is still a small field in ethnography. Cohen (1993: 123) noticed that the work on popular music in ethnography was lacking in the 1990's. Twenty years later, attention to the subject has increased, but a study on mainstream and progressive research in the South African context, focussing on mostly male, high-educated, young white Afrikaners, has not taken place before.

Earlier work on processes of identification used the ethnic apartheid categories as the leading element, as if these determined the notion of belonging (Goldschmidt 2003). This research however uses theories on identification as a multi-dimensional approach to understand the position of young Afrikaners within the rapidly changing South African society.

4.5 Social Relevance.

Events and ideas from the past are difficult to ignore, because the past shapes the future. In order to understand get some understanding of the current state of South African society, and especially the situation of a small selection of Afrikaners, attention needs to be paid to the ones who will contribute to the future. Young Afrikaners hold ideas about what the concept of Afrikaner means and what the future will bring. Young people are

redefining their identities, and they are the ones that in the future will establish new trends in South Africa.

From theories and recent cases in the Arab world, it can be seen that when uncertainties about the future are faced, this can lead to riots and violence (think, for example of the Arab revolutions where young people were demonstrating against the governments with serious consequences).

4.6 Limitations.

This research focuses on young, mostly male, urban, high-educated white Afrikaners from and around Pretoria and does not aim to present a complete picture. A multitude of other relevant aspects were not included in this thesis. Because of the narrow scope of this research, processes of identification appear to be taking place within the community. However, if the influences of interaction with other population groups were taken into account, a more detailed picture would appear. Interviewing people who do not identify as Afrikaners about how they perceive Afrikaners would provide interesting information on this topic.

Also, almost no reflections and opinions from less privileged white youth, such as the 'new poor', were taken into account. Also, research into people's wider music taste and what that could mean for identity is a little lacking, as are gender issues. Many more artists, songs and festivals could have been studied, but for the sake of this research prominent ones were selected.

The fieldwork part of this research also included extensive research among *Die Voortrekkers*, a scouting group with special focus on Afrikaner culture and heritage. They are an example of other spheres of popular culture that play a part in processes of identification. It was however illogical to include these gathered data in the research, because of the focus on popular music.

4.7 Suggestions for further research.

It would be interesting to investigate processes of identification among less privileged youth in South Africa. In chapter 5.5.1, the perception of white students studying at

university is highlighted. The perception that their future is uncertain does not comply with the statistics. However, not all white Afrikaners are as privileged as these students, as some are living in poverty. How does that influence their identities? Does the past play a significant role for them? Are they stifled by their own negativity?

It would also be interesting to investigate the perceptions of the future of young Afrikaner girls. The policies of affirmative action focus on the previously disadvantaged, including women. In the last twenty years the position of women in South Africa changed radically, which is at odds with patriarchal perceptions. Moreover, this does not only affect young girls, but young boys as well. This might result in generation differences between young girls and boys and their parents that may lead to tensions or otherwise interesting developments.

Having said all this, let us begin where it all started: a song about a general from the South African War. In the first weeks of 2007 students were standing shoulder to shoulder, with their hand on their heart, singing this song. The popularity of this song gave new life to a passionate debate about and among young Afrikaners in South Africa.

5 It Started With a Song.

This chapter starts with the story of a song: 'De la Rey' sung by Bok van Blerk. When talking about music and processes of social identification, this prominent case cannot be missed. Van Blerk touched a sensitive nerve and gave new life a debate about social identification among Afrikaners. The song refers to the South African War that took place more than 100 years ago. What is the story behind the song? What does it exactly refer to? The South African War is not just a historical event; it also has a symbolic meaning. How do young Afrikaners relate to the past? What do they know and what do they learn in school? What tensions does it create between different generations?

Section 5.1 introduces the song and provides background information. Then, the debate concerning the so-called 'De la Rey phenomenon' is introduced (5.1.1), which does not only deals with explaining and understanding the popularity of the song, but also might be a cover for political issues. The song illustrates relations with the past, as the central theme is a war that was fought a century ago (5.2). To yield insights on relating to the past the theory of Jonathan Jansen on indirect knowledge (5.2.1) is introduced.

Furthermore, attention is given to history education in schools (5.3) and the Boetman Debate (5.4) between Chris Louw and Willem de Klerk: a public debate that illustrates very diverse ways of relating to the past. Lastly, attention is paid to the creation of narratives in which loss is a central theme (5.5). Chapter 5.5.1 illustrates this issue with a narrative about loss. Let us start at the beginning: the popularity of a song that gave rise to the 'De la Rey' debate.

5.1 The song of a story / the story of a song.

It was in 2006 and 2007 when students on Hatfield Square in Pretoria sang out loud the song 'De la Rey', sung by Louis Pepler, better known as Bok van Blerk. The song tells the story of Jacobus Herculaas (Koos) De la Rey, a charismatic Boer general in the South African War (1899 – 1902). Although he opposed the war until the last, he joined the war after being accused of cowardice. Eventually he was fighting long after Paul Kruger fled for safety. De la Rey did not only play an important role during the war with the introduction of the guerrilla technique, he also was a key person in the peace

negotiations that led to the Peace of Vereeniging (Bossenbroek 2012: 552 – 557, Krog 2011: 32). Johannes Meintjes, his biographer vividly documented the life of this general who is remembered as a martyr by Afrikaner nationalists and has acquired an almost legendary status (Meintjes 1966: 396)[31].

Four years after the centenary of the South African War Bok van Blerk and his marketing team knew how to touch hearts: 200.000 copies of his song were sold in the relatively small market for music in the Afrikaans language. Although the song was on a CD where it featured among songs about rugby, food and girls and Van Blerk insisted that his song did not have any political message, the song was soon the central point in the discussion about social identification of young Afrikaners (Van der Waal and Robins 2011: 765). '… indeed, a number of Afrikaner organisations have claimed the song for their programmes, including the Solidarity Movement, the FAK, and the Boeremag[32]' as 'it now provides for a programme of ethnic mobilisation', as sociologist Andries Bezuidenhout (2007: 15) argues.

What does this popularity reveal? Is it only a commercial success, combining nostalgia with a catchy melody in the native tongue of many, showing how lucrative commodification of Afrikaner identity becomes? Does this song create a safe environment for young Afrikaners to express their desire for a new Afrikaner leader? Is it fuelling right wing Afrikaners who want to widen their political and cultural sphere of influence? Or is it the other way around: does the song feed ethno-nationalism, ethnic-chauvinism or nostalgia among young Afrikaners?

The popularity of the song might be caused by a combination of knowing how to touch a nerve by using the right words and by using cultural symbolism, for example shots of children in Afrikaner costume in a concentration camp. Also the lyrics contain emotional sentences and the desire for a new leader: 'And my house and my farm burned to ashes so that they could catch us, but those flames and fire burn deep, deep in me[33]' and 'De la

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[31] See appendix I for the complete lyrics. And see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vtKKJSfYraU for the song with the clip and English subtitles.
[32] The Boeremag is a right-wing organisation advocating the creation of an independent homeland for white Afrikaners (Baines 2009: 7).
[33] *En my huis en my plaas tot kole verbrand sodat hulle ons kan vang, maar daai vlamme en vuur brand nou diep, diep binne my.*

Rey, De la Rey, will you come to lead the Boers?[34]' It was this call for leadership for Afrikaners, as well as the provocative display of old cultural symbols, that provoked a national debate (Boersema 2013: 3). The use of these cultural symbols was highly selective. Afrikaner identity was presented as a heroic struggle against the English, with no reference to the shame of apartheid (Van der Waal and Robins 2011: 765). Furthermore, 'there is certainly no sense of satire, irony or parody in 'De la Rey'. Afrikaner history and its legacies were in no way criticised in the song, which uncritically celebrated an Afrikaner icon' (Van der Waal and Robins 2011: 777).

5.1.1 'De la Rey Phenomenon'.

This debate became known as the 'De la Rey phenomenon', suggesting that this song is more than a hit (Grundlingh 2007: 136, 137, 139, Visser 2007: 25). According to Grundlingh, a concert by Bok van Blerk is an emotional experience for the audience and the song might be the new anthem for Afrikaners. The video clip responds to a feeling of victimhood with images of concentration camps and helpless children (Grundlingh 2007: 137, 138). Furthermore, due to the current political transformations in South Africa, Afrikaners were yet again experiencing vulnerability, as during the South African War. It also touches upon a deep connection with the past, creating a vivid debate about social identification. Jansen (2009) emphasises the importance of the South African War as the setting of the song:

> '...yet no other historical event is represented more powerfully in the memory and emotions of contemporary Afrikaners – none of whom were there – than this conflict; indeed, 'some are still fighting that war'' (Jansen 2009: 67).

To understand the meaning of the song, Grundlingh (2007) argues the song's popularity must be seen as cultural expressions in the process of reinvention of social identities. The majority of Afrikaners are astute enough to realise that the desire expressed in this song is impossible and needless. Although the South African War still is a relevant historical event, the times of political relevance ended after the National Party recovered from the injustices caused by the South African War. Therefore, Grundlingh argues that the popularity of the song must be seen as a wave within the turbulent sea of processes

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[34] *De La Rey sal jy die Boere kom lei?*

of identification. 'The debate about Afrikaner identity will soon be defined by another approach, posing yet another accent[35]' (Grundlingh 2007: 154).

In addition to Grundlingh, Van der Waal and Robins (2011) argue that the 'De la Rey phenomenon' embodies identity politics and shows the desire for cultural commodities to 'reassert imagined boundaries of white *Afrikanerdom* while speaking the legitimate language of history and cultural heritage' (Van der Waal and Robins 2011: 779). The market in Afrikaans popular music was ripe for a song that addressed the insecure past by referring to a heroic historical figure that was invoked as a leader to lead the Afrikaners to a safe haven. In times of globalisation, as Van der Waal (2012: 4) emphasised in his talk to the Stellenbosch Forum on May 3th 2012, the connection between the past and the present did not fuel ethno-nationalists, but rather created momentum towards post-nationalism.

In her article, Antjie Krog (2011), a prominent South African poet, writer and professor extraordinaire at the Arts faculty of the University of the Western Cape, emphasises the reflective and reconstructing role the song has in her opinion. Young Afrikaners might be confronted with traumatic loss of political power and might be seen as perpetrators of apartheid. It is essential for Afrikaners, and South African society, that Afrikaners invest in the reconstruction of a honourable identity, as otherwise 'they solidify into an intransigent and destructive entity', as Krog argues (2011: 35). Moreover, the song offers a historical figure young Afrikaners can be proud of and therefore has a constructive role in processes of identifying with the new South Africa:

> 'De la Rey is a surrogate father, not leading to an uprising, but assisting children to deal with their guilt in such a way that they can at last begin to integrate into the new society in which they feel they actually belong' (Krog 2011: 33).

In her explanation, Krog emphasised that identifying as Afrikaner is again linked to the notion of history. Is it within the framework of selective history that young Afrikaners can now positively identify, partly due to the 'De la Rey' song? Krog states that children need to deal with their guilt, indicating a very strong connection with the past and

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[35] *Gegee die voortdurende stuwinge in die Afrikanergemeenskap mag dit blyk weinig meer as 'n tydelike opwelling te weeswat binnekort verplaas mag word deur ander stemme wat 'n identiteitsinslag met ander askente poneer.*

applying this as a framework of understanding. Van der Waal and Robins (2011) encourage a deconstructive approach in which the myth itself is unravelled. '[…] especially since myth itself is an ideological instrument of power' (Van der Waal and Robins 2011: 772).

The explanation of most commentators on the song that the popularity can be explained as 'a crisis in identity politics in which the Afrikaner has sought to redefine him/herself in post-apartheid South Africa' does not go far enough for Baines (2009: 9). Baines investigates the role of nostalgia in popular music and how it touches a sensitive nerve. He convincingly argues that nostalgia is 'less about the past than about the present' (Baines 2009: 10, 11). Nostalgia is about how the past is imagined through memory and desire and is an emotional response to changing circumstances. Nostalgia as presented in the song feeds the contradictory emotions: Afrikaners want to disassociate from the repressive past, and have insecurities about the future.

Moreover, a crisis implies that astatus quo is challenged, but as stated in the theoretical part of this research, when it comes to identity, there is no status quo. When identities are regarded as flexible and constantly negotiated, changes in identities are inevitable.

The song did not only give rise to an academic debate, but also prominent artists and writers contributed to the debate. One of them is Koos Kombuis, one of the leading figures of the Voëlvry Movement, a movement from the 1980's in which Afrikaans artists reacted against the values of the National Party and conservative *Afrikanerdom*[36]. The other leading artists of the Voëlvry Movement were Bernoldus Niemand and Johannes Kerkorrel. In his article, Kombuis says that Van Blerk reminds him of Kerkorrel, with his sensitive soul. This is a remarkable comparison, because the song is mostly seen as an expression of right wing Afrikaners and Kombuis distanced himself from his Afrikaner roots publically. Kombuis describes the futile baggage he is carrying with the words:

> 'The baggage of what is imposed on me by people who try to proscribe for forty years
> who and what an 'Afrikaner' is. In what an 'Afrikaner' is supposed to believe, for whom

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[36] The Voëlvry Movement is the topic section 7.1.

he must vote, what clothes he is supposed to wear, how he must spend his public holidays...'[37] (Website Litnet 2006a).

Kombuis describes his contradictory feelings when listening to the song: why is he deeply touched by this song, which is a call for war, when the feeling of distancing himself from his Afrikaner roots is so liberating? (Website Litnet 2006a). After having done research of who De la Rey really was, he concludes that he was 'our Steve Biko': a man of courage and action, a man with morals and a true leader. This made him realise that he, as all South Africans, carries the pain and baggage of the last forty years (ibid).

With this statement he highlights the ambivalent relation some young Afrikaners might have with the past. This topic is discussed in the following section: what is the relation between the past and the present? And how can young Afrikaners feel guilty about a past they never experienced? How do they relate to their past and what do they learn in school about it? Jansen uses the term 'Indirect knowledge' which is further explored in the next section. This transmission of knowledge about the past can be seen as informal; knowledge flows through six encircling influences (Jansen 2009: 70). History education, probably the most formal one since this is prescribed in curricula, is highlighted in the section 'History Education'.

5.2 Young Afrikaners and History.

The 'De la Rey phenomenon' can be seen as a reflection of a process of coming to terms with the past. This ongoing process is one of the elements of social identification among young Afrikaners. As Van Jaarsveld, historian at the University of Pretoria focussing on historic guilt, argues, Afrikaner identity relies heavily on the notion of the past (Strydom 2010: 124). In the words of W.M. McClay, 'historical consciousness is formed by invisible powers of opinions and authorities from the past' (Wasserman 2008: 123). More importantly, notions of one's roots do create and influence notions of the present and

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[37] *Ek wil net so ontsettend graag ontslae raak van al die onnodige sielkundige bagasie van 'Afrikaner'-wees. Die bagasie wat aan my opgedwing is deur mense wat nou al oor die veertig jaar vir my probeer voorskryf wie en wat 'n 'Afrikaner' is. Waarin 'n 'Afrikaner' veronderstel is om te glo. Vir wie hy moet stem, watse kak klere hy behoort aan te trek en hoe hy sy openbare vakansiedae moet deurbring...*

the future. Perceptions of history are connections between the past, the present and the future.

How can the South African War be a sensitive topic to sing about? Nobody from the time of the South African War is alive and nobody can relay it first-hand. What does this tell us about the relation with the past? Moreover, what, and how, do young people learn in school about their histories? And what do prominent elements of the past mean to young Afrikaners? To understand this relation, research by Jansen (2009) and Wasserman (2008) is be used. Jansen explores the ways in which histories are transmitted over time and Wasserman investigates what young Afrikaners know about Afrikaner history and what they learn at school.

5.2.1 Indirect Knowledge.

The 'De la Rey phenomenon' discussion brings an important process to the surface: historical knowledge transmitted across generations. 'People remember as individuals, but they do not stand alone in doing so'[38] (Huigen&Grundlingh 2008: 2), because personal contexts form a frame consisting of experiences and stories that influences memories, and therefore helps to create identities. This happens unintentionally; everybody identifies with different histories within different social contexts (think of family history, a history from a country, or of a social group).

Jonathan Jansen wrote a book 'Knowledge in the Blood' (2009) which was appreciated in diverse ways: it received an outstanding book recognition award from the American Educational Research Association (website UFS 2012a), but was also rejected by many white Afrikaners. He is currently serving as the vice-chancellor and rector of the University of the Free State and is the former – first black - Dean of Education at the University of Pretoria. In this capacity he posed the question how it is that young Afrikaners hold rigid ideas about a past they have never lived and about black people.

Although Jansen emphasises that it would be a mistake to cast all Afrikaners as expressing a monolithic response to defeat, he distinguishes three major tendencies in relations with the past. The first tendency describes the 'Nothing Happened' Afrikaner

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[38] *Mens onthou as 'n individu, maar is daarin nie alleen nie.*

who believes that nothing out of the ordinary happened. Apartheid was no crime against humanity, but a well-intended experiment in order to keep racial peace and order. Jansen describes a second tendency: 'Something Happened – Now Get Over It'. This tendency describes the recognition that bad things happened and the awareness of international criticism. 'There is anger here, resentment of those who both exaggerate and dwell on the past for political reasons' (Jansen 2009: 39). The desire to move on is common among this group of white Afrikaners. The third tendency, 'Terrible Things Happened', can be subdivided into three streams: The activists, who were vocal under apartheid, against apartheid. The gradualists came to their position after 1994 as a result of progressive revelation or a changing understanding of what apartheid really meant. And the confessionalists, who had a direct and traumatic encounter with the past and this remains deeply disturbing (Jansen 2009: 37 – 43).

These three major tendencies provide insights into how people relate to the past. When applying this theory to the two music genres introduced in section 2.2.1, it seems that both music genres have characteristics of the 'Something Happened – Now Get Over It' tendency. Both mainstream music and progressive music aim to move forward. However, the emphasis within the genre of mainstream music is to preserve, to confirm and to reinforce the notion of *Afrikanerdom*. In this sense, mainstream music has elements of conservatism. Progressive music, however, aims to question those assumptions and to transform the meaning Afrikaner has. Despite this difference, they are both focussed on the future and aim to move forward with the concept of Afrikaner.

The question remains how people construct knowledge about the past. To gather insights, Jansen uses Hoffman's 'After Such Knowledge' (2004), one of the many books about the second generation of Holocaust survivors. Hoffman tries to explain the paradoxes of indirect knowledge: the indirect impact of events that happened in the past on current day youth. This knowledge is indirect, affected by emotions and memories, transmitted through generations, with an effect on the second generation that is real (Jansen 2009: 52 – 54).

Jansen distinguishes six circles of socialisation that transmit indirect knowledge in his study on Afrikaner students. The first and tightest circle is family, complemented by the second circle, namely the (Dutch Reformed) church. This is where theology marked by

the ethnic uniqueness is still spread (ibid. 71-73). Sport (especially rugby) is 'a powerful social circle in which identity is tied to achievement on the rugby field', a game that is much more than only rugby (ibid. 73-75). The fourth sphere is the, still largely white, schools, where knowledge about the past is formally transmitted via education (ibid. 75-76) (see the next section for more information). The fifth sphere is cultural networks and festivals (ibid. 77-78). The sixth sphere is peers, described by Jansen as an all-white friendship circle caused by the all-white social spheres described above. 'Here a dangerous knowledge is received and repeated, unchallenged, and often with disastrous consequences' (ibid. 79).

Jansen's differentiation of the social spheres is helpful to understand possible factors that influence youth. In his description, however, he could have been more nuanced. He describes, for example, the Afrikaner family as 'a tight and cohesive group with clear line of authority' where the father is the head of the household, served by his obedient wife (ibid. 71). This contrasts with reality: many women have full-time jobs or own a business and have a voice in financial issues.

Moreover, most recent official statistics of South Africa concerning South Africa's population show a higher percentage of unemployed women than unemployed men. But long-term figures show that 'year-on-year, the number of unemployed women decreased slightly by 5,000 (or 0.2%), while the number of unemployed men increased by 81 000 (or 3.6%)' (Statistics South Africa 2013a: xiv). When taking a more detailed look at the level of education, it shows that the higher the level of education, the bigger the gender differences in terms of employment. Among people who had no schooling there is a small difference between men and women, but in the categories 'secondary not completed', 'secondary completed' and 'tertiary', women experience higher rates of unemployment than men (Statistics South Africa 2013a: xv).

Another statement concerns the description of peers: 'in no other social group in South Africa is racial exclusivity so rigidly maintained than among Afrikaner youth' (Jansen 2009: 78). This description is straightforward, old-fashioned and one-sided, think for example about the multi-racial nature of schools. He raises the idea of passive Afrikaner youth that is still very isolated and only supplied with ideas that favour Afrikaners. As a result, his point concerning indirect knowledge as one of the main forms of knowledge

becomes very plausible. When the social spheres are taken as changing, negotiated spheres, questions can be posed. What is the relation between indirect and direct knowledge (events youth experience themselves, in the rainbow nation)? There are, for example in popular music, signs that the youth is active, and challenging ideas about Afrikaner nationalism from the past.

However, this categorising of spheres in which history is transmitted is helpful. Especially interesting for this research are the cultural networks and festivals. These festivals are used to transmit language, symbols, rituals and traditions to youth and to make Afrikaner culture visible. They can be seen as a response to the perception that Afrikaner culture is invisible in the political and social domain.

As Jansen also argues, schooling is one of the spheres in which knowledge about the past is transmitted. Johan Wasserman (2008) from the Pedagogy Department of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, conducted research on historical awareness of Afrikaner students. Chapter 5.3 elaborates on this research. His article fits with the theory of Jansen, because his starting point is that relating to the past might be troublesome. Wassserman, however, analyses from an education point of view and makes recommendations to bring people together through history education.

5.3 History Education.

> 'Afrikaner adolescents in schools in the 21st Century have never experienced the positions of power and dominance of the pre-1994 generations, but have merely heard the South African history of how it played itself out' (Wasserman 2008: 19).

Wasserman (2008) argues in South Africa, history taught in schools confronts young Afrikaners with the loss of political power. He observes declining attention to events in Afrikaner history, like the South African War. According to him, this may lead to feelings of exclusion. As a result, the youth might feel like outsiders, not being part of the 'born frees'. In this line of reasoning, young Afrikaners identify themselves as 'the other' in the new South Africa, lacking the tools to examine their histories and myths critically. History education confirms what they know and does not challenge their own principles. 'Afrikaner youth remains to see their history as a unique history, with a clear influence

on the way they see the past, the present and the future[39]' (Wasserman 2008: 125).

Hence, Afrikaner youth has trouble relating to the past and the future of the new South Africa: they feel as if they no longer belong in South Africa. This might fuel nationalistic and aggressive sentiments (Wasserman 2008: 120, 124). Jansen (2009) and Sutherland (2013) also observed this reaction when the past is raised:

> 'But this silence is easily ruptured whenever Afrikaner youth are confronted with the past […]. Such reaction is intense, confrontational, and extremely hostile. What breeds this hostility is that the Afrikaner youths see everything collapsing around them' (Jansen 2009: 68, 69).

> 'Respondents are therefore not experiencing an identity crisis. They may experience discomfort with the blunt juxtaposing of past and present as the recent past manifests its effects consistently in the present' (Sutherland 2013: 210).

A song like 'De la Rey' is an easy way to expose the discontent about the situation and to call for a new Afrikaner leader.

For recommendations to bring people together through history education, Wasserman turns to extensive literature that argues that a radical change of the curriculum may turn the tide. What is needed is an inclusive history, giving students tools to critically analyse historical events and thereby adjusting their own perceptions. Learning could be made more interesting and accessible by, for example, visiting the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria and the Apartheid Museum near Soweto (Jansen 2009: 131, 132).

This is a rather pessimistic image painted by Jansen and Wasserman of 'the Afrikaner youth' and their view on the future. The selection of youth they portray seems uninformed about the position of historical events important to them within a wider South African history and constantly confronted with the loss of their elite position in politics. Consequently, they feel left out, or 'outvoted by strangers', as not part of the born-frees, which fuels an ethno-nationalistic sentiment. Why are these young people so concerned with their position in South Africa? These sentiments are remarkable,

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[39] *Dit is dus duidelik dat, soos tog wel deur die beperkte data geopenbaar is, Afrikaner-adolessente nog vashou aan hulle unieke verlede wat duidelik 'n uitwerking het op hulle sienings van die verlede, van die hede, en van die toekoms.*

because, although South Africa's economic elite is getting more racially diverse, mainly whites shape this elite. Section 5.5 provides more information on class differences in South Africa. Moreover, are they really nostalgic to a time they have not experienced themselves: the South Africa of their parents?

Perceptions about the past and changing societal relations might cause tensions between two generations, which is illustrated in the Boetman debate between Chris Louw and Willem de Klerk, in which two radically different positions are represented: De Klerk calls for new pride, Louw accuses him of political cowardice.

5.4 The Boetman Debate.

The liberal journalist Chris Louw transformed the face of the Afrikaner debate with an open letter to Willem de Klerk, brother of the former president and Nobel Prize winner F.W. de Klerk. It started with De Klerks pamphlet *Afrikaners: Kroes, kras, kordaat* (2000) where he invites young Afrikaners to understand the past and to build a new future, a renewed soul[40] for Afrikaners (De Klerk 2000: 99). 'Do not be ashamed, but be proud of your history and predecessors' is his message.

In Louws *Ope Brief aan Willem de Klerk* (2000) he reacts firmly to De Klerk's call. The generational gap is an important theme: he speaks about the younger generation (including himself, born in 1952) and the older generation of Afrikaner leaders. According to Louw, the older generation is the first and, probably, last generation in Afrikaner history that never had to fight a war themselves: The older generation was born too late for the Anglo-Boer War, were too young for the World Wars and were too busy planning the South African Border War[41]. De Klerk is a product of a generation who shaped their children into soldiers who had to go to the border to fight for ideals, which were not their own ideals, but the ideals of their leaders. 'You are the first generation Afrikaners who delegated your children to die for you[42]' (Website Beeld 2009).

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[40] *Nuwe siel*

[41] South African Border War: 1966 – 1989 took place in – by South Africa occupied - South-West Africa (current Namibia) and Angola between the South African army and Angolian army.

[42] *Julle was die eerste geslag Afrikaners wat jul kinders afgevaardig het om vir julle te gaan sterf*

The ones who had to fight the South African Border War, were the younger generation: a generation raised to curb their emotions, to be seen and not be heard, to carry out commands without complaint, to show respect to parents and be willing to sacrifice their lives for the country and for the Greater Cause. They learned how to be ironic to survive. Louw emphasises the inter-generational struggle: 'You never experienced this humiliation. Not you, nor your generation. You only provided an environment for this[43]' (Website Beeld 2009).

Chris Louw's reaction shows a deep frustration:

> 'I'm fed up. Really, I have had enough commands to carry out. First from the Apartheid patriarch, now from the same converted patriarch and also from the new black elite[44]' (Website Beeld 2009).

He is angry about the political cowardice of older generation Afrikaner leaders and he accuses them of deceit by sending the younger generation to war to defend apartheid. 'The idealised apartheid lasted a lifetime, your lifetime[45]', remaining the younger generation in shame and degradation, because of the loss of status (Louw 2000: 14 - 15). Chris Louw committed suicide on November 20th 2009 at the age of 57, but he left a mark on the discussion: anger towards previous generations and a disassociation from ones roots.

This debate can be seen as part of a wider development: the generational gap between young Afrikaners and their parents. It is common that young people relate to the past in different ways from their parents and in a different way than their parents would like them to. In this case, younger people would like to give a different meaning to the term Afrikaner, with special reference to historical events. However, they still identify as Afrikaners and try to look for a new interpretation of this term. In a sense, this discussion remains very internal, between white, Afrikaans speaking residents of South Africa, who share a common history.

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[43] *Jy het nooit daardie vernedering gesmaak nie. Nie jy of jou hele geslag nie. Julle het bloot die omstandighede daarvoor geskep*
[44] *Ek is gatvol. Heeltemal, tot die keel toe, gatvol daarvoor om opdragte te vat. Eers van die apartheidspatriarge, nou van dieselfde bekeerde pilatus-patriarge en van die nuwe swart elite*
[45] *Geidealiseerde apartheid het net mooi 'n leeftyd geduur - julle volwasse leeftyd*

This discussion also brings another important aspect to the forefront: Louw refers to the loss of the elite position. Louw argues that De Klerk and his generation benefitted from the apartheid era, and that his generation should also face the consequences. This often-returning topic concerns the perception of loss of Afrikaner culture and language. This is a remarkable perception, because the perceived position of Afrikaners in South Africa does not match the situation according to statistics. The following section explores this issue further.

5.5 Experiencing Loss.

The perception of loss is important to acknowledge, because this research is mainly about how people understand their situation. Afrikaners feel that they have lost political power they had during apartheid[46]. This is accurate because the African National Congress (ANC) is undefeated[47] since 1994.

However, Afrikaners who argue that Afrikaners have lost their elite position in business or that their culture is in danger, go beyond the loss of political power. While feeling a loss of political power, the middle classes and business elites have flourished economically. Their success is borne out by the position of Afrikaner capital, ranking the second position on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, due to declining English capital. As one might expect, globalisation does not only affect processes of social identification, it also has a major effect on the domestic front as neo-liberal consensus has taken hold in the domestic policies (Davies 2009: 1, 4, 5).

Afrikaans, one of the cornerstones of Afrikaner identity, is no longer one of two official languages, but one of eleven. This however does not mean that Afrikaans is fading: there has been a slight increase of the use of Afrikaans according to the last census (from 13.3% to 13.5%) (Website South Africa.info 2012). A more inclusive notion of heritage, such as name changes in Pretoria, illustrates the increasing attention to the preservation

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[46] Whites constitute 8,7% of the total South African population (Statistics South Africa 2013a: 3).
[47] The elections of May 7th 2014 did not break with previous results.

of historical places. The introduction of policies of affirmative action[48] might fuel the experience of loss.

Furthermore, statistics show that the official unemployment rate is significantly higher among blacks than among whites (24.7% among South Africans in general, 28.1% among blacks, 6.6% among whites) (Statistics South Africa 2013: 4, 5). In a review of the health care situation in South Africa, the conclusion was that 'historical injustices together with the disastrous health policies of the previous administration are being transformed' and that life expectancy had increased to sixty years, regardless of racial categories. However, large racial differences still occur in determinants for health, such as sanitation, housing for the poor and gender inequalities (Mayosi et. al. 2012: 2029). 36.5% of the white population is matriculated, which means that this 36.5% meets the minimum requirements to progress to university, compared to 8.3% of the black African population, 7.4% of the coloured population and 21.6% of persons of Indian or Asian origin (Statistics South Africa 2011b: 34). Furthermore, generally speaking, the annual income of white households is 6 times higher than the income of black households[49] (Statistics South Africa 2011b: 42).

In fact, young Afrikaners still profit from their extraordinary situation and there is no doubt that 'the new generation of post-nationalist Afrikaners have by and large welcomed the benefits of South Africa's return to the international community and the sporting, cultural and economic ties that it has allowed' (Baines 2009: 8, 9). It is therefore striking how statistics are often misused and ignored in creating narratives about the position of Afrikaners in South African society.

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[48] Policies of affirmative action: 'Employers must make sure designated groups (black people, women and people with disabilities) have equal opportunities in the workplace. Designated groups must be equally represented in all job categories and levels. Based on Legislation in Section 15, of the Employment Equity Act' (Website Department Labour 2014a). 'Black people' is defined as Africans, Indians and coloureds (Website Department Labour 2014b). This means that a wide range of South African can benefit from those policies (except, among others, white men).

[49] The statistics point to a growing black middle-class with the majority race group's yearly household incomes showing the fastest growth of 169.1% to R60 613 from R22 522 recorded in Census 2001.

5.5.1. A Narrative about Loss and Pride.

The following chapter illustrates and analyses this paradox: white students who study at university, but who refer to a severe notion of loss. Although they are proud of their culture and they actively try to preserve it, it seems that one of their main motivations is the perception that an attack on Afrikaans culture is taking place[50]. During the interview, they illustrate their narrative with parallels with the past.

Four students of the board of AfriForum *jeug* and one employee from the FAK working on the new edition of the FAK *sangbundel*[51], participated in the focus group discussion. AfriForum *jeug* is the civil rights branch of the Solidarity Movement and it has more than fifty branches all over South Africa and is active in several university student councils. The civil rights organisation fights for the rights of Afrikaners and aims to make sure that Afrikaners can freely practice their culture, speak their language and claim their rights. They urge students and young-professionals to become part of the movement and they encourage these young Afrikaners to take responsibility for their generation and their own future (Website AfriForum *jeug* 2014).

The focus group discussion took place in the head office of the Solidarity Movement, located between DF Malan Drive and Botha Avenue[52] in Centurion, a suburb of Pretoria. The shortbread from Woolworths[53] immediately led to discussion about Woolworths being subjected to boycotts in the second part of 2012. Members of PRAAG, a group of pro-Afrikaans activists, called for boycotts, which spread when the Solidarity Movement officially launched the boycott (Website Supermarket 2012). Shopping trolleys were filled with goods, but were abandoned in the shops to increase the workload. The rumour was that mainly whites shop at Woolworths, but that the company was not employing enough whites. This might be due to the policies of affirmative action that, according to the Solidarity Movement, are based on discrimination:

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[50] Please note that this interview does not represent students in general. A few outstanding statements are made, that I have not heard before or after this interview. However, it is important to highlight these perceptions, because it gives us insights in the development of identities and the influence of outspoken perceptions.

[51] See the introduction of the Solidarity Movement for more information on the *sangbundel*.

[52] D.F. Malan was the Prime Minister of South Africa from 1948 till 1954. P.W. Botha was the Prime Minister from 1978 till 1984 and the State President from 1984 till 1989.

[53] An international retail chain

'Solidarity believes that imbalances must be rectified without creating new forms of imbalance. The manner in which affirmative action is currently being implemented is creating serious new forms of discrimination' (Website Solidarity 2013b).

In other words: because Woolworths is not employing whites, they discriminate against whites, so Woolworths needs to be boycotted. Whether this line of reasoning is sound or not, it shows that young, highly-educated students, studying at a multi-racial university, are confused by the Afrikaner case. How can it be that their subjective perception contradicts verifiable facts? What is their interest; because they, and their fellow students, are in the privileged position to study at university and have, according to the facts, better prospects? In order to try to answer these questions, attention is given to some remarkable quotes and issues raised in the interview.

The chairman of AfriForum *jeug* explains their ideal: everybody can freely practice their culture, speak their language and claim their rights. According to him, apathy among Afrikaner students is a big concern: these students merge into South African society and they give up their rights to celebrate their culture. AfriForum *jeug* aims to redeem the young generation and move them from apathy to enthusiasm in order to create cultural freedom. They make use of the so-called Christian democratic framework which embraces the 'insolent Christian principles': true power is not in the hands of the state, but in the hands of God, and a sense of duty, a calling, toward their own community (Website AfriForum *jeug* 2014).

According to these students, apathy arose since 1994, when it was politically incorrect to associate with being Afrikaner. Afrikaners were seen as the political perpetrators of apartheid, a label that affected how they identified:

'For my parents' generation culture and politics were very interwoven. Politicians from their generation disappointed them and now it's difficult to separate politics from their culture'[54].

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[54] *My ouers, hulle het baie die kultuuraspek verwewe met die politiek in hulle eie generasie. Omdat die politiek hulle, hoe kan ek sê, hulle teleurgestel het, ehm, is dit moeilik om die kultuur te skei van hulle eie generasie van die politiek van daardie tyd.* Excerpt from the interview with AfriForum *jeug*, October 23th 2012.

Currently, students listen to Afrikaans music, have the traditions, speak Afrikaans, they have 'the identity inside[55]', but they do not identify as Afrikaner, because of negative connotations. It is interesting to see how these students refer to identity and culture: they refer to the Afrikaner culture, as a fixed entity that is passed on from generation to generation. People, who listen to Afrikaans music and speak Afrikaans, automatically have the identity inside. This suggests that identity is seen as a condition that encompasses certain cultural aspects, in contrast to Barth (1969), who argued that boundaries between 'us' and 'them' tell us more about identity. By referring to identity and culture as fixed, it seems as if it becomes manageable: with the proper tools, one can influence this process of identificetion. To use the terms from the theoretical part: one of their target groups is 'they', students who cannot identify as Afrikaner, but 'have the identity inside'. 'We', students who can identify as such, are taking actions to make them feel at ease.

That 'they' do not identify as Afrikaner is due to the atmosphere at university where identifying as Afrikaner is still politically incorrect, according to the students of AfriForum *jeug.* For example, Afrikaner traditions, such as a celebration day, are not celebrated anymore, and there was a discussion about adjustment of the seal of the university[56]. To put this vision in other words:

> 'You know, there is an attack on the Afrikaner tradition. This is especially the case at universities where many traditions are taken away every year[57]'.

Thus, AfriForum *jeug* raises attention and aims to create a positive atmosphere on the campus where students can be proud of their Afrikaner roots. They organise campaigns, collect signatures or write reports on the usage level of Afrikaans, because

> 'I think it is necessary to have a counterpart to compensate for all the negative sounds about Afrikaners[58]'.

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[55] *Alhoewel mense nog steeds daai identiteit hê, binne hulleself.* Excerpt from the interview with AfriForum *jeug*, October 23th 2012.

[56] The seal contains an image of an ox wagon, referring to the mean of transportation during the Great Trek. The idea was to take this ox wagon out of the seal.

[57] *want jy weet, daar is 'n aanslag op die tradisie van die Afrikaner. Vooral op die universiteite is daar die aanslag baie groot en elke jaar word daar 'n hele klomp tradisies weggevat.* Excerpt from the interview with AfriForum *jeug*, October 23th 2012.

'Raising awareness is very important, because a lot of those students, especially when they are not raised in an environment where culture is important, do not realise what they will miss'[59].

The actions and sentiment of these students are reactions to apathy, status and loss and it seems as if they argue that the Afrikaner identity needs to stay visible to survive. However, merging into South African society and speaking English does, of course, not mean that Afrikaner identity disappears. As argued previously, identity can be seen as a mosaic, in which certain components are more prominent than others, depending on the context. In the context of a multi-racial university, it might be more reasonable for students to identify as South African instead of Afrikaner. However, for the students of AfriForum *jeug* it is important that aspects of their culture remain visible and that students can freely be proud of their culture. Culture and identity are either preserved or vanish, it seems.

This notion of identity and its consequences raise many questions: why exactly is it important to realise what you are about to miss? Why is it important to identify as Afrikaner in the way these students describe it? Why should Afrikaans not solely become a language, a collection of traditions, norms and values that merges into and adjusts to the South African society of today?

The meaning given to 'us' and 'them' is context-depended, as argued in the theoretical part of this thesis. Therefore, during the interview, the meaning of 'them' also switches, from students who cannot identify as Afrikaner, to the board of university and the national government. These students of AfriForum *jeug* perceive policies of the university and the government as attacks on their culture. They want to make the protection of their culture politically acceptable. One students describes it as follows:

'Culture needs people in order to exist. It won't work if there are only three people who say: I'm Afrikaans. Then, there is not really a culture. One philosopher puts it nicely, Roger Scruton: a teacher who only wants to mean something for the children is not a good teacher. A good teacher is somebody who wants his profession to continue to exist.

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[58] *So ek dink dit is nodig dat daar 'n teënpool is vir die baie negatiewe goeters wat gesê word oër Afrikaners.* Excerpt from the interview with AfriForum *jeug*, October 23th 2012.
[59] *Ek dink bewusmaking is baie balangrik, want baie van die studente, vooral als hulle nie in kulturele, of sterk kulturele huise groot geword het nie, kom nie rerig agter wat van hulle weggeneem word.* Excerpt from the interview with AfriForum *jeug*, October 23th 2012.

Do you understand? Children would not be taught maths because it is in their advantage, but because he wants his job to survive. I think we must regard culture in that manner as well'[60].

What also contributes to the student's perception is that these students are raised with a strong consciousness of traditions and history. They refer, as the artist Steve Hofmeyr does in chapter six, to heroic perceptions about their ancestors, who demonstrated a strong urge for freedom. It was not only the colonisers who travelled to South Africa to start a new life, but also the Afrikaners who fled from the Cape, because they did not want to be dominated by the English. This puts their work in a historical context and provides them with pride and the will to continue their 'struggle in difficult times[61]':

'The Afrikaner survived many bad circumstances. I mean, over and over again the Afrikaner stood up in difficult conditions. So, when a bad thing happens, I would not say that this is the end. There is always a future[62]'.

'I think it is very important for a culture to be oppressed to become stronger[63]'.

'The darkest hour is just before dawn[64]'.

By referring to historical events and identifying elements that form Afrikaner culture, they reconfirm assumptions about Afrikaners. As a result, people who identify in a different way or who give a different meaning to their roots and family history need to be convinced that it is okay to be Afrikaner on the university grounds.

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[60] *Ja, ek verstaan. Die kultuur is basis het dit mense nodig, as daar nie mense is wat sê: ek is nie Afrikaner nie, het help nie as daar drie mense is en sê: ons is Afrikaners, dan is daar nie rerrig 'n kultuur nie. Daar is so'n filosoof, ek moe nou dink wat sy naam is, Roger Scruton, het gesê oër die goeie onderwyser, hy het vir my baie mooi gesê, hy sy: 'n goeie onderwyser is nie 'n onderwyser nie omdat hy vir die kinders iets wil beteken nie, maar omdat hy die vak wil laat voortleef. Verstaan? Daarom, jy gaan nie vir die kinders wiskunde gê, omdat dit in die eerste plaats vir die kinders voordeel is, maar omdat hy graag die vak wil laat voortleef. Ek dink ons moet kultuur ook so sien.* Excerpt from the interview with AfriForum *jeug*, October 23th 2012.
[61] *En ons is in 'n moeilike tyd, daar is nie twyfel daaroër nie. En dit mag dalk nog slegter raak. Maar ons hou vast aan die hoop en daar is stukkies, goeie tekens wat opstaan, wat uitkom.* Excerpt from the interview with AfriForum *jeug*, October 23th 2012.
[62] *En die Afrikaner het al deur baie baie slegte goed gegaan. Ek bedoel, en elke keer het die Afrikaner opgestaan en in moeilike omstandighede. So dis nie te sê dat dit hierdie de einde is, as daar nou 'n slegte ding gebeur. Daar is altyd 'n toekoms.* Excerpt from the interview with AfriForum *jeug*, October 23th 2012.
[63] *Ek dink, dis baie vaak belangrik vir 'n kultuur, om onderdruk te word, dat hy weer sterker word.* Excerpt from the interview with AfriForum *jeug*, October 23th 2012.
[64] *die aand raak die donkerste net vir dit dag begin raak.* Excerpt from the interview with AfriForum *jeug*, October 23th 2012.

Then, the discussion took a radical turn. Parallels with the past that encourage these students to do what they do, do not only originate from South African history. When somebody mentioned Germany in the 1930's, other students started to laugh: they spoke about the same comparison in the car on their way to the discussion. The students made the controversial comparison with the situation in Germany before the Second World War. The students compared the position of Afrikaners with the position of Jews before the Second World War.

The vanishing of the Jewish culture in Germany under Nazi rule and the social unrest caused by suppression of one's culture feeds a deep fear that South Africa is going the same way. Despites of the lack of official statistics about the killing of farmers on their farms, the crime in cities against whites and the violent robberies in houses, the general feeling is that violence is race-driven, specifically targeting Afrikaners[65]. In November 2012, the Solidarity Movement presented a report on farm attacks. In this report, Christiaan Bezuidenhout, criminologist of the University of Pretoria, states that the existing data are 'out of date, covers different time periods and fails to give detailed breakdowns of who, within farming communities, is under attack' (Solidarity Research Institute 2012: 18). There is a lack of official data, because murders on farms are included in general murder statistics. However, he analyses these data and concludes that 'comparatively speaking the chances of a farmer being murdered on a farm in South Africa are anything between four to six times higher than the average murder risk rate for the general population' (Solidarity Research Institute 2012: 11). Bezuidenhout emphasises that it is difficult to highlight a single reason why farmers are attacked (ibid. 11). So the need for organisations to protect culture is not only for the sake of the existing culture, it serves a corporate purpose to protect the culture in the future:

> 'Every ones culture is important: you can't elevate one and surpass the other one'[66].

> 'People, specifically in Germany, said in the 1930's: 'Oh, this can't be true'. The rise of nationalism, the unrest, the poverty, no food, and no money: this all nourishes discontent. And the Jewish said: 'This can't happen, we are also people, we stay in houses,

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[65] *die realiteit is, ons het, Afrikaners spesifiek, word uitgemoor op plaase in 'n vinnige tempo.* Excerpt from the interview with AfriForum *jeug*, October 23th 2012.
[66] *Almal se kultuur is belangrik, jy kan nie jou kultuur verhef en die ander één onderdruk nie, dan draai ons net die situasie om van wat dit eintlik is.* Excerpt from the interview with AfriForum *jeug*, October 23th 2012.

we can't be removed and killed'. This is what Afrikaner say as well: 'this can't be true, we are not Zimbabwe or Rwanda. We are with many; we are from South Africa, not from Europe. We are also South Africans'[67].

Learning from the imagined past, making sure that bad things will not happen again and being alert to the signs that may predict unrest, this is what AfriForum *jeug* tries to reach. In their opinion, the biggest difference between South African and Germany in the 1930's is that civil society, such as the Solidary Movement (including AfriForum *jeug*), the Afrikaans press, political parties, and cultural institutions, are healthy and active. What they do not mention is a more important difference: these students experience marginalisation after previous generations have lost political power, in contrast to Jews in Germany who were industrially exterminated. White Afrikaners still are, as argued in section 5.5, part of elites in South Africa and the political and social landscape 'remained stable, although the balance of power shifted decisively to the ANC' (Berger 2009: 156).

So, the main question of this section returns: why is it that these issues confuse these students?

In order to unravel this complex phenomenon, it is useful keep in mind that the human mind, behaviour and perceptions can be unpredictable and illogical and that it is impossible to understand and explain everything. However, we can try to understand this case. In order to do so, turning to the literature on processes of identification and belonging is useful.

Questions of belonging mainly arise due to confrontation with others, and gain increasing importance globally. Belonging aims to show what is yours and proves and underlines that you originate from a certain place. In this interview, the constructed opponent, 'them', shifts from students who do not identify as Afrikaner, although they 'have the identity inside', to the boards take decisions that – in the perception of AfriForum *jeug* - vanishes Afrikaner culture. The collective identity as introduced by

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[67] *die vergelyking word dikwels gemaak dat die mense in Duitsland het ook gesê: dit kan tog nie wees nie, ek het (gelag: ons het nou ook gepraat van die dertiger jare), die opkoms van die nasionalisme en die onruste wat daar is, die armoede wat jy ook sê, mense het nie kos nie en daar is nie geld nie, dis alles voedingsbronne vir onluste. En die Jode het gesê, dit kannie, dit kannie, ons is ook mense, ons bly in huise, ons kannie so wees dat afgevoer word en uitgemoor word en daarmee sal ook Afrikaner, wat ook dikwels so sê: dit kannie so wees nie, ons is nie 'n Rwanda, ons is nie 'n Zimbabwe nie. Ons is met teveel en ons is van hier, ons is nie van Europa nie, ons is ook Suid Afrikaners.* Excerpt from the interview with AfriForum *jeug*, October 23th 2012.

Cerulo (1997) of the students of AfriForum *jeug* represents the self-conscious notion of who they are, which is supported by negative ways of identifying (Taylor and Moghaddam in Gibson and Gouws 2000), as it increases the differences between 'us' and 'them' and leads to a positive feeling about the self.

Moreover, all three building blocks that Martin (2013) identified are identifiable in this interview: selective memory of the past, territory and space and popular culture. For example, the emphasis on the urge for freedom and the struggles their ancestors had, reveals a selective memory of the past. The prominent example is the retelling of German history just before the Second World War and the parallel made with current South Africa. Struggles experienced by population groups under apartheid, are not part of their narrative. Neither are the facts that underline their privileged position.

The second building block of territory and space is illustrated by the debate arising from the intended name change of Pretoria. Territory cannot only be disputed between different groups in terms of physical property, but also in symbolic terms. Giving names and renaming a place is a way of giving meaning to the space and territory. The council of the City of Tshwane chose to rename the streets and city, and in doing so, the students of AfriForum *jeug* perceive it as decreasing visibility of the Afrikaner representation of history.

During the interview, the symbolic codes and events were put forward to illustrate the importance of popular culture. Events that used to play an important role on the campus have been abolished and symbols, such as the seal, are subject to discussion. In response to these events, the aim is to mobilise 'the Afrikaner community' and represents Afrikaners on the campus. It represents the group as a homogeneous entity to the 'outside' world, to prevent their culture from being outvoted, as suggested by Ceuppens and Geschiere (2005).

So, the three building blocks that form the basis of processes of identification are in place. Another pressing issue is the strict representation of the Afrikaner culture as an entity that encompasses certain elements. This notion raises the feeling that culture can be protected and preserved. As a result, people who do not identify as Afrikaners are losing something essential, namely their culture. Approaching culture as a fluid collection of norms, values and traditions provides space for a more nuanced vision:

people do not identify as Afrikaners on the campus, but they may do so when they visit Oppikoppi, or at home. This does not mean that the Afrikaner culture has vanished; it means that people actively choose between different identities.

Furthermore, when looking at South Africa with the strict notion of identity and culture held by the students, one can understand that certain developments contribute to the perception that Afrikaners are losing ground. Indeed, elements of culture, such as street names, events and the use of Afrikaans in official documents, are decreasing. However, one can conclude that statistics that show the opposite are not included in their narrative.

As a result, they perceive themselves as different and act accordingly. This idea of uniqueness strongly contributes to processes of identification, as there is an identifiable boundary between the self and the other. To quote Barth: 'the groups perceive themselves as different, and interacted on that assumption, proving their difference, to themselves and each other, through their interaction' (Barth in Eriksen 2001: 127).

It is easy to say that these students are conservative, with their strict notion of identity and what Afrikaner culture should entail. Although their perception might be conservative, their actions are not. Although their perception of Afrikaners in South Africa does not match the statistics, it drives them to take matters into their own hands. The government will not help them, so they have to unite and protect and preserve what is important to them. Portraying Afrikaners as a people 'under attack' justifies their work and presents it as essential.

5.6 Summary.

The analysis of the 'De la Rey phenomenon' first of all shows the effect a single song can have: Bok van Blerk started, despite his effort to stay away from political debates, a vivid debate about processes of social identification among young Afrikaners. The popularity of this song can be explained by a combination of using the right words and cultural symbols. Furthermore, it made good use of nostalgia and the need for a historical figure to be proud of to take away insecurities about the future. The effect of the song can therefore be described as reflective and conservative at the same time: it used the past to move forwards. Jansen, who identifies three tendencies of relations, further deepens

how students experience the past and present. He also introduced six spheres in which this knowledge is transmitted. One of them, history education needs to offer inclusive history, giving students tools to critically analyse historical events and thereby adjusting their own perceptions. Differences in experiencing the past are illustrated by the Boetman debate between Louw and De Klerk. Where the past is a source of shame for the one, it is a source of pride for the other.

The experience of loss is an often-returning topic in this research, because it emphasises a negative relation between the past and the future. It is based on a sentiment that Afrikaners did not only lose political power, but they are also losing ground in economics and social life. It is striking how these narratives are being created and distributed, because they do not correspondent with statistics that show that white South Africans are still in a privileged position. The interview with students from AfriForum *jeug* and the FAK illustrates this paradox and shows that the three building blocks of identity, memory of the past, space and territory and popular culture, are essential in creating strong boundaries between the self and the other. Moreover, they use the past as a source of inspiration that gives them hope and pride. To conclude this section with the words of Hermann Giliomee (2012):

> On a long term, Afrikaans as a language and the Afrikaner community faced a future that is insecure. Much depended on their faith in themselves, their initiative and, most of all, their ability to accept their history as a source of power. Moreover, much depended on the ability to use history as a way to explore a common goal with fellow South Africans and the faith that they can create a successful future[68] (Giliomee 2012: 441).

The next chapter focuses specifically on one of the building blocks: popular music. Popular music is divided, for the sake of this research, into two genres: mainstream music that confirms assumptions about Afrikaners and progressive music that raises questions. One of the most prominent artists in mainstream music is Steve Hofmeyr, artist and activist for Afrikaans. At the Pretoria *Musiekfees*, and also in the media and other events, he strengthens the feeling of loss and victimhood of Afrikaners.

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[68] *Maar op die lange duur het die Afrikaanse taal en die Afrikanergemeenskap 'n onsekere toekomst in die gesig gestaar. Baie het afgehang van hul geloof in hulself, hul inisiatief en, bowenal, hul vermoe om hul geskiedenis te aanvaar as 'n bron van krag, maar ook op so 'n manier dat hulle en hul mede-Suid-Afrikaners 'n gemeenskaplike doel ontdek en saam daarmee die geloof dat hulle 'n suksesvolle toekoms kan smee.*

Progressive music is introduced in chapter seven. Questioning assumptions and creating space for the construction of new ways to identity as Afrikaners, or move away from this label, is central here. Fokofpolisiekar is the most prominent band in this respect and with their lyrics they represent the voice of a large audience. Their predecessors, The Voëlvry Movement, will also get attention. Interestingly, both mainstream and progressive music contribute in their own way to new processes of identifications and coming to terms with the past.

6 Mainstream Music and Processes of Identification.

Popular music in this research concerns two genres: mainstream and progressive. Mainstream music in this research is music that confirms given notions and that meets the expectations about what it means to be Afrikaner.

> 'The lyrics of most popular Afrikaans music expressed sentimental romantic themes: national sentiment, flora, fauna and rugby, but also religious themes and gender stereotypes that conformed to Afrikaner patriarchal culture' (Van der Waal 2011: 764).

Any music that deviates from the norms of mainstream music is usually described as progressive or alternative music. Progressive music questions and challenges the assumptions of mainstream music and is therefore aiming to construct new understandings.

> 'Without attempting air-tight categorisations (popular culture needs air), we can identify popular culture as those genres that, as Fabian insists, (1978: 315) did not come about merely as responses to questions and conditions, but that ask questions and create conditions' (Coplan 2000: 124).

The Pretoria *Musiekfees*[69]*,* the festival highlighted in the next section, is an example of a festival in which mainstream music is celebrated. However, the Pretoria *Musiekfees* is not just a music festival, but also a demonstration against the intended name change of Pretoria. The atmosphere, the sponsors, the music and the catering: it all contributes to a feeling of combativeness and pride, amplified by music and lyrics. The following section explores this case and introduces the festival (6.1), pays attention to the location (6.1.1), and focuses on the occasion (6.1.2), marketing (6.1.3) and performers (6.1.4). Extra attention is paid to Steve Hofmeyr, one of the most prominent artists in this genre and the headliner of the festival (6.1.4.1). The section ends with a summary that combines theories about music and processes of social identification with the mainstream music as introduced in this section.

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[69] Pretoria music festival

6.1 Pretoria *Musiekfees.*

The Pretoria *Musiekfees* was held at the amphitheatre of the Voortrekker Monument. It is an example of situations where mainstream music and the atmosphere play a role in the construction and confirmation of social identity.

6.1.1 Location.

There are few places in South Africa, except the Language Monument in Paarl and several battlefields from the Great Trek, where the connection between past and present and cultural symbolism is as vivid as the Voortrekker Monument, the venue of this festival. This prominent monument is built on one of the hills surrounding Pretoria. This location combined with the impressive size and shape of the monument makes it a building that cannot be ignored.

The Voortrekker Monument is a historically charged place: December 16th has traditionally been 'the Day of the Vow'[70] referring to the Battle of Blood River in 1838. On December 16th 1938, the centenary of the battle, the first stone was laid of the Voortrekker Monument (Giliomee 2011: 432, 433). During this celebration, the re-enactment of the Great Trek with ox wagons, the singing of folk songs, wearing traditional clothes and re-enactment of how the Voortrekkers cooked attracted many Afrikaners. However, the central moment is at noon when a ray of sunlight illuminates the inscription on the sarcophagus 'We for Thee South Africa'[71], every December 16th. Although the celebrations were meant to be non-partisan, the National Party was the great benefactor and supplier of speakers (ibid).

Today, the celebration and commemoration at the Voortrekker Monument on December 16th are still to some important events. But, the Voortrekker Monument is not only a place for commemoration of the past; its amphitheatre has also become a place of festivities, such as the Pretoria *Musiekfees*. The occasion of the festival is the topic of the next section.

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[70] *Geloftedag.* Since 1994 December 16th was renamed the Day of Reconciliation.
[71] *Ons vir jou Suid Afrika.* A sentence from *Die Stem van Suid Afrika*, South Africa's national anthem from 1957 to 1994.

6.1.2 The Occasion of the Festival.

The festival takes place on November 17th 2012 and starts at 6.30am. Although the festival starts at 6.30am and finishes at 1pm because of the warmth of the afternoon sun, it is already getting hot at 7am. At 7.30am, the smell of sweat and sausages[72] fills the air and the amphitheatre is packed with people, wearing orange shirts. During the following seven and a half hours, twenty to thirty thousand people visited the festival. The public consisted of white families (children, parents and grandparents) and the parking area was filled with *bakkies*[73] and old, white cars decorated with *Oranje-Blanje-Blou* flags; this was South Africa's official flag between 1928 and 1994. Visitors brought their own tents, beach umbrellas, camping chairs and cool boxes. Flags, banners and flyers from various Afrikaner institutions for language, insurances, food and music decorate the venue.

When looking at the programme and the venue, it appears to be a music festival as many others: popular bands from South Africa are invited, the audience sings along or dances *langarm* style[74] on the steps of the amphitheatre. The festival is initiated by the Solidarity Movement (see chapter three) to celebrate Pretoria's and Solidarity's birthdays, according to the flyer and the host. 'Happy Birthday' was sung to the city and the organisation and cake was eaten.

However, it appeared that this day was all about an intended name change of Pretoria (see 3.2.3). The festivals flyer encouraged people to offer ten Rand to AfriForum to pay for the legal action against the name change. 'You can help to save Pretoria's name'[75]. Furthermore, the artists were well aware of this: they mentioned the name change several times and asked the audience what their opinion is: 'Do you want Pretoria to change its name? 'The audience answers with one voice with their arms raised: 'No'. After the cutting of the birthday cake, orange balloons, the colour of the Solidarity Movement, were spread through the audience. As the balloons were released, the sky turned into an orange sea. This picture and stills from recordings were later used in the newspaper articles about the high attendance at protests against the intended name change.

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[72] *boerewors*
[73] pick-up trucks
[74] Dancing *langarm* style looks like simplified, fast ballroom dancing.
[75] *Jy kan Pretoria se naam help red!*

After the Pretoria *Musiekfees,* a recording of it came online on YouTube (YouTube 2012, in Afrikaans). This video not only provides a visual illustration of the day, but also reveals some interesting quotes. For example, from Kallie Kriel, executive director of AfriForum:

> 'Thousands of people come to the festival, which is a clear message that they are bothered by the government and ministers' attempt to change Pretoria's name. It has been said that public processes take place to hear what the public says. This festival is a perfect occasion to hear what the public says. The questions posed from the stage: 'Should the name of Pretoria change?' is answered with a very clear 'no'. This needs to be taken seriously'[76].

Flip Buys, executive director of the Solidarity Movement, of which AfriForum is a part, emphasises the importance of a countermovement against the ANC:

> 'This is also the occasion to celebrate Afrikaans and show our support for Afrikaans. We say to the ANC: keep your hands off Pretoria's name, we see it as cultural vandalism'[77].

With the last quote, Buys creates a difference between 'us' and 'them' as introduced in the theoretical section of this research. 'We', the audience of the festival, are against 'them', the ANC government. With this, he uses the ANC as 'the other' against what they act. The audience could also be regarded as 'music lovers', 'fans of Steve Hofmeyr' or 'families who enjoy their day'. After Buys' statement the audience can also be seen as 'we', who are against the ANC. This is the picture to be distributed by the media and to be used to underline the importance of the demonstration.

Celebrating the birthday of the Solidarity Movement and Pretoria and starting a protest against the intended name change of the city might be the most obvious reasons for this festival. There was however another goal that needs attention: the role the festival plays

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[76] *Die feit dat letterlik duisende mense die fees kom bywoon, stuur 'n baie duidlike boodskap dat mense nie saam stem met die regering en ministerraad se poging om Pretoria se naam te verander nie. Daar word nou geseg: daar word openbare deelnameprossese gehou om te hoor wat sê die publiek, en hierso is 'n baie ideale geleentlheid om te hoor wat sê die publiek. En die vraag die van die gehoor gevra word: moet Pretoria se naam verander, dan is daar 'n baie duidlike 'nee' en dit is iets waarvan kennis geneem moet word.* Excerpt from the recording of Pretoria *Musiekfees* on internet.

[77] *'[…]maar ook om Afrikaans te vier en ons ondersteuning vir Afrikaans te wys. Ons wil vir die ANC sê: hulle moet hulle hande van Pretoria se naam afhou, ons sien dit as kulturele vandalisme'.* Excerpt from the recording of Pretoria *Musiekfees* on internet.

in the marketing strategies of companies aiming at the Afrikaner public. The following sections pay attention to this aspect and to the performers entertaining the audience.

6.1.3 Marketing.

The festival is an important marketing opportunity for companies. Many institutions, newspapers or companies that focus on Afrikaners sponsor this festival. For them, this festival is a good branding opportunity.

These institutions, newspapers and companies have an important interest in increasing the awareness of being Afrikaner. They focus on a small niche of consumers, and therefore it is in their interest to make sure that this niche will continue to exist or even grow. It is by the identification as Afrikaner that one will choose to participate or consume their goods and services.

To take one example, *Virseker*[78], an insurance company, was present with blue and white banners and flags. Their slogan is: 'Your insurance, your people, your language'[79]. On their website, which is only available in Afrikaans, they state that they would like to offer insurance to all Afrikaans speakers. Moreover, they support the language by donating a part of the insurance fees to the *Virseker* Trust (Website *Virseker* 2014a). The Trust provides bursaries and supports Afrikaans educational projects and has donated more than four million Rand (Website *Virseker* 2014b).

The above sections show that the choice for the location, the occasion and the marketing aspect tell us more about the background of the festival. Commercial interests and media interests might be reasons why the togetherness among Afrikaners is created. But the question remains: what happened at the Pretoria *Musiekfees*? What was the role of music in this regard? The next section takes a closer look at the performers, most prominently at Steve Hofmeyr.

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[78] Vir seker means for sure, verseker means to insure. This insurance company only offers their products in Afrikaans, even their website.
[79] *Jou versekering, jou mense, jou taal*

6.1.4 Performers.

During the morning and early afternoon eighteen performers did not only sing about love, food, family or religion. They alternated this with statements about the city and the audience. Fredi Nest said: 'It's nice to sing for my people!'[80], DJ Ossewa[81]: 'We are a bit ashamed of English, we actually never sing in English. We stay in Pretoria, we are proud!'[82] And Steve Hofmeyr: 'We do not have political power, but we have strength!'[83]. These are messages of pride. These messages created the atmosphere of the festival, because they put all songs and speeches within the frame of pride, hope and combativeness. Because of these statements the songs get a different meaning: a song about food is now a song about Afrikaans food. A song about the power of Christ becomes a song that illustrates the support of Jesus for these people. What happened during the performance of Steve Hofmeyr is a telling example.

6.1.4.1 Steve Hofmeyr.

> 'Steve Hofmeyr, that kind of music is real popular music. It confirms given stereotypes
> and it does not question or explore them'[84].

Andries Visagie, of the department of Afrikaans from the University of Pretoria, made this statement. Steve Hofmeyr is a singer, but he is also known as an actor, presenter and writer. Most of all, he is a very active promoter of Afrikaans.

Hofmeyr uses his popularity to feature as front man in the protest against the decreasing role of Afrikaans in the public sphere and the intended name change of Pretoria. He was the main performer at the Pretoria *Musiekfees*. The assumption that Steve Hofmeyr is popular in the scene is reinforced by an encounter with Marius. Marius is about forty years old, lives in Pretoria and works in the construction sector. He says that all this 'political stuff' does not really matter to him; he has just come to hear Steve Hofmeyr. But when the announcer asks: 'Do we want Pretoria to change its name?' He, like many

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[80] *Dis lekker om te sing vir my eie mense!*
[81] An *ossewa* is an ox wagon. Those ox wagons were used during, among others, the Great Trek. Ossewania, derived from *ossewa*, used to be a common name for girls. It shows the historic and symbolic meaning of the ox wagon.
[82] *Ons is 'n bietjie skaam vir Engels, ons sing eintlik nie Engels nie. Ons bly in Pretoria, ons is trots!*
[83] *Ons het nie die mag nie, ons het die krag!*
[84] Excerpt from the interview with Andries Visagie on September 7th 2012.

others, also shouts: 'No'. He had to work the afternoon but did not want to miss the music.

During Hofmeyr's performance, he delivers a speech about the importance of Afrikaans. It shows his strong rhetoric and use of cultural symbolism. The speech is delivered between two songs and he speaks in Afrikaans with a strong voice:

> 'Every family has a monument, just like my family. We must preserve what they did for us! We do not have the political power but we have the strength! They can take our heritage, but they can't take it from here (points at his heart). And if somebody stands up and says (talks softly in English): 'but Pretoria reminds me of the death of Steve Biko', I say: 'I know, I'm sorry about that, that's awful history'. (In Afrikaans) But let me tell you what Tshwane, the new flag and the new South Africa means to me (starts to shout): Zero standard education. Zero standard health care, zero jobs, massive unemployment and capital city of rape in the world! Every time a farmer[85] gets killed something inside dies. Even though you might not feel it: something dies inside. Every time a farmer gets killed you lose the privilege of preparing meat on the barbeque, a brandy and coke and a VanDeMerwe joke in your own language[86]. Every time a farmer gets killed, you lose a song in Afrikaans. Every time a farmer gets killed, you say goodbye to the syllabus of your own history, the right to have one university in Afrikaans. Here (pointing at his arms) is something you can't take away. It's the blood of my ancestors who refused to be submissive in Europe'[87] [88].

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[85] The Afrikaans word for farmer, *boer,* also refers to Afrikaners.
[86] *Braaing* (preparing meet on a barbecue) and brandy and coke are typical items of Afrikaner cuisine. VanDeMerwe is a common surname.
[87] Characterising Afrikaners as a people with a strong urge for freedom, based on one historical event.
[88] *talking about monuments in every family and certain people in his own family history. Ons moet bewaar wat hulle het gedoen. Ons het nie die mag nie, ons het die krag! [...]. Jy kan die aan die buitekant ons erfenis kry, maar jy kan nie dit hierdoen nie (points his heart). Maar dan staan daar iemand en hy sê (starts to talk softly): but Pretoria reminds me of apartheid, I know, Pretoria reminds me of the death of Steve Biko, I know, I'm sorry about that, that's awfull history. Maar laat ek vir jou vertel waaraan herinner Tshwane, die nuwe vlag en die nuwe Suid Afrika my (talks passionated and lots of shouting). Zero standaard onderwys, zero standaard gesondheid, zero werk, massiewe werkloosheid, dit herinner my aan die verkraghoofdstad van die wêreld! En Tshwane en die vlag herinner my dat dit die moordhoofdstad van die wêreld is! Elke keer as daar 'n boer word vermoor, gaan daar iets dood aan jou. Al voel jy dit nie, iets gaan dood in jou. Elke keer as daar 'n boer vermoor word verloor jy die voorreg van 'n braaivleis en 'n brandewyn met coke en van 'n VanDeMerwe grappie in jou eie taal. Elke keer as daar 'n boer vermoor word verloor jy 'n versie in Afrikaans. Elke keer as daar 'n boer vermoor word, groet jy die salabis van jou eie geskiedenis, verloor jy die voorreg van één universiteit in Afrikaans. Hier is iets julle nie kan wegvat nie, hierdie bloed kom van voorouers af wat geweierd het om onderdanig te wees in Europa.* Excerpt from the speech delivered at the Pretoria *Musiekfees* on November 17th 2012.

Hofmeyr uses a sentiment that we have seen before: as the students of Afriforum *jeug* in section 5.5.1., he also uses the killing of white farmers as an important element in creating a distinction between 'us' and 'them'. By using the fear that 'our people' are killed and that Afrikaner culture vanishes, a feeling of togetherness arises among the audience. Hofmeyr is known for this statement: on other occasions he claimed that white farmers gets killed every five days, that white Afrikaners are killed 'like flies' and that the amount of white South Africans killed by blacks would fill a soccer stadium (Website Africa Check 2014b). Africa Check, a non-partisan organisation aims to check claims made in the public arena by sorting facts from fiction (Website Africa Check 2014a) and they conclude that Hofmeyrs claims are incorrect, that he exaggerate the level of killings and that it serve to contribute to the underlying fear. According to Africa Check, crime affects individuals of all communities and whites are even less likely to be murdered than any other race in South Africa. In his reaction, Hofmeyr states that he indeed argues in the emotional sphere:

> 'Far more than facts, it is people's emotions and experiences that matter ... So 'our people die like flies' is still applicable, emotionally – and does not need to be supported by facts' (Website Africa Check 2014b).

How strong these emotions can be is shown by the response of the audience: a loud applause followed and as if it was natural, people started to sing *Die Stem van Suid-Afrika*, the national anthem between 1957 and 1994. And as a result, people like Marius, who say they only came to see their favourite artist, are moved by his performance and join the group. The use of cultural symbols, the presentation of common threats, whether it is the ANC or blacks, leads to the nourishment of pride. This is how music can work: it nourishes the strong notion of belonging to a group, in sharp contrast to 'them', who 'take our heritage', as Hofmeyr says. And suddenly you find yourself singing the previous national anthem and demonstrating against a name change that 'actually does not matter to you'.

6.2 Summary.

When regarding a festival as an event held primarily for entertainment, this reaction might seem an unexpected outcome. However, when seeing a festival as an occasion in which people with similar interests get together to increase their feeling of togetherness, this might become an obvious outcome.

This section shows how using strong cultural symbols creates an atmosphere in which emotions, such as pride, are nourished. The feeling of belonging is enhanced by the presentation of common threats and by responding to the experience of loss: the intended name change and the fear of losing culture, as illustrated by the speech of Steve Hofmeyr. This fear of losing status feeds, as Tajfel (1982), Van Robbroeck (2008) and Ceuppens and Geschiere (2005) argued, the search for a safe, natural belonging. This 'safe haven' is, in the case of the Pretoria *Musiekfees* presented as language, food, music and cultural symbols.

The aim of this event was to take a stand against the intended name change. To be able to take a strong stand, a strong feeling of togetherness among the audience is required. This togetherness is found in the feeling of being Afrikaans: the Afrikaans aspect of their identity was put to the forefront. The music contributed to the feeling of togetherness, because it confirms clear, fixed ideas about what it means to be Afrikaner. The event therefore was an emotional mobiliser and a way to create, increase and manage a feeling of togetherness, used by several parties. Not only commercial parties that present itself as typically Afrikaans and depend on this niche market, but also politics. The Solidarity Movement uses the image of a large audience that demonstrates against the intended name change of Pretoria to reinforce opposition.

The next chapter focuses on progressive music that questions these given notions about being Afrikaner and therefore contributes to a whole different dynamic. What does this dynamic look like? Who are the prominent artists and what is their message? The following section explores these questions.

7 Progressive Music and Processes of Identification.

The previous chapter introduced mainstream music: music that mainly confirms given notions of what it means to be Afrikaner. The following section elaborates on the rising popularity of progressive music, paying special attention to the Voëlvry Movement and the Oppikoppi festival, with main focus on the occasion, location, audience and performers. Within the scene of progressive music, the band Fokofpolisiekar cannot be overlooked; this band is viewed by many as the band that opened the progressive music industry after the end of apartheid. This section ends with a summary that combines theories about music and processes of social identification with progressive music as introduced in this section.

Oppikoppi and Fokofpolisiekar are examples that aim to express a more open understanding of Afrikaner identities and therefore might challenge given notions. Both Oppikoppi and Fokofpolisiekar attract large audiences, mainly students. Fokofpolisiekar in particular is interesting, because this band grew to be one of the most prominent progressive bands within the music scene in Afrikaans. They represent higher-class, mostly young males who actively try to change the image of Afrikaners.

Although progressive music aims to distance itself from given notions about Afrikaners, one can argue that, just like the mainstream music, it still tries to create a new understanding of the term Afrikaner. So, is there really a difference between mainstream and progressive music? And in what way does progressive music questions given notions about Afrikaners? And what is the result of this?

Both Fokofpolisiekar and Oppikoppi are indebted to the Voëlvry Movement, a movement that toured South Africa in the 1980's, and who reflect an Afrikaans artistic counter-culture, (re)acting against the values of the National Party and conservative *Afrikanerdom*.

7.1 The *Voëlvry* Movement.

'They first had to liberate themselves; the rest would follow'[89] (De Vries 2012: 25).

De Vries emphasises the importance of Afrikaans music and poetry to understand how Afrikaners deal with the trauma of losing political power. According to him, the Voëlvry Movement has set the standard for serious Afrikaans popular music. It has been a short intense hype that moved Afrikaner youth and the artists became pop idols (De Vries 2012: 5, 25). What was the message of the Voëlvry Movement and how did they formulate this? And what happened when the apartheid regime, the establishment against which they rebelled, was gone?

Many artists in South Africa claim to be the 'father of Afrikaans Rock': among them Anton Goosen (1970's and 1980's) and David Kramer (1980's). With their songs they protested against the status quo in the music scene and they articulated opposition against apartheid. However, with their subtle lyrics they were not able to reach large audiences. Songs with a more outspoken message were censored by the apartheid regime[90]. This also happened to artists who showed their sympathy for the anti-apartheid movement and who criticised the army[91] (Bezuidenhout 2007: 5, Grundlingh 2004: 484). Furthermore, these artists were not united in a movement, which could have increased their effective reach.

The Voëlvry Movement shows how powerful a movement of artists can be. Voëlvry can be interpreted as 'free as a bird' or as 'outlawed'. Koos Kombuis (André le Roux du Toit, 5 November 1954), Johannes Kerkorrel (Ralph John Rabie, 27 March 1960 – 12 November 2002) and Bernoldus Niemand (James Phillips, 22 January 1959 – 31 July 1995) were the main figures of this movement. They toured with the 'Gereformeerde Blues Band': the name refers to the Dutch Reformed Church. Their protest strategy was

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[89] *Eers moes hulle hulself bevry; die res sou later volg.*

[90] This research focuses on music from South Africa. However, this should be mentioned as well: the documentary 'Searching for Sugar Man' tells the story about Sixto Rodriguez, a promising artist from the United States. Despite his talent, his career was short-lived and he only produced two non-selling albums. Rodriguez himself was not aware of the impact his music had (only) in South Africa: 'his socially critical songs brought the progressive classes in contact with anti-establishment sentiments for the first time, and his music provided the soundtrack for a protest generation. Although he sold an estimated 500,000 records in this nation isolated by boycotts, Rodriguez himself remained a mystery' (Website IDFA 2012).

[91] Coenie de Villiers criticised the army, and Amanda Strydom was ostracised when she dared to shout 'Amandla' at the end of a show (Bezuidenhout 2007: 5).

not to destroy nationalistic Afrikaner symbols. Instead, they used irony and sang in Afrikaans, an approach that made it difficult for the Botha regime to criticise the lyrics.

It was not only the apartheid government and Afrikaners in general that were subject of their irony, the city of Pretoria was also a source of inspiration. Bernoldus Niemand described the city of Pretoria as Moustage City[92], referring to the large amount of moustaches worn by the politicians. The following lyrics are extracted from Johannes Kerkorrels song 'Jail'[93] representing the suburbs where Afrikaner children grew up as a jail:

> 'in jail
> it's an ordinary day
> in jail
> like every other day
> in jail
> you can hear late at night
> how the dogs barks
> late at night
> the dogs bark...'[94] (Bezuidenhout 2007: 7)

Another example of the, sometimes, complex use of irony is the only album 'Eat Crayfish![95]: *Eet Kreef!* is a puzzle, commented Johannes Kerkorrel. 'The crayfish in this country are not evenly distributed. There are certain people who have all the crayfish, then there are others who have nothing. It's time we also ate crayfish. By 'we' I mean everyone' (Hopkins 2006: 175).

Die Voëlvry Movement mainly rebelled against the apartheid regime and rigid ideas about Afrikaners and apartheid's grip on the personal freedom of Afrikaners. This all took place in Afrikaans. Journalist Sam Woulidge explains the importance of the choice of language, as it aims to move language away from the political incorrect sphere:

> 'No longer was Afrikaans the exclusive property of the Nationalist Party or the Dutch
> Reformed Church, these artists passionately believed in their right to sing in their

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[92] *Snor City*
[93] *Tronk*
[94] *in die tronk/is dit 'n gewone dag/in die tronk/net soos elk ander dag/in die tronk/hoor jy laat in die nag/die honde blaf/laat in die nag/die honde blaf*
[95] *'Eet Kreef!',* launched in 1989.

mother tongue, in the way they wanted to, about issues that mattered to them' (Website Koos Kombuis 2014).

Koos Kombuis, earlier introduced as the artist who distanced himself from his Afrikaner roots because of the proscription of who and what an Afrikaner should look like, explains differences between traditional and progressive Afrikaners as follow:

> 'For traditional Afrikaners it is not only about the language. No, it is about being white, talk about rugby, go to church and mistreat your kids, ha-ha-ha. […]. You see, I love the language. I speak it my whole life. The battle at Bloodriver is a famous event from my history. I won't deny this, but it is for me simply not important. The fact that I am white is not one of my priorities. And also not the fact that I speak Afrikaans'[96] (De Vries 2012: 29, 30).

This statement illustrates the underlying motives of progressive music: all the aspects of Afrikaner life (language, the past, leisure time) that are confirmed, and sometimes even sacred – for example in the lyrics and speeches of Steve Hofmeyr - lose their symbolic meaning in the statement of Kombuis. He does not only question the importance of these aspects, he even distances himself from the term Afrikaner.

What apartheid was, in the eyes of the members of the Voëlvry Movement, is explained by Dagga-Dirk Uys, the organiser of one of the main tours: 'Apartheid was not only between white and black people. It was also between English and Afrikaans speakers and between generations'[97] (De Vries 2012: 25). Despite this broad perspective on the influences of apartheid, the audience of the Voëlvry Movement consisted mainly of high-class Afrikaners from the suburbs as they did not manage to reach the audiences in the townships.

Theunis Engelbrecht, a journalist writing for the pop music section in *Beeld*, a prominent Afrikaans newspaper, summarises the importance of the Voëlvry Movement in Pat Hopkins' book on the importance of the Voëlvry Movement:

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[96] *Vir tradisionele Afrikaners is dit nie net die taal nie. Nee, dis om wit te wees, te vrek oor rugby, kerk toe te gaan en jou kinders te mishandel, ha-ha-ha. […] Kyk, ek is lief vir die taal. Ek praat dit nog my hele lewe lank. En in my geskiedenis was daar byvoorbeeld 'n gebeurtenis wat as die Slag van Bloedrivier bekend staan. Ek ontken dit nie, maar dis eenvoudig nie vir my so belangrik nie. Die feit dat ek wit is, staan nie boaan my lys van prioriteite nie. En ook nie die feit dat ek Afrikaanssprekendes is nie.*
[97] *Apartheid was nie niet iets tussen wit en swart mense nie. Dit was ook tussen Engels- en Afrikaanssprekendes en tussen die verskillende generasies.*

'The group sings about concrete issues affecting young people, and not of nature and pleasant daydreaming. As such, *Eet Kreef!*, marks a great step forward for Afrikaans music' (Hopkins 2006: 175).

With the end of the apartheid era, the most prominent subject of their irony, the regime and discourse that had such a large influence on their daily lives and in their personal sphere, disappeared. In terms of the dichotomy between 'us' and 'them', the Voëlvry Movement, 'us', saw the subject of their acts, 'them', being replaced with a democratic government. When the movement's constructed opponent did not longer exist, its own reason to form a countermovement also disappeared. Furthermore, Bernoldus Niemand passed away, and Koos Kombuis and Johannes Kerkorrel consciously became part of the mainstream (Bezuidenhout 2007: 11).

With the end of apartheid a new era for South Africa started: South Africa as a democratic and multi-racial society. This also meant the end of era for the Voëlvry Movement that paved the way for new bands. Moreover, a new era brings new issues and new bands have come to prominence in post-apartheid South Africa. Although the National Party no longer imposes its views about *Afrikanerdom*, these notions are distributed in different ways and artists can again form countermovement against imagined opponents. In the following section the focus moves to the recent bands that react against the given notion of what it means to be Afrikaner. These bands perform at, among others, the Oppikoppi festival.

7.2 Oppikoppi

This section focuses on Oppikoppi[98] music festival. The festival mainly programs rock music and is predominantly marketed to students (Kruger and Saayman 2009: 56). The festival is a weekend gathering on a farm site close to the mining village Northam, in the Limpopo province. It takes place every year at the beginning of the winter month August when it is hot during the days, but freezing cold at night.

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[98] Oppikoppi is a degeneration of 'op die koppie' meaning: on the hill. It refers to the small hill where the festival originated.

The following section elaborates on the festival, the location, how it originated and the performing artists. Attention is paid to the underlying meaning and ideals behind the festival.

7.2.1 Occasion of the Festival.

> 'Having started in the small bar for four hundred people with Valiant and Koos[99], no one realised that this was just the tip of the icebox' (Website Oppikoppi 2014).

In 1994, the initiators decided that rock music could be a way to bring people together by focussing on similarities (the love for music) instead of the differences (racial or social class) after the decades of separation during apartheid. In 1992, when the country was 'on the brink of drastic and inevitable political change' (Truscott 2011: 95) they decided to buy a farm to get a place away from the daily concerns (ibid).

This turned out to be an appealing starting point, because nowadays the festival attracts 15,000 visitors consisting of a wide variety of young people. Oppikoppi is often regarded as South Africa's 'Woodstock' and is seen as the primary influence in jump-starting the country's rock music movement (Kruger 2009: 57).

Ross Truscott (2011), currently research fellow at the Centre for Humanities Research at the University of the Western Cape, conducted a research on the role of national melancholia. He argues that this combination, a progressive festival on a farm, leads to a paradox. The following section reveals why.

7.2.2 Location.

The location of Oppikoppi is outside the mining town of Northam, in the Limpopo province. The bushveld is the scene of this festival: a sub-tropical woodland eco-region in Southern Africa (the North-western part of South Africa, the Eastern part of Botswana and the South-western part of Zimbabwe). It exists of a large camping area at the foot of the hill and the festival ground to the side.

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[99] Valiant Swart (Pierre Nolte, 25 November 1965) and Koos Kombuis (Website Valiant Swart 2014).

As mentioned before, the choice for a farm as the location for a progressive music festival leads to a paradox. 'There are few places more conservative of the mythology of *Afrikanerdom* than a farm' Truscott (2011: 95) argues. The farm has been the place where conservative Afrikaners live, and Boers[100] is still a way to refer to Afrikaners. Also, the killing on the farms[101] is a source of fear and farms are used as scenes to shoot video clips for mainstream songs. The farm has a symbolic meaning in narratives about Afrikaners and is seen as a place to withdraw from South African society. Especially the last point is used in the promotion of Oppikoppi and is important in the origination of the festival. The organisers present the location as a neutral, or at least 'authentic', venue. However, the location was 'already *full* of racialised social and economic inequalities' (Truscott 2011: 95).

The location consists of two parts: the campsite and the festival site. The campsite is packed with small tents, party tents under which people *braai*[102], jeeps with tents on the roof and campers. The common way to greet one another is the *Oppikoppi* salute: one starts with a loud 'Oppi!' and others react with an even louder 'Koppi!

During the days the visitors sit in the sun fields covered with straw watching people and eating *boerewors* and *potjie kos*[103]. During the late afternoons and night people dance – also to keep warm - on a wide range of music genres. Although rock music is the main genre represented here, artists of other genres are booked as well: hip-hop, kwaito, jazz, punk, folk, klezmer, blues, drum 'n bass and hardcore. Students are smoking cigarettes, drinking beers, wearing long hair, straw heads, band shirts and torn trousers[104]. 'In dust we trust' is the telling motto of the festival:

> 'Showers, Showers everywhere… We once had dreams like that, but it came to naught. We are rolling out of a few more showers but these should be viewed as emergency tools for getting peanut butter off allergic people. Or situations like that. You will be covered in dust at OppiKoppi, acknowledge the fact. For tactile/texture freaks (like your current journalist/info writer): the lords sent us wet wipes; you'll find them surprisingly efficient

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[100] farmers
[101] *Plaasmoorde*, see section 5.5.1. and 6.1.4.1.
[102] South African barbeque
[103] a *boerewors* is a sausage mostly prepared on the *braai* (South African barbecue). *Potjie kos* is a stew, also prepared on a *braai.*
[104] Based on own observations and notes from the fieldwork.

to handle 3 days. You will survive' (Brochure, Laws for the unlaws, OppiKoppi 2012).

But, who are these students? Why do they visit the festival? What is their background? A quantitative research has been carried out in 2008 to get insights in these matters.

7.2.3 Audience.

Martinette Kruger and Melville Saayman (2009) from the Institute for Tourism and Leisure Studies of the North-West University investigated motives for visitors to attend Oppikoppi festival. They argue that the number of visitors and diversity of festivals increases, so from a marketing point of view it is important to understand the motives of visitors to be able to develop an effective marketing strategy. These events enhance local pride, expose indigenous minorities, increase the number of international visitors, contribute to the local economy and provide activities for recreation (Long & Perdu in Kruger 2009: 58).

Kruger and Saayman provide insights on the visitors and why they go to Oppikoppi. They conducted a quantitative research at the 2008 festival by analysing the results of 261 completed surveys. The results found that, although the festival's marketing and promotion is completely in English, 72% of the visitors are Afrikaans-speaking students[105] with an average age of 24.2 years. It is only since 2001 that the festival began to attract a multi-racial audience, but it seems that these efforts have not paid of yet (Kruger and Saayman 2009: 66).

Kruger and Saayman distinguish six motives for visiting the festival (in order of importance): group togetherness, curiosity, cultural exploration, unexpectedness, escape and the desire to be with equals. 'Group togetherness' includes aspects such as 'to go with someone is more fun than going by yourself', 'to meet new people', 'to observe the other people who are attending' (Kruger and Saayman 2009: 67). The unexpectedness ('do not plan to visit in detail') is the fourth highest, but unique to Oppikoppi. In contrast to findings of other research, 'escape' is only ranked fifth place ('to recover from usual hectic pace', 'to relieve boredom') (Kruger and Saayman 2009: 69, 70). The 'escape' motive ranking fifth place is particularly interesting, because this is how the festival promotes itself and how it originated. So, the strengthening of the group

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[105] Afrikaans is their mother tongue.

togetherness is the most important aspect, the unpreparedness of the visitors is unique to Oppikoppi.

7.2.4 Performances.

The program book suggests the festival is mainly a celebration and promotion of South African music in general: the program shows that most of the bands come from South Africa[106] and that famous names are performing: Albert Frost, Fokofpolisiekar, aKING, Valiant Swart (who performed at the first festival in 1995), Bittereinder, Die Tuindwergies, Gert Vlok Nel, Karen Zoid and Jack Parow. During the day music documentaries are shown in the MK Bushveld Cinema and there is room for visual arts along one of the paths up the hill.

7.2.4.1 Fokofpolisiekar.

As one of the organisers of Oppikoppi, Misha Loots, stated at the ten years anniversary of the festival by using the words of Fokofpolisiekar: 'Oppikoppi is basically like Fokofpolisiekar sing, Heaven in the farmlands'[107] (Truscott 2011: 94). As argued in the theoretical section on popular music, it are not only the artists who decide whether their music becomes popular, it is also the audience and music industry – such as organisers of festivals - that create an atmosphere in which music is adopted. Fokofpolisiekar is an example in which it becomes apparent that the audience gives their own meaning to the music. The artists from Fokofpolisiekar did not aim to become the icons of a generation, but it turned out that their message was so appealing that they eventually are often regarded as the voice of this generation.

> 'They try to involve us in the debate on Afrikaans and make icons of us. But we do not have the strength for that. We started the band for ourselves. It is something personal, not for the Afrikaner people[108]' (Myburg in De Vries 2012: 274).

These are the words of Wynand Myburgh, bass player of the alternative punk rock band.

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[106] On Thursday, 1/42 is non-South African, on Friday 7/53 and on Saturday 2/44.
[107] *'Oppikoppi is basies soos Fokofpolisiekar sing, 'Hemel op die Platteland'*
[108] *Hulle probeer ons by die debat oor Afrikaans betrek en ikone van ons maak. Maar daarvoor het ons nie krag nie. Ons het die band vir onsself begin. Dis iets persoonliks, nie iets vir die Afrikanervolk nie.*

Fokofpolisiekar attract large groups of young students all over South Africa with their sharp lyrics, raw guitar sound and energetic performances. In 2003 they gained attention with their name: *Fokof*[109] is a swear word and *polisiekar* refers to a police car. This combination of words made it a very controversial statement in conservative Christian sections of society in which many older Afrikaners are raised. As a result both aversion and attraction was created before they even played one note. And when Wynand Myburgh in 2006 signed a wallet of one of their fans with 'Fok God' a range of angry reactions followed. Since then, they have been inseparable from the Afrikaner debate. Kobus, a young Christian, refers to the band as *Polisiekar* when being around with family, but sings along the music when he is gathering with friends. To him, the lyrics matter, but he is very careful to use the full name in public[110]. The radical way of provoking the establishment of Afrikaners of Fokofpolisiekar, for example the Christian community with their name, resulted in a love-hate relationship with the band.

At Oppikoppi Fokofpolsiekar was one of the main acts, as they have been for the last few years. The atmosphere was relaxed, but there was excitement that something was about to happen. It was dark and cold and hundreds of students shouted 'Fokof, Fokof!' as the announcer finished his announcement that the band was on its way to the stage. The band entered, the audience, standing shoulder to shoulder or embracing each other, started to shout[111]. The band started to play the familiar intro of *Hemel op die Platteland*[112], released in 2003 which made history by becoming the first song in Afrikaans on the playlist of national radio station 5FM. François van Coke raised his microphone and the audience sang the first couplet and refrain of one of the their most famous songs[113]:

> Can you tighten my screws for me?
> Can you find me my alabaster?
> Can you drop your sense of normality?
> Can you spell apathy?
> Can somebody call a god and tell him we do not need him anymore?
> Can you spell apathy?

[109] Fuck off
[110] Based on an interview with Kobus on August 11th 2012.
[111] Based on own observations and notes.
[112] Heaven on the Countryside
[113] See appendix II for the complete lyrics.

Regulate me

Put me in a routine

Place me in a box and mark it 'safe'

Send me to where all the boxes go

Send me to heaven, I think it's in the countryside[114]

The audience sang every word. It felt as going back to the 1980's in Western Europe rock music was a medium to give expression to dissatisfaction and opposition against the community of adults, but also to express mutual solidarity (Klopper 2008: 213). 'You can't understand what just happened'[115], is what a student said when we came back from this concert.

When taking a closer look at these particular lyrics, we see that Fokofpolisiekar uses the same strategy as die Voëlvry Movement: subtlety and Afrikaans. The sentence 'Can somebody call a god and tell him we do not need him anymore?' is one of the most provoking sentences of their oeuvre. At first instance it looks as if they provoke the Afrikaans god-fearing community, by portraying God as a physical person that can be reached by telephone and moreover, tell him that we (in general) do not need him anymore. However, they do not say 'God', but 'a god', leaving it to the listener what meaning can be given.

The lines: 'Place me in a box and mark it 'safe' / Send me to where all the boxes go / Send me to heaven, I think it's in the countryside' might refer to the trend to label people and create a firm base between 'them' and us'.

The paradox Truscott earlier mentioned concerning the venue of Oppikoppi, also applies here: the countryside is pictured as the place to 'get away from everything', as heaven.

> 'Their song 'Hemel op die Platteland' captures the affective ambivalence over traditional Afrikanerdom that the festival has been able to bind in an ironic retreat from everyday post-apartheid life, a retreat to a place that is loved but is also, in a reflexive move, depicted as a place where all the 'cunts', the boxed, regular Afrikaners go: the country

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[114] *Kan jy my skroewe vir my vasdraai?/Kan jy my albasters vir my vind?/Kan jy jou idee van normaal by jou gat opdruk?/Kan jy apatie spel?/Kan iemand dalk 'n god bel/en vir hom sê ons het hom nie meer nodig nie/Kan jy apatie spel?/Reguleer my /Roetineer my /Plaas my in 'n boks en merk dit veilig /Stuur my dan waarheen al die dose gaan /Stuur my hemel toe /Ek dink dis in die platteland*

[115] *Je kan niet begrijpen wat hier net gebeurde.* Excerpt from the interview with Cees on August 11th 2012.

side' (Truscott 2011: 94).

Fokofpolisiekar did not aim to be the icons of the Afrikaner debate; they became icons reluctantly. Moreover, Fokofpolisiekar and their audience do not only act against conservative Afrikaners, the music also aims to transform assumptions about Afrikaners. By distancing from the term Afrikaner they open the space for what a discussion about *Afrikanerdom* might entail; they try to question how others see the band and Afrikaners more generally. As Barth (1969) argues, it is not the stuff that is enclosed by a boundary - such as Christian faith - that defines a group; it are the boundaries itself that define the group. Therefore, one could argue that Fokofpolisiekar acts against the stigmatising boundaries that construct a collective identity of Afrikaners, as Boersema (2013) and Eriksen (2001) argue in chapter 2.1.2.

However, by their provocative style and radical rejection of Afrikaner as a label applying to them, they still relate to the term. Not relating to the term Afrikaner also implies a relation. By doing so, they acknowledge the importance of the label, they 'nevertheless remain Afrikaners':

> 'Oppikoppi has been, for as long as South Africa has been a democratic nation, a refuge for Afrikaners who hate Afrikanerdom and the old country, for Afrikaners who have rejected being inducted into traditional Afrikaner identity but nevertheless remain Afrikaners' (Truscott 2011: 96).

7.3 Summary.

It appears that there are important differences between mainstream and progressive music: mainstream music preserves, progressive music questions. Like the Voëlvry Movement, current progressive music is a music style that aims to question and challenge given notions about Afrikaners. It tries to move away from the common 'rugby, love and religion' lyrics that are identifiable in mainstream music. It questions those assumptions and through irony tries to change the relation between language, religion and politics.

Oppikoppi and Fokofpolisiekar are at the forefront of the progressive scene and both attract large audiences. They use Afrikaner symbols, such as the farm and language, to create a sphere in which Afrikaner identity can be discussed. However, by using those

symbols, they confirm the importance of those symbols. In trying to find new relations, or transforming older ones, the relation itself is confirmed. Moreover, at Oppikoppi and performances of Fokofpolisiekar, the audience is mainly white. It seems that the debate mostly takes place mainly among white Afrikaners. This, again, might confirm the importance of invisible boundaries that may be difficult to pass. In this sense, the festival and band are transformative and conservative at the same time (Van der Waal and Robins 2011: 777). By questioning assumptions by using cultural symbols, they still acknowledge the fact that the term Afrikaner needs discussion and that new ways to relate to this term are sought after.

8 Summary and Conclusions.

Fred de Vries argues:

> 'Everybody is reluctantly muddling though and carries the burden of history'[116] (De Vries 2012: 31).

8.1 Introduction.

This statement is a rather dramatic presentation of current developments in South Africa. The preceding seven chapters aimed to understand transformations taking place in processes of identification among young, mostly male, urban, high-educated, white Afrikaners from Pretoria. The aim of this research was to explore different ways in which young Afrikaners relate to the term Afrikaners by using the prism of popular music. This topic of social identification in post-apartheid South Africa has fascinated many scholars and writers, and many contributions to the debate about processes of identification have been published (Boersema 2013, Gibson and Gouws 2000, Goldschmidt 2003, Jansen 2009, Truscott 2011, De Vries 2012, Zegeye 2001). Also, the aim of this research was to approach processes of social identification by looking at popular music. Again, this research builds on the work of many scholars and writers that aimed to yield insights into this issue (Baines 2009, Bezuidenhout 2007, Cohen 1993, Grundlingh 2004, 2007, Huigen and Grundlingh 2008, Martin 2013, Van der Waal and Robins 2011).

According to De Vries in the quote above, everybody in South Africa, thus all South Africans, are muddling through and carry the burden of history. This quote is the starting point for the conclusion in this thesis about young Afrikaners. This research suggests that people have different strategies to deal with the past, give meaning to the term Afrikaner and create boundaries between 'the self' and 'the other'.

This conclusion follows the line of the thesis: first a short summary is presented. The research questions as presented in the introduction are referred to throughout the summary. This section ends with the conclusion of this research where the main research question is answered.

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[116] *Almal sukkel maar aan en sleep teen wil en dank die las van die verlede saam.*

The main research question of this research is:

- In what ways do young Afrikaners identify with the concept of Afrikaner when looking through the prism of popular music?

In other words, how does popular music reflect processes of identification, and how does it shape these processes?

The three sub questions link the prominent concepts of popular music, processes of identification and Afrikaners:

- What does the concept of Afrikaner mean to young Afrikaners?
- How does popular music influence processes of social identification?
- What does the field of popular music (as consumed and produced by mainly Afrikaners) look like in South Africa?

8.2 Summary.

In chapter two several theories about processes of identification are presented in order to yield insights to answer the first sub question, as this question is highly linked to theories about social identification. Chapter two focuses particularly on processes of identification as processes of constant reconstructing and redefining. It underlined the idea of identity as a mosaic, because it consists of many elements, any of which can predominate in a given context. Processes of identifications are linked to a sense of belonging, which is particularly important in a time of globalisation, because, as Ceuppens and Geschiere (2005) argue, globalisation is one of the reasons why locals are afraid of being outvoted. Experiencing loss, being afraid to be outvoted and the search for belonging are all inter-connected and return throughout the research, for example in the name change debate, the interview with students of AfriForum *jeug*, the Boetman Debate and mainstream music.

This notion of locals versus strangers can be translated into the terms 'the self', 'us', and 'the other', 'them'. Because these notions are abstract and constructed by imagination, they can be transformed and acquire and lose meaning. The boundaries between 'us' and 'them' are therefore more interesting, than what identity embraces, as argued by

Barth (1969). These boundaries can become subject to politics, because identities are not neutral and can serve several interests. 'Collective agency' enables groups to have a common ground concerning identities.

Three building blocks are used to present identities as unique, exclusive and pure: memory of the past, space and territory and popular culture (Martin 2013). In this research, language is highlighted as it is often presented as one of the main components of identifying as Afrikaner (De Vries 2012, Goldschmidt 2003, Crapanzano 1986). Statistics show that 60.8% of white South Africans and 75.8% of coloured South Africans regard Afrikaans as their mother tongue (Statistics South Africa 2011a), so the importance of Afrikaans is not limited to white Afrikaners. Although institutions aiming to protect Afrikaans do not only welcome white Afrikaners, their explicit aim to protect what they perceive as Afrikaner culture, they exclude people who do not share this opinion.

Furthermore, insight into discussions about popular music and processes of identification are given to try to answer the sub question: how does popular music influence processes of identification? Barber (1987) argues that popular music gets popular, because the artists and producers label it as such, in contrast to Stasik (2010) who argues that popular music becomes popular, because the audience adopts it as such and gives meaning to it. In this research, Fokofpolisiekar is an example of the latter: against their will and aim, this group became popular and the audience adopted this music and lyrics enthusiastically. Furthermore, this research suggests that it is not only the audience who decides whether music is popular or not, it is also the atmosphere that influences how the audience adopts the music. The meaning the audience gives to music is context dependent, just like identities. More specifically, how the audience adopts music depends on what component of identity is most prominent.

One of the most telling examples of the power of music is the popularity of the song 'De la Rey' by Bok van Blerk. There are several explanations for the popularity of this song. Grundlingh (2007) argues that this song must be seen as one of the moments where new Afrikaner identity was reconstructed. Van der Waal and Robins (2011) argue that the song reasserted boundaries of Afrikaner identity. Krog (2011) emphasises the constructive role the song had, as it provided a historical figure to be proud of. Baines

(2009) adds that nostalgia is one of the main reasons why this song gained popularity, indicating that this song is more about the present than about the past.

Constructed understandings of the past are a reoccurring topic in this research. Jansen (2009) identified three tendencies to understand possible relations with the past: 'Nothing Happened', 'Something Happened – Now Get Over It' and 'Terrible Things Happened'. Furthermore, the Boetman Debate illustrates a generation gap between, in the words of Chris Louw, the comfortable position the perpetrators of apartheid were in and the hopeless situation of their offspring. These issues all give rise to questions how it is that young white Afrikaners have a negative perception of their situation. These are students that have a bright future ahead and still form the elite of South Africa.

These narratives about loss are often emotional and those are not supported by statistics. However, these narratives are powerful, as illustrated by the interview with students from AfriForum *jeug*. When regarding identity as a fluid entity, it can change due to circumstances. These students refer to identity as a strict entity with given characteristics. When identity is perceived as such, it becomes a subject that can be attacked, what is the case, according to these students. Therefore, it seems that they strengthen their perception of identity to create a strong boundary between 'our culture' or 'us' and other cultures or 'them'. The three building blocks of Martin (2013) are identifiable and are used to present their identity as unique, exclusive and pure.

Popular culture is one of Martins building blocks that receives particular attention in this research. The following sub question is aimed to answer here: what does the field of popular music (consumed and produced by mainly Afrikaners) look like in South Africa? This research focuses on two genres of popular music consumed and produced by mainly Afrikaners: mainstream music and progressive music. The Pretoria *Musiekfees* represents mainstream music, aiming to confirm and underline given notions about Afrikaners. Progressive music aims to question those notions and aims to move away from the term Afrikaner.

The two music genres in this research have characteristics of the 'Something Happened – Now Get Over It' tendency as identified by Jansen (2009). They both aim to move forward and loosen the connection with the past. However, mainstream music uses the past to create pride, to activate South Africans as Afrikaners. Progressive music, in

contrast, tries to move away from the negative connotations created by historical events in the past. By doing so, they both seem to relate in new ways to the term Afrikaner and they both seem to acknowledge the fact that the term still matters. Whether it is confirming this identity or denying it, they still relate to it.

To be more specific, as demonstrated by the Pretoria *Musiekfees*, the experience of loss is intensified by a speech by Steve Hofmeyr. He uses several historical symbols to increase a feeling of loss and togetherness to include the audience and confirm the boundary with 'the other'. In doing so, he mobilises the audience to make a political statement against the intended name change of Pretoria. He feeds the fear of being outvoted by strangers (Ceuppens and Geschiere 2005, Van Robbroeck 2008). Answers to this fear seem to be presented by food, dance and cultural symbols. Furthermore, the importance of being able to claim space and territory, as Martin (2013) argues, is illustrated here by demonstrating against the intended name change. Commercial parties that focus on the niche of Afrikaans consumers support this event, as it might be profitable for them.

In chapter 7 progressive music, in particular the Oppikoppi festival, is introduced. Progressive music aims to question given notions about Afrikaners like, for example, The Voëlvry Movement did; with their subtle, ironic lyrics they were able to loosen the connection between politics and language and sing about anything they wanted in Afrikaans. Oppikoppi originated in 1994 as a festival to get away from South African society that was on the brink of large changes. The choice for a farm as the location for the festival is a remarkable one, as it is a symbolic place for Afrikaner conservatism, as argued by Truscott (2011).

The audience of Oppikoppi, mainly consisting of Afrikaans speaking students, seem to be loyal to the festival. At Oppikoppi, it is assumed that a multi-racial audience is attracted; therefore it would be of no need to emphasise or answer questions of belonging, as everybody is included. However, it turns out that the audience is mainly white Afrikaans speaking and that old Afrikaner symbols are recognisable, such as the farm and language.

One of the most prominent artists performing at Oppikoppi is Fokofpolisiekar. With their provocative name and audiences they try to break away from negative

connotations attached to Afrikaners. By doing so, the importance of the label Afrikaans is reinforced and the search for new meanings continues. Furthermore, this debate mainly takes place among white Afrikaans speaking people, which reinforces the assumption that there still is a uniting factor.

8.3. Conclusions.

The main question of this thesis is: in what ways do young Afrikaners identify with the concept of Afrikaner when looking at popular music? This research suggests that young, mainly male, urban, highly educated Afrikaners are still searching for new ways to deal with constructed and transmitted memories of the past, which is expressed in popular music. For some, those perceptions of the past are a source of pride and inspiration, as for example the 'De la Rey' song suggests or as occurred during the Pretoria *Musiekfees* or among the students of AfriForum *jeug*. By constructing an imagined opponent, whether it is the ANC government replacing Afrikaner street names, students who do not identify as Afrikaners, the board of university that 'vanishes Afrikaner culture from the campus', these students create a strong notion of 'the self'. To others, the constructed memories of the past are a source of confusion and shame, as the Boetman Debate and the band Fokofpolisiekar showed. They aim to move further and leave the past behind. However, by trying to move further by using Afrikaner cultural symbols, they appear to be inextricably linked to their imagines opponent. These imagined opponents might be conservative Afrikaners, or perceptions on *Afrikanerdom*. Moreover, they still need the past and the given notions as something to move away from.

In conclusion it can be said that popular music, and its audiences, are still occupied with finding ways to relate to the term Afrikaner. Both mainstream and progressive music aim to give new meanings to the concept of Afrikaner. However, meanings given to this concept are either embracing it, or trying to move away from it. These internal debates are ongoing and they confirm, yet again, the resilience of the concept of Afrikaner. Trying to transform the meaning of Afrikaner is in itself a continuous process, and the 'phantom of Afrikanernationalism'[117] (Klopper 2008: 208) is, in the back- or forefront, still present.

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[117] *Spook van Afrikanernasionalisme*

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10 Appendix

Appendix I – Lyrics of the song 'De la Rey' by Bok van Blerk

Original Afrikaans lyrics	**English translation**
Op 'n berg in die nag	On a mountain in the night
lê ons in donker en wag in die modder en bloed lê ek koud,	we lie in the darkness and wait In the mud and blood, I lie cold,
streepsak en reën kleef teen my	sandbags and rain cling to me
en my huis en my plaas tot kole verbrand	And my house and my farm burned to ashes
sodat hulle ons kan vang,	so that they could catch us,
maar daai vlamme en vuur	But those flames and fire
brand nou diep, diep binne my.	burn now deep, deep within me.
De La Rey, De La Rey	De la Rey, De la Rey,
sal jy die Boere kom lei?	will you come to lead the Boers?
De La Rey, De La Rey Generaal, generaal	De la Rey, De la Rey General, General,
soos een man, sal ons om jou val Generaal De La Rey.	united we'll fall around you General De la Rey.
Oor die Kakies wat lag,	Over the 'Khakis' that laugh,
'n handjie van ons teen 'n hele groot mag	a handful of us against their great forces
en die kranse lê hier teen ons rug, hulle dink dis verby.	With the cliffs to our backs, they think it's all over.
Maar die hart van 'n Boer lê dieper en wyer,	But the heart of the Boer lies deeper and wider,
hulle gaan dit nog sien.	they will still see it.
Op 'n perd kom hy aan,	On a horse he comes,
die Leeu van die Wes Transvaal.	the Lion of the West Transvaal.
Want my vrou en my kind	Because my wife and my child

lê in 'n kamp en vergaan,

en die Kakies se murg loop oor

'n nasie wat weer op sal staan.

lie in a camp and perish,

And the Khakis overrun

a nation that will rise once again.

Appendix II – Lyrics of the song 'Hemel op die Platteland' by Fokofpolisiekar

Original Afrikaans lyrics	**English translation**
Kan jy my skrouwe vir my vasdraai?	Can you tighten my screws for me?
Kan jy my albasters vir my vind?	Can you find me my alabaster?
Kan jy jou idee van normaal by jou gat opdruk?	Can you drop your sense of normality?
Kan jy apatie spel?	Can you spell apathy?
Kan iemand dalk 'n god bel	Can somebody call a god
en vir hom sê ons het hom nie meer nodig nie	and tell him we do not need him anymore?
Kan jy apatie spel?	Can you spell apathy?
Reguleer my	Regulate me
Roetineer my	Put me in a routine
Plaas my in 'n boks en merk dit veilig	Place me in a box and mark it "safe"
Stuur my dan waarheen al die dose gaan	Send me to where all the boxes go
Stuur my hemel toe	Send me to heaven, I think it's on the
Ek dink dis in die platteland	countryside