

"Bid vir my ma"

A Narrative inquiry into the experiences of white Christian Afrikaner females during SADF conscription from 1980 until 1990.

RESEPTTE.



DAAR'S 'N BONUS IN U T
PUT A BONUS IN YOUR F

Original painted-with the foot by P. MOLEVELD



Handwritten text: "The author, P.L. Niemand" and "1267" next to a hand-drawn crest.

by **Dominique Niemand**
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Abstract

This inquiry provides a narrative on the experiences of white Afrikaner females during 1980 and 1990 in South Africa. The Defence Amendment act of 1967 declared that every white male is to complete compulsory military service, and between 1960 and 1991 an estimated 600 000 white South African men were conscripted into the SADF. The conscription of white males had a profound impact on the experiences of white Afrikaner females in South Africa. Through a narrative inquiry into a familial archive, I trace an unknown local history that finds itself situated in the middle of the SADF's campaign to a militarised South Africa. I contend that these stories of the ordinary offer up an opportunity to consider themes of whiteness, gender and memory. The inquiry identifies the role of Apartheid institutions such as the Dutch Reformed Church and SADF in the rise of Afrikanerdom and the lives of Afrikaners between 1980 and 1990. After the compulsory military service for white South African men ended in 1993, it became apparent to me that the experiences of the Border War were mainly silenced. I therefore provide a look into the photographs, objects of memory and practices of food making which speaks to the experiences of white Afrikaner women during 1980 and 1990 through the exhibit 'Pakkies aan Boetie' (2019). The inquiry also considers, through the lens of popular culture, how Afrikaner youth born after 1994 navigate legacies of Apartheid and conscription.

Dedicated to Chris Niemand (Boetie), shine on you crazy diamond.

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List of Abbreviations

AHMP - Afrikaanse Hoër Meisies Pretoria

AHS - Afrikaanse Hoër Seunskool

ANC – African National Congress

DRC - Dutch Reformed Church

NG - Dutch Reformed Church

SABC - South African Broadcasting Commission

SADF - South African Defence Force

VOC - Dutch East India Company

Keywords

Apartheid

SADF

Conscription

Afrikaner

Gender

Memory

Archive

Whiteness

popular culture

Dutch Reformed Church

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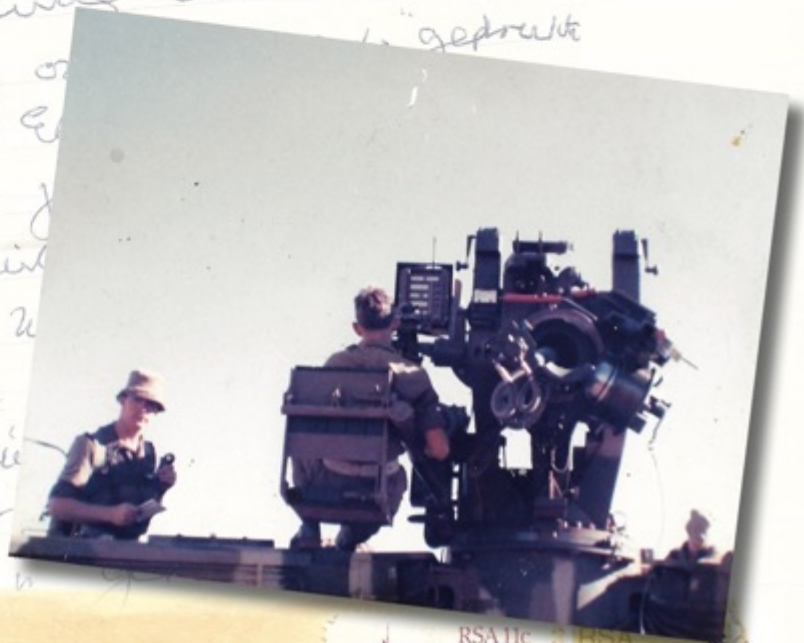
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Preface

The Familiar

Sieme Boetie,
Oms is al wasg gewas us in briefie.
nem jon, te kry on "gedrukte
brief v.d. wesmes. E
vanagend en kry j
brief kom by jon uit
Ekan dit goed w
Senja hul het te
Sy het waterpotkie
Dit is. het haor



Prologue

In the middle of 10th Avenue in Gezina is a brick house situated between dirt and pavement. This house was home to me, Dominique Niemand, the middle child and only daughter born to Maryna Niemand and Chris Niemand. Born in 1995, I was raised in the Dutch Reformed Church and baptised in the same year I was born. I followed the family tradition by attending the Afrikaans Christian school, Afrikaanse Hoër Meisies Pretoria. In 2013, the year I turned 18, I did my confession of faith in the NG Church in Rietfontein. My confession of faith was conducted in front of the whole congregation to which I had promised that I will continue to involve myself in the church and that I will ensure that my children will one day, too, be christened. In 2014 I attended the University of Pretoria where my need to understand who I was, where I came from and my place as a young woman in South Africa became pressing. I realised then that my position in South Africa could not go unquestioned, especially as I knew that my father was an ex-convict. The conversations held at the dining table every Sunday after church would prove to be pivotal in my search for answers.

Passing through the laundry room I would enter through the large white wooden door every day after school. The rusty red fence surrounding the brick house foolishly stood between us and the humdrums of the street, providing an illusion of security. Behind the walls, the everyday played out. For our family of five, the kitchen served as the heartbeat for the household which was centred around the dining table. The table was decorated in steel curls and was surrounded by six chairs. The yellow wood surface still bears every scratch and mark earned through years of cooking and homework conducted on it. The smell of fried onions in preparation of a meal, hangs in my nose every time I enter through the doorway of the kitchen. Throughout the eight years of thriving in the house, it bore witness to every aspect of the Niemand family. The cheap wooden cupboards became stained through the years of discussions, many of these through cooking and living that took place in the house. Every Sunday the house was filled with friends and family making their way through a meal prepared since the Thursday before.

My mother would start cooking from early every Sunday from recipes that were carefully selected out of Huisgenoot's *Wenresepte* (Winningrecipe book or Kook-en-geniet recipe

book. Very methodically my mother would be seated by the dining table and clean every vegetable, usually starting with green beans – cutting off the ends first - and then rinsing them in water. Just like her mother used to make it, she says, while she added chopped onions, diced potatoes into spiced water. Sweet potatoes and sweet carrots were paired with samp, rice and meat which has been cooked so that it fell off the bone. The sizzling and boiling vegetables on the gas stove would conjure up aromas that drifted throughout the house. While meals were prepared in the kitchen, a reminiscent playlist of 80's hits would blare through the house. Everywhere in the neighbourhood, the smell of burning wood would travel from house to house, a friendly reminder of lazy Sundays. All the men in the family would gather around the fire while the women of the house prepared the rest of the meal in the kitchen. On the fire a black pot filled with potjiekos (layers of vegetables and meat) sat boiling, slowly nursing its contents to perfection.

Every time I eat chicken I think of my father's absolute dislike of it. He would always explain that they were almost only served chicken in the army and that he couldn't stomach it. My father was very skilled in making meals from scraps; sometimes, this included a tin of bullybeef and onions, a skill he also attributed to learning in the army.

My grandmother and grandfather would always visit, but not without the glass bowl filled to the brim with a pudding of some kind. Great care was always taken to ensure the durability of the pudding as in the case of the trifle. The pink gelatinous concoction was the cherry on the cake, so to speak, and had to make it to the fridge before tumbling in on itself. Layer after careful layer, the canned fruit would soak the finger biscuits marinating in its sweetness. It became something for which my grandmother was known. My grandmother would always provide some version of dessert. I remember her sending us packages of cookies in an ice-cream container lined with wax paper. Like clockwork, my grandfather would stop by our home, just to drop off this care package. When starting to perfect the recipe myself, my grandmother said the secret to the cookies was a heaped spoon of baking powder. These packages that my grandmother always sent us, seemed to have a history of its own, one which would be intertwined with the story of my father as a conscript, the history of apartheid and the legacy of food.

RESEARCH QUESTION

My inquiry investigates the experiences of white Christian Afrikaner females during the time of conscription of white males in the South African Border War from 1980 until 1990. My study mostly aims to contribute to gender and memory studies. I start with a family photograph and make my way through letters written by my father and grandmother while he spent his time as a SADF conscript from 1984 to 1985. I look at the experience of the mothers, wives, and sisters of white males who were conscripted in South Africa during 1980 and 1990 within my family and also reflected on other archival material sourced from the Dutch Reformed Church Archives in Stellenbosch. The research will encompass a larger conversation that speaks to the impact of Apartheid on individuals during 1980 and 1990 and also in post-apartheid South Africa. Additionally, I ask the following questions which help navigate my inquiry.

The first sub-question that I will consider, is to what extent the DRC had impacted Apartheid society and life in the military during the time of conscription of white South African males, explicitly focusing on the timeline between 1980 and 1990. The archive of the DRC and the material provided to conscripts from the Apartheid government provide compelling stories on how the DRC enacted narratives such as the imminent threat of terrorism in South West Africa to the extent to which it formulates gendered responsibilities in published material.

The second sub-question that I will be asking is what the roles of white Christian Afrikaner females were dictated through the doctrine of the Dutch Reformed Church and the Apartheid government. In this question, I explore the experiences of white Christian females in the Church during the timeline of 1980 to 1990. Additionally, I delve into the narrative of Afrikaner women in an historical context and consider its importance as an understanding of the experience of Afrikaner females in Apartheid society. Furthermore, through the conversations I had with family members, I underscore their experiences as an echo of the doctrines enforced by DRC and Apartheid Government.

The third sub-question that I pose, is what is the impact of the experiences of conscription and Apartheid doctrines onto the generation of white Christian Afrikaner youth in post-

1994 South Africa. I explore this question through the consideration of popular culture as a lens through which we could investigate practices of memory and nostalgia. This question brings to the fore a critical reflection on the remnants of Apartheid in a post-apartheid South Africa evident through post-memory. Furthermore, this question brings to light the possibilities of further study on memory and imprints of apartheid in a post-apartheid South Africa.

My inquiry explores the experiences of white Afrikaners during the time of conscription. I aim to open up a conversation that is centred around the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) and how they played a vital role within the lives of white Afrikaner males and females. Additionally, my inquiry will look at the contemporary impact of these experiences on Afrikaner youth by looking at the practices and representations within visual studies that enable the cultural memory of Afrikaners.

RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES

My inquiry aims to explicate the role of white Afrikaner Christian females during the time of conscription of white males in the South African Border war between 1980 and 1990. My inquiry will attempt to do this through the use of Narrative Inquiry¹. Moreover, I consider a collection of photographs and documents sourced from a familial archive. My inquiry draws on ideas of gender and memory studies as it looks at how roles of the white female Afrikaner were constructed during the time of conscription and in apartheid society.

My inquiry makes use of narrated experiences and the consultation of existing archives to achieve its objectives. My inquiry objectively identified participants with whom I have

¹. Narrative Inquiry is a method of inquiry that allows for the researcher to consider the experiences of informants through their narration and objects and attempts to piece together the whole. Riessman CK. (1993b) *Narrative Analysis*: SAGE Publications.

a familial connection through my father. Further requirements that I looked at apart from that they were related to my father, was that the participants were female and male Afrikaner² participants who have had a Dutch Reformed religious background and participated in the border war either as ex-conscripts or have had a close relative that participated. The research will also focus on the background and role of the Dutch Reformed church within the setting of Apartheid. This objective will involve the discussion and research on the specified role of religious institutions at the time in which these ex-conscripts were attending school. I also consider the digitization of the objects that I consulted through the means of an exhibit, which resulted in a very focused archiving process of my familial objects (Valois-Nadeau, 2016: 4). Furthermore, the study will explore the extent to which these experiences are carried over into a post-apartheid experience for Afrikaner youth. This will be achieved by studying the representations evident within current popular culture among Afrikaner youth.

RATIONALE

This work is situated in gender studies, memory studies and creative studies. This inquiry proposes that the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) in South Africa had a significant impact on women and white youth. The thesis will argue that DRC primed men, women and the youth to comply with the requirements of safeguarding South Africa, and, as a consequence, of war. The inquiry also examines the gendered roles imposed by the DRC on Afrikaner women during 1980 and 1990. The DRC is also considered in its role in Christianised education³ (Moodie, 1975: 55). The function of Christianised education will be considered in Chapter 3 by looking at the schools attended by my father and aunts (Afrikaanse hoër Seunskool and Afrikaanse hoër Meisieskool Pretoria). These Christianised schools aligned themselves with the values of the DRC. My inquiry proposes that white Christian females had a sense of security when sending

² Refer to note on terminology for a specific background.

³ Christianized education refers to a practice in which schools perform under the values as set out by Christianity. Moodie TD. (1975) *The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid, and the Afrikaner Civil Religion*: University of California Press.

their sons, brothers, and husbands off to the border. This sense of security is considered as a result of the practices of the DRC and SADF.

My inquiry addresses the gap through which is on the role of the white Christian female in the era of conscription. By making use of photographs and my family history, as well as my familial archive, I aim to trace the role of the females and the church with regard to conscription and the political unrest in South Africa during the period 1980 – 1990. As Susan Sontag states, “through photographs, each family constructs a portrait-chronicle of itself” (Sontag, 1978: 8). My research traces the broader influence of the DRC on young white Christian females and males by looking at a selection of texts and documents explicitly referring to conscription. Furthermore, my inquiry is framed in the current South African context, which allows me to regard the ample impact of these experiences on the youth. I grapple with the remains of these experiences of these ex-conscripts as being the child of an ex-conscript. By looking at popular culture mainstreaming among Afrikaner youth, I will look at the impact of these experiences that situate themselves in cultural memory. Cultural memory, as defined by Jan Assman (Assmann and Czaplicka, 1995: 129), consists of memories that are usually kept alive through shared texts, rituals, and monuments.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

"The very muteness of what is, hypothetically, comprehensible in photographs is what constitutes their attraction and provocativeness." (Sontag, 1978: 24).

My inquiry embraces the qualitative method of Narrative Inquiry by consulting with family members and family photographs captured during the time of the border war to the time of my christening, as well as family documentation. My research documentation comprises of family photographs, and personal letters addressed to my grandmother during the time of the war, as well as family recipe books. As a further study, the research will exist out of, but not limited to, interviews conducted and recorded that will recount memories during the time of the war by my mother, my grandmother and my father's sister. Narrative Inquiry can be considered as a method of inquiry through which the researcher effectively takes the object of inquiry as to the story itself (Riessman, 1993b:

1). The researcher takes care when examining the story of the informant by piecing together the stories presented in interviews and personal artifacts, such as photographs or documents presented to the researcher. Riessman argues that these personal narratives and the act of telling them can be considered as a “universal human activity” (Riessman, 1993b: 2-3).

My family’s narratives will allow me, as the researcher, to use it as data. The risk of making use of these narratives as data includes the risk of texts being fractured throughout the research. For the use of Narrative Inquiry to be coherent throughout my research, it will be thus imperative to ensure that the data as gathered from the informants be preserved as much as possible (Riessman, 1993b: 3-4). This is illustrated by making the full transcripts available to the reader. . Another prevention could be to avoid the use of generalisation and taking responses out of context when analysing the responses of the individuals (Riessman, 1993: 4). I hope to prevent this by contextualising the quotes from respondents with sufficient historical background. When studying the narratives and artifacts of informants, and from my archive, I construct at best an understanding of the roles that white Christian females had during the border war. Rosenwald and Ochberg argue that it is the “events, not the stories informants create about them, that are intended to command our attention” (Rosenwald and Ochberg, 1992: 2). I look at the events that conspired around the time of the memory as referred to by an individual.

Further study will include the investigation of texts which formed part of the participants' experience. In my inquiry, I look at texts published by the DRC in *Die Kerkbode*⁴ which is essential to the understanding of the experiences of Afrikaner Christian females and males between 1980 and 1990.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following is a breakdown of the chapters that my inquiry has undertaken. In each chapter, I flesh out ideas of the archive, gender, and memory, which I use to frame my research based on various aspects of my examination. Each chapter follows the narrative

⁴ The official publication of the Dutch Reformed Church which documents the official position of the church on various events and subjects of the time.

of my family as I piece together my findings through the interviews and texts I have collected.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This chapter serves as an introductory chapter to provide an understanding of how I conducted my inquiry. I provide questions that I flesh out throughout my inquiry and my research process to guide the reader through the construction of my research method.

CHAPTER 2: PAKKIES AAN BOETIE EXHIBIT AND THE ARCHIVE

Throughout Chapter 3, I provide an insight into ideas of performativity as provided by Judith Butler and the archive. I guide the reader through my objects, explicitly relating to existing recipes and how this collection contributed to the exhibition of my research titled "Pakkies aan Boetie." I use the exhibit as a way of archiving and which allows me to further identify experiences of white Afrikaner females and white Afrikaner males during the time of conscription between 1980 and 1990 (Foster, 2004).

CHAPTER 2: WOMEN, VOLKSMOEDERS EN DIE SADF

In Chapter 2 of my inquiry, I trace the vestiges of Apartheid through a look at the existing narratives of Afrikaner Christian women. I bring to consider how the experiences of Afrikaner females result from the ongoing myth of the Volksmoeder (Brink, 2008). I draw together ideas of gender and gender roles imposed by the DRC and how this would become essential in the process of conscription in the SADF. I also probe the experiences and implications of Christianised education and how this enforced the values of the SADF and Apartheid society.

CHAPTER 3: IMAGES PHOTOGRAPHS AND A BRIEF HISTORY

This chapter provides an historical background of Afrikaners, the Church, and the SADF. It frames the research inquiry to provide the reader with a broader understanding of South African society between 1980 – 1990. This chapter considers how photography and the archive exist as witnesses that speak to its contexts and lived experiences. Furthermore, the chapter grounds fundamental ideas of whiteness (Dyer, 1997; Dyer, 2008; Garner,

2007), memory (Connerton, 1989; Connerton, 2008; Boym, 2001) and gender (Butler, 1988; Butler, 1990; Cock, 1992; Beauvoir, 1953) which I trace throughout my inquiry.

CHAPTER 4: POPULAR CULTURE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF MEMORY

This chapter explores how popular culture provides a lens through which cultural memory and experiences of nostalgia can be discussed. I look at popular culture from 1980 to 1990 and how it evolved after Apartheid. In this chapter, I look at the music of the Voëlvry movement and how this possibly inspired the band, frequented by Afrikaner youth, Fokofpolisiekar. Additionally, I look at the popular South African film *Kanarie* (2018) as an addition to my inquiry. I bring into consideration how popular culture allows for an understanding of the experiences of Afrikaner youth in a post-apartheid South Africa.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

This chapter will provide a summary of my findings. I look at the various limitations of my study, as well as what future inquiries my research proposed. I consider various points of outcome that my chapters provide some consideration on the impact of the study

A Note on Terminology

The use of Afrikaans

My inquiry will predominantly look at material which is in Afrikaans and will provide a translated version to English of each form of text or speech. The interviews with the participants have been conducted in Afrikaans because their 'mother tongue' is Afrikaans. It is important to note that the institution of language also played an essential part in the experiences of apartheid society. I refer to the Afrikaans language as an institution due to its connection to Afrikaner Nationalism⁵ and its implementation of it as a way of maintaining power. The Afrikaans language is a product of the Cape Colony. This colony was established after Jan van Riebeeck arrived in the Cape in 1652 and used by the Dutch

⁵. Afrikaner Nationalism is understood as a political ideology that was promoted by Afrikaners. This ideology is considered under the values of Calvinism, which is discussed in Chapter 1. Moodie TD. (1975) *The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid, and the Afrikaner Civil Religion*: University of California Press.

East India Company (VOC) as a refreshment station (Giliomee, 2003: 1). Initially, the language was viewed as a 'bastard language' that resulted mostly from the Dutch language and was spoken loosely as a general language (Giliomee, 2003: 271). Afrikaans as a language became synonymous with the Afrikaners due to its beginnings in the Cape Colony. The campaign for Afrikaans as an official language was boosted in the pursuit of Afrikaner Nationalism as part of the Afrikaner identity. Afrikaans was sold by rising Afrikaner nationalism as the 'civilized language' and was branded as a 'white' language to feed into the ideology of rising Afrikanerdom. After 1948 the system of Apartheid progressed towards implementing racist policies among which is the "Bantu Education Act" which dictated that the medium of instruction within South African Schools would be English and Afrikaans and would lead up to the events of the Soweto Uprising of 16 June 1976. The 20 000 students who protested in 1976 protested the very institution of the Afrikaans language and Apartheid policy. The issue of language is still, however, an issue of contention within South Africa after 1994. In Chapter 5, I briefly look at the recent attempts of the phasing out of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction at South African institutions.

I refer to the term 'Afrikaners' throughout this thesis as a reference to a group of people who consider themselves as white Afrikaans speakers with relation to the Dutch settlers of the Cape from 1652. South African author and Professor in Sociology, Christi van der Westhuizen, defines the Afrikaner as "an identity flavouring race, gender, class, and sexual elements with a particularism drawn from an ever-pliable and politically potent category of ethnicity" (van der Westhuizen, 2016: 2). Identity for cultural theorist Stuart Hall is a construction that is an acknowledgement of a shared characteristic or origin with another person or group⁶. Hall maintains that identity is a construction that "is subject to historicization, which changes continuously" that is to say, that identity never remains static.

⁶ Hall contends that the process of identification is the ability to look at something as a whole.

In Chapter 1, I look at aspects of whiteness studies⁷ and consider its potential to help me understand the dynamics of social relationships and identity. I rely on Herman Gilliomee's book "The Afrikaners: Biography of a people"⁸ as an understanding of their historical context. Gilliomee provides an understanding of the term Afrikaner, that was first used at the beginning of the eighteenth century and was used alongside other terms such as *Boer*, *Dutchman*, *Christian*, and *burgher* (Giliomee, 2003: xix). The historical background of the 'Afrikaner' spans over the period of more than 350 years, and I am not able to tease out the history in its entirety in this dissertation. I have thus selected critical dates with the intention that it aids the understanding of the historical context building up to the time of focus of from 1980 to 1990. Van der Westhuizen argues that the implication of the identity of Afrikaner in Apartheid "re-stigmatises it as morally suspect" (van der Westhuizen, 2016: 3). It is with this understanding that the term Afrikaners remains a point of contention for many.

⁷ is an academic field of inquiry which looks at applied frameworks of understanding social relationships and identity. Garner S. (2007) *Whiteness: An Introduction*: Taylor & Francis.

⁸ Giliomee HB. (2003) *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People*: C. Hurst.



Figure 1: My father with other troops, unknown location, circa 1980. Photograph provided by the author.

THE FAMILIAR

“For we are Christ’s executioners.
We are on the walls around the locations
gun in one hand
machine-gun in the other:
we, the missionaries of Civilization.”⁹

I sit with my father's Contessa LK camera that still works. From an early age, my father would sit with me, explaining how he purchased the camera shortly after receiving his first pay check from the army. The camera would eventually end up in a display case as part of my father’s camera collection which was locked away in an outside room adjacent to our house. My father would often reminisce in this outside room, a sentimentalist who kept every pamphlet, every camera and every photograph. He had worked years on creating what he called a personal museum, which was locked away behind wooden doors and lined in brown carpeting. His museum, as he called it, consisted of a corner with shelves. From the top he would display his beer mugs, then his collection of old camera equipment, then items from his army kit, such as an army helmet. His museum would eventually gather dust after many evenings of pondering alone.

Although my father had kept a lot of items, his Contessa LK camera with the leather case and Karl Zeiss lens was one of his most important possessions. I wonder what its lens has captured. Already second hand when my father purchased it in the 1980s, it travelled with us since then, from our house in the centre of Pretoria to our house in Queenswood, to our house in Capital park until eventually it would find its place in our house in 10th Avenue. My father purchased it to capture his time in the army. This camera exists as a silent witness of time, which stands to attest for his loss, as well as mine. Its shutter allowed for fragments of time to slip through, exposing fractures in the South African narrative.

1.

⁹ Breytenbach B. (1994) *The true confessions of an albino terrorist*, San Diego: Harcourt Brace. Pg. 357.

Thirty-five years after my father was conscripted into the South African Defence Force (SADF) I sit with his companion, piecing together the story of our family. I begin this story in 1984, when my father, Reinier Christian Niemand (Junior) reports for his first time to the SADF for his compulsory military service. This was in step after calculated grooming by the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) and the rise of Christian Nationalist School education. My journey will be an inquiry that looks at the experiences of my mother, grandmother, aunts, and father. I look at how they moved through the Apartheid institutions. More than baking goods and bazaars, Afrikaner women were affected in various ways by the border war.

Additionally, the inquiry will consider the act of the border war as a gendered practice that conforms to the values of Apartheid society¹⁰ (Cock, 1991: x). Through the institution of the SADF and the DRC, specific roles would dictate the position of men and women, which is still fulfilled in Post-Apartheid South Africa. The inquiry looks at how these experiences are transmitted through generations in a post-apartheid South Africa, which traces it back to my experience as a white female born in 1995.

¹⁰ I refer to Apartheid Society throughout my inquiry; I use the term as a generalised reference to the white middle-class society that benefited from the implementation of Apartheid. Apartheid is considered in the political understanding as policies that were put in place for the segregation of races within South Africa. Giliomee HB. (2003) *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People*: C. Hurst.

Chapter 1

Peuselparades: The Archive and the performance

BESKUIT

- 3 pond bruismeel.
- 1 pond botter.
- 1½ koppie suiker.
- 1 teelepel sout.
- 1 pint karring of suurmilk.

KARRINGMELKBESKUIT

- 3 pd bruismeel
- 1 dessertlepel sout
- 1 koppie suiker
- ½ pd margarien
- 1 eetlepel botter
- 3 eiers
- 1 pint karringmelk

Sif al die droë bestanddele saam. Vryf margarien en botter in. Klop eiers goed en voeg by. Klop eiers goed en voeg by. Klop karringmelk en voeg ook by. Knie goed deur. Maak dadelik op in panne en bak 1 uur lank in oond teen 350 gr. F.

Meng meelblom en sout. Vryf botter in. Klits melk en suiker met eierklitser en voeg by meelmengsel. Meng liggies moenie knie nie. Indien nodig voeg meer melk by. Maak bolletjies langs mekaar in pan. Bak in warm oond ½—uur dit hang af van die oond. Laat koel. Laat vetjies. Laat

80464960 My
MHR PC - Pieterman
? April 7 Dec

Wie we Ma en Pa.
Ell skryf jou maar in jippo brief.
chef open vandag boeg, nou wat
maars ligende brief vir my deur.
Ma-hulle het seker my skimpier
ander brief gevand. Ons gaend
grote vir af
de grote
Beetie
v v v



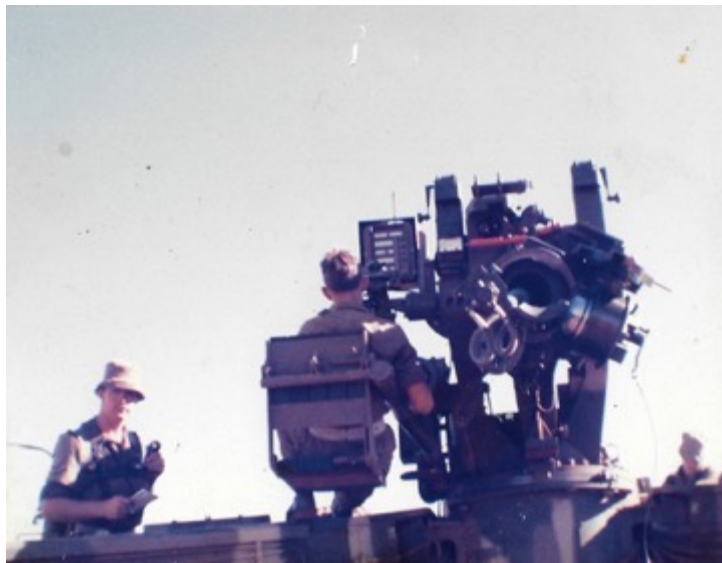


Figure 2: My father sitting on a cannon, location unknown, circa 1980. Photograph by the author.

CHAPTER 1: PEUSELPARADES: THE ARCHIVE AND THE PERFORMANCE

"As a church, we have always worked purposefully for the separation of the races. In this regard apartheid can rightfully be called a church policy." ¹¹

Introduction

As a child I remember helping my mother in the kitchen. She would make milktart on Sunday to serve along with tea while my father sat in his museum. Milktart would be prepared by starting with the crust, we would roll tennis biscuits and mix it in along with sugar, coconut, cake flour and butter. We would press the crust into an oven- proof dish that is bigger than usual so that we have enough to serve the whole family and send home for later. After the crust was compressed we would prepare the filling and bake the tart in the oven at 180°C. The final touch to every milktart is the last sprinkle of grounded cinnamon that would be sifted gently over the filling. Finally, slices would be cut evenly and served on the best floral plates that were reserved for Sunday teas, enjoyed after church service. When everyone left, each guest would receive a tinfoil package of left overs to enjoy for later.

In this chapter I consider notions on the archive by discussing my exhibit titled “Pakkies aan boetie” which I produced as part of the fulfilment of my Masters. I will also discuss how the archive and production can be understood as a topology¹² which forms an understanding on the practices in the Apartheid society. This topology looks at the shared archive within my family which I will refer to throughout my inquiry. I provide an addition to my archive - which is fundamental to the experiences of women - an addition of shared recipes and cookbooks. I consider how the practices of the kitchen are seen as a performance which maintains the role of women in the Apartheid society. I continue to

¹¹ (1948) *Die Kerkbode*. Cape Town : Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Afrika.

¹² The topology refers to the way in which parts are interrelated or arranged. Van Niekerk M. (2008) Die Etende Afrikaner: Aantekeninge vir 'n klein tipologie. In: Grundlingh AM and Huigen S (eds) *Van volksmoeder tot Fokofpolisiekar : kritiese opstelle oor Afrikaanse herinneringsplekke*. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 75-90.

consider how the archive, in its ontological sense (Derrida and Prenowitz, 1996: 9), provides another insight into the experiences of white Afrikaner women in apartheid society. Additionally, I will provide a deeper understanding of the roles of Afrikaner women within the Apartheid society by looking into the archive of the Dutch Reformed Church and providing texts which relate to the time of conscription between 1980 and 1990.

Archive

For French philosopher, Michel Foucault the collection of documentation and texts is vital to an understanding of how emerging statements coexist with others (Foucault, 1972: 127). Foucault maintains that these statements exist from discursive formations that are linked to form the archive (Foucault, 1972: 278). Foucault's understanding of the archive can be understood as the "the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events." (Foucault, 1972: 129). The archive becomes a key role player in the way through which historical events are recorded. Archives exist as a way through which events such as the border war are arranged in an order. It is considered as an exercise of power, as it is much to do with the act of remembering¹³. Archives have the power to shelter its memories, guard access and shape memory. Formal archival practices have existed most prominently within an institutional setting. In the institutional sense of the meaning of the word archive which in a nomenclature refers to its Greek meaning *arkheion* referring to a house or place of residence of magistrates or officials (Derrida and Prenowitz, 1996: 9). The archive takes on the ability to remember and those who possess it to have the ability to control how we remember. The archive provides me with the ability to make meaning of events and understand how these events unfold in their interrelatedness to other events. Miriam Hirsch contends in her book *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust* that the work of the archive that is situated in the creative, such as the "Pakkies aan Boetie" exhibit, which engage themselves with the connectedness of "memorial and political strategies" exposes "unexpected local histories" (Hirsch, 2012: 230).

¹³ In chapter 5 I look into Memory studies and consider what it is to remember.

80464860 BA
KNR. R.C. Niemand.
Q-By
4 SAZ BN JP.
Middelburg
Tol.
1050
19 Julie '85

Liewe Ma en Pa,

Dit lyk toe nie of ons vroeër op
gaan nie, maar wel nog die 26^{de} Oesop.
Behalwe kerkparade en wagstaen
gaan hier vandag ook nie veel aan
nie.

Daardae hou ek my besig deur te
dink wat ek volgendejaar gaan doen.
Ek het nou gedink dit sal goed wees as
ek volgendejaar deelneem by die
Technikon "swot." Die hele week al
sit ek met die dansoek vorms. Daar
is net so 'n paar puntjies wat ek

Figure 3: A letter written to my grandmother from my father on 14/07/1985. Middelburg, 1985. Photograph provided by the author.

Pakkies aan boetie

On the 23rd of May 2019, I had an exhibition in the Humanities Building Foyer at the University of Pretoria Hatfield Campus. The exhibit has undoubtedly changed the course of my research. It was performative, drawing in and on the experiences of my family. Although there was a static display of photographs and texts on the walls, the focal point was tables laden with food, prepared by my family, who busied themselves – proudly I think – in the midst of the venue. It was a surreal space, then and now, brought together in a fusion of students unwittingly finding themselves in the middle of the event and my family taking painstaking care of me in an unfamiliar space through the act of preparation and presentation of food that they knew so well.

How strange it was, I thought, that these boxes remained untouched and set aside to be engulfed by time and dust. I remember stepping into my father's space. The storage space occupied a tiny area in the yard. Violently stuffed into the corner was my father's army kit, a difficult reminder of the reality which was a significant thread throughout my father's life. I start looking through it; taking out and inspecting each object that I pull out of the bag. Strewn across the floor, the pieces become an archive and exhibition of their own.

Of course my father's experience in the army was not something he ever disclosed at full in our late-night discussions. Separately, other boxes of my father were stuffed in far-reaching corners of dusty closets in my mother's room, next to long-forgotten mementoes my mother had kept close so that she would not forget what my father chose to cherish for so long. Among these items I carefully unboxed trinkets which felt like the only items left behind, evidence that my father had ever existed. Wrapped in a golden string, a tower of blue and yellow envelopes caught my eye, I knew what they were as I had only once previously encountered the stack of letters. I asked my father what they were and he would brush me off, saying that it had been letters exchanged between him and his mother during his time in the military and that one day when he was no longer with us, that I may read them. His response was prophetic, as not more than five years later -after his premature death on 14 June 2015. I find myself reading through them and immersing myself into his letters detailing his experience. The smell of my

grandmother's perfume was pungent and stuck to the paper for the whole time she kept them and handed them over to my father. None of what he was relaying to my mother had any details of what he was experiencing in the army, no details at all about where they were or exactly what they were there for. Almost every letter relayed a feeling of longing and determination, from both my grandmother to her son and my father to his mother.

The Performance

So much of my father is tied up in the exhibit. From inception, it evolved into what could be considered as a performance, drawing on my family to be an integral part of the event, and the preparation thereof. I understand this performance to be considered in the way that Judith Butler refers to as performativity. This she defines in her lecture given in Universidad Complutense de Madrid during 2008¹⁴ as a specific enactment, (Butler, 2009: i). These acts, according to Butler in her discussion of gender and roles, are performed as a way of maintaining identity. Derrida proposes another perspective, suggesting that, in the process of communication, the idea of representation becomes significant (Derrida, 1988: 5). The act of communication must then become relevant as a system of meaning which is reproduced. It is important to consider this because this chapter will look at how the act of communication which formed part of the process of the exhibit, proved to be essential to the emergence of the exhibition.

The exhibit relied on my familial archive. It focused on the death of my father and his time in the army which, in my mind, are inextricably linked. The exhibit started out as a collection of items, which included shared letters between my father and my grandmother, as well as items that my father kept hidden, as reminders from his time on the border. The collection evolved into giving voice, through various objects and importantly, the preparation and serving of various foods, to hidden narratives of my father, my family, the border war and me. I elaborate on the importance of food within the exhibit later in this chapter and it becomes a theme throughout the rest of the dissertation, and it is here that the role of my grandmother becomes central to my father's time on the border.

The only thing my grandmother distinctly remembers are the many packages she had neatly packed and posted to my father. She distinctly remembers the following: “Hy het altyd vriendelik gelyk jy weet hy het nooit gekla oor iets wat gebeur het nie. Ek kan maar net dink want ons het baie vir hulle gebid. Ek weet ek het vir hom spesiale

¹⁴ Butler J. (2009) Performativity, Precarity and Sexual Politics. *AIBR. Revista de Antropologia Iberoamericana* 4.

koekies gemaak en gestuur, troepe koekies.” *He always looked friendly you know, he never complained about something that happened. I can only imagine, we prayed for them a lot. I know I made him special cookies and sent it to him, troop cookies.*

“*Pakkies aan Boetie* considers shared stories of the mothers, sisters and wives of the “troepies” (troops) who had been conscripted into the SADF. These experiences are outlived by letters and photographs sent to the border from the women as a way of maintaining contact. The “Pakkies” (packages) would contain letters and other durable snacks, such as “Troepekoekies” as gentle reminders of home. These tokens taken from a familial archive echo the realities of Christian mothers during Apartheid whose sons were conscripted into the military. As for the lives affected by conscription into the SADF, it speaks to the trauma left in the aftermath of Apartheid. *Pakkies aan Boetie* attempts to prompt questions of survived legacies from the contested militarised Apartheid. Long past the reaches of freedom, these existing narratives remain as a memento mori to the present. Through the use of the creative, these roles should be addressed in a post-Apartheid South Africa so that it may form a dialogue among all South Africans.”¹⁵

¹⁵ This is taken from the curatorial statement of the exhibit “Pakkies aan Boetie”

Koeksisters: A Topology of the Afrikaner

Nothing says Sunday for white Afrikaners in South Africa like the company of family and a plate filled with potjie and other vegetable dishes topped with a malva pudding. As such, given that the preparation of family meals is overwhelmingly the domain of women in homes such as mine, it becomes an important element and conduit in any conversation of the experience of women during the conscription of white males. Firstly, it is important to understand the historical background of food within white Afrikaner South Africa. This is evidenced in the light of the Dutch cookbook and how this impacted the culture of food among the Afrikaners after the occupation of the Dutch in 1652. For the discussion I rely on research conducted by Hester Wilhelmina Claassens as provided in her doctoral thesis titled “Die Geskiedenis van Boerekos 1652 -1802”¹⁶. The cookbook, according to Claasens, remains important to Afrikaner families as it is something that is usually bequeathed from grandmother to mother to daughter. In a cookbook handed to me from my mother titled “Eet tipies Suid Afrikaans” (1985) it emphasizes the importance of inheritance:

“Suid Afrika is inderdaad bevoorreg om so ‘n ryke erfenis van kookgewoontes en resepte van uiteenlopende herkoms te hê. Daarom is dit só belangrik dat hierdie resepte soos ‘n kleinood bewaar moet word en die tradisionele kookkuns dus op dié manier van geslag tot geslag oorgedra moet word.”

South Africa is indeed privileged to have such a rich heritage of cooking habits and recipes from such varied origins. It is therefore so important that these recipes are saved like a gem and that traditional cookery thus should be passed on from generation to generation.

A brief historical background on South African food will tell me that it most likely started from the Dutch settlement in the Cape in 1652. As most Afrikaners are descendants from the first Dutch settlers, it should come to no surprise that most recipes considered as ‘Boerekos’ have strong roots in Dutch cookery and also known

¹⁶ Claassens HW. (2003) Die geskiedenis van Boerekos 1652-1806 (Afrikaans).

as Cape Cookery¹⁷. Cape cookery is seen as a mixing pot of Dutch, French, Eastern and English cooking due to the slave colony that the Cape had begun. Writer, Nadia Kamies elaborates on this occupation in her thesis *Shame and Respectability: A Narrative Inquiry into Cape Town 'Coloured' Families through photographs, cultural practices and oral histories*¹⁸.

My family – the Niemand family, share this history, as my genealogy reveals that the family had its roots in one of the first ships to arrive in the Cape. I imagine that my mother and father's love of cooking particular recipes echoes these roots. We regularly enjoyed potjiekos as a family on Sundays after church. This dish carries a significant history: it refers to a stew-like dish that consists of vegetables, meat and also a "langsous"¹⁹ that has been stewed together in a pot over coals for an extended period of time (Claassens, 2003: 211). One suggested background of potjiekos or bredie²⁰ is that it was as a result of the Dutch solution to the tough meat that was available in the Cape (1985: 3). The Afrikaner's relationship with food needs to be understood as a practice that forms together with the practice of religion, etiquette and respect. It is these practices that must be seen in its Dutch origin as the practice of the head of the household or the host who sits at the end of the table to enforce his status of authority (Van Niekerk, 2008: 78 - 79). This is still observed in Afrikaner homes today. Every Sunday when we would have these family gatherings, as children we would never dare sit at the end of the table as we knew that it was reserved for my father RC Niemand (Junior) or my grandfather RC Niemand (Senior). Importantly, it was also important for us as a family to join together in prayer before the commencement of the meal, which would always be given by my father or grandfather as it is usually reserved for the eldest male in the family.

¹⁷ Claassens H and Pretorius F. (2004) Die geskiedenis van boerekos 1652-1806. *Suid-Afrikaanse tydskrif vir kultuurgeskiedenis*|*South African journal of cultural history* 18: 110-125.

¹⁸ See Kamies N. (2018) *Shame and Respectability: A Narrative Inquiry into Cape Town 'Coloured' Families through photographs, cultural practices and oral histories*. *Historical and Heritage Studies*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

¹⁹ This is an Afrikaans term used for a sauce mixed with flour used in stews in order to stretch the dishes without having to add more meat so that everyone would be able to taste the dish.

²⁰ Bredie must also be understood in this context as a dish that is prepared similar to potjiekos but is usually made with less liquid or sauce.

The recipe book “Eet tipies Suid Afrikaans” was distributed in 1985 by the Department of Homemaking under the Directorate of cultural affairs. It provides interesting background on the South African dishes recognising the role that slavery had played in its history. Rusks, for example, can be seen as a product of the settlement. The bread was dried and sent to the refreshment station per ship, this would become better known as “Skipbeskuit” (Ship rusks) which comes in various forms some known as “boerebeskuit”, “Grens beskuit” and “‘Army’-Beskuit”. These recipes and practices are necessary to understand how this was understood and applied over time in South African households, specifically for the Afrikaner mother and wife, who would continue this practice throughout the course of the border war. Unique recipes and recipe books catered for the mothers who had hungry sons on the border and my grandmother ensured the regular delivery of edible packages to my father. In addition to these packages sent to the borders, mothers would also cater for the troops who would come home to visit. My grandmother recalls a memorable incident when my father arrived home on such a visit with a minister’s son no less:

“Ek het een keer toe kom hulle vir ‘n naweek en toe die dag, dit is ‘n minister se seun en ek het nie geweet nie, eers agterna en ek het toe vir hulle ‘n ete voorberei, dit was daar in Waverley toe ons daar gebly het. En ek dink ek het ‘n mielie soufflé gemaak en aan die klitser onder is daar so dingetjie wat jy indruk onder om die bak te beskerm en die ding het los gegaan en in gebak en die minister se seun het toe die deel gekry en toe sê ek maar dit is skoon.”

When they came over one weekend, it was a minister’s son and I did not know, only when after I prepared food, it was in Waverly where we stayed. I think I made a corn soufflé and at the bottom of the mixer there was a part that you add on to protect your bowl and it went loose and baked into the dish, the minister’s son got the part but I said it was clean.

My grandmother’s reaction to this seems to have changed over the years as if she could only laugh about it now, but felt partly embarrassed about the incident. Similar stories narrated by my grandmother involve my father bringing home one of his

friends who also got a pass for the weekend for them to visit family. In some instances they would even consult with my Grandmother on advice for girlfriends.

Although the church was responsible for sending packages to the troops, my grandmother never participated in the process through the church. She always made up her packages on her own. In a recent attempt to dig through old boxes of family belongings, I stumbled upon a recipe book which was handed down from my grandmother titled *Peuselparade* (1988). The book was published by the South African food company Bokomo for the mothers who are sending their sons to border. The introductory message is provided by Patricia Kerr also known as ‘Pat Kerr’ who was a well-known host of a radio programme called *Forces Favourites*²¹. She writes: “Aan alle troepies, hul moeders, stiefmoeders en vriendinne: mag hierdie resepte vele ure van eetgenot verskaf, sowel as waardering vir die ure se swoeg in die kombuis” (*To all the troops, their mothers, stepmothers and girlfriends: May these recipes provide hours of enjoyment as well as appreciation for the hours of toil in the kitchen.*). Furthermore, the recipe book offered a seemingly humorous handbook on recipes and how to pack the packages sent to the troops. It describes the following:

“Gebruik ‘n stewige doos as houer – sowat 20 cm x 20 cm x 10 cm; die volledige pakkie moet minder as 3 kilogram weeg. Draai die pakkie toe in 2 velle bruinpapier en versterk dit met kleefband, veral by die hoeke. Verpak alles stewig en vul enige oop spasies met lekkergoed, ens. Skryf sy naam en adres duidelik in blokletters. Standaardgrootte pakkethouers is by aller Poskantore beskikbaar.”²²

Use a steady box as a container – more or less 20 cm x 20 cm x 10 cm; the complete package should weigh no more than 3 kilograms. Wrap the package in 2 sheets of brown paper and strengthen it with tape, especially the corners. Pack everything and fill any open spaces with sweets etc. Write his name and address clearly in block letters. Standard size pack containers is available at all postoffices.

²¹ Forces Favourites was a radio program that was hosted by Pat Kerr on Springbok Radio.

²² Bokomo. (1988) *Peuselparade : smaaklike, maklike resepte om vir u geliefde in die Weermag voor te berei, asook talle nuttige wenke*, Malmesbury: Bokomo. Pg, 8.

Packages to the troops were detailed in the book which gave instructions for successful delivery such as badge number, rank and name, sub-unit, unit, city and postal code (when in South Africa) and as number, rank and name, sub-unit, unit, city and postal code, Unit where supplied, sector, Field post office 1, Pretoria, postal code (when they were in an operational area). Furthermore, the book provided an opportunity for mothers all over the country to provide tips and tricks to help with posting of the packages to the troop. For example a mother, J.E. Heyns writes out of Welkom:

“Sprinkel springmielies tussen die inhoud vand die pakkie. Dit absorbeer skok tydens die hantering en Vervoer van die pakkie. Terselfdertyd het die troepie nog iets om aan te peusel.” (*Sprinkle popcorn in between the contents of the package. It absorbs the shock during the handling and transport of the package. At the same time the troop has something extra to snack on.*).

My grandmother’s recipe book formed the axel of the exhibition. The black spiral notebook consisted of foxed pages with collaged recipes. These recipes were all sourced from magazines and newspapers and some are handwritten, copied from other recipes, perhaps from those of other women she knew. This collage contains some insight into the type of cookery that was enjoyed in my grandmother’s kitchen between 1980 and 1990. Under the section of Lekkers (*sweets*) a recipe boasts: “By enige kerkbasaar of skoolfunksie is die tafel waar tuisgemaakte lekkers verkoop word, een van die gewildste.” (*At any church basaar or school function is the table with the homemade sweets one of the favourites.*)(1968: 18). The recipe book provides a great insight into the various choices of recipes published in magazines mainly aimed at stay-at-home women. Some recipes date back to 1955 which originate out of publications for women such as *Rooi Rose*, *Die Huisvrou*, *Finesse* and *Vrouekeur*. All of these publications were aimed at the Afrikaner women who would provide for their families at the home front and would specifically focus on advice for keeping a well-organized home and shared recipes. In Chapter 3 I will discuss the main role of middle-class Afrikaner women as care givers to children and to manage the home. This position of Afrikaner women would allow them an interest in crafting dishes that are palatable and easy to prepare.

Most of the added recipes in my Grandmother's recipe book are usually requested by readers of the magazines. An example of a recipe for Koeksisters²³ reads as follows:

“ ‘Ek het baie koeksister resepe, maar die regte een het ek nog nie raakgeloop nie. Hoe lyk dit, het u nie vir my een wat so lekker vol stroop is nie?’ Vra mev. B.T op J.” (I have many Koeksister recipes but I have not yet discovered the correct one. Don't you have one which is full of syrup?).

The requests will then be reprinted with a suggested recipe. So the recipe that provides well syrup-soaked koeksisters is:

For the Syrup:

10 Cups of sugar

8 Cups of water

A few pieces of cinnamon

1 Tablespoon of Syrup

Cook the first three ingredients together for exactly 20 minutes then add the syrup. Make the syrup the evening before and let it cool in the fridge.

Dough

4 Cups of Flour

6 Teaspoons baking powder

2 Tablespoons butter

2 eggs

A pinch of salt

Rub the butter in the dry ingredients and mix it with well blended eggs and cold water until it reaches a relatively floppy consistency dough. Knead for 20 minutes and let it stand for at least an hour before it is rolled out and plaited.

²³ A Koeksister is a South African confectionary which is a plaited deep fried dough which is dipped in syrup.

In the same fashion recipes were often shared by housewives for their troops. The troopcookies which my grandmother relied on to bake and send to my father, was shared from a South African favorite magazine *Die Huisgenoot*²⁴ (Giliomee, 2003: 327).

²⁴ The name of the publication is Afrikaans for house companion which was first published in 1916. The publication is published by Media24 but was originally published under De Nasionale Pers. Giliomee aintains that 1923 it became the most popular Afrikaans magazine when a fifth of Afrikaner families subscribed to its regular publications. See Giliomee HB. (2003) *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People*: C. Hurst. Pg. 327.

TROEPEKOEKIES (Die Huisgenoot)

650 g. (5 x 250 ml, ongesif afgemest).
Koekmeelblom.

300 g. (4 x 250 ml) Klapper.

250 g. (750 ml) hawermout.

30 g. (250 ml) Semels.

100 g. (250 ml) gekapte neut.

5 ml. Sout.

800 g. (4 x 250 ml.) Suiker.

500 g. botter of margarien

4 Eiers

10 ml. Vanieljegerusel.

50 ml heuning of gouestroep.

20 ml. bakpoeier.

15 ml. Koeksoda.

150 g. (4 x 250 ml) Rice Crispies-
ontbywatskies.

(Lewer 11 tot 12 dosyn kokies)

Voorverhit die oond tot 180°C
(350°F). Smeer bakplate. Plaas die oondrak in die
middelste posisie.

Meng die koekmeelblom, Klapper, hawermout, Semels,
neut en Sout saam in 'n baie groot mengbak.
Verroom suiker en botter/marg. saam in 'n ander mengbak.
Voeg die eiers en Vanieljegerusel by en meng.
Voeg hierdie mengsel by die meelmengsel en
meng.

Verhit die heuning of gouestroep effens, verwyder dit
van die leuitte en roer die bakpoeier en koeksoda
by; dit vorm 'n dik skuim. Voeg dit by die
meelmengsel en meng gedeeleke. Voeg die
Rice Crispies by en meng vinnig en ligges; die deeg
is styf. Rol balletjies 1 1/2 keer groter as in oondruent. Plaas
saam met mekaar op bakplate - woenne plat druk
bak. 18-20 min. Laat 10 min. afkoel voor uit oond haal

Kokies vir hongerige kinders

Mev. S.J. Nel van Posbus 243, Benoni, skryf dat haar seuns baie lief is vir hierdie voedsame hawermoutkokies propvol heel grondboontjies. Pleks van die deeg in balletjies te rol, kan 'n mens ook teelepelsvol op 'n bakplaat skep.

450 g (500 ml) margarien, by kamertemperatuur
300 g (375 ml) sagte bruin suiker
4 eiers
300 g (375 ml) wit suiker
450 g (800 ml, ongesif afgemest) koekmeelblom
15 ml koeksoda
5 ml sout
200 g (375 ml) ongesoute of gesoute grondboontjies
500 g (6 x 250 ml) hawermout
10 ml vanieljegerusel

Verroom margarien en bruin suiker. Klits eiers en wit suiker saam totdat die mengsel sponsagtig dik en die suiker gesmelt is. Voeg by margariemengsel en meng. Sif koekmeelblom, koeksoda en sout saam en meng met margariemengsel. Voeg res van bestanddele by en meng goed. Rol deeg tussen die handpalms in klein balletjies en plaas 'n entjie uitmekaar op gesmeerde bakplate. Druk balletjies plat met 'n vurk wat in meel gedruk is. Bak kokies sowat 20 minute in 'n voorverhitte oond by 180 °C (350 °F). Lewer sowat 12 dosyn kokies.

Figure 4: A handwritten recipe from my grandmother's recipe book for troop cookies copied out of "Die Huisgenoot" magazine, Pretoria, circa 1980. Photograph provided by the author.

The role of food in the “Pakkies aan Boetie Exhibit”

When I learned of the importance of food in the lives of troops and mothers during the border war, it steered the direction and overall ambiance of the *Pakkies aan boetie* exhibit in an altogether different direction. I started to compile recipes that my grandmother had entrusted with me and which she had identified as making for my father regularly. Among the list was the infamous Troepe koekies ²⁵(*troop cookies*) which is often referred to in the cookbooks. My Grandmother had a custom- made cookbook which she had compiled out of an old spiral notebook and cut out recipes from various magazines. The reception of a basket with sugary and salty treats seems insignificant in comparison to the troops’ experiences but it seems to have played a large role in how it affected the mood of the individual troops who would wait in anticipation for any correspondence. Gabrielle Malan notes in her book that “Die pakkie wat met liefde en sorg stewig verpak die dienspligtige op die grens bereik, is ‘n stukkie van die huis self.” (*The package that is packed with love and care, tightly packed that reaches the troop on the border, is a piece of home.*). Understandably popular phrases used in these circumstances exist as “Pos in die bos is kos” (post in the bush is food) which can be understood that when a troop receives any form of post it most likely consisted of a neatly packed package filled with home baked goods and other pieces of necessity (Bokomo, 1988: 19). In the exhibition I reference this through explicitly placed vinyl lettering which provided instruction from Malan’s book, that takes the viewer through a step by step process on how a package is put together and prepared for its travel to the border.

²⁵ These cookies mainly consist out of puffed rice, flour, oats and coconut. There are various versions available and differs from household to household.

Daardie Pakkie van die huis af *That package from home*

“Die pakkie wat met liefde en sorg stewig verpak die dienspligtige op die grens bereik, is ‘n stukkie van die huis self.

“The package that is compiled with love and care, tightly packed so that it reaches the troop on the border, is a piece of home.

Om ‘n pakkie veilig en gesog te maak, moet sekere reëls gevolg word.

To ensure that the package is safe and popular, there are some rules that must be followed.

Pak liever twee kleiner pakkies as een groot pak.

Rather pack two smaller packages than one big package.

Die inhoud moet styf gepak word sodat dit nie rondbeweeg nie. Koekies en beskuit kom so maklik in krummels by die bestemming aan.

The contents have to be packaged tightly so that it does not move around. Cookies and rusks could easily arrive at its destination as crumbs.

Moet liever nie vars vrugte probeer stuur nie. Drie weke per trein sal meer as ‘n vrugte slaai lewer.

Do not send any fresh fruit. Three weeks per train could easily offer up more than just a fruit salad.

Die gemiddelde tyd wat ‘n pakkie neem om sy bestemming te bereik is 12 - 16 dae.

The average time that the package takes to reach its destination is 12 - 16 days.

Pak die inhoud eers in kleiner houers, bv. Plastiese roomysbakke en pak lae papiersakdoeke tussenin.

Firstly pack the contents in smaller containers, i.e. plastic ice cream containers and pack layers of tissues in between.

Pak die pakkie stewig en draai eers toe in goiingsak wat met naald en gare toegewerk word. Merk duidelik met ‘n kokipen.

Pack the package sturdy and cover it with hessian which is sewed shut with needle and thread afterwards. Mark it clearly with a permanent marker.

Die adres moet volledig wees met die ontvanger se nommer, kompanie en peleton.

The address has to be complete with the receiver’s number, company and platoon.

Moeniepakkies registreer nie. Dit veroorsaak ‘n vertraging van 5 - 6 dae”

Do not register your package. It results in a delay of 5 - 6 days.”

Geneem uit *Ek het Iemand op die grens*
deur Gabrielle Malan (1981)

Taken from Ek het Iemand op die grens by
Gabrielle Malan (1981)

The instructions provide me with an understanding that mothers took great care in preparing the packages which were sent off to the border. As I have mentioned in the beginning, my grandmother would take care in the packages that she sent to us as children that were wrapped carefully in wax paper and gently tucked into an ice cream container. I can only imagine that my grandmother followed these steps to put together a package that will make its way to the border filled with food that was handmade specifically for my father.

For the exhibition I had selected the handmade food that my grandmother would have prepared for my father. Carefully displayed on the paper doilies my mother, aunt, grandmother and I served the following, *troepkoekies*, koeksisters, three variations of milktart namely apple-milktart, crustless-milktart, traditional milktart, biltong and droëwors, Quiche, *Wildspastei* (Wild-pie). Each bite of food had been carefully picked out of the cookbooks used once to make and send off food to a hungry troop. Accompanying every pack of food was a recipe card detailing the historical background of each dish.



Figure 6: Milkart and koecksisters displayed on doilies served alongside recipe cards. Pretoria, 2019. Photograph by the author.



Figure 7: Kudu Pies displayed alongside recipe cards on doilies. Pretoria, 2019. Photograph by the author.

Every dish displayed had a Cape Dutch background. In a thesis put forth by Hester Wilhelmina Claassens in 2003, Claassens provides a detailed background on some Afrikaner dishes between 1652 and 1806²⁶. Claassens draws the influence of Dutch cooking from the European settlement in 1652 through to the development of “boerekos” (Boer Food).

Milktart

Milktart is a South African dessert which consists of a sweet pastry crust and a creamy filling. The tart has its origins from 1510 during the time that Thomas van der Noot published the first Dutch Language Cookbook. The recipe initially consisted of almond milk, plant oil, flour, rice flour, ginger and cinnamon which was combined into a porridge. Van der Noot modernised the recipe by adding in eggs and using less flour which leads to the recipe commonly used in South Africa today (Claassens, 2003: 361). This tart is one of the recipes most likely to have been introduced by the Dutch settlers in the Cape when they arrived in the 17th century. Milktart has since been a favourite in South African households, often served during tea.

Koeksisters

A Koeksister is a South African confectionary that consists of deep-fried dough which has then been dipped or covered in syrup or honey. The name indicates that it could have been named after its appearance which essentially is a pleat created with the dough. The name could be translated literally as either “tangled sisters” or “cake sisters”. Traditionally the Dutch would refer to the confectionary as ‘Crullers’ which was introduced to the east by the Dutch and was also made in India by Christians during festivals and thus variations of this confectionary have found its way into South Africa (Claassens, 2003: 354). Today Koeksisters are served on various types of occasions with tea during social gatherings in Afrikaner homes and churches.

Quiche

²⁶ Claassens HW. (2003) Die geskiedenis van Boerekos 1652-1806 (Afrikaans).

Quiche is a European dish that could be described as an open pie as it consists out of a crust and a filling usually mixed with egg and cream. The original variation was titled Quiche Lorraine. Quiche became popular quite early in the early 20th century in England because it was a great vegetarian alternative (Nathan, 2010: 246). The South African variation would more likely contain meat such as bacon or ham as it is a more affordable alternative to other meats. It was often viewed as a feminine snack which later appeared in a snack version at tea parties or while Afrikaner women were welcoming guests in their homes.

Wildspastei (*Wild Pie*)

Wildspastei is a form of pie which is made up of wild meat and puff pastry. The meat is often determined by what is available for hunting. The pie served is made up of Kudu meat. The pie is usually served with a form of jelly such as Kweperjellie (quince jelly). These meaty pies would often be served in the Dutch kitchens at the Cape as an alternative if there was no other meat available. Due to its dry properties, the filling of the pies is usually made with extra fatty meats such as bacon (Claassens, 2003: 227). It is not as popular in South African homes today because of the availability of other meats, but it is still enjoyed as a way of making use of excess meat after hunting.

Biltong

Biltong is dried meat that has been cured with spices and vinegar and left for some time until it is ready for consumption. Biltong is usually made from various meats, whichever is available. During the beginning of the 19th century biltong was largely produced due to the scarcity of fresh meat in the Cape. In most instances biltong was seen as the ideal food for travelling. Seeing as the distances were often spanned over days, Biltong was seen as an invaluable source of sustenance during treks to and from the Cape (Claassens, 2003: 241). The process of making Biltong was probably introduced from Holland as some European areas would have been familiar with the curing processes. Due to the long- lasting properties of biltong and droëwors, these later became an ideal snack which would make the travel from the kitchen at home to the border. Carefully packaged and folded in between tissues, mothers had to ensure that the biltong and droëwors had dried properly, otherwise it wouldn't be edible.



The tea and coffee were served in a way that referenced how it would have been served to guests in church halls, where church women would gather on Sundays to serve tea to congregants after the service. A paper doily covered the saucer on which the cup rested, all matching in generic white. Doilies were considered as a symbol of status within homes in an attempt to gesture towards ideas of high status and etiquette.

Ginger beer was also served alongside the tea and coffee. Ginger beer is a firm favorite, a drink that originates out of the Dutch kitchen in the Cape. Besides lemonade, most refreshments were sugar beer which was flavoured with additional ingredients such as ginger. The first beer was brewed under the supervision of Jan Van Riebeeck on the 5th of October 1658. Ginger beer was later crafted to be brewed with sugar, water, ginger, yeast and raisins and has become a frequent drink brewed in Afrikaner kitchens (Claassens, 2003: 374).

Milktart

Variation in Apple from the Western Cape

Milktart is a South African dessert which consists out of a sweet pastry crust and a creamy filling. The tart has its origins from 1510 during the time that Thomas van der Noot published the first Dutch Language Cookbook. The recipe initially consisted out of almond milk, plant oil, flour, rice flour, ginger and cinnamon which was combined into a porridge. Van der Noot modernised the recipe by adding in eggs and using less flour which lead to the recipe commonly used in South Africa today. This tart is one of the recipes most likely to have been introduced by the Dutch settlers in the Cape when they arrived in the 17th century. Milktart has since been a favourite in South African households often served during tea.

PAKKIES AAN BOETIE

Ingredients

Crust

100gr cake flour
7ml baking powder
Pinch of salt
50gr butter or margarine
50g castor sugar
1 egg beaten
25ml milk

Filling

4 Granny Smith apples
750ml milk
160gr white sugar
30gr cake flour
50gr cornflour
2 eggs, yolk and white separated
15ml butter or margarine
2ml vanilla essence
Pinch of salt
Cinnamon sugar

Method

Pre-heat the oven at 180°C. Grease an oven safe pie dish of 26cm in diameter and 6cm deep. Sift the cake flour, baking powder and salt together. Cream together the butter or margarine and sugar and add the eggs and milk and mix thoroughly. Add the flour mixture and mix. Spread the batter on the side and the bottom of the dish. Peel and cut the apples into pieces - not too small. Steam in a little bit of water until soft. Drain the water if necessary. Heat together 650ml of the milk and 100gr of the sugar until boiling point. Mix the flour, cornflour and the rest of the sugar with the egg yolks and the remaining 100ml of milk. Pour the boiling milk over the flour mixture while beating it fast. Pour it back into the pot, beat briskly and continuously with a wooden spoon and cook until thick. Remove from the stove and mix the butter or margarine, vanilla essence and salt into the milk mixture. Beat the egg white until stiff, but not dry. Fold it with the apple pieces gently into the milk mixture with a metal spoon. Spoon the filling into the raw crust. Bake the milk tart for 25 to 30 minutes or until the filling is stiff. Sprinkle with cinnamon sugar and allow to cool for a while before serving.

Gingerbeer

Ginger beer was a very important cool drink that originates out of the Dutch kitchen in the Cape. Besides Lemonade, most refreshments were essentially sugar beer which was flavoured with additional ingredients such as ginger. The first beer was brewed under the supervision of Jan Van Riebeeck on the 5th of October 1658. Gingerbeer was later crafted to be brewed with sugar, water, ginger, yeast and raisins and has become a frequent drink brewed in Afrikaner kitchens.

PAKKIES AAN BOETIE

Ingredients

16 cups (4 litres) warm (not boiling) water
3 heaped teaspoons dry ginger
1 heaped teaspoon cream of tartar
2 flat teaspoons instant yeast
4 cups of sugar
2 tablespoons grated raw ginger
1 cup raisins

Method

Mix all the ingredients together in a bucket until the sugar is dissolved well and close the lid well. Take a fleece blanket and cover the bucket and leave in a warm place to ferment. Do not put in the sun. Close to the stove or the fridge works good. Leave the ginger beer to ferment for 24 hours. Pour the ginger beer through a kitchen sift to remove all the large pieces. Then sift through a cotton cloth. Pour into bottles (not too full) and add some of the removed raisins. Close the bottles (not too tight) and put in fridge to chill. Serve chilled.

Koeksisters

Variation from the Western Cape

A Koeksister is a South African confectionary which consists out of deep-fried dough which has then been dipped or covered in syrup or honey. The name indicates that it could have been named after its appearance which essentially is a pleat created with the dough. The name could translated literally as either "tangled sisters" or "cake sisters". Traditionally the Dutch would refer to the confectionary as Crullers which was introduced to the east by the Dutch and was also made in India by Christians during festivals and thus variations of this confectionary has found its way into South Africa. Today Koeksisters are served on various types of occasions with tea during social gatherings in Afrikaner homes and churches.

PAKKIES AAN BOETIE

Ingredients

Dough

18 cups cake flour
18 teaspoons baking powder
125 gr butter
2 eggs
1 cup water
1 ¼ tablespoon salt
Mix together and knead dough for 25 minutes and leave to rest for 1 hour covered by a damp dishcloth.

Syrup

20 cups sugar
10 cups water
2 tablespoons golden syrup

Method

Mix together (except the syrup) and put on stove. Stir until it starts to boil. Add the golden syrup and cook for 7 minutes at low heat. Let the syrup cool down and put in fridge over night to chill well. Roll dough and cut to plate the koeksisters. Fry in deep oil until brown, remove from oil and dunk into the cold syrup. Remove from syrup and place in the fridge to chill. Best when served chilled.

Quiche

Variation in Vegetarian

Quiche is a European dish which could be described as an open pie as it consists out of a crust and a filling usually mixed with egg and cream. The original variation was titled Quiche Lorraine. Quiche became popular early in the 20th century in England because it was a great vegetarian alternative. The South African variation would more likely contain meat such as bacon or ham as it is a more affordable alternative to other meats. It was often viewed as a feminine snack which later appeared in a snack version at tea parties or while Afrikaner women were welcoming guests in their homes.

PAKKIES AAN BOETIE

Ingredients

Dough

125ml butter (softened)
250ml cake flour
250ml grated cheese
5ml mixed herbs
Pinch of salt

Rub butter with your fingertips into the flour until it forms crumbs. Add the cheese and herbs. Roll into a soft ball and press it into foil tartlet bowls. Leave for 5 minutes in the fridge.

Filling

1 cup cream
1 egg
1 teaspoon baking powder
Salt and pepper

Whisk the cream and egg together and add the baking powder, salt and pepper.

Ingredients

Vegetarian filling options

Mushrooms lightly pan fried
Asparagus, drained and cut into pieces
Pan fried peppadews with onion
Any vegetable selection works well

Spoon your selected vegetarian filling into the tartlet bowls. Spoon in the filling on top and bake 30-40 minutes in a pre-heated oven at 180°C.

Troepekoekies

"Troop Cookies"

The Troepekoekie is a cookie which largely consists out of oats, puffed rice, wheat and sugar. There are many variations of these cookies that exist in the households of mothers who had often baked this for their sons who served in the South African Defense Force. The cookie became ideal for a troop as it will be able to endure the journey to the troop on the border. The cookie is also seen as an energising snack which will help the troop with the required energy to engage in combat. The recipe usually provides for a bulk of these cookies in order to supplement the troop with a long-lasting amount.

PAKKIES AAN BOETIE

Ingredients

650gr cake flour
300 gr coconut
250gr oats
30gr bran
100gr chopped nuts
5ml salt
800gr sugar
500gr butter or margarine
4 eggs
10ml vanilla essence
20ml honey or golden syrup
20ml baking powder
15ml baking soda
150gr Rice Crispies

Method

Pre-heat oven to 180°C. Grease baking trays. Place oven rack in the middle of the oven. Mix the flour, coconut, oats, bran, nuts and salt in a large mixing bowl. Cream the sugar and butter or margarine in another bowl. Add the eggs and vanilla essence and mix. Heat the honey or syrup slightly and mix the baking powder and baking soda into the honey/syrup. It forms a thick foam. Add to the flour mixture and mix slightly. Add the rice crispies and mix. Roll balls as big as a 1½ size wall nut and place 5cm from each other on the baking tray. Bake 18-20 minutes. Let it cool down for 10 minutes before removing from the pan.

The role of text in the “Pakkies aan Boetie Exhibit”

Layered through the exhibition, framing the food and recipe cards, the text highlighted the reflections and intimate messages from letters sent between my father and my grandmother. These contrasted with excerpts from publications detailing either the deaths of troops or how to compile a package to your son. This bizarre juxtaposition drawing attention to a war that was senseless and how the day-to-day realities in pretending everything was normal and justified. The text that drew attention to this in particular was selected from Dutch Reformed Church Archive²⁷ which revealed to a large extent the position of the DRC on the war, conscription and women and added to the dialogue of the exhibit.

The archives revealed to me the discourse of DRC within Afrikaner households, in particular the response of the church towards mothers, sisters and girlfriends who had someone on the border. As I will mention in chapter 4, the DRC provided a platform for mothers to share experiences of conscription of their sons for mothers of troops to communicate and pray on the situation of conscription and war. In one example the DRC provided the opportunity for a group of women who called themselves *Moeders van Dienspligtiges* (Mothers of members of the armed forces) to reach out to other congregations through *Die Kerkbode*, which is a publication made out by the Dutch Reformed Church and reports on church policy and activities. These groups of women started to gather together on a regular basis within congregations of the DRC to discuss aspects of their experiences surrounding conscription. These groups would distribute prayer lists which would be filled with names of conscripts and furthermore discuss issues like “pos is belangriker as kos” (*Post rather than food*)²⁸.

The DRC furthermore provided a platform of support and guidance for mothers and girlfriends who were sending a troop to the border. One example I focused on, is a book published under DRC. The book, titled “Ek het Iemand op die Grens²⁹”, provides

²⁷ The church archive is located in Stellenbosch (Kerkargiefgebou, Noordwal-Wes 1, Stellenbosch 7600).

²⁸ This saying translated into English means post is more important than food, this refers to the prioritization of writing letters to the troop on the border rather than sending food.

²⁹ Translated into English the title would be: *I have someone on the Border*.

a detailed guideline for mothers and women who have someone they know either serving on the border or will be required to serve their military service soon. The role of the female as outlined by Gabrielle Malan states as follows in the book:

“The woman should be an anchor for the family during stormy times such as these. She has to be convinced of the fairness of the defense battle so that no sacrifice may be too much for her. She has to be willing to give herself in the interest of her country and all of its people.”³⁰

Similar sentiments were encouraged in the manner through which mothers and women would communicate with the troops. In a detailed description, Malan provides a list of do's and don't's on ways in which to engage with the troops through letters. For the most part, Malan cautions writers into ensuring that their letters to the troops need to be taken seriously (Malan et al., 1981: 4-5). As Gabrielle Malan writes on the role that every woman should play a role in the military service:

“(D)aar is reeds genoeg gesê om elke meisie te laat besef dat die volgende woorde háár besondere bydrae tot grensdiens insluit:

"Ons sal antwoord op jou roepstem
Ons sal offer wat jy vra
Ons sal lewe
Ons sal sterwe
ONS VIR JOU SUID-AFRIKA"³¹

There is already enough said that the following words include her contribution to military service:

“At thy call we shall not falter,
firm and steadfast we shall stand,
At thy will to live or perish,

³⁰ Malan G, Geldenhuys N and Malan Gl. (1981) *Ek het iemand op die grens*, Kaapstad: Verenigde Protestantse Uitg. Pg. 19.

³¹ Malan G, Geldenhuys N and Malan Gl. (1981) *Ek het iemand op die grens*, Kaapstad: Verenigde Protestantse Uitg. Pg. 5.

O South Africa, dear land.”

The title of my exhibit *Pakkies aan boetie* refers to packages that were sent by my grandmother to my father on the border. The sending of packages was a common practice among Afrikaner mothers and sisters to ensure that their troop was looked after. The concept of the “pakkie” (package) became a large part of the experiences of Afrikaner females because it was the troop’s connection to home, in addition to wanting to bolster their food intake. Pieces of necessity are requested throughout my father’s letters to my Grandmother, ranging from cigarettes to shoe polish. These necessities are also listed in Malan’s publication as a guideline to mothers. These items are listed as follows: Insekbytmiddel (Insect-bite cream), Insekweermiddel (Insect repellent), Waslap en seep (Washcloth and Soap), Tupperwarebakke (Tupperware), Hoofpynpille (Headache pills), Suurlemoenjellie (Lemon jelly), Droë vrugte (Dried Fruit), Lekkers wat nie smelt nie (Sweets that don’t melt), Vitamine C bruispille (Vitamin C Effervescent Tablets) (Malan et al., 1981).

Once all of the contents of the packages have been prepared, Malan provides a set of instructions in which one should compile the package:

“Pak liever twee kleiner pakkies as een groot pak. Die inhoud moet styf gepak word sodat dit nie rondbeweeg nie. Koekies en beskuit kom so maklik in krummels by die bestemming aan. Moet liever nie vars vrugte probeer stuur nie. Drie weke per trein sal meer as ‘n vrugte slaai lewer. Die gemiddelde tyd wat ‘n pakkie neem om sy bestemming te bereik is 12 – 16 dae Pak die inhoud eers in kleiner houers, bv. Plastiese roomysbakke en pak lae papiersakdoeke tussenin. Pak die pakkie stewig en draai eers toe in goiingsak wat met naald en gare toegewerk word. Merk duidelik met ‘n kokipen. Die adres moet volledig wees met die ontvanger se nommer, kompanie en peleton. Moenie pakkies registreer nie. Dit veroorsaak ‘n vertraging van 5 – 6 dae” (Malan et al., 1981: 59)

Rather pack two smaller packages than one big package. The contents have to be packaged tightly so that it does not move around. Cookies and rusks could easily arrive at its destination as crumbs. Do not send any fresh fruit. Three weeks per train could easily offer up more than just a fruit salad. The average time that the package takes to reach its destination is 12 – 16 days. Firstly pack the content in smaller containers, i.e. plastic ice cream containers and pack layers of tissues in between. Pack the package sturdy and cover it with hessian which is sewed shut with needle and thread afterwards. Mark it clearly with a permanent marker. The address has to be complete with the receiver's number, company and platoon. Do not register your package. It results in a delay of 5 – 6 days.

Die inhoud van 'n pakkie sal sommige van die volgende items insluit.
The contents of a package will include some of the following items.

Insekbytmiddel	<i>Insect-bite cream</i>
Insekweermiddel	<i>Insect repellent</i>
Waslap en seep	<i>Washcloth and Soap</i>
Tupperwarebakke	<i>Tupperware</i>
Hoofpynpille	<i>Headache Pills</i>
Suurlemoenjellie	<i>Lemon Jelly</i>
Droë vrugte	<i>Dried Fruit</i>
Lekkers wat nie smelt nie	<i>Sweets that don't melt</i>
Vitamine C bruispille	<i>Vitamin C Effervescent Tablets</i>
Kougom	<i>Chewing gum</i>
Energietoffies	<i>Energy toffees</i>

Gabrielle Malan's book covers the requirements of women who had a loved one in the army. It doesn't refer to the realities of death of their loved ones, or those considered 'the enemy'. In the exhibition, this was highlighted in take-home of postcards in English and Afrikaans. They outline instructions to mothers as they were encouraged to write letters to their sons in the following way:

“U briewe aan u Seun moet
Opgewek wees
Bemoedigend wees
Vol interessante nuus en baie besonderhede wees
Dank betoon vir wat hy doen om sy land te beskerm
Vermaninge, Skrifgedeeltes en bemoediging inhou
Liewer nie slegte nuus bevat nie”(Malan et al., 1981: 59)

(Your letters to your son should-

Be raised

Be encouraging

Be full of interesting news and a lot of detail

Must be thankful for what he is doing to protect his country

Contain exhortations, scriptures and encouragement

Rather not contain any bad news)

"Your letters to your son should-

Be raised

Be encouraging

Be full of interesting news and a lot of detail

Must be thankful for what he is doing to protect his country

Contain exhortations, scriptures and encouragement

Rather not contain any bad news "

Taken from *Ek het Iemand op die Grens* by Gabrielle Malan (1981)



Figure 8: Postcard design for the "Pakkies aan Boetie" exhibit. Pretoria. 2019. Photograph provided by the author.

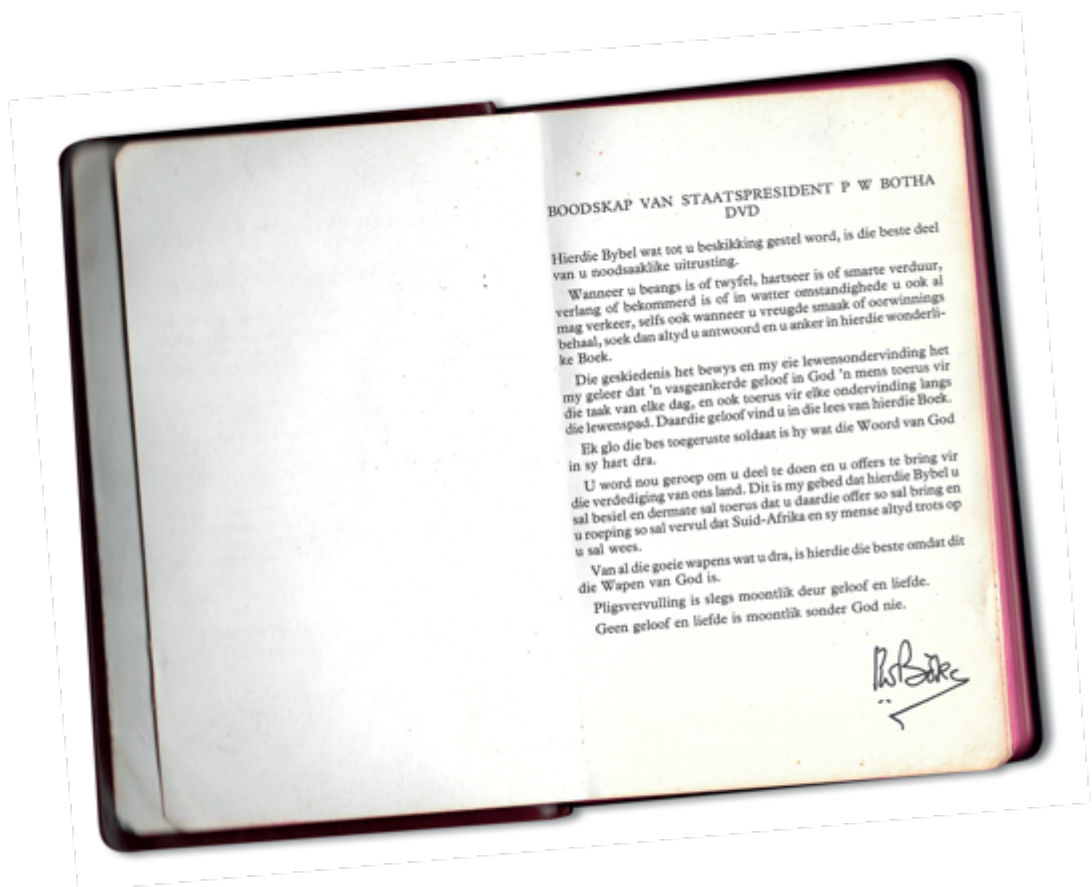


Figure 9: The bible handed to my father by the SADF which formed part of their kit, location unknown, circa 1980. Photograph provided by the author.

The discourse of the DRC and religion in the SADF

Throughout the exhibit I attempted to incorporate as many aspects of the influence of the DRC as possible. In one of the panels I included a partly scanned travel Bible owned by my father during his time on the border. These bibles were assigned to every troop and carried a message from then president P W Botha:

“U word geroep om u deel te doen en u offers te bring vir die verdediging van die land. Dit is my gebed dat hierdie Bybel u sal besiel en dermate sal toerus dat u daardie offer sal bring en u roeping so sal vervul dat Suid Afrika en sy mense altyd trots op u sal wees.”

(You are called to do your part and bring your offers for the defense of this country. It is my prayer that this Bible will animate you and that it will equip you so much that you are able to provide that offering and so that your calling can be fulfilled so that South Africa and its people will always be proud of you.)

Furthermore, I incorporated a quote from Die Kerkbode³² which very clearly stated their position on the policy of apartheid: "As a church, we have always worked purposefully for the separation of the races. In this regard apartheid can rightfully be called a church policy." (Die Kerkbode, 1948: 664-665)

³² Die Kerkbode is the official publication of the Dutch Reformed Church.

“As a church, we
worked purpose
separation of the
regard apartheid
be called a church

This quote echoes the intention and extent to which the DRC would go to position themselves as a politicised institution. The DRC would continue the National Party's narrative of the imminent communist threat. In a publication from Die Kerkbode, titled "Die Kommuniste se Vernaamste Bondgenoot in S.A" on 26 March 1976 Francis Grim writes:

"Kommuniste en satanisme is intieme bondgenote. Die ouer lid het geboorte gegee aan die jonger een, Kommuniste. Hy besiel, deurweek en hits hom gedurig aan" (*Communism and Satanism are intimate allies. The older member gave birth to the youngest one, Communism. He inspires, saturates and instigates him continuously* (Grim, 1976: 296).

The DRC thus perpetuated the imminent threat of communism not only by viewing it as a physical attack on South Africa but also as an attack on the very Christian values and way of life of Afrikaner society.

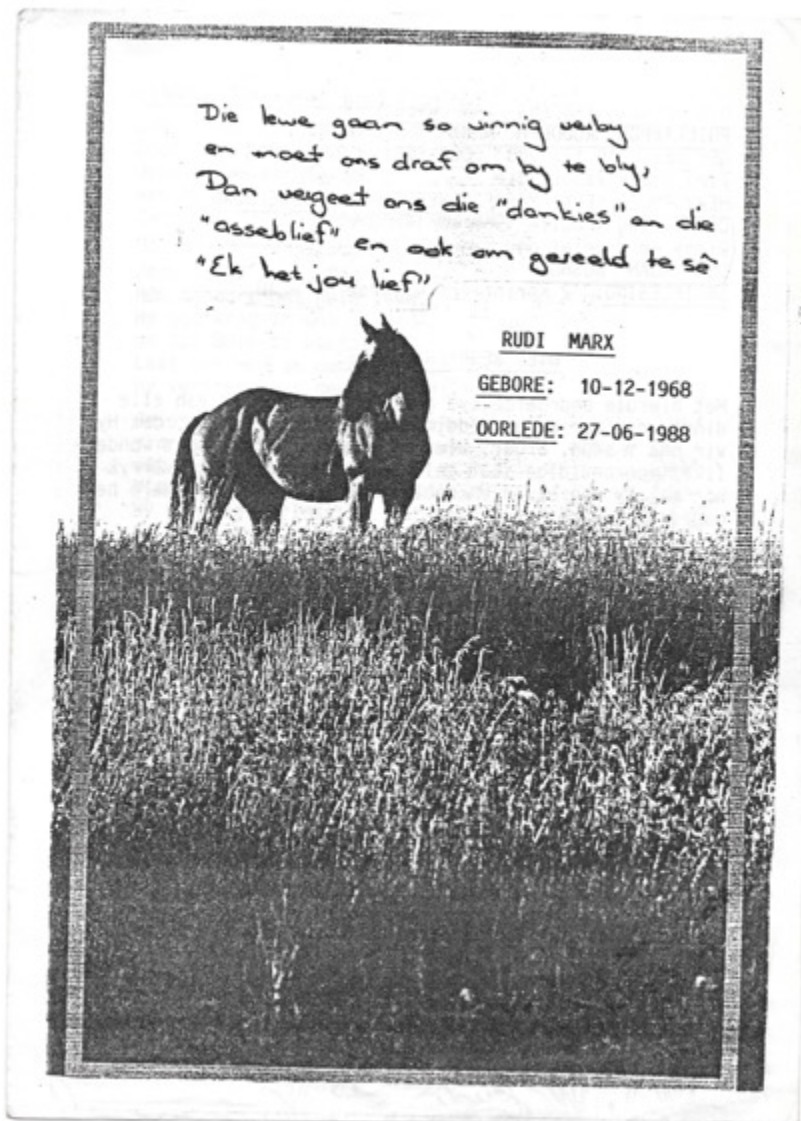


Figure 10: The funeral leaflet for Rudi Marx, location unknown, circa 1980. Booklet provided by anonymous.

The role of publications and intimate messages in the “Pakkies aan Boetie” Exhibit

On one of the panels I included excerpts publications from the *Beeld*, a widely read Afrikaans newspaper, as well as a funeral booklet from one of the troops who died during a contact Border exercise. It was included to bring home the precarity of life in this conflict, to provide an idea of what would have been reported in case a conscript lost his life.

In the inserted newspaper clipping it is reported that Rudi Marx passed away along with 11 other soldiers in Calueque on 27 June 1988. The article features Marx’s parents giving feedback on their son’s death. Accompanying the article features Marx’s funeral template, which was made up of a sketch that Marx drew along with the words:

“Die lewe gaan so vinnig verby en moet ons draf om by te bly, Dan vergeet ons die “dankies” en die “asseblief” en ook gereeld te sê “ek het jou lief”.”

(Life passes so soon and we have to run to keep up, then we forget the “thank you”-s and the “please” and also regularly to say “I love you”).

The article sensationalised how the contact situation happened. The anonymous ex-conscript commented during an interview that, for him He felt like the media portrayed a dishonest account of what happened:

“Die media het alles verdraai wat werklik daar gebeur het. Soos wat die media met enige ding wat bo met ‘n troep gebeur, op die grens het die media verdraai of het die Kapelane verdraai maar hulle het nooit die weermag die skuld gegee of gesê maar sorrie nie.”

(The media obscured everything that truly happened. Just as the media obscured everything else that happened on the border with a troop, on the border they or the chaplains would obscure (the truth) but they never blamed the army or said sorry.)

This comment reflects on the level of control which was exercised by the media. During 1980s, media exposure for many white Afrikaners who supported the war would come out of Die Nasionale pers (Naspers) and the South African Broadcasting Commission (SABC) or better known by its Afrikaans name as Die Suid-Afrikaanse Uitsaaikorporasie (SAUK). Both media enterprises were notoriously known for working alongside the National Party to control and limit of information that was made available to apartheid society. Die Nasionale Pers was founded in 1915 and would go on to establish successful newspapers such as Die Burger and Die Huisgenoot as well as Die Beeld. The eighth South Africa prime minister, Pieter Willem Botha, also developed a close relationship with Naspers which would prove to be helpful when Botha had continually pushed the crisis of the “rooi gevaar”³³ (Giliomee, 2003: 587). One of the SABC’s predominant roles during the border war was to sell the threat of communism. The SABC would label any act against apartheid as an act of communism and thus it was seen as an attack on the very Christian foundation of Afrikaner society³⁴ (Giliomee, 2003). The threat was well enforced onto Afrikaner society, so much so that my aunt remembers buying a book on how to speak Russian: “So almal het nog gepraat van die kommunisme wat die wêreld bedreig en so aan en ek het vir my ‘n Russiese boekie, woordeboekie aangeskaf en begin Russies leer want as hierdie Russe nou hier is, dat ek hulle kan verstaan, dit is so stupid, is dit nie?”(So everyone still spoke about communism which threatened the world and I thus acquired a Russian book, dictionary and started learning Russian because I want to understand them when they get here, it is so stupid, isn’t it?).

For many mothers the reality of losing their sons was fortunately never realised, but for some it was a bitter sacrifice which was sold as an obligation that one had towards one’s country as well as God and enforced by the SADF. This is substantiated by the call-up papers and the language they would include in order to communicate this responsibility on another panel I quote from my father’s papers which would address his parents with a justification of his military service:

³³ An Afrikaans term meaning Red Danger used to describe the threat of Communistic take over.

³⁴ See Grim F. (1976) Die Kommunisme se Vernaamste Bondgenoot in S.A. *Die Kerkbode*. Cape Town : Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Afrika, 296. 811 in Chapter 4.

“As Nasionale Dienspligtige word hy nie net geleer om na sy eie veiligheid om te sien nie, maar ook sy land en volk, wanneer nodig, te verdedig.”

As National Serviceman he is taught not only to look after his safety but also to defend his country and people when needed.

This letter would be the first communication from my father once he reported for duty.

I quote one of the letters from my father which definitely alarmed my grandmother to the situation of life and death. My father starts off in a letter on 26 March 1985: “Ek skryf maar net om te se dat ek darem nog lewe...Dit lyk vir my ons begin nou ons ‘Danger Pay’ te verdien.” (*I am just writing to let you know that I am still alive...It seems that we are starting to earn our ‘Danger Pay’.*). This reads very alarmingly, because many letters were censored by the SADF. There were many ways through which troops could get away with describing their situation. The danger pay that my father refers to in the letter is reference to the allowance which troops received which is usually provided when there are dangerous conditions surrounding work.

Conclusion

This chapter looked into the archive and how this contributes to the dialogue of the *Pakkies aan Boetie* exhibit. I provided insights into the unknown histories that are revealed through the exploration of the archive. I looked into my familial archive which revealed the extent to which practices of cooking are intertwined into the experiences of Afrikaner females in Apartheid society. I provided a brief historical background into South African food that is considered as *boerekos* and discovered its interconnectedness with the Dutch settlement in 1652. Furthermore, the importance of the DRC archive allowed me to further observe the implication of the DRC within the lives of Apartheid. Publications by the DRC prescribed the roles of Afrikaner women as being responsible caregivers at the home front. The packages sent to the border was revealed within my exhibition as an important part of the everyday life of mothers and sisters of conscripts. The extent to which the DRC perpetuated narratives

of a communist threat also impacted the way in which women perceived the compulsory military service. In the next chapter I look into the historical background of the SADF and practices of the DRC.

Spectres and Spectacle: Family Albums and Historical Frames



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 Tul.
 1050
 25-08-'85.

...urige storie dat
 ...toe gaan nie.
 ...in bietjie om-
 ...ons be met die
 ...ppraat en hy het
 ...verduidelik, maar
 ...Ek het natuurlik so
 ...miskien hoor fluit dat ons
 ...Omtrent so die 19^e Sept. se k
 ...Dit wil ek eers sien
 ...ek dit glo.

CHAPTER 2: SPECTRES AND SPECTACLE: FAMILY ALBUMS AND HISTORICAL FRAMES

“Through photographs, each family constructs a portrait chronicle of itself- a portable kit of images that bears witness to its connectedness. It hardly matters what activities are photographed so long as the photographs get taken and are cherished.”³⁵

“More than oral or written narratives, photographic images survive massive devastation and outlive their subject’s and owner’s function as ghostly revenants from an irretrievably lost past world”³⁶



Figure 11: A family photograph on the day of the christening of RC Niemand, Potchefstroom, 1992

³⁵ Sontag S. 1978. *On Photography*: Penguin, p.8.

³⁶ Hirsch M. 2008. The Generation of Postmemory. *Poetics Today* 29: p. 115.

Deeply stuffed into a box that rests on a dusty shelf, amidst the collage of faces, a frame haunts me: A frame of my family, posed, rigid, and implicit. The photograph, reminiscent of a white middle-class home, exists as evidence of the christening of my older brother (Reinier Christian Niemand) shortly after his birth in 1992. Seated from the left is my paternal grandfather (Reinier Christian Niemand), the patriarch of the family, my mother (Maria Chatarina Niemand, neé Van der Berg) who goes by Maryna, seated with my older brother (Reinier Christian Niemand), my father (Reinier Christian Niemand) and my paternal grandmother (Rina Niemand, neé McDonald). This seemingly 'silent' photograph forces me to question the banality of its existence. It speaks to the entanglement of forces³⁷ which collectively worked towards the oppression of people.

It prompts me to question my position in this very socio-political landscape of which I am fixed. It is through these photographs that exist in plastic bound books, in the family-owned albums, that I attempt to interrogate my position within this landscape. The study I am undertaking forms part of an inquiry, if you will, in the form of a narrative which will explore the militarised lives of white³⁸ Afrikaners during Apartheid through an archive of the ordinary³⁹. This thesis will thus propose that these photographs, located in the personal archives of every family, bear witness to the events unfolding around it. I will investigate the white lives entangled in the militarised Apartheid era, specifically focusing on the experiences of white Christian females during the conscription of white males into the South African Defence Force (SADF) between 1980 and 1990.

I propose that this work situated in gender, memory studies and creative work will attempt to provide a dialogue on South Africa's colonial and militarised Apartheid past and address the intricate role of the Dutch Reformed Church. It is through the photographs

³⁷ The forces which I refer to are the institutions that I address in this thesis as playing an intricate role in South Africa's racialized past; it is a reference to the South African Defense Force, the institution of Apartheid and the Dutch Reformed Church.

³⁸ I refer to the idea 'whiteness' and the state of being 'white' throughout as the study of whiteness underscores my thesis. My study is influenced by Richard Dyer's theory on representing whiteness, which I elaborate on later in this chapter.

³⁹ Professor Siona O'Connell discusses the ordinary archive such as family photographs which can convey meanings through "social, political and economic frames." O'Connell S. (2014) The aftermath of oppression: in search of resolution through family photographs of the forcibly removed of District Six, Cape Town. *Social Dynamics* 40: 591.

and the archive that this inquiry will address aspects of cultural memory and its transgenerational⁴⁰ impact on the future generations of South Africa. The inquiry relies on the photograph as a way of hinging the space between the time of exposure the time and space in which it is viewed. The method of a narrative inquiry⁴¹ becomes a relevant player in this research as it qualifies the use of narrative for the very purpose of understanding the roles of the individuals in question, and how they understood their position in the South African historical landscape. The narratives that are prompted by family photographs of this nature prompt unease around understanding how to belong in an unfamiliar present and coming to terms with a contested past.

Photographs speak of existence, as American writer and philosopher, Susan Sontag (1933 – 2004) states, these images exist as little pieces of reality (Sontag, 1978: 8). This reality offers a moment for me to understand my part of intricate narrative woven into the make-up of my grandmother, my mother and me.

Predominantly a 19th-century invention⁴², photography was primarily practised by inventors and operators who could afford the expensive equipment (Sontag, 1978: 7 - 8). Through the process of industrialization, photography evolved into a demonstration of “social rites” (Sontag, 1978: 8). These photographs became a way through which a family could take ownership of a specific space and time. They become tokens of ghostly characters whose time had come and gone and now remains neatly tucked in behind transparent sheets (Sontag, 1978: 9). This practice of preservation can be seen as the very act of *Memento Mori*⁴³ which Sontag argues as being part of the process. Sontag states, "To take a photograph is to participate in another person's (or thing's) mortality, vulnerability, mutability." (Sontag, 1978: 15).

⁴⁰ I explore the aspects of transgenerational trauma through the work of Marianne Hirsch and her work on Postmemory.

⁴¹ Narrative Inquiry can be considered as a method of inquiry through which the researcher effectively takes the object of inquiry as to the story itself. Riessman CK. (1993a) *Narrative Analysis*, London: Sage Publications.

⁴² Photography predates the 1800s according to Mark Osterman, who argues that earlier observations of this practice can be traced throughout the 1700s Peres MR. (2017) *Focal encyclopedia of photography : digital imaging, theory and applications, history, and science*, New York, NY: Routledge.pg.27.

⁴³ A Latin word referring to an object that is a reminder of death and mortality. (Oxford Dictionary)

André Bazin⁴⁴ remarked in his 1960 essay *The Ontology of the Photographic Image*, that the properties of photography are linked to the process of embalming. This process of embalming refers to the process that one would do to preserve the bodies of those who have passed. Bazin unfolds this metaphor into the significance of the family album as it exists as moments displaying the halted lives that exist around it (Bazin et al., 1960: 8). It "embalms time" and remarkably foreshadows destiny. Photographs enjoy the freedom of existing as witness to a brief moment, allowing me to refer to them in holding the past to account.

Images provide me with the ability to look and feel; they exist as more than representations⁴⁵ - they exist as pieces of a dialogue between the subjects who are objectified and their social and political frames. I refer to the subjects as objects of exchange between present and past, sitting between remembering and forgetting. They exaggerate fragment of lives that have come and gone and remain, seemingly only for curious gazes and nostalgic imaginations. The dialogue between the subject, the viewer and the image is a constant and ever-changing negotiation. If these images force us to look, then we are part of the event, as suggested by French Literary theorist and semiotician Roland Barthes in his book *Camera Lucida* (1980). Barthes describes the roles of the event as the *Operator*, the *Spectator*, and the *Spectrum*⁴⁶ (Barthes and Howard, 1993: 9). The operator exists as the one who took a photograph. The spectator, Barthes contends, is all of us who gaze at these archives. Furthermore, the spectrum or the spectacle as Barthes terms it, is evident in every photograph, Barthes describes this spectacle as the "return of the dead" (Barthes and Howard, 1993: 9).

⁴⁴ Andre Bazin was a famous French film critic and theorist. See Dawson N. (2010) *Andre Bazin Dies*. Available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20150118234629/http://www.focusfeatures.com/article/andre_bazin_dies.

⁴⁵ Representation as defined by Stuart Hall is connecting meaning and language to culture. Hall S and University O. (1997) *Representation: cultural representations and signifying practices*: Sage.

⁴⁶ I deliberately refer to Barthes' explanation on the spectrum as the spectacle which is referred to as the event or occasion which constituted the attention of the camera. Barthes R and Howard R. (1993) *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*: Vintage.

In 1994 Jacques Derrida presented a paper titled *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* in London. Derrida suggested that the archive can be viewed as a topology⁴⁷ with the power of prescribing identity, class, and unity to its content. The photograph thus holds a hegemonic⁴⁸ value of knowledge and memory in archive work. The archive has the power to represent, and so do those who own it. The archive can be seen as a discourse, one which can be seen as allegorical thought⁴⁹. Allegory in this argument will follow the meaning of that of Craig Owens who in his article *The Allegorical Impulse: Toward a theory of Postmodernism* maintains that in the work of allegory, one text is read through another (Owens, 1980: 69).

Similarly, in the work of the archive consisting out of family photographs, these images exist as fragments and palimpsests. They are reminiscent of a family who proudly parade their firstborn amidst big political change taking place. A mere seven years before this photograph was taken other rites took place in the life of my father and family, as South Africa's violent struggle for freedom stared down throughout the lens.

(In)visible Whiteness

“There is no more powerful position than that of being ‘just’ human.”⁵⁰

In 1948 the National Party won the election in South Africa and implemented racial segregation which would become known as Apartheid (Giliomee, 2003: 437). South Africa became a country ruled by the white minority, which saw to the oppression of black people. My inquiry on the experience of white Afrikaner women during the conscription of white Afrikaner males between 1980 and 1990 is underscored by work

⁴⁷ A topology refers to how constituent parts are interrelated or arranged. Derrida J and Prenowitz E. 1996. *Archive fever: a Freudian impression*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

⁴⁸ Hegemony defines

⁴⁹ Foucault maintains that the analysis of thought is always allegorical concerning the discourse it employs. Foucault M. 1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge ; And, The Discourse on Language: 27.*

⁵⁰ Rothenberg PS. (2005) *White privilege : essential readings on the other side of racism*, New York: Worth Publishers.

on whiteness studies⁵¹. This importance will be found in my attempt to flesh out the position and binary existence of white Afrikaner females in line with ideas of otherness. Within this inquiry, the idea of otherness refers to the position of women apart from men and that their experiences of conscription can be considered vastly different from the experiences of men. Whiteness studies are seen as a reasonably recent interest by academics stemming from America in the 1990s (Garner, 2007: 3). Whiteness studies applied could provide a lens that offers the opportunity through which we can understand particular aspects of social relationships (Garner, 2007: 1). By apprehending these aspects, a white person can start to think of themselves as “white” and, as an individual, can start to understand the relationship of their identity between the oppressed and the oppressor.

The inquiry will rely on the understanding (of/by) Richard Dyer’s text *White* and Steve Garner’s work *Whiteness: An Introduction*. Garner contends in his book that whiteness offers “a lens through which particular aspects of social relationships can be apprehended” (Garner, 2007: 1). Dyer writes that whiteness often has a sense of invisibility which can be best understood as a position which frames the understanding and, as a position from which judgments are made about ugliness or beauty or normality and abnormality (Dyer, 2008: 10). However, the study of whiteness is often seen as a method through which the researcher is forced to think of whiteness and problematise it by thinking of its position to other social groups (Garner, 2007: 7). Dyer argues that the invisibility of whiteness is the problematic aspect that reinforces the idea that “as long as white people are not racially seen and named, they/we function as a human norm.” (Dyer, 2008: 10). Thus, writing about whiteness as a social position or race can be seen as an attempt to subvert whiteness, in other words, by not appearing to be there, whiteness sustains itself (Garner, 2007: 35).

It can thus be understood that my inquiry into the lives of white Afrikaner females can be viewed as an attempt to make their social positions visible within the understanding of

⁵¹ Whiteness studies originated out of the United States of America in the 1990s

South Africa's colonial and apartheid past. I refer to George Yancy⁵² who comments on this binary approach to the position of whiteness: "Blackness, within the dialectical logic of whiteness, sets itself up as the antithesis"(Yancy, 2004: 9). Furthermore, my inquiry will be understood through these complex social constructs that exist when considering the issue of race.

The good old days: Memory and Nostalgia in Post-Apartheid South Africa

For this inquiry, I rely on understanding collective memory experiences of Afrikaner women which is a shared historical phenomenon that is compromised out of the action of remembering and forgetting (Bromley, 1988: 1). This inquiry will also look at the variations of remembering and forgetting. Collective memory will underscore how groups remember and form their collective identity. The collective memory of the Afrikaners is looked at through fundamental events that will be discussed throughout the inquiry. These events are identified as historically significant and essential to how the myth of the Afrikaners as a chosen people is achieved (Connerton, 1989: 9). The inquiry will also investigate notions of cultural memory, which will look how, through repeated intergenerational initiation and practice, Afrikaners achieved a framework of understanding and behavior (Assmann and Czaplicka, 1995: 125).

Additionally, when considering the types of remembering, I look at how post-memory affects the hinge-generation after the generation of conscripts. The study of post-memory looks at how memory is transplanted into the generation that follows an historical event, usually of a traumatic nature (Hirsch, 2008: 104). I look at the way through which the hinge generation perceives memories related to the SADF, Apartheid society and resistance in post-apartheid South Africa. I look at notions of nostalgia which is framed as the longing for some Afrikaners to return to the perceived utopia of apartheid as a need to return to its set borders and values (Boym, 2001). Additionally, elements of forgetting are also teased out throughout my inquiry as it considers the types of forgetting related to the SADF as a way of annulment which is in some ways due to the shortfall of information

⁵² Yancy G. (2004) What white looks like : African-American philosophers on the whiteness question. New York: Routledge.

intentionally applied by the apartheid government. These aspects of memory are considered through a personal archive and the experiences as narrated by my family.

Women of a Nation: The Understanding of Gender in the Apartheid society

The role and understanding of gender and sex are fundamental within my inquiry. “War is a gendering activity” (Cock, 1991: 12). The understanding of gender and sexuality is defined through the understanding of gender as being a social construction and sexuality a biological categorization, which is determined by reproductive material (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2013: 2). Gender for Judith Butler is a performative activity that is achieved through observation and formulation (Butler, 1988). For Simone De Beauvoir, one is not simply born a woman but becomes one (Beauvoir, 1953: 273). Gender within this inquiry will thus be understood as a cultural construct which is observed through the role of Afrikaner women in an historical context and how it is understood by my grandmother, mother, and aunt. Gender is considered as a performance within the institution of the Dutch Reformed Church and apartheid society. For Jacklyn Cock, the politics of gender in South Africa is a struggle for power between that of men and that of women in which the woman is subordinate (Cock, 1991: 30). The study of gender also primarily involves "the body," if we view gender as construction we must then consider how "the body" then exists as a medium through which we relate cultural meaning. Cultural meaning in the gendered roles of Afrikaner women is understood through the myth of the “Volksmoeder,” which was added to the Afrikaner Nationalist ideology. This is discussed in chapter four.

The Spectacle

When considering the position of my participants before I had planned on conducting interviews with them, I have considered their position within the South African landscape. As the researcher, I was required to be well equipped with the complexities of South Africa's historical narrative. I consider three spectacles in order to understand the historical narrative of my inquiry into the experiences of white Afrikaner females. I will provide an outline of the historical timeline related to the inquiry, which is influenced by a broad understanding of the SADF and the military conscription of white males between

1980 and 1990. Further, historical context will be provided on the history of the church in South Africa and how this developed as part of the history of the Afrikaner. Lastly, I consider the relationship of the Dutch Reformed Church and ideas of race.



Figure 12: Conscripts on the move, Unknown Location, Circa 1980. Photograph provided by the author.

SADF and conscription

1950 – 1980

After the First World War ended, South West Africa (now Namibia) became a class C mandate area, mandated by the League of Nations. These mandates were appointed after World War 1 as a result of the decision to hand over control of all German colonies to the Allied Powers following the defeat of Germany and the Central Powers. The class C mandate given to South West Africa denied the independence in accord that the area declared would be under the control of a separate body, the League of Nations, hindering any hope of independence for the near future (Scholtz, 2013: 2).

On the 26th of May 1948 the National Party won the election in South Africa under the leadership of D. F. Malan and implemented racial segregation which would become known as Apartheid (Giliomee, 2003: 437). Apartheid is defined as a set of policies that were implemented after 1948 in order to allow for the white minority to retain political power over the black majority (Giliomee, 2003: 445). Apartheid legislation became a desirable in the area of then known as South West Africa which was still under the supervision of the League of Nations (replaced by the United Nations). After the Second World War, the South African government approached the United Nations in order to get permission to take ownership of South West Africa (Scholtz, 2013: 2). The request was denied due to the adverse changes that started to take place; among these changes were the independence of India. South Africa's new apartheid laws were seen as a change conflicting with what the United Nations wanted to achieve. South Africa was still controlling and occupying the area, and it became known as the 5th province of South Africa. South Africa's presence in South West Africa became highly problematic as South Africa's apartheid laws started to gather much international attention, and this way, the mandate was revoked. However, South Africa swiftly responded with a promise that it would not invade South West Africa (Scholtz, 2013: 2).

South Africa's occupation of Southwest Africa did not go unchallenged. The occupation was met with resistance when, in 1959, the South West African National Union (SWANU) and the Ovamboland People's Organisation (OPO), which later became

known as SWAPO (South West African People's Organisation), was established. The resistances resulted from racist Apartheid laws how the South African police dealt with the reactions and resistance. This resistance would result in 23 to 25 years of a violent war. Furthermore, the border war, as it would become known, became a conflict that escalated in Angola as well. South Africa's established Defence Force (SADF) would face the Angolan independence movement (UNITA) and other opposing movements such as SWAPO and MPLA (The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) (Scholtz, 2013: 3).

After the Second World War, South Africa mainly relied on the volunteer system maintained by citizens. However, on the 4th of August 1967, The Defence Amendment act declared that every white male was required to complete military service. The amendment states that any white male who is medically fit for duty and who is not yet active in the permanent force, the South African Police, the Railway services or the Prison services should complete their compulsory military service (Kalley et al., 1999: 358). The first initial compulsory service period was required over a time of 9 months, which was followed by a three-week camp every year for five years. In 1973 the required period was changed to a year. In 1977, due to the lack of men, the period was changed to two years. The two-year service would be followed by a further ten years in which they can be called up. As Williams states, white males could be called up to serve on the border every two years for a maximum of 90 days but were expected to complete a minimum of 30 days of service every year for ten years (Williams, 2008: 115).

The initial resistance in South West Africa was dealt with by South Africa's Police force although the military did provide some assistance with a few minor operations. The SADF officially took over in 1974. The most notable SADF activity according to by David Williams was the aggressive patrolling of the border in the north area of South West Africa and the South area of Angola (Williams, 2008).

1980 – 1990

After the failure of one of the SADF's biggest operation, Operation Savannah taking place between 1974 and 1975 in Angola, the SADF continued to rework its approach. It was

decided that South Africa would take the approach known as “total onslaught” which is defined by Scholtz as a defence strategy that makes use of all available resources and is applied to all spheres of society. At this stage the involvement of the Soviet Union and Fidel Castro with anti-apartheid organisations became a threat to South Africa. Fidel Castro was a Cuban revolutionary who aligned himself with communism. He was the President of Cuba from 1976 to 2008 (Giliomee, 2003: 523). Other group activities from SWAPO and the African National Congress (ANC) were branded as terrorist actions that could lead to the demise of the South African Government. The communist threats would later become known as the “rooi/swart gevaar” (red/black danger) which is essentially communism and black nationalism (Baines, 2014: 2). In 1980 the government accepted a drafted document in which the total onslaught strategy was laid. The document thus outlined that the strategy should be applied to a constitutional, social, and economic level (Scholtz, 2013: 38 - 39).

The role of the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) in the Border war is seen to have derived from the Cold War. The Cold War (1945 – 1989) can be understood as an ideological war between the United States of America, which primarily supported capitalist ideologies and the USSR, which supported communist ideologies (Scholtz, 2013). After World War two in 1945, the ideological struggle between the communist block and the West⁵³ started to build and had various effects on a global scale. The study will focus on the effects of the struggle between the Communist block, and the West had on the border war. The USSR offered its support to SWAPO, as their position was openly against the Apartheid policy, and therefore became actively involved with its operations. The USSR provided SWAPO with, not only political support but also resources such as weapons and military training (Scholtz, 2013: 228).

Cuba’s role in the border war is also necessary to understand concerning the role of the USSR, as previously mentioned. Cuba’s dictator, Fidel Castro, was born in 1926 in Biràn (Moore, 2017). Castro became the dictator of Cuba after he had overthrown the previous

⁵³ The West is a general term that refers to the United States and its allies. Madej M. (2018) *Western Military Interventions After The Cold War: Evaluating the Wars of the West*: Taylor & Francis.

President of Cuba, Fulgencio Batista in 1959. Marxism and Leninism profoundly inspired Castro's views. In Castro's biography written by Alex Moore, Castro is quoted stating that, had it not been for these ideals, Cuba would not have been able to overthrow the regime of Batista (Moore, 2017). These ideas derived from the basis of communism and were also in line with that of the USSR. Castro felt strongly about the liberation of the African people, much like the USSR, and had thus decided to provide support for the opposing parties fighting against the South African Government and Angolan Government. Castro had already intervened in Africa in 1975 during the Civil War in Angola by assisting MPLA with some reinforcements (Scholtz, 2013: 239).

In June 1980, Operation Sceptic started with the focus on a SWAPO headquarter, which led to the deaths of 76 SWAPO members, as well as the death of 14 SADF soldiers and 24 soldiers wounded (Williams, 2008: 96). Operation Protea was implemented in 1981, where hundreds of SWAPO men died during the 20-day operation. According to historian David Williams, by 1982 SWAPO had already lost 1 286 men to the SADF. Operation Askari took place from December 1983 until January 1984, where the focus was on the disruption of SWAPO logistical infrastructure with attacks on the ground and the air. Around the same time, the government offered to end the violence in Angola should SWAPO, the Cuban forces and FAPLA agree not to infiltrate South West Africa. A committee was put in place in order to oversee the agreements, but was disbanded in 1985, due to the constant breach in agreements between SWAPO and other Angolan allies (Williams, 2008: 97).

In October 1984, thousands of soldiers were deployed in the townships. The deployment of troops in the townships was due to the development of unrest and protests by citizens who were oppressed by Apartheid laws. The South African government believed the unrest to be inspired by terrorists. According to the South African government the SADF is seen as a neutral party that assists the police force in order to attain control and peace in the affected areas (Williams, 2008: 98).

In 1988 the representatives from all the opposing sides of South Africa, Cuba and Angola came together on the 4th and 3rd of May in London for the first time in order to discuss

the possibility of resolutions to end the war (Scholtz, 2013: 422). Only during another meeting that took place on 11 and 12th of July did a breakthrough occur that saw the end of the conflict. Representatives at the meeting agreed that the Resolution 435 would be set in motion. This resolution promised the independence of South West Africa, which later was changed to Namibia. The resolution however, also dictated that the Cuban troops should advance out of Angola. On 1 November it was announced that Namibia's election would take place on 1 June 1989. On the 8th of August, Pik Botha announced in a press conference that the SADF would withdraw its military presence from Angola (Scholtz, 2013: 427 - 429).

The Dutch Reformed Church and South Africa

The church's history in South Africa can be traced from the arrival of the Dutch settlers in 1652. When the settlers arrived, the church identified a great need for missionary work. It was clear that a lot of missionary work was required in order to evangelize the "heathen" as they would justify it. There was not a significant amount of eagerness from the settlers to convert the indigenous groups. At this time the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) was controlled by the classis⁵⁴ in Amsterdam. The church expanded with the establishment of Cape Colony and remained predominantly white. The DRC was deemed as independent in 1824 when the church arranged their synod, mostly as a result of the Cape Colony falling under British Rule. It was thus deemed impractical that the church would be controlled by a rival country (De Gruchy, 1979: 1 - 3).

Initially, the church served the needs of the colonial officials and colony militia until it had its first sanctuary, the Dutch Groote Kerk in Cape Town. In 1859 the DRC established its first theological seminary in Stellenbosch, which ultimately allowed the church to control their theological teachings and thus would be completely independent of the church in Amsterdam. The teachings remained mostly conservative as there were often attempts to introduce more liberal prominence. The focus on missionary work among the coloured community already began as a severe task in 1857. Their eagerness was sparked by the missionary Andrew Murray, who had encouraged the Dutch Reformed Church to

⁵⁴ A governing body of pastors and elders specifically within a church.

become more actively involved with missionary work among the indigenous people (De Gruchy, 1979: 3 - 5).

It is important to consider the role of Calvinism, which had started to gain some support in Holland. John Calvin was born in Paris in 1509. Calvin spent the majority of his adult life in Geneva where he preached more than 200 times a year. During the time of studying the Bible, Calvin familiarised himself with the teachings of Ulrich Zwingli and Heinrich Bullinger who similarly aimed at reforming Christianity. Calvinists thus believed in the unfathomability of God, that humankind lived in sin and the sovereignty of divine grace (Balsarak, 2016: 2 - 5).

The importance of Calvinism in this study relates to the teaching of Abraham Kuyper, who sparked an interest in Neo-Calvinism which later became strongly associated with Apartheid fundamentals. Kuyper's link to Apartheid became vehemently opposed by Neo-Calvinism. Neo-Calvinism aimed to revert Kuyper's association to Apartheid by maintaining that Kuyper's views were used as a misappropriated belief for evil. Abraham Kuyper was born on October 29, 1837, in Holland (Bratt, 2013: 3). Kuyper completed his studies at Leiden in 1828 and was ordained to the ministry of the Dutch Reformed Church. Kuyper continued to found the Free University of Amsterdam, which saw to the training of several Dutch Reformed Theologians (De Gruchy, 1979: 6). Kuyper's Neo-Calvinist teachings propagated notions of predestination⁵⁵, ideas of a chosen people, diversity among people as ordained by God such as that which is present in nature (Ong, 2018: 300).

Neo-Calvinism would become somewhat despised for its links to apartheid. In an article written by Andrew Ong titled: *Neo-Calvinism and Ethnic Churches in Multiethnic Contexts* (2018), Ong argues that Neo-Calvinism's link to Apartheid is often seen as a thorny one through which much of Kuyper's influence was used as a justification for racism. Ong continues to bring to light that the Dutch Reformed Churches appropriated Kuyper's interpretation of Genesis 10 and 11 as a justification for segregated churches (Ong, 2018: 301). As later written by the Synod of the Dutch Reformed church in 1979:

⁵⁵ The Calvinist notion that God chooses the damnation and salvation of chosen people.

“To arrive at the whole truth in connection with the family of nations, Gen 10 and 11 must be read in conjunction. The progressive differentiation of humanity into peoples and races involved not only a curse, but also a blessing, not only judgement on the sinful arrogance of the tower builders of Babel, but also an act of mercy whereby mankind is not only protected from destruction, but God’s purpose with the creation of man is achieved.”

It is understandable to see how the notions of Neo-Calvinism with particular focus on predestination were incorporated in the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism. One of the leaders who propagated the Neo-Calvinist notions was S. J. du Toit, who is considered as one of the fathers of Afrikaner Nationalism. Reverend Stephanus Jacobus (S. J.) Du Toit was born in 1847 and finished his theological studies in 1872 at the Theological Seminary in Stellenbosch. Du Toit was fascinated by the teachings of Kuyper but had only interest in the austere teachings of Neo-Calvinism. Du Toit would become the driving force behind Afrikaans education between 1875 – 1890 (Giliomee, 2003: 215).

As stated previously, Abraham Kuyper's belief in God's sovereignty eventually included the idea of Neo-Calvinism in which Afrikaners would display profound interest. As Marx states on this matter, the main interest of Neo-Calvinism "lies in shaping contemporary social existence on the foundation of God's sovereignty, through which history becomes a meaningful process of salvation." One of these historical events, as I will discuss later in this chapter, is the Great Trek. It was during this trek that the Afrikaners faced challenges within their newfound freedom as they would travel not only outside the jurisdiction of the British but also outside that of the DRC. In 1837 the Synod denounced the trek. The trekkers would, however, feel compelled to be still faithful to the Cape church which resulted in the creation of the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk (NHK) and the Voortrekker church which became the volkskerk of the South African Republic as founded by the trekkers in the Transvaal. The Volkskerk or People's church was notably the most important sector of the nationalist movement. Another split further took place in which the Gereformeerde Kerk was established (De Gruchy, 1979: 20-21).

Furthermore, Neo-Calvinism had an influence on Afrikaner Nationalism in its rejection of liberalism. This rejection was often expressed by S J Du Toit and his disregard for Murray's Pietism. Liberalism, as Marx explains, can be understood in this study according to a text by T. N. Hanekom, as a movement that does not aspire towards freedom, but aspires to revolt against all higher authority. In the context of the church's history already discussed, this would primarily entail the questioning of all existing authorities, including that of the authority of the church. As Marx states: "Liberalism does not accept "sovereignty in one's circle," but replaces this freedom with unbridled individualism" (201). Marx points out that ideas of liberalism go against the values of Neo-Calvinism since liberalist beliefs dictate that man is the source of everything which in Neo-Calvinism is God.

It is thus Kuyper's ideas and teachings of "sovereignty in one's circle" that became a justification for Apartheid. Brian Stanley notes in his book titled *Christianity in the twentieth century: A World History*, that, contrary to popular belief, the idea of segregation did not originate from ideas of the Dutch Reformed Church, but actually from ideas based on Kuyper's Neo-Calvinism approach (Stanley, 2019). Ong, however, critiques this notion stating that, although ideas of segregation did not originate from ideas taught by the DRC, the DRC still supported ideas of segregation through its doctrine.

The Dutch Reformed Church and Race

The Dutch Reformed Church was not primarily segregated at the beginning of its existence in the Cape, but its congregants were still predominantly white. Despite the European sense of superiority and discrimination in the colony, the Dutch commandant issued a decree of friendliness to which settlers were expected to adhere (De Gruchy, 1979: 7). As mentioned in the previous section, the church initially catered to the spiritual needs of colony officials and militia. Initially, the Dutch Reformed Church allowed mixed-race marriages. There was not a significant amount of intervention from the white settlers to evangelise the indigenous residents in the 17th century. The first missionary to arrive in the colony had only arrived in 1738 and was a Moravian named George Schmidt

who mainly practised in the Genadendal area just outside of the Cape (De Gruchy, 1979: 2 - 7).

The complication of missionary work and the settler church started with the attempts to evangelise people of colour in 1857. This focus was primarily encouraged by the work of Reverend Andrew Murray, who remains an influence on piety within the Dutch Reformed Church. Murray believed that the church should prioritise the evangelisation of the indigenous people in Africa. The success of the missionary work became an inconvenience to some white settlers as the baptism of a person was considered as the making void of any differences among persons. Although the Synod initially disregarded these views, they were eventually deterred from this belief. In 1857 the synod decreed that it would allow separate services between white and black although it was considered not to be scriptural (De Gruchy, 1979: 7 - 8).

The separation of services became a strategy for missionaries such as Murray as he felt that it would facilitate the missionary work. As a result, several other “Daughter” churches were established known as Die Sendingkerk (for people who were classified as coloureds), Dutch Reformed Church in Africa (for Africans) and the Indian Reformed Church (De Gruchy, 1979: 9). Further ideas of segregation were cultivated in the Church’s influence from Neo-Calvinism.

Afrikaners and Christian Nationalism

“Christian Nationalism is based on the premise that God desires a diversity of nations as much as diversity in nature. Thus it would be akin to sacrilege to overcome this diversity.” (Marx, 2008: 191)

The story of the Afrikaners is one filled with tribulations often romanticised. The history of the Afrikaner, much like the church, starts with the Dutch settlement in 1652 in the Cape. The few free burghers who resided in the colony commonly identified with three sources. According to Historian, Herman Giliomee, the burgher’s “European descent

closely linked to their Christian faith, their Burgher status and the Dutch language” (Giliomee, 2003: 21). Giliomee discusses an incident that places the term Afrikaner in context to the white population of South Africa. Giliomee explains that an incident involving Hendrik Biebouw in 1707 resulted in the first recorded instance where a European used the term Afrikaner to refer to himself. In previous instances, the term Afrikaner has been used as a term for the offspring of “ ‘natives’ and slaves or free blacks” (Giliomee, 2003: 22).

For most of the 1700s, the free burghers would refer to themselves as burghers, Dutchmen or Christians. The fact that the Burghers identified with Christianity is owed to the reason that they also identified strongly with the widespread origin they had from Europe. The Burghers thus made use of their Christian identity as a political one (Giliomee, 2003: 41). At the end of the 1700s, the term Afrikaner became more prominent and had been used quite often to refer to the people who were of Dutch, French and German descent who mainly spoke Dutch or Afrikaans. (Giliomee, 2003: 51). The Afrikaans language had, by this time, become known as a corrupt form of Dutch, which started as a simplified form of Dutch (Giliomee, 2003: 53).

The most significant event that Afrikaner history centers on is the Great Trek. T Dunbar Moodie discusses the history of Afrikaners and civil religion in his book titled *The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid, and the Afrikaner Civil Religion* (1975). Most notably, the reason for the migration of Afrikaners is ascribed to the abolishment of slavery by the British Empire in 1832 (Moodie, 1975). It is often relayed that it was not necessarily the abolishment of slavery that created further discontent among the Afrikaners but how it was enforced (De Gruchy, 1979: 19). Further causes of the Great Trek as discussed by Giliomee, can be summarised as a lack of land, labor and security and a “pervasive sense of being marginalised” (Giliomee, 2003: 144).

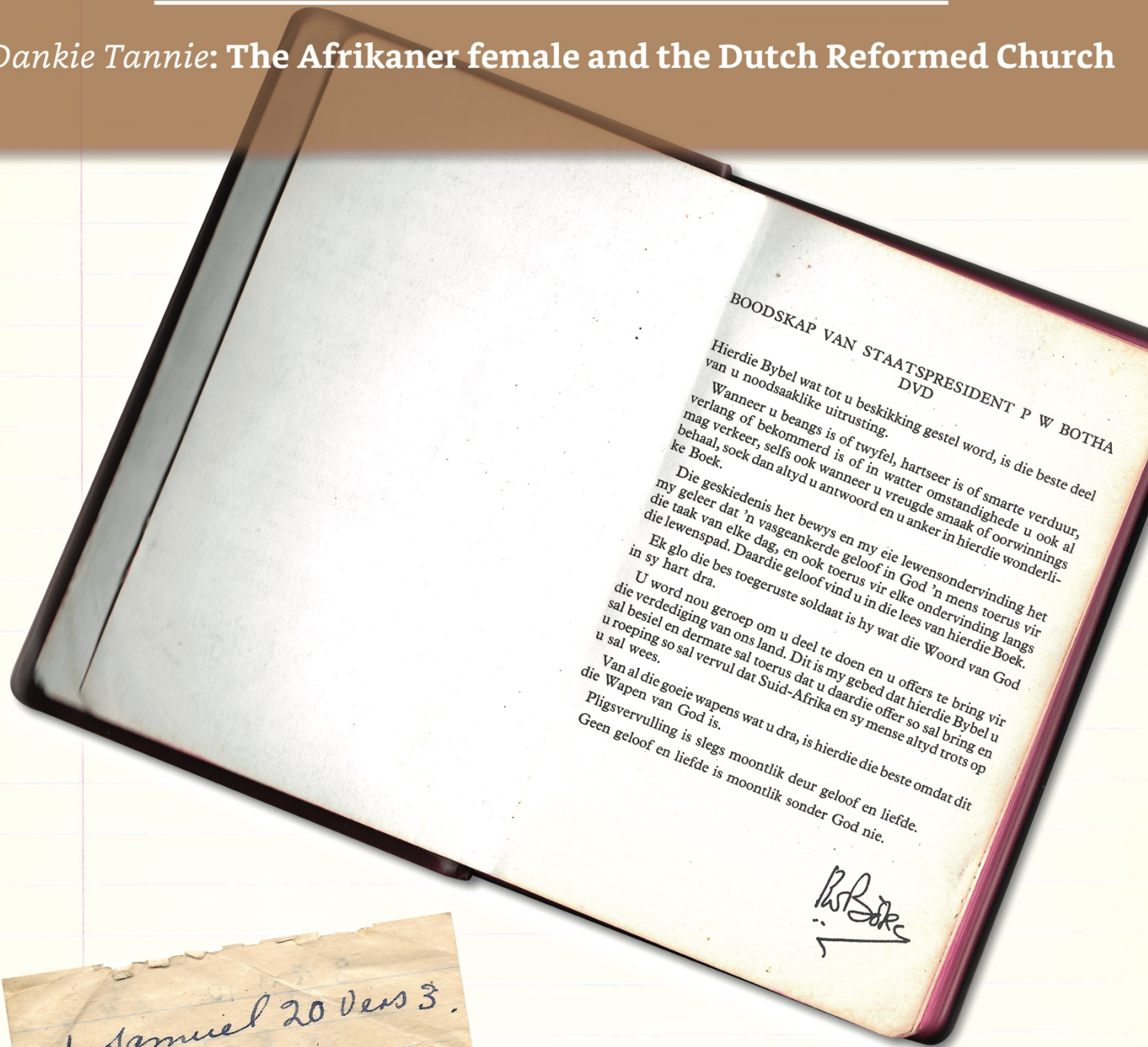
Conclusion

This chapter considered how the photograph and the archive allow for an opportunity to probe into ordinary lives by starting at the photograph of the baptism of my brother. I aimed at providing vital foundational insights into the studies of whiteness, gender, and

memory as an introduction to the existing complexities surrounding apartheid society. I provide a brief historical background of the *spectacle* or events that unfolded around the pictured frames. It is necessary to examine the rise of the Dutch Reformed Church in the South African context in order to understand the further relations it maintains with race and Afrikanerdom. I also looked into the events of the SADF, specifically surrounding the time of my father's conscription as a means of providing context towards the historical backdrop of my inquiry. This historical context provides an understanding of the terminology used within Apartheid society as a means of justification. I also bring to consideration the importance of understanding the roots of Afrikanerdom within the colonisation of the Cape Colony. These roots ultimately set perpetuated ideas of race, which is reimplemented in Apartheid. The understanding of the rise of Apartheid will be necessary for the following chapter as I attempt to unearth further how it ties into the experiences of Afrikaner women.

Chapter 3

Dankie Tannie: The Afrikaner female and the Dutch Reformed Church



1 Samuel 20 vers 3.
Dit is net een
tree tussen my
en die dood.



HOLLIDAY

CHAPTER 3: *DANKIE TANNIE*: THE AFRIKANER FEMALE AND THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH

“Those grey or sepia shadows, phantomlike and almost indecipherable, are no longer traditional family portraits but rather the disturbing presence of lives halted at a set moment in their duration, freed from their destiny...”⁵⁶



Figure 13: My grandmother pictured in her living room, Pretoria, Circa 1980. Photographs by the author.

⁵⁶ Bazin A, xe and Gray H. (1960) The Ontology of the Photographic Image. *Film Quarterly* 13: 4-9.

Introduction

Tucked in between old bibles and some books on how to raise children, sat the recipe books my mother would depend on so often. Every week before Sunday meals, my mother would sift through them diligently trying to list every ingredient. Her “Wenresepte” (Winning-recipes) recipe books are stained with years of batter spatter and moistness and has earned its yellow discoloured charm. On my 24th birthday, my mother gave me a recipe book called “Kook-en-geniet”, she said that every daughter inherits this specific recipe book from her mother. She said, “my ma het ook so een gehad” (*My mother also had one like this*). Cooking in this regard became something that the women in our family would usually share. When we visit family we are expected to bring along an edible handmade offering to the host. My mother’s black oven became tired after years of overworking, but still continued to produce fluffy and moist creations. Adding to the inheritance from mother to daughter, my mother gave me some of her brown glass containers that her mother used before her.

The above photograph features my grandmother seated neatly on the couches which she still owns today. I scuff closer to the very golden satin-like couch in order to get closer to my grandmother. My grandmother is now much frailer but remains gently seated, ready to start her story. I filter through the large number of photographs that I collected so that I can show her as we go along. Immediately she was taken aback by the photograph. She does not even remember that this photograph was taken. Even though this photograph was taken almost thirty years back, the interior remains familiar and untouched. As a child, I remember this living room set, and it is never complete without a doily on every coffee table in sight. I find myself wanting to ensure that my teacup and saucer are always placed on the doily and ensuring that I sit uncomfortably respectable. I start this discussion primarily centered around the start of 1984, which marked the year in which my father reports for duty. I attempt to direct this chapter from the experiences of troops to specific experiences of Afrikaner women. I jump in between important timeframes surrounding the time of conscription through to experiences of Christianised Education. I aim to look into the significant narratives provided by my grandmother, aunt, and mother as gendered tales. I hope to use these shared narratives to look into aspects of gender in

Apartheid society. Furthermore, I aim to discuss how these narratives echo existing myths surrounding Afrikaner women, which is traced throughout the South African historical context.



Figure 15: My father on the left with two other conscripts, location unknown, circa 1980. Photograph provided by the author.

Troepie, Wanneer kom jy huis toe?

(*Troop, when are you coming home?*)

My father used to sit across from me at our dining room table, and he once reflected on a near-death experience he had while serving on the border. He had a shift to stand guard and left his post for a few minutes to smoke a cigarette. While smoking, the area that he had been monitoring exploded due to a bomb. He maintained - to his death - that the cigarette saved his life. I was always very aware of the event that many white Afrikaner males had lived with for most of their young adult life. To me, the border war existed as an unimaginable reality that had often been inflated by stories such as the one my father told me. It seemed so normal for every family to own a box of images depicting their fathers in brown uniforms apart from their embarrassing high school photographs and letters which he kept close but hidden. To me, the event only existed in these frames and envelopes, which my father was always hesitant to share. It was as if the event could be understood by looking through these photographs and that which goes unsaid and unheard never happened⁵⁷. For the mothers of troops there remains vagueness surrounding the activities of the SADF. As I piece together the story of my father's experience, it is important to note that similarly mothers, wives, and sisters also remained in the same darkness. Women experienced the war through the censored letters sent from troops, selective photographs which were taken illegally and communication from the SADF. All these items were received by my grandmother, which were kept and collected by my father through the years.

1984

“Geagte Mnr en Mev Niemand Rekrut R. C Niemand het veilig by 4 Veldregiment aangekom. Hy sal u teen 31 Januarie 1984 per brief van sy aankoms, wedervaringe en omstandighede alhier verwittig en ook sy korrekte adres verskaf.”

⁵⁷ SADF servicemen were sworn to secrecy by signing declarations in order to swear their silence on any military operations. Baines G. (2007) *Breaking rank: Secrets, silences and stories of South Africa's border war. Rhodes University: Grahamstown.*

Dear Mr and Mrs Niemand Recruit R. C. Niemand arrived safely at 4 Fieldregiment. He will notify you per letter by 31 January 1984 about his arrival, exploits, and conditions with his correct address

During 1984, the border war was in full swing. The above text was taken from a communication sent by the SADF to my grandparents. It notified them of his arrival in Potchefstroom. My father would probably be one of the troops that were sent off from the train station by my grandmother and grandfather. After an excruciating couple of weeks, my father had completed his basic training⁵⁸. I am uncertain about the extent to which my father was involved in the war, but some operations taking place around 1984 and 1985 would suggest that he would have been involved in operations such as ‘Askari’. On the third of January operation, Askari was in full swing. Operation Askari was carried out at the end of 1983 and beginning 1984 following some pressures from SWAPO. The intention of operation Askari was set to stop the infiltration of the SWAPO Special Unit in the SWA as far north as possible⁵⁹. The army units were divided into five formations, namely, Taskforce X-Ray⁶⁰, Taskforce Victor⁶¹, Taskforce Echo Victor⁶², Fighting Team Tango⁶³, Fighting Team Manie. Although the initial plan was for the operation to take place between December and January, the operation mainly took place between May and August of 1984. Around the same time, other important events transpired in South Africa, such as the increase of political unrest and the looming state of emergency. The preoccupations of my father on the border, however, largely remains a mystery due to the silencing among troops.

The ‘border war’ for many white males became synonymous with the institution of conscription⁶⁴. However, its contestation starts with its name, as professor of history Gary Baines contends, that was used in order to invoke a sense of purpose that the SADF troops are defending South Africa against an imminent threat often termed as ‘rooi/swart

⁵⁸ The compulsory basic training consisted out of a period which served as an introductory

⁵⁹ Scholtz L. (2013) *Die SAW in die Grensoorlog, 1966-1989*, Pretoria: Tafelberg. Pg. 169.

⁶⁰ This division existed out of 61 Mechanised Battalion.

⁶¹ This division existed out of the civilian-regiments from the 82 Mechanised Brigade.

⁶² This division existed out of four motorized infantry companies of the 32 Battalion.

⁶³ This division existed out of 4 South African Infantry Battalion

⁶⁴ Refer to Chapter 2 for the context on conscription between 1980 and 1990.

gevaar'⁶⁵. It is thus a matter of clarification that the war itself is often considered as a 'silent war' which had a different meaning for different families. For my family at least, it was something that we knew about from photographs and secret letters but not really that you address due to the taboo of breaking its silence. It seems that, accessing these photographs, provides us with an opportunity to rattle the silence.

In the pictures of tanned men in their nutria coloured uniforms, they appear relaxed. The same uniforms found their way stuffed into the 'balsakke'⁶⁶, a keepsake from their time on the border. My father appears similarly in these photographs as a skinny, tanned, young man who almost always sits with a cigarette in his hand. These photographs were always kept apart from the rest, and all of them exist in albums in a box. The albums would hardly ever find themselves in the hands of interested onlookers. The dishevelled faces are mostly unknown to us, some vaguely familiar to my grandmother, as my father used to bring some of them home to Grandmother when they had permits to go home for the weekend. Apart from the photographs, there are no real details that would become clear to my father's mother as she says:

“Mens is bekommerd maar hulle mag mos dan nie uitpraat as hulle daar is of so nie. As hulle nou dan terugkom jy weet is hulle nie veronderstel om so te praat nie. Agterna het hulle dalk miskien na die oorlog verby is.” (Niemand, 2018)

One is worried, but they could not speak out when they were there. If they come back, you are also not supposed to talk about it. Afterward, they might have, when the war is over.

For my father, the photographs existed as proof that he completed his military service. For many cases, photographs are undeniable evidence that a thing or event happened (Sontag, 1978: 5). As Baines argues: “The soldier's mantra is that only those with prior knowledge of war are capable of understanding what he has experienced or witnessed.”

⁶⁵ Directly translated the term is phrased as red/black threat. Baines G. (2014) *South Africa's 'Border War': Contested Narratives and Conflicting Memories*: Bloomsbury Publishing.

⁶⁶ A brown bag that is better known as a kit bag that was used to carry all the troop's clothing and other items.

(Baines, 2014: 14). In the case of the border war, many troops held on to the photographs of themselves in their uniforms, holding a weapon or lurking or in the veld. For the many young faces in these snapshots, they will remain forever frozen in its time, only for them to be rediscovered by their older selves. The nonchalant poses and sometimes rigid looking rooms the photographs offer a way in which the experiences of young troops could share with their family the role they played on the border. My father writes to my grandmother in one of his letters: "As ek my foto's ontwikkel sal Pa-hulle sien hoe ons gelyk het. As ons skiet sit ek mos op 'n stoeltjie op die Kanon. Zone 1-3 en miskien 4 kan nog gaan, maar op zone 5 ruk hy so en jou ore tuit dat jy nie juis weet wat aangaan nie." (*When I developed my photographs you will see what we looked like. When we shoot, I sit on the stool on the cannon. Zone 1-3 and maybe four is still bearable, but on Zone 5 it jerks you back, and your ears spout that you don't know what is going on*).

Photographs exist as a fragmented moment of an event; this thus goes to say that photographs have the power to include what appears within the frames and what is left out (Butler, 2010: 67). The photographs do not, however, remain silenced. Photographs have not only the ability to provoke the ability to remember but also has the ability to change and warp how these events are remembered. The photographs my father took on the border were mostly photographs of his friends and regiment in a state of happiness; however, in reality, it is placed in between war and on the edge of a country in the grip of insensible anarchy. Butler contends that photographs remain transitive; they "do not merely portray or represent – they relay effect" (Butler, 2010: 68). In this statement, Butler continues to question the ability of photographs to have this continued effect on their viewers, and photographs haunt us⁶⁷. What appears in these 10 by 15 cm frames wavers between that which happens in the frame and that which takes place around it (Butler, 2010: 75). The visual archive circulates, according to Judith Butler. This allows for the event to continue⁶⁸. Similarly, these events for some troops serve as a tool through which they remember and re-member the event.

⁶⁷ Sontag S. (1978) *On Photography*: Penguin. Pg. 9.

⁶⁸ Butler J. (2010) *Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?*: Verso. Pg. 86.

Perhaps for my father, his photographs eventually turned into a cruel, silent nostalgia (Boym, 2001: 58). However, it is the very silence of these photographs that provokes interest. It is the interest in everyday normalcy that draws attention to a country that was anything but normal. Thinking that the border war was normal shaped the daily experiences of mothers during 1980 and 1990. My grandmother contends that most mothers who were sending their sons to the border did so in response to a legitimate = expectation, "Wel jy weet jy is onder ander mense wat se kinders ook gaan, jy het dit maar aanvaar. Want as jy Universiteit toe gaan of vrystelling kry nie moes jy maar gaan." (*Well you know, you were amongst other people whose children also went, you just accepted it because if you did not get into or went to University you had to go*). When looking at the photographs, my grandmother comments that she just remembers the silence that surrounded the time my father spent on the border.

Gender Theory

“One is not born, but, rather becomes a woman”⁶⁹

It can be said that the concept of gender is embedded deep in our institutions and is certainly prevalent institution of the NG Kerk in Apartheid South Africa. Jacklyn Cock writes in her book titled "Colonels & Cadres: War and Gender in South Africa" that "War is a gendering activity"⁷⁰ which is what this dissertation will consider in the light of the feminine and how white Afrikaner females experienced a gendered society during Apartheid. The consideration of the feminine is resolved into the proposed theories of Judith Butler and Simone De Beauvoir through the concept of sex versus gender, the role of performance and "the body". Judith Butler⁷¹ alludes to gender as an act or performance; it is something we do in our everyday lives and not something that we are born with. This performance is described by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2013) form of mimicry often performed by young children which later becomes recognizable behaviour in their adult lives (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2013: 2). It thus also important to distinct sex from

⁶⁹ Beauvoir Sd. (1953) *The second sex*, New York: Knopf. Pg.

⁷⁰ Cock J. (1991) *Colonels & cadres : war & gender in South Africa*, Cape Town ;: Oxford University Press.

⁷¹ Judith Butler is an American Philosopher and Gender theorist who has contributed largely to queer and feminism theory. Butler J. (1988) Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory. *Theatre Journal* 40: 519-531.

gender; in this discussion the very act of gender remains important. However, it is important to note that sex is defined in this enquiry as "a biological categorisation based primarily on reproductive potential" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2013: 2). Gender is considered in this discussion as the "social elaboration of biological sex" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2013: 2).

For this discussion I will assume the definition that gender is constructed and holds the anatomically different bodies accountable to some cultural law⁷² which will be further elaborated on based on the different practices in apartheid and the DRC (Butler, 1990: 12). Butler's⁷³ use of phenomenology theory might become helpful in understanding the experience of Christian female Afrikaners (Butler, 1988: 523). Phenomenology Theory is seen as a method of inquiry which considers reality as consisting of events and objects as they are perceived in the human consciousness such as social practices evident throughout the discussion with the subjects. Butler contends that "If the personal is a category which expands to include the wider political and social structures, then acts of the gendered subject would be similarly expansive." (Butler, 1988: 523).

Simone De Beauvoir writes in her book *The Second Sex* (1953) on the woman as produced through civilization and not the "biological, psychological or economic fate" (Beauvoir, 1953: 273). It is within this context that de Beauvoir states that the creation of the other only exists with the intervention of someone else (Beauvoir, 1953: 273). This idea is considered throughout the dissertation through which men and women experience their positions in the institution of Apartheid, the church and the SADF. Butler's argument substantiates this on the conception of "the person":

"The Universal conception of the person, however, is displaced as a point of departure for a social theory of gender by those historical and anthropological positions that understand gender as a relation among socially constituted subjects in specifiable contexts." (Butler, 1990: 14 - 15)

⁷² Butler J. (1990) *Gender trouble : feminism and the subversion of identity*, New York, NY: Routledge. Pg 12.

⁷³ Butler J. (1988) Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory. *Theatre Journal* 40: 519-531.

Furthermore, in the debate on gender-related to "the body", Butler provides the understanding that "the body" be considered in the debate surrounding gender as a form of social construction. It is, however, with restriction then, that "the body" is considered as merely the "instrument or medium" through which cultural meanings are related externally (Butler, 1990: 13).



Figure 16: The wedding of my mother and father accompanied by my grandparents, Potchefstroom, 1990. Photograph provided by the author.

Women in the Dutch Reformed Church

Reflecting on the day of my mother's wedding, she remembers the importance of her transition into the DRC. She had been raised in a more conservative form of the DRC which became known as the Doppers. It is necessary in the Afrikaner Christian tradition that the woman would adopt the church doctrine of the man she is marrying, if it is the case that she belongs to a different church (Niemand: 2018). My mother describes her wedding as a "traditional white wedding", this refers to the fact that it was conducted in the DRC. Despite having its traditions in the marital ceremonies the traditions of the DRC are conducted far earlier within the lives of the Afrikaners. I refer again to the photograph of my brother's baptism. My mother reflects on the experiences of the baptising of her firstborn:

“Daardie tyd was dit baie spesiaal...later as jy nou ouer word nè dan besef jy eintlik kyk jy het iets gedoen daar wat jy nie weet of dit gaan kan volhou nie maar op daardie oomblik was dit spesiaal jy dra jou kind op aan God en Sy beskerming.” (Niemand, MC: 2018)

That time it was very special...later when you are older you realise that you did something that you might not necessarily be able to uphold but at that moment it was special; you offer your child onto God and His protection.

My mother remembers while looking at the photograph of my brother's baptism and recalls from the album that it was no more than three months that children born into the Dutch Reformed church were christened. These were one of many "traditions" that my mom recalled keeping in order to win the favour of the family. A tradition evident is the wearing of the christening dress worn by my brother. My grandmother recalls that the dress is over 100 years old. The dress used since 1903 would eventually go on to be used by my father, my brother and me during our baptisms. Undoubtedly the Dutch Reformed Church played an intricate role in the lives of white Afrikaner youth. Compulsory attendance of Sunday schools was enforced quite firmly into the lives of Afrikaner youth. My aunt recalls vaguely that every Sunday they were dragged to Church as part of the family's routine:

“My ouers het omtrent altyd laaste in gestap voor die kerk begin en ons het altyd heel voor gaan sit. Nou ek kan nie vir jou sê dis iets wat ek graag wou gedoen het nie, dit het maar net altyd so gebeur en dis al plek wat oop was.” – (Hiebers, S: 2018)

My parents were almost always the last ones to walk into the church before the sermon began and we had always sat in the front. Now I can't tell you that it was something that I wanted to do, it had just always happened like that and that was the only place that was vacant.

From the age of three months, white Afrikaner youth who had been raised in the DRC, are expected to attend church on Sundays. My grandmother recounts her Sundays as an effort dragging the children to church keeping close to her schedule even before her marriage to my grandfather; she would attend church morning noon and night. My mother, too, remembers fondly that as a ‘child of God’ in the DRC, one is compelled to report to your Sunday school classes. This was considered as being an intricate part of a DRC upbringing. The details surrounding a DRC upbringing seemed very important to my grandmother, which speaks to the role of women in the Afrikaner Christian household. In the conversation with my grandmother she specifically remembers her grandmother narrating the stories from the bible.

“[M]y Ouma veral het ons in die begin af van die Bybel jy weet verhale vertel en so aan so dit was vir ons outomaties, ons het gegaan want ons het net gevoel jy weet die Here is die een wat deur wie jy eendag die saligheid kan beërwe.”

My grandmother especially told us about the Bible stories in the beginning and from there on it was automatic for us, we went (to church) because we felt that you should know that God is the one through Whom you can inherit salvation.

It is important to note that the strictness that was enforced onto Afrikaner youth with regard to the attendance of church was only one aspect that echoes ideas of Christian

Nationalism and its enforcement by Afrikaner Nationalism. In the next section of this chapter I look at how ideas of Christian nationalism were implemented into the education system of Apartheid.



Figure 17: My father's Cadette group photograph, Pretoria, Circa 1980. Photograph provided by the author.

Afrikaanse Hoër Seunskool

“Ons het baie strengheid daar (in die kadette) geleer. Die strengheid wat ons daar geleer het, het ‘n groot inslag op my lewe gehad ..., ek was nie op geroep om, ek was vry gestel van militêre diens maar ek het self aansoek gaan doen om vrywillig weermagsdiens te gaan doen later.” (Niemand, C: 2018)

We were taught to be strict (in the cadettes). The strictness which we learned (in the cadettes) had a big impact on my life ..., I was not called up, I was set free from my military service but I applied to complete military service later voluntarily.

My grandfather refers to the impact that the cadettes had on his life and that which encouraged him to later volunteer for military service. The cadet system was implemented into South African high schools during the SADF’s campaign for conscription. The campaign brought to light the opportunity for the Apartheid government to implement a system of grooming aimed at young schoolboys destined to be conscripted. Within them a particular set of instructions outlined them as necessary participants in defence of their country. As outlined in the previous quote, the cadettes provided the boys with a system of military compliance (Callister, 2007: 62) .

Stephen Symons⁷⁴ writes in his thesis titled *Shadows Asking an Echo to dance Navigating ambiguity: How former conscripts(1980-1990) navigate memories of induction into the SADF in post-apartheid society* on the militarised boyhoods implemented within the school system during Apartheid. Symons contends that the cadette system encouraged strict instructions on how to participate in parades as well as providing training on shooting (Symons, 2019:95). The cadette system came under the control of the SADF in January 1976. The aim of the implementation focused on the “youth preparedness” among male youth. The cadettes also instilled a sense of pride and patriotism towards their country and its means for the civilian reserve. The nutria uniforms paraded by the cadettes would establish the necessity of uniformity in the SADF as seen in the image

⁷⁴ Stephen Symons is an author and poet who focuses on the work of memory and conscription during South Africa’s border war.

above. My father appears in the image in the second row from the top, right in the middle. He had attended the cadettes at Afrikaanse Hoër Seunskool (AHS).

Apart from the cadette program, ideas of Afrikaner and Christian nationalism became a regular part of my father's education experience. In 2019 AHS describes itself as follows: "Die Afrikaanse Hoër Seunskool is 'n Christelike Afrikaanse Seunskool wat daarna streef om sy unieke tradisie van uitnemende, opvoedende onderwys te handhaaf en uit te bou tot voordeel van ons land en sy inwoners."⁷⁵ (*The Afrikaans Hoër Seunskool is a Christian Afrikaans boys school that strives to expand its unique tradition of outstanding, education and to maintain it towards the benefit of the country and its citizens.*) Additionally, their code of honour also states that it gives a place of honour to God. I would imagine that similar to the experiences of my father's sister who attended the sister school of AHS known as Afrikaanse Hoër Meisieskool Pretoria (AHMP) that would have involved assemblies focused on the word of God. Although the practices of the DRC within schools do not necessarily implicate them in the cultivation of a militarised society it is important to note that the implementation of Christian Nationalist Education remained one of the foundations for Afrikaner Nationalism in order to invoke a sense of responsibility. As early as 1930 Afrikaner nationalists embarked on a battle for the establishment of Christian National schools. The pursuit for the Christian nationalist schools had two fundamental goals, the establishment of mother-tongue schools, such as Afrikaans and the "ideological pervasion with the spirit of Christian nationalism"(Marx, 2008: 208).

I reflect in chapter 5 on how the DRC would justify means of war and the imminent threat of communism. The responsibility cultivated among the youth towards their country would extend to the justification provided to mothers and fathers of conscripts who would send their children off to complete their military service. As stated in the letter my grandmother received directly after my father had left for his basic training on 9 January 1984:

⁷⁵ See (2019b) *Afrikaanse Hoër Seunskool*. Available at: <http://www.affies.co.za/erekode/>.

“Ons skep verder in hom ‘n trots in homself as burger van die land, ‘n trots in sy weermag as instrument vir die handhawing van sy nasieskap en ‘n trots en liefde vir sy land.”

We create pride within him as a citizen of the country, a pride in his army as a tool to enforce his nationhood and pride and love for his country.



Figure 18: The AHMP school crest known as 'Noointjie van die onderveld', taken from the AHMP Webpage, 2019.

Afrikaanse Hoër Meisieskool Pretoria

I continue to discuss the experiences of Afrikaner women and how this links to Afrikaanse Hoër Meisieskool Pretoria (AHMP). Before I reflect on the experiences of my aunt in AHMP I first attempt to flesh out the discourse of the *Volksmoeder*. It is imperative to include this discourse as it contributes to the understanding of how the roles of Afrikaner women perceived at the beginning of the 1900s and how this has changed until the last days of Apartheid society. I chose to include this under the section of AHMP as it connects so intricately with the discourse of the *Volksmoeder*. The connection between AHMP and the *Volksmoeder* discourse exists in the values which have been preserved for every generation of Afrikaner women who walk the halls of AHMP. Both of my father's sisters attended AHMP from 1980 to 1990. When it was my time to leave primary school, and go to high school I was destined to attend AHMP because that was the school that women in the Niemand family attended, even though I was the second generation to attend.

Die *Boerevrou* and *Volksmoeder* Discourse

“ ‘Die Vrou se plek is in haar huis.’ Dit was die leuse van die Afrikanervrou voor 1900. Vandag is dit nog die leuse van die Afrikaner vrou. . . , maar die begrip „huis” het gerek sodat dit tans die hele land, die hele volk, insluit.”⁷⁶

The woman’s place is in the home. That was the motto of the Afrikaner woman before 1900. Today it is still the motto of the Afrikaner woman. . . , but the understanding of „home” has stretched so that it currently includes the whole country and the whole nation.

During the Great Trek, Afrikaner women were considered as strong driving players behind the need to go and so, too, enforced a strict control over servants (Giliomee, 2003: 165). The Great Trek refers to the period in South Africa between 1836 and 1837 when some Dutch settlers chose to migrate to the inland areas of South Africa in order to retain the benefits of slavery (Giliomee, 2003: 115). Giliomee even goes as far as to say that the role of Boer women was one of strong opposition to the patriarchy in which he describes them as early feminists (Giliomee, 2003: 631). This position would later transform as Jeannette van Rensburg argues in her thesis⁷⁷ , the urbanisation and industrialisation after the Great Trek had a significant impact on how Afrikaner households would function. This restructuring would result in the uncertainty among women on their positions and would later result in their participation and creation of organisations (Van Rensburg and Prof, 2013: 71). This becomes relevant during the time of conscription as it would undoubtedly become part of the experience of women during the conscription of white males through the organization of various support groups.

This idea of a strong female is later reiterated through imagery used in the building of an Afrikaner Nationalist identity. Images of the “Boerenooi” (a boer woman or girl) is often used by the Afrikaners in stories and monuments to promote the idea of the female as a

⁷⁶ Van Rensburg AP. (1966) *Moeders van ons volk*, Johannesburg: Afrikaanse Pers Boekhandel. Pg. 98.

⁷⁷ Van Rensburg J and Prof FP. (2013) *Die Boerevrou 1919-1931 : ‘n kultuurhistoriese studie oor die eerste Afrikaanse vrouetydskrif (Afrikaans)*.pg. 71.

“caregiver” who will provide at home front. This discourse is once again reinforced into the Afrikaner Nationalist agenda after the two Boer Wars. The image is produced after the Great Trek and the voortrekker women who exist as the ideal of what an Afrikaner woman should be. This image is specifically seen in the Voortrekker monument, originally inaugurated in 1949, Gerard Moerdijk designed the monument set to progress the Afrikaner Nationalist Identity. In a 1938 article, Moerdijk describes the importance of commemorating the Voortrekkers, specifically detailing why they had framed die boerevrou at the forefront:

“Hulle het die ontembare binneland van Suid-Afrika met sy barbare, sy siektes en wilde diere getem, hulle het ’n blanke beskawing gestig en bestendig waar voorheen barbarism hoogty gevier het. Hierdie groot daad het hulle verrig omdat hulle hul families saamgeneem het toe hulle getrek het, en dis hoekom aan die Voortrekkervrou die ereplek by die Monument ingeruim word.”⁷⁸

They tamed the untamed inland of South Africa with its barbarians, its illnesses and wild animals, they established a white civilization and resisted where barbarism celebrated. This big deed they accomplished because they took with, their families when they trekked, that is why the place of honour is set aside for the Voortrekkervrou.

The image of the Voortrekker mother is placed in a way that she faces all entrants to the monument directly and who is encircled by a young girl and boy is at the foot of the monument. Artist Anton van Wouw sculpted the life-size bronze statue. Van Wouw was born in 1862 in Holland and became a frequently commissioned artist for the South African government⁷⁹. In 1936 Van Wouw was commissioned to complete the statue of the mother and children now still at the monument. Further renditions of van Wouw’s “Nooientjie van die onderveld” would be seen in use in South Africa’s first Afrikaans women’s magazine titled *Die Boerevrou*.

⁷⁸ Moerdijk G. (1938) Die Voortrekker-Monument. *Koers - Bulletin for Christian Scholarship* 6. Pg. 2.

⁷⁹ Duffey AE, University of P and Ernst J. (2008) *The art & heritage collections of the University of Pretoria*, Pretoria: University of Pretoria. Pg. 62 – 73.

Die Boerevrou, contributed to the experience of Afrikaner women. In March 1919, the first copy of *Die Boerevrou* was first published by Mabel Malherbe who had an interest in the growing Afrikaner nationalism despite her having an unusual household other than that of a typical Afrikaner household as Lou-Marie Kruger would argue in her dissertation⁸⁰. Malherbe had rarely attended church and her children arguably became anglicised. Despite this unusual position within Afrikaner society she became the “volksmoeder ideal” (Kruger, 1991: 9). Malherbe was an avid supporter of the National Party since its inception in 1914. *Die Boerevrou* was conceptualised out of Malherbe’s interest in Afrikaner Nationalism as well as her interest in Afrikaner women and had created the monthly magazine in order to address the challenges that Afrikaner women would face in their daily households. Many of the editions contained advice on cleaning, cooking, raising children and creative projects such as knitting.

Kruger, however, would caution in her study that “Malherbe deliberately chose to present the help and advice for women within a distinct Afrikaner Nationalist framework” (Kruger, 1991: 11). Afrikaner women thus became important figures within the household whose responsibilities were confined as stay at home mothers (Giliomee, 2003: 328). Gilliomee (Giliomee, 2003: 326) states that for many women the reward for the upkeep of the well-organised home would be well-groomed children at the ready to cultivate the land and motivate the rise of Afrikanerdom. Almost every edition of the *Die Boerevrou* had displayed some take on the “Nooientjie van die onderveld” another version of Van Wouw’s take on the voortrekker vrou. The “Nooientjie van die onderveld” is seen in voortrekker clothing; a dress and what is called a “kappie”⁸¹, with a slightly bent forward head and her hands folded in front of her. This image is often compared to the position and image of the virgin Mary (Klopper, 2008: 9). Every issue of *Die Boerevrou* would boast the words of Jan F.E. Celliers: “Ek sien haar win want haar naam is - Vrou en Moeder” (*I see her win because her name is woman and mother*) from his poem *By die Vrouebetoging* (1915)(Malherbe, 1950: 9). The display of the Volksmoeder

⁸⁰ Kruger L-M. (1991) *Gender, community and identity: Women and Afrikaner nationalism in the Volksmoeder discourse of Die Boerevrou (1919-1931)*. University of Cape Town. Pg. 9.

⁸¹ A Kappie is a headdress originally worn by Dutch women as a screen from the sun.

ideal is problematic because it enforced an ideal of ‘racial purity’ which would politicize the role of women in the Apartheid society as Elsabe Brink argues (Brink, 1990). The women in the Volksmoeder ideal as Brink states, is a figure who is timid, obedient and who embraces motherhood. This is seen as a variation of the British Victorian domestic ideology (Brink, 1990: 274).

Further display of Boerwomen was sported in other institutions such as in Afrikaanse Hoër Meisies Pretoria’s (AHMP) crest, school anthem and foyer. This institution becomes significant within this discussion as it would form part of the life of my aunt’s experience within the apartheid schooling system. I specifically asked her regarding her experience as it has become something of a tradition within the Niemand family to attend the Afrikaans schools. My father and uncle attended Afrikaanse Hoër Seunskool (AHS) and my aunts attended Meisies Hoër Pretoria.

My Aunt states as follows:

“Kyk al my skole, Oranje Meisieskool was die C&N Oranje Meisieskool, Christelike en Nasionale Oranje Meisieskool. Dit was daardie waardes wat hulle vir die kinders geleer het. Ons het altyd met saal of met openinge, so dit is iets wat, jy weet aan die orde van die dag en dit was ‘n ordentlike skool gewees. Maar wat ek spesifiek kan onthou in my Hoërskool jare buiten dat hulle dieselfde gedoen het by Afrikaans Hoër Meisieskool en dat hulle dieselfde waardes gehad het...”

Look all of my schools, Oranje Meisieskool was the C&N Oranje Meisieskool, Christelike en Nasionale Oranje Meisieskool. It was those values which they taught the children. We always did with assembly or with openings, so it was something that was the order of the day, it was a proper school. But specifically from what I can remember in my high school days besides that they did the same in Afrikaans Hoër Meisieskool is that they had the same values.

Those values to which my aunt is referring, would be that of the Volksmoeder and NG Church values. Mabel Malherbe granted AHMP permission to make use of the boerenooi image as it was used for Die Boerevrou. Furthermore AHMP adopted Die Boerevrou's motto "Ek sien haar win want haar want haar naam is - Vrou en Moeder" (*I see her win because her name is woman and mother*) (2019a). It is important to understand how the representation of Afrikaner women in the larger public could contribute to the construction and formation of female roles within the Apartheid society.

Women in Church

Women in the DRC held no official positions within the church and were mostly encouraged to keep up their roles at home front. In the historical sense I look at the ways through which women would conduct or place themselves within the institution of the DRC as well as in Apartheid society, starting with an observation made by Gilliomee on the female's role in the Dutch Reformed Church. This role becomes quite distinct after the 1790s when there was a large wave of religious revival among the Afrikaner females and males. Gilliomee writes that by 1770 90% of adult women were adopted into the Stellebosse communion as opposed to a third of the white males ⁸².

The Dutch Reformed Church was involved with the war, albeit at a convenient arm's length. In many ways, women were involved in the war effort through the church. There are many references to the "Dankie Tannies" (Thank you Women) who would work hard at compiling packages for troops. These packages would contain stationery, razors, soap and other goods in order to thank them for their service in protecting the country. In other ways, women from the DRC often would form support groups which allowed them to share experiences with others. In conclusion to this chapter, I look into the various formations of women organisations, some which could be considered as opposed to conscription and Apartheid and some which proved to have strong relations to DRC and SADF. Jeffrey Butler maintains in his chapter titled "Afrikaner Women and the Creation

⁸² Gilliomee HB. (2003) *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People*: C. Hurst. Pg. 36 -37.

of Ethnicity in a Small South African Town, 1902-1950”⁸³ that the women were crucial in the creation of Afrikaner ethnic consciousness through the creation of organisations maintained by mainly middleclass Afrikaner women. Most notably before the rise of Apartheid women were often seen actively raising money in the interest of the “Helpmekaar-fondsinsameling” (help each other fundraisers) and other attempts to aid poor Afrikaners. Women would contribute through the connection of the church by hosting of bazaars and support groups and organisations. It is important to consider how various organisations would form part of the experience of white Christian Afrikaner females during the conscription of white Christian Afrikaner males. It is also important to consider how the roles of these organisations build up to conduct of women organisations during the time of conscription between 1980 and 1990. My grandmother maintains that even being a working mother, Afrikaner women would still contribute to the church by baking goods for bazaars.

Afrikaanse Christelike Vroue Vereniging (ACVV)

The ACVV was established in 1904 as a result of war relief but became nationally important to maintain the Afrikaner Nationalist ideology as well as to maintain Christian based values and education. As a result, the organisation aimed at keeping a close relationship with the Dutch Reformed Church (Butler, 1989: 63). The ACVV’s social interest largely focused on that of poor whites; they expressed concern that the interests of poor whites would get lost within “mixed areas” (Giliomee, 2003: 293). Their focus would ring true to their motto “Kerk, Volk en Taal” (Klopper, 2008: 10). The "mixed areas" was in fact the result of a lack of affordability among poor white families who would move into areas which were mostly inhabited black families and were considered as more affordable areas. This would lead to a widespread fear over mixed-race relationships between white and non-whites (Giliomee, 2003: 293). Many of the issues resulted in a plea from the organisation for white employers to employ white girls as nannies. Throughout its existence, the organisation would identify closely with the interest of the Afrikaners, even associating itself with the National Party and its values.

⁸³ Butler J. (1989) Afrikaner women and the creation of ethnicity in a small South African town, 1902-1950. *Creation of tribalism in Southern Africa*. Pg. 62.

“Dankie Tannies” and the Southern Cross fund

The Southern Cross Fund (SCF) is seen as one of the supporters of the war as it was enforced throughout Apartheid Society. The SCF can be viewed as an organization made up of the support from citizens to the troops and should be viewed as the cohesion of the white community who backed the SADF and its occupation (Van Heerden, 2015: 9). The SCF was founded in 1968 as an attempt to raise money for the welfare of Portuguese and South African troops. Although the fund was managed by women and men, it was mostly white women who volunteered and would predominantly remain at the front of the fund that it was associated with females. The Mozambique Soldier Fund was considered as the frontrunner for the Southern Cross fund as it was originally headed by Elizabeth Albrecht and changed its name in 1968. The fund aimed to collect money for the recreation for SADF and SAP troops, "this included sport equipment, televisions, ice and cold water machines, snooker tables, film projectors, swimming pools, books, musical instruments and bibles" (Van Heerden, 2015: 12) . It was the experience of receiving the gifts from the fund that led to its nickname "Dankie Tannies" which was a result of the troops thanking the women when they received the presents. The presents were also thus called " Dankie Tannie pakkies" (Thank you packages) (Van Heerden, 2015: 12). The presence and representation of the Southern Cross fund by women were essential to the image of the women that the Apartheid Government encouraged. It is understood that the Southern Cross fund had close ties with the DRC as Ds. Cassel recalls:

“... in die NG Kerk was daar ‘n aksie wat hulle genoem het, die Suiderkruis Fonds waar die vrouens gewerk het en geld ingesamel het om die behoeftes onder die jong soldate te vervul soos toilet geriewe, boeke, Bybels en daai soort van ding. Die Suiderkruis Fonds het baie sterk gefunksioneer in daai tyd in die NG Kerk.”

(... in the DRC there was an action that they called the Southern Cross Fund where women worked and collected money for the needs of the young soldiers such as toiletries, books, bibles and those types of things. The Southern Cross fund functioned strongly in the DRC in those times.)

Other functions completed by women volunteers from the DRC included the editing of selected films to be screened by the troops. This would involve the removal of scenes or things displayed in the film that were deemed inappropriate (Cassel : 2018). These popular American films would then be distributed among the troops for them to enjoy.

Women in Resistance

It is key to acknowledge women-organised movements that were a crucial part in resistance against Apartheid and conscription. Both the Black Sash Movement and End Conscription Campaign played a long lasting role in the resistance against oppressive laws that were violently imposed by the Apartheid government. Although my grandmother had not actively participated in the movements, she acknowledged that she had heard of them.

Black Sash Movement

The Black Sash organization is a women's movement that resulted in a decision in 1955 to protest the National Party's (NP) decision to amend the 1910 South African Institution. The interests of the National Party involved the implementation of the Senate Act as enforced by Prime Minister Johannes Strijdom in order to implement the Separate Representation of voters act which was passed in 1956 (Burton, 2010: 129-130). This would result in a more established apartheid society and would give way to various discriminative acts to come such as the Urban Areas Act. The Black Sash movement responded to the actions of the National Party by protesting the decisions and raising money. The protests by the movement first took place in 1955 in Johannesburg (Burton, 2010: 129). The money was used to bail out people classified as non-white who had been arrested on the transgression of the Urban Areas Act. The Black Sash had set up offices in Cape Town and later throughout the country. This would be open for those who had loved ones arrested and were awaiting trial. Since the 1950s, the Black Sash movement had expanded its focus not only to the Urban areas Act, but to forced removals and the Apartheid Government's violent response to various uprisings including the Soweto uprising of 1976. More relatedly the Black Sash Movement had worked closely with the End Conscription Campaign.

End Conscription Campaign

The End Conscription Campaign (ECC) was formed in 1984 as an anti – apartheid movement which had strongly opposed the Defence Amendment Act of 1964 which stated that every white male is required to complete military service (Kalley et al., 1999: 358). More prominently the ECC had opposed the military presence within the South African Townships and its violent measures to restore order to active protests. The Apartheid government had deployed SADF troops within black townships as a way of maintaining white minority power and by 1985 declared South Africa as being in a state of Emergency. The ECC and its supporters were predominantly viewed as traitors by the white community in support of the Apartheid government’s measures. The ECC’s strategy is seen as an attack in the underbelly of white apartheid society; by creating a sense of illegitimacy of the SADF’s actions, they aimed to “weaken the social cohesion of the white community” (Nathan, 1987: 115).

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter I looked into the experiences of white Afrikaner females in Apartheid society. I started my inquiry in this chapter once again through the photograph and considered the experiences of my father. I consider how the silences surrounding the experiences of ex-conscripts impact the experiences of their mothers, sisters and wives who are left in the dark. Furthermore I look into the role of women within the DRC and how the traditions of the DRC dictated the roles of women within Apartheid society.

Additionally, I looked into how Christianised education within the schools of AHS and AHMP provided a platform for the cultivation of responsibility among Afrikaner youth. In conclusion I briefly discuss the importance of women organisations within the church and how they provided support to the troops on the border. These organisations of women situated in the church allowed women to develop a framework of support not only among themselves, but also for the troops. I also discuss the importance of two women's organisations that could be considered as resistances against the violent implementation of Apartheid laws. In the following chapter I continue the discussion on the experience of Afrikaner women, specifically through the lens of popular culture and how generations after Apartheid experience legacies of conscription and the DRC.

Chapter 4

Queenstown.
Sept 21-9-64
Postbus 332.

Churchparades and Koeksisters: Experiences of the SADF through the lens of popular culture

Liewe Chris
 seun, en mag die Heer
 met 'n goeie verstand
 die vrede vir Heere.
 Verskoon my aub?
 is 'n bietje laat met
 op jou verjaardag. Let
 Heere jou seer met
 vrede en voorspoed,
 die geestelike en die
 die Heere jou verder
 voornemens en toekom
 Chris se ok vir Rin
 met die seun. Ek is
 eintlik (nee) nuus nie
 maar met baie liefde
 Chris
 Mamm

Kabarberroomtert

- 1 koppie suiker
- 3 eetlepels meelblom
- 2½ koppie gestoofde rabarber
- 2 eiergele
- ¾ koppie lemoensap.
- 1 eetlepel botter
- Gerasperde skil van 1 lemoen
- 1 gaar-9dm.-tertkors

Sif die suiker en meelblom saam, voeg dit by die rabarber en kook stadig totdat dit dik word, terwyl aanhoudend gekook word. Voeg die geklopte eiergele by en kook een minuut lank. Voeg die lemoensap, botter en skil by en afkoel. Skep die deeg in gaar tertkors en bak dit in 'n meringue van 100 g suiker, 4 eetlepels suiker en 1 eetlepel vanielje. Bak dit in 'n oond totdat die meelbruin is en droog en ligbruin is. Die tert moet uitgekook word voor opdien.



MNR. ANDRIES MARX en sy vrou, Marietjie, van die plaas Rietvlei in die distrik Middelburg.

Rudi wou ná studie graag boer word

SKTR. RUDI MARX (19), een van die twaalf Suid-Afrikaanse soldate wat Maandag gesneuwel het, het sy diensplig geniet, maar in sy laaste brief aan sy ouers was hy nie so optimisties soos altyd nie.

"Hy het gesê hy gaan nie weer skryf nie en ons moet maar na die radio luister en TV kyk om te sien wat met hom gebeur," het mnr. Andries Marx van die plaas Rietvlei in die distrik Middelburg (Transvaal) gister gesê.

"Dit gaan goed met my - net bietjie deurmekaar en senuweeagtig," skryf Rudi in die brief. Hy eindig die brief met die woorde: "Hou vir my styf duimpies vas."

Rudi se beste vriend, Johannes Strauss Venter van Orania in Noord-Kaapland, het ook in die aanval gesneuwel.

"Voordat Rudi ná sy laaste pas terug Weermag toe is, het hy al die bekendes in die omgewing gaan groet. Dit was asof hy 'n voorgevoel gehad het wat gaan gebeur," sê 'n gebroke mnr. Marx.

"Hy sou in Desember uitgeklaar het en hy wou graag dierkunde aan 'n universiteit gaan studeer. Daarna sou hy gaan boer op 'n plaas wat hy van sy oupa geërf het.

"Rudi was ontsettend lief vir diere en hy het alles - van krimpvarkies tot bokkies - aangedra huis toe. Sy slaapkamer is stampvol diereprente. Sy ander groot liefde was fotografie," sê mnr. Marx.

Rudi se ma, Marietjie, wys die kaartjie wat hulle op Vadersdag van hom ontvang het. Die prentjie bo-op is van 'n perd. "Die lewe gaan so vinnig verby, en ons moet draf om by te bly," begin die versie wat Rudi binne die kaartjie geskryf het.

Kobus (23), hul enigste ander kind, boer ook op Rietvlei.

CHAPTER 4: FROM CHURCH PARADES TO KOEKSISTERS: EXPERIENCES OF THE SADF THROUGH THE LENS OF POPULAR CULTURE.

“How do I live the violence of my formation? How does it live in me? How does it carry me, in spite of me, even as I carry it? In what sense can such violence be directed, if it can?”⁸⁴

Introduction

What is a Sunday in the Niemand house without the added element of Koos du Plessis⁸⁵ on the radio softly serenading us as we stood arranged around the table busy dicing vegetables or grating some cheese? Our Sundays were always filled with music varying from pop music to some Afrikaans hits dating from the 80s. Our silver casio radio would rest on the microwave and blare out whatever we decided to play that day. We were so familiar to the songs of Koos Kombuis that we would sing along to “Onder in my whiskey glas” (*At the bottom of my whiskey glass*) while checking to see if the potatoes were done roasting in the oven.

In the last chapter of my inquiry I turn my study to contemporary South Africa. The first democratic election of South Africa in 1994 marked the emergence of the rule of the African National Congress (ANC). Many marked this transition in differentiating ways; for some it marked the end of a violent struggle, for others it meant renegotiating the past (Baines, 2014: 187). In 1990 the independence of Namibia initiated the end of what would be known as the border war (Scholtz, 2013: 442). The year 1993 marked the end of conscription. As I have pointed out throughout my inquiry, South Africa’s militarised past remains largely silenced (Baines, 2007: 2) and politics surrounding the memory of the war is persisted through narratives of the ex-conscripts. In this chapter I look at the politics of memory and how we remember according to Memory Studies. Furthermore, I look at how memory can be used to understand how legacies of apartheid and the SADF are remembered in post-Apartheid South Africa. The study will look into the way through

⁸⁴ Butler J. (2010) *Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?*: Verso. Pg. 170.

⁸⁵ Koos Du Plessis (1945 – 1984) was a South African singer and song writer who sang mostly in Afrikaans.

which memory is articulated in popular culture by looking into the representations of Apartheid and the SADF in the music videos of the popular Afrikaans band *Fokofpolisiekar* and the film *Kanarie* (2018). I will argue that these images of nostalgia, whiteness and victimhood are represented in the examples, but I will also argue that these representations speak to the experiences of white Afrikaner youth in post-apartheid South Africa

Memory

I consider memory in the framework provided by philosopher Sven Bernecker. For him, memory thus exists out of certain classifications, experiential, propositional and practical. Experiential memory looks at what is remembered as well as what the experience was like. This refers to personal recollection. Propositional memory consists of factual information that is historically accurate. Practical memory is applied to the ability to remember how to apply previously learnt skills (Bernecker, 2011: 2). This study is primarily framed through the limitations of experiential and propositional memory. It is important to note that experiential memory in its second definition is also applied to practice of remembering in first person through imagery and qualitative content. It is through the frame of the experiential and propositional memory that the study seeks to articulate the experiences of white Christian Afrikaner females.

It is also necessary to caution the reader on the use of memory as a point of understanding, as Gary Baines states that memory work is often used by players of power in order to pursue personal interests⁸⁶. I do consider that memory as a method of understanding and narration holds various pitfalls. Memory is ambiguous, personal and updated. That being said, what one individual experiences is may be similar but not the same as another individual's experience. Memory is also considered within this study as a "complex cultural and historical phenomenon constantly subject to revision, amplification and forgetting." (Bromley, 1988: 1).

⁸⁶ Baines G. (2014) *South Africa's 'Border War': Contested Narratives and Conflicting Memories*: Bloomsbury Publishing, ibid.

Post memory

The concept of Postmemory within this discussion will primarily look into Miriam Hirsch's writing on the *postgeneration* and how post memory is formulated⁸⁷. Hirsch explains that the *postgeneration* is seen as the generation that is left behind by the survivors or perpetrators who have experienced an historical event or traumatic event. This generation is argued to have inherited a narrative that is perpetuated through the "living connection"(Hirsch, 2008: 104). This "living connection" can be understood in this study as my father who had been conscripted into the SADF. The idea of postmemory calls to question how "the second generation" experiences or understands the events that took place. Hirsch argues that memory can survive in the generation after the generation who experienced a traumatic historical event and will thus deeply associate with the event. Postmemory can be defined as a term that describes "the relationship that the generation after those who witnessed cultural or collective trauma bears to the experiences of those who came before" (Hirsch, 2008: 106). These experiences that Hirsch refers to, is embedded and understood by the postgeneration through the means of narration, imagery and behaviour often witnessed while growing up. Hirsch clarifies that these memories that have taken place in the past, persist in the present.

Collective Memory

French philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs coined the term collective memory in 1925 which refers to the way through which fundamental events are remembered as a source of collective identity (Coser, 1992: 13). The idea of collective memory is contested by Susan Sontag who states that the idea of collective memory does not exist. It only exists as an idea of collective instruction, which Siobhan Kattago elaborates as being only possible if individuals speak the same language⁸⁸. Language in the description that Kattago provides, consists of a larger social convention that is shared by a group of people. Collective memory remains a disputed topic as one which directly relates to cultural memory. Cultural memory is defined by Jan Assmann as "a collective concept for all knowledge that directs behavior and experience in the interactive framework of a society and one that obtains through generations in repeated societal practice

⁸⁷ Hirsch M. (2008) The Generation of Postmemory. *Poetics Today* 29: 103-128.

⁸⁸ Kattago S. (2016) *The Ashgate research companion to memory studies*. London ;: Routledge.

and initiation.” (Assmann and Czaplicka, 1995: 125). Cultural memory for Assmann remains as a fixed memory which is reinforced through rites, texts and monuments based on past events that unfolded in the past (Assmann and Czaplicka, 1995: 129). Cultural memory is categorised as follows, under the *concretion of identity*, its *capacity to reconstruct, formation, organization, obligation* and *reflexivity*. The concretion of identity within cultural memory refers how knowledge is preserved from which the group identifies with and justifies its unity. The capacity to reconstruct refers to the application of cultural memory to contemporary situations. Formation refers to the crystallisation of meaning and the attempt to stabilise existing knowledge, for example, writing and imagery. Organisation refers to the institutionalisation of the existing cultural memory and the specialisation of agents of cultural memory. Obligation refers to an established image of the group which its members subscribe to. This includes morals and how this is publicly portrayed. Reflexivity is evident in cultural memory through practice-reflective (it interprets common practice), self-reflexive (it draws on itself) and reflexive of its image (draws on its image through a preoccupation of its social system) (Assmann and Czaplicka, 1995: 132).

Under the discussion of collective memory, it is also necessary to consider the different approaches to this classification of memory, one being “Communicative Memory”. Communicative memory is described as the construction of memory based on the interaction of every day. Assmann thus argues that communicative memory serves as a better understanding of collective memory through the basis of two categories through the manner of communication. The manner of communication can thus be socially mediated and relates to a group (Assmann and Czaplicka, 1995: 127).

Paul Connerton discusses the idea of social memory as how memory connects to groups of people. Connerton remarks that every historical narrative is deeply rooted within the beginning⁸⁹. For Afrikaners it seems that the beginning would be the Dutch settlement in the Cape. For Connerton, the past also exists in the future. He argues that the traumatic event which may be considered historic, exists in the future through the form of myth (Connerton, 1989: 9).

⁸⁹ Connerton P. (1989) *How Societies Remember*: Cambridge University Press.

Forgetting

The act of remembering also involves the act of forgetting. Connerton proposes seven ways of forgetting in his article “Seven Types of forgetting” (2008)⁹⁰ as follows: repressive erasure, prescriptive forgetting, forgetting that is constitutive in the formation of a new identity, structural amnesia, forgetting as annulment, forgetting as planned obsolescence and forgetting as humiliated silence. Repressive erasure can be understood how historical rupture is rejected by the removal of any evidence of the historical rupture. This is usually done by the removal of statues and evidence of the event in texts and is seen as an act of state. Prescriptive forgetting is similar to repressive erasure, but differs in that it is done in the interests of all parties. Structural amnesia refers to the decisive way in which an individual chooses what to remember that is to him/her socially important. Forgetting as annulment is understood as a shortfall of information and is often due to the intention to withhold information. Forgetting as planned obsolescence relates to the speed in which a capitalist society evolved in the rapid production of products and thus results into an equally rapid discarding of objects. Forgetting as, a humiliated silence is understood as but not limited to, political expediency.

Nostalgia

Svetlana Boym⁹¹ defines nostalgia as “longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed” (Boym, 2001: 20). Nostalgia is considered within this inquiry to exist for many Afrikaners as the ‘good old days’. I argue that this is related to a sense of displacement that takes place after apartheid.

I observed this longing and sentiment when having discussions with my family, especially related to memories surrounding Apartheid. For Boym, nostalgia can be seen in some cases as the abdication of personal responsibility and looks to history as a mythical existence (Boym, 2001). Collective memory plays a significant role with regard to how the history of Afrikaners is understood. This collective memory comprises a

⁹⁰ Connerton P. (2008) Seven types of forgetting. *Memory Studies* 1: 59-71.

⁹¹ Svetlana Boym is a Russian born media artist, playwright and novelist who writes extensively on nostalgia. Boym S. (2001) *The future of nostalgia*, New York: Basic Books.

shared language and connects to personal memory through nostalgia. Nostalgia has ambivalent qualities which allow for the “repetition of the unrepeatable and the materialisation of the immaterial” (Boym, 2001: 32). The world which is mourned provides familiar borders and values for those who long for it. For the ex-conscripts, nostalgia manifests in the relationships and structure which it provided as is stated by an ex-conscript:

“Ongeag wat die weermag aan my gedoen het, jy is in vir die respek en dissipline. Jy het respek vir die regering gehad, nie meer nie. Die kort weergawe wat ek daarvan het is dit was die lekkerste 2 jaar in my lewe wat ek nooit weer wil oor hê nie. En ek weet daar is baie troepe wat daaroor spot en daai goed, dis die waarheid.” (Anonymous: 2018)

Whatever the army did to me, you are in it for the respect and discipline. You had respect for the government, not any more. The short version that I have for it is that it was the best two years of my life that I never want to repeat. And I know there are a lot of troops who joke about it and stuff, it's the truth.

Contemporary popular culture offers a valuable lens through which to consider questions of the political, representation, history and belonging in post-apartheid South Africa. This presentation will focus on two case studies of Afrikaner popular culture music: videos from famous South African band Fokofpolisiekar titled *Parkiebank, herfs 2017* (2017) and *Hemel Op Die Platteland* (2003), both of which, I will argue, offer significant opportunities to think about attended ideas of whiteness, victimhood, nostalgia as well as links and traces of history. This chapter will tease out some of these links, paying attention to vestiges of a colonial and apartheid past evident in the DRC church, as well the legacies of conscription of white Afrikaner males into the South African Defence Force.

Sharon Monteith argues in her chapter, ‘The Movie-made Movement: Civil rites of passage’ that “Film history cannibalises images, expropriates themes and techniques and decants them into the contents of our collective memory” (Monteith, 2003: 120). George

Lipsitz argues in his book, *Time Passages* that popular culture allows for time, history, and memory to become qualitatively different concepts (Lipsitz, 2001: 5). Lipsitz describes popular culture as the creation of symbols and signs which are deemed appropriate for audiences. These audiences allow for popular culture to have no fixed meaning or message. Popular culture allows for historic specific elements which give the expression of collective and cultural memory.

Voëlvry

“En die soldate kom al aangemarsjeer
En elkeen dra 'n gelaaide geweer
Daar's 'n bom in elke supermark
En die klank van glas wat breek
En iets moet breek!”

*And the soldiers come marching
Each one carries a loaded gun
There is a bomb in every supermarket
And the sound of glass that breaks
And something must break⁹²*

Before I continue the discussion on the impressions of Fokopolisiekar, it is necessary to provide some background into the development of the band's identity and some historical background of popular culture in South Africa during 1980 and 1990. During the 1980s, the Dutch Reformed Church became highly contested and received criticism from a very unusual group of musicians. Known as the *Voëlvry movement*, a group of musicians was showing strong opposition to the Apartheid laws, making use of humorous takes on the

⁹² This lyric is taken from Johannes Kerkerrel en die Gereformeerde Blues Band's single titled "Donker Donker Land" (1989) which is taken from their album titled "Eet Kreeff" (1989).

DRC by adopting stage names such as Johannes Kerkorrel⁹³. The term *Voëlvry* can be directly translated as bird free and contains the double meaning as free as a bird or outlawed. This meaning echoed their positions as white men challenging the Apartheid regime through their music (Grundlingh, 2004: 485). The *Voëlvry movement* was mainly motivated by the work of Johannes Kerkorrel, Bernoldus Niemand, Willem Volume, Piet Pers, Hanepoot Van Tonder and Karla Krimpelien; and André du Toit who later became known as Koos Kombuis. The main act of the movement was Die Gereformeerde Blues Band (*The Reformed Blues Band*) consisting of above-mentioned members. The conscription of young white males particularly became a burning point for the movement. The movement was mainly sponsored by Shifty Records, which is also described as an Anti-Apartheid record label. The ECC had used this opportunity to distribute further resistance against conscription through music. In some examples we see appearances of this resistance in the Afrikaans music scene, such as Bernoldus Niemand's *Hou my vas korporaal* (1983) in which he directly addresses the practice of conscription. Niemand brings to the attention the immoral practice of conscription of youth who are mainly adults that in some cases are still seen as children.

Hou my vas, korporaal
 Ek's 'n kind skoon verdwaal
 Gaan ek weer my tjerrie sien
 As ek van die trein afklim?
 Ja, sowaar, korporaal
 Dis mos swaar, korporaal
 Ek speel oorlog met my beste dae

Hold me tight, Corporal
I'm a child completely lost
Am I going to see my girlfriend again
when I get off the train?
Yes, indeed, Corporal

⁹³ Johannes Kerkorrel is a trademark Dutch organ which plays on the DRC's banal music. This was a stage name adopted by Ralph Rabie.

*It is hard, Corporal
I play war with the best of my days*

The movement targeted white middle-class youth. Their music critiqued the Afrikaner culture and the rampant nationalism imposed on them. Their attempts were also aimed to reform the Afrikaner identity. The movement would go on to have an immense impact on the generation to follow. Their constant attempts to question and disrupt the conservative God-fearing country manifested throughout the punk scene in South Africa. The movement's response should be seen as a stark contrast to other existing music that could be seen as romanticising the compulsory military service, such as Rina Hugo's Song titled *Troepie Doepie* (1984)⁹⁴ and other popular songs such as *Ag man dit is lekker in die Army* as sung by Leon Schuster and Ge Korsten. See the lyrics as

Ag man! Dis lekker in die Army,
van Tempie tot Grootfontein!
In 'n ratel op Otavi,
of hoog in 'n bos aeroplane.
'n Rang wil ek nie dra nie,
net 'n R1 hier styf langs my sy.
Ag man, dis lekker in die army,
en 'n troepie die wil ek graag bly.
As my pa wil dan sal ek hier bly!⁹⁵

*Oh man, it's fun in the army,
From Tempie to Grootfontein,
In a Ratel in Otavi,
Or high in a bush aeroplane.
A rank I don't want,
Just a R1 by my side,*

⁹⁴ This song first appeared on the LP/album titled Rina Hugo by Rina Hugo in 1984.

⁹⁵ Visit <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OKtNTwvGft4> to view the music video of *Ag man dit is lekker in die Army*.

*Oh man, it's fun in the army,
And a troop I want to stay,
If my father had it, then here I will stay.*

Other examples of music which romanticises the military is also seen Marie Van Zyl's Daar's 'n man op die grens⁹⁶ (1976):

Daar's 'n man op die Grens
Weet nie waar op die grens
Maar hy is daar op die grens weg van my
En my hart is op die grens
Saam met hom op die grens
Verlang hy ook na my?
Ek sal wag vir hom
Dag en nag vir hom
My gebede sal hom veilig hou

*There is a man on the border
Don't know where on the border
But he is there on the border away from me
And my heart is on the border
With him on the border
Does he miss me too?
I will wait for him
Day and night for him
My prayers will keep him safe.*

Popular culture in South Africa during 1980 and 1990 had a profound impact on the experiences surrounding compulsory military service. As I will discuss in the next section, this impact has reached far beyond the timeline of 1980 and 1990. The *Voëlvry*

⁹⁶ Daar's 'n man op die grens directly translates into there's a man up North.

movement ruptured the romanticised ideas of the military and Apartheid society. This rupture would go on to inspire the band Fokofpolisiekar to question the very foundation of the Afrikaner identity.

Fokofpolisiekar

Daar is vrees in my pa se oë
Sy gewete brand soos tyres⁹⁷

*There is fear in my father's eyes
His conscience burns like tyres*

Fokofpolisiekar has garnered a lot of attention from the conservative Afrikaners and the DRC. The band who refer to themselves as *die bende* (the gang) formed in 2003 out of a group of friends originally from Bellville⁹⁸. The band consists of Francois van Coke (lead vocalists), Jaco Snakehead Venter (Drums), Hunter Kennedy (guitar and backup vocals), Johnny de Ridder (lead guitar) and Wynand Myburgh (bass). Annie Klopper writes in her chapter titled “*in wrede woede het ek die hand wat beheer gebyt*” *Die opkoms van Afrikaanse (punk)rockmusiek* that they are skeptical heathens that exist as the aftermath of a Christian National education (Klopper, 2008: 208). They draw attention to the questions: What happens to us after Apartheid and conscription? How do the Afrikaner youth address their past?

After 1994 it seems that the Voëlvry movement had little to protest for, and thus the Afrikaans (punk)rock movement which acted as the conscience of the Afrikaners has come to a stop, leaving its legacy to a generation left to foster the ghost of Afrikaner Nationalism. It seems inevitable for Afrikaner youth to identify with the message of

⁹⁷ This lyric is taken from Fokofpolisiekar's single titled *Selfmedikasie* from their album *Selfmedikasie* (2017). See their website <https://www.fokofpolisiekar.co.za>.

⁹⁸ See (2018) Available at: <https://www.fokofpolisiekar.co.za>.

Fokofpolisiekar. Once again, the values of the DRC are called into question by mostly middleclass men. The success of Fokofpolisiekar was guaranteed when in 2006 one of the bandmembers Wynand Myburg signed a fan's wallet with the words *Fok God* (Fuck God). The white conservative Afrikaners could not handle it and earned them their heathen status and *volksvreemde*⁹⁹ influence.

The first video that I will be discussing is *Hemel op die platteland* (2003) by Fokofpolisiekar. The video that displays archival footage mostly showing family footage of a white middle-class family mostly from the 1980s and 1990s mixed with contemporary footage. The film hints at various aspects of life during apartheid, such as the segregated beaches, open yards filled white middle class families, as well as images of conscripted white males. These images seem to represent a time of the height of Afrikanerdom.

Monuments and memorialization in 'Hemel op die platteland' (2003)

“Fantasies of the past determined by needs of the present have a direct impact on realities of the future.”¹⁰⁰

The display of Afrikaner monuments in the backdrop of a post-apartheid South Africa also seems to raise the questions of place and context of these monuments. The deliberate inclusion of the Taal monument in Paarl also known as the Afrikaans Language Monument seems to exist as a stark reminder of what once was for many a pride. It is quite necessary to understand the connection between Afrikaans and Afrikaner Nationalism as something which cannot exist without the other. Despite the frequent visits by Afrikaners, the monument now stands in contradiction to a contemporary South Africa as a commemoration of the Afrikaner past. As Paul Connerton would argue, these social practices or commemorations sustain the collective memory, but do not transform it (Connerton, 1989: 4). The issue of language is a pressing one in post-apartheid South

⁹⁹ *Volksvreemd* is an Afrikaans term used to describe something which is alien and unfamiliar to a particular group's interest.

¹⁰⁰ Boym S. (2001) *The future of nostalgia*, New York: Basic Books. Pg. 29.

Africa and in South African Universities. In 2015 the University of Cape Town (UCT) was rocked by student protests who called for the removal of the Cecil Rhodes statue. Cecil Rhodes (1853 – 1902), a British imperialist¹⁰¹ who built his reputation and wealth through the mining industry, exists as a contested figure in South Africa still today. Rhodes left some land to the University of Cape Town which then proceeded to erect a statue in honour of Rhodes (Nordlinger, 2016: 20).

The #Rhodesmustfall movement was a watershed moment in South African history which brought to the attention of the general public the call for Decoloniality and transformation within academic institutions. The deeply rooted anger towards Rhodes was a shared reality for many Afrikaner students also who viewed Rhodes as an enemy because of his British background and British colonialist beliefs. Rhodes's image in the post-apartheid institution became problematic because he was a notorious racist whose interests lay in the expansion of the British Empire, specifically within Africa. The students of UCT protested the image of Rhodes through the means of defacement of the Rhodes statue. The result of this protest was a nationwide response of students who challenged the accessibility of Academic institutions. Two important reactionary protests were the #FeesMustFall movement, as well as the #AfrikaansMustFall¹⁰². Students additionally called for the decolonisation of South African universities. Although the issue of decolonisation is not discussed in any meaningful way within this enquiry, it is important to understand how the current call for decolonisation brings to light the issue of language.

Among the most debated among Afrikaner youth, was the matter of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in some universities. In January 2019, the University of Pretoria announced its plans to phase out Afrikaans as a medium of instruction (Sicetsha, 2019). It is within this context that groups like Fokofpolisiekar question their position as white

¹⁰¹ Imperialism is a policy which is implemented specifically through the colonization of countries. Behm A. (2017) *Imperial History and the Global Politics of Exclusion: Britain, 1880-1940*: Palgrave Macmillan UK. Pg. 57.

¹⁰² See Knudsen BT and Andersen C. (2019) Affective politics and colonial heritage, Rhodes Must Fall at UCT and Oxford. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 25: 239-258, Bangani S, Masilo B, Makate G, et al. (2019) The impact of a university's language policy on Its library's print collections. *Mousaion* 36: 1-20, Mkhize D. (2018) The language question at a historically Afrikaans university: Access and social justice issues. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 36: 13-24.

Afrikaans males in post-Apartheid society. The representation of famous Afrikaner monuments within the Fokofpolisiekar video can be viewed as a projection of a lost, mythical world that draws on a sense of longing and sentiment. It is also possible to argue that the projection of historical and heritage embodiments within the musical videos and lyrics could also act as “a mourning of the impossibility of the mythic return” (Hall and Bombardella, 2007: 246).



Figure 19: A still of the plaque of the Afrikaanse Taal Monument stating "it is our pride", from 'Hemel op die Platteland', 2003.

Images of Apartheid as a segregated and militarised Space

In a sense, it can be argued that the images of the border war and life for many in white South Africa have the potential to evoke feelings of nostalgia. The video footage of middle-class white families in 'Hemel in die platteland' recalls the imagery of family holidays, white middle-class yards and buildings of churches. The video suggests dreamy reels filled with something that seems like a utopia, although it is one that has no possibility of materialisation or future (Boym, 2001: 21). Utopia in this sense would suggest that the represented space or state of things remains without fault. In some of the imagery, a white family is filmed and allows the viewer into an intimate moment of a family enjoying a beach holiday. It might allow for a viewer to connect with this point in time but very specifically it allows for Afrikaners to connect to their own experiences of enjoyed beach holidays during the years of Apartheid. The problem with nostalgia is that it causes us to repair longing with belonging. When Afrikaners reminisce about past beach holidays, they reminisce about their feeling of belonging in a familiar world. This memory is a fantasy that exists for Afrikaners, a memory without guilt. It is important to remember that, during Apartheid, beaches were segregated and thus the beaches represented in the music video were most likely solely reserved for the use of whites. I would argue that, like photographs, these films exist as part of our ghostly past that captures a partial sliver of time, but exist within the planes of past and present.

Furthermore, images of militaristic parades and planes are also displayed within the collage of imagery. As discussed throughout this inquiry, the completion of military service as a moment of pride formed part of apartheid society. The display of this imagery is also a point to which ex-conscripts return to as "the good old days". A return to such memories is usually related to the need for values and boundaries in which case conscripts often reflect on as having pride and strictness¹⁰³ (Boym, 2001: 21). The display of these images adds to the fantasy of apartheid for some Afrikaners. It allows for the opportunity to create a space of disillusionment without the understanding of why this space or these institutions were contested. These ideas of whiteness, victimhood, nostalgia can be

¹⁰³ An example is provided where on Facebook there are various groups consisting out of ex-conscripts who reminisce about their army days through posting old songs about the army, old footage of the army as well as personal photographs. .

discussed as a result of these images of white Christian Afrikaner males and females during their experience of apartheid. The archival images displayed in the video seem to be opposed by the message of the band itself as quoted in the lyrics: Can someone phone a god and tell him that we don't need him anymore? This message exists as a paradox to the images of churches and displays of Afrikaner Nationalism. Although this video displays images of nostalgia, it is definitely a depiction of how the Afrikaner youth grapple with their connection to the church as an institution rather than the need to revisit these spaces. The history and role of the NG Church in apartheid is a major part of Afrikaner society, This aspect of Christian values is definitely challenged by young white Afrikaners in post-apartheid South Africa.



Figure 20: A still showing men in military uniforms, from 'Hemel op die Platteland', 2003.

The next video I will look at *Parkie bank herfs - 2017* offers a different look into the representation of Afrikaner Culture through the display of Afrikaner references. I argue that white Afrikaner youths return to these images in order to make sense of their experiences in post-apartheid South Africa. In this music video references to land, artifacts and icons become an apparent metaphor through which the creator implies the current perception that Afrikaner youth have. The video provides the opportunity to interrogate a sense of collective memory which is shared among Afrikaners and how this collective memory is perceived in post-apartheid South Africa.

The video follows a young white male on a journey through space. Images of land and settlements become a way as which white Afrikaner youth associate with their Dutch settler past. Ideas of immigration and displacement start to take root in their experience as white Christian Afrikaners in post-apartheid South Afrika. There is a clear question of belonging as they seem to point out in their lyrics:

Home is where your people are. My people have no homeland. What are we still doing here? This place is not ours. (Fokofpolisiekar : 2017)

Further images supporting this idea become apparent when the young boy eventually encounters a white female Afrikaner crawling through the desert in traditional or Dutch robes. This could be a reference to the great trek in which the migration of Dutch settlers were seen travelling away from British rule. This further brings to question the extent to which Afrikaners have emigrated elsewhere and those who feel trapped in and post-apartheid south Africa. The pinnacle of the music video appears when the boy discovers an old Dutch dresser making reference to the artifacts of the Afrikaner. Hidden inside are objects which appear to be souvenirs from the past. Mostly filled with Afrikaner literature, old photographs, memorabilia and, more prominently, icons that are directly associated with Afrikaners, such as former President Paul Kruger and Eugene Terreblanche¹⁰⁴. Items that usually have an exceptional exhibition space in the homes of grandparents are now shoved into a hidden space collecting dust. Both of these images

¹⁰⁴ Eugene Terreblanche was a prominent Afrikaner Nationalist who founded the Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging (Afrikaner Resistance Movement), also known as the AWB.

inserted in the music videos represent the Afrikaner identity as something that is different and outdated. The female Afrikaner, which takes on the image of the “Volksmoeder”, as an example, is later represented as disformed or “ugly” in that she appears alien and barely alive. Furthermore, as I have stated, the artefact in the dresser seems untouched and dusty, referencing items that speak to the Afrikaner identity, such as the Afrikaans literature and the bust of Paul Kruger. The items remain hidden away as something that has been hidden intentionally. This could be argued to be the shameful past of the Afrikaner. This is reinforced with the image of the dead Eugène Terreblanche, infamously known for his white supremacist and Afrikaner Nationalist ideals, shoved in the closet next to military uniforms and memorabilia. The imagery of these icons dead, and relegated, refer to the Afrikaner legacy which is yet to be defined and secured. Rather than nostalgic, these images and the way in which they are represented, could hint towards aspects of guilt and shame.

In both examples from the music videos of Fokofpolisiekar I would argue that, although they both make reference to nostalgic images, they are represented in a way that makes these images of comfortable nostalgia, but also the uneasy due to its context. The Afrikaner past is a known one to most Afrikaners as a struggle for identity, but exists as a contested past due to Apartheid and its racist notions. Familial postmemory is shaped by the archived, shared and transmitted narratives as Hirsch argues, that plays a big role in how white Afrikaner youth understand their identity. Through these familiar images and icons, nostalgia can become apparent but, I would also argue that in both examples these images appear in reference to an experience of displacement and uncertainty. This experience is represented as a position in which white Afrikaner youths find themselves questioning their Afrikaner identity and its ties to the violence of Apartheid. In both examples there appears to be a sense in which the nostalgia is disrupted, with either the literal destruction of the images or the disruption through which the narrated message opposes these images.



Figure 21: A 'Boerenooi' crawling through the desert, from 'Parkiebank herfs', 2017.



Figure 22: An old bust of Paul Kruger stuffed into the closet, from 'Parkieband herfs', 2017.



Figure 23: Eugene Terreblanche stuffed into closet amongst old military uniforms, from 'Parkiebank herfs', 2017.

Kanarie

Kanarie (2018) is directed by Christiaan Olwagen and depicts a young conscript drafted into the SADF, and forms part of the travelling choir. The young conscript Johan Niemand played by Schalk Bezuidenhout comes to terms with his sexual identity¹⁰⁵. Olwagen's take on the particular experience of the SADF troop brings to light issues of sexuality and gender that were predominant in the SADF. The troop, Johan Niemand, is called up and thus to avoid going to the border, auditions to form part of the Kanaries which is the SADF church choir. What is striking, is Niemand's mother, Betsie Niemand, who prays before her son enters the audition so that he may get in.

She is presented as a typical middle-class mother dressed in a dull floral dress with clip-on earrings. Niemand's comrade, Ludolf, takes on the personality of a loudmouthed do-gooder who has met with Niemand on the train to Valhalla. Ludolf's mother does make her appearance in the film, but is seen active in sending snacks, such as crunchies. Ludolf states

“My ma bid elke aand vir my ek gaan vir haar vra om jou op haar gebedslysie te sit.” (Olwagen: 2018)

(My mother prays every night for me, I am going to ask her to put you on her prayer-list)

“Die army ding sit nie gemaklik met enige een van ons nie. Maar as hy ten minste by die kanaries kan in kom dan is dit net ‘n paar tree terug in stede van reguit hel toe.”¹⁰⁶

(The army thing doesn't sit well with any of us but if he can get into the Canaries then it is only a few steps back instead of going straight to hell.)

¹⁰⁵ (2019c) *Kanarie*. Philadelphia, PA: Breaking Glass Pictures, 1 videodisc (approximately 123 min.) : sound, color ; 124 123/124 in.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

This is meant by the mother that it would be safer for Niemand to be part of the Canaries because they would not be actively fighting in the war. This is later echoed by the character “Corporal Crunchie” (Corporal Coetzee) where he states: “’n Kanarie? Geluk julle is fokken useless.”¹⁰⁷ (*a Canary? Congratulations you are fucking useless.*). This speaks a lot to the way in which the SADF troops responded to different divisions or towards those who did not serve in combatant roles. Later in the film when the Canaries are scheduled to perform for the troops stationed on the border, one troop comments “Julle jippo lekker army terwyl ons hier sit nè?” (You are stunting army while we sit here, hey?).

The role of the DRC in the militarised apartheid setting is also seen throughout the film. Troops were requested to appear for service with few personal items, yet one of the most important was considered to be a troop’s Bible. Niemand is seen throughout the film clutching his Bible when he is faced with the challenge of coming to terms with his sexuality. His idolisation of flamboyant pop star Boy George stands in stark contrast to his understanding of what it means to be a Christian. Boy George, also known as Alan O’Dowd, was a popular icon in the 1980s who was the lead singer of the pop group Culture Club. He is seen in the film as “Volksvreemde moffie goed” (*Alien pansy stuff.*) as noted by one of Niemand’s choir members.

Class and status in *Kanarie*

Within the setting of the church when the choir performs, there is a representation of class. For one, the display of the “Kerk tannies” in relation to the “domestic workers” is stark and emphasized through their attire. The attire worn by the workers is a light pink and white uniform. The montage of the first performance shows how white families (mainly consisting of white middle class women, girls and older men) pose next to the troops. However, the “domestic” workers are separated, which also speaks to the segregation of Apartheid society (Cock, 1991: 34).

Compliance in *Kanarie*

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

Compliance can be understood in this enquiry as the “crude” description to the way in which white males and females reacted to conscription. In general it refers to the way in which the troops obeyed their ‘call-up’(Cock, 1991: 75). However, compliance is seen as something that was achieved within the Apartheid society through the means of contingent behavior so that compliance could be achieved without being coerced nor totally selfless (Levi, 1996: 135). The aspect of compliance is questioned in the film through acts of resistance displayed by some characters. One striking scene shows a white English-speaking lady approaching the troops after another performance. She immediately starts asking them “Have you been in the townships?”¹⁰⁸. The troops get uncomfortable and respond that the function of the Canaries is not to go into the Townships, but spread the message of hope. The lady responds with , “by spreading propaganda?”. The discontent of the woman lies within the message that the Kanaries are spreading through their songs. One song in particular which is featured throughout the film, is the song titled Troepie Doepie, which is sung by Rina Hugo. It can be argued that the song contains a message of compliance and responsibility: “Troepie Doepie wannier kom jy huis toe? Uit die vreemde hoor jy hoe ek roep. Stap deur die bos en sand. En doen jou plig teenoor jou land. Maar kom terug na my my Troepie Doepie.” (*Troepie Doepie when are you coming home? Out of the unknown do you hear my call? Walk through veldt and sand. And do your duty for your land. But come back to me my Troepie Doepie*).

The relationship of the church and the SADF is also called into question by the woman when she questions who the Canaries represent. when the troops state that they represent both the SADF and the Church. The ideology of the terror of communism was also represented by the church as a way to enforce the practice of conscription. It is important to consider that the church actively supported the war as stated in Die Kerkbode:

“Swaar gewapende, goed toegeruste en deeglik opgeleide militêre magte word oorkant die grens gemonster om die orde en wet in Suidwes en ons Vaderland te

¹⁰⁸ This is reference to the Apartheid government’s decision to employ the SADF into the townships as an attempt to restore order and maintain power. This had deadly consequences for many protestors who exercised resistance. Organizations such as the ECC questioned the military presence in the townships with their Troops out of the Townships Campaign. Evans G. (2009) Calling up old memories. *Mail and Guardian*. (accessed 09 Augustus 2019).

ontwrig en om paniek te saai. In die operasionele gebied sterf van ons seuns en huweliksmaats en vaders van huisgesinne. Hulle bring die hoogste offers in die uitvoering van hul taak om te waak oor ons veiligheid en vir die behoud van ons Christelike Godsdienst en tradisies en van ons Christelike waardes en erfenisse.”¹⁰⁹

(Heavily armed, well equipped and trained military powers are situated across the border to disrupt the law and order in Southwest Africa and our Native Country to spread panic. In the operational areas our sons and spouses and fathers of households are dying. They bring the highest offering in the performing of their duties to guard over our safety and the conservation of our Christian beliefs and traditions and our Christian values and heritages.)

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is possible that popular culture offers a lens through which to consider ideas of nostalgia, whiteness and victimhood. I argue that, through memory studies, it is possible to understand how Afrikaner youth navigate ideas of belonging in the post-Apartheid South Africa. Furthermore, this chapter considered how ideas of class, status and compliance are articulated through the film *Kanarie*. The ideas proposed in *Kanarie* underscore the experiences of Afrikaner women in Apartheid society and brings to question the role of the DRC as an institution tied intricately to the SADF. The depictions in the music videos of *Fokopolisiekar* allow us to consider how Afrikaner youth navigate legacies of conscription and Apartheid. To follow after this chapter is my conclusionary chapter in which I provide some reflection on my inquiry and offer further considerations on the research.

¹⁰⁹ Grim F. (1976) Die Kommuniste se Vernaamste Bondgenoot in S.A. *Die Kerkbode*. Cape Town : Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Afrika, 296. 811.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

Die Stem van Suid-Afrika

Uit die blou van onse hemel, uit die diepte van ons see.
 Oor ons ewige gebergtes waar die kranse antwoord gee.
 Deur ons ver-verlate vlaktes met die kreun van ossewa —
 Ruis die stem van ons geliefde, van ons land Suid-Afrika.

Ons sal antwoord op jou roepstem, ons sal offer wat jy vra:
 Ons sal lewe, ons sal sterwe — ons vir jou, Suid-Afrika.

In die merg van ons gebeente, in ons hart en siel en gees,
 In ons roem op ons verlede, in ons hoop op wat sal wees,
 In ons wil en werk en wandel, van ons wieg tot aan ons graf —
 Deel geen ander land ons liefde, trek geen ander trou ons af.

Vaderland! ons sal die adel van jou naam met ere dra:
 Waar en trou as Afrikaners — kinders van Suid-Afrika.

In die songloed van ons somer, in ons winternag se kou,
 In die lente van ons liefde, in die lanfer van ons rou,
 By die klink van huw-likes-klokkies, by die kluiklap op die kis —
 Streel jou stem ons nooit verniet nie, weet jy waar jou kinders is.

Op jou roep sê ons nooit nee nie, sê ons altyd, altyd ja:
 Om te lewe, om te sterwe — ja ons kom, Suid-Afrika.

Op U Almag vas vertrouend het ons vadere gebou:
 Skenk ook ons Here! om te handhaaf en te hou —
 Dat die erwe van ons vaad're vir ons kinders erwe bly:
 Knegte van die Allerhoogste, teen die hele wêreld vry.

Soos ons vadere vertrou het, leer ook ons
 Met ons land en met ons nasie sal

The Call of South Africa

Ring out from our blue heavens, from our deep seas breaking round
 Over granite-rooted mountains where the echoing crags resound;
 From our plains where creaking waggons etched their trails into the earth —
 Calls the spirit of our Country, of the land that gave us birth.

Loudly peals the answering chorus: We are thine, and we shall stand,
 Be it life or death, to answer to thy call, beloved land.

In our body and our spirit, in our inmost heart held fast;
 In the promise of our future and the glory of the past;
 In our will, our work, our striving, from the cradle to the grave —
 There's no land that shares our loving, and no bond that can enslave.

Thou hast borne us and we know thee. May our deeds to all proclaim
 Our enduring love and service to thy honour and thy name.

In the golden warmth of summer, in the chill of winter's air,
 In the surging life of springtime, in the autumn of despair;
 When the wedding bells are chiming or when those we love depart
 Thou dost know us for thy children and dost take us to thy heart.

At thy call we shall not falter, firm and steadfast we shall stand,
 At thy will to live or perish, O South Africa, dear land.

In Thy power, Almighty, trusting, did our fathers build of old;
 Strengthen then, O Lord, their children to defend, to love, to hold
 That the heritage they gave us for our children yet may be:
 Bondsmen only to the Highest and before the whole world free.

As our fathers trusted humbly, teach us, Lord, to trust Thee still:
 Guard our land and guide our people in Thy way to do Thy will.



5544

A.C. de Wit

104/12/12

4 Veldregiment
 Potchefstroom
 2521

7 Januarie 1984

and
 Rekrut ... A.C. Niemand ...
 regiment aangekom. Hy sal u teen 31 Januarie 1984
 varinge en omstandighede alhier verwittig en ook
 arna verlang ons van hom om gereeld met u kontak
 delik om gereeld met hom in verbinding te tree a
 moreel. Geen nuus is vir hom, net soos vir u

op die hart dra en tans onseker en bekommerd n
 ok bewus van die feit dat hy hom tans in 'n vre
 hede bevind en dat hy tydelik ontuis gaan voel
 y welstand en dat sy eweneens van die allergroo
 isasie kan 'n wanaangepaste en ongelukkige lid doe
 In die Weermag, wat op spanwerk en onderlinge vertr
 op die hart dra en tans onseker en bekommerd n
 ok bewus van die feit dat hy hom tans in 'n vre
 hede bevind en dat sy eweneens van die allergroo
 isasie kan 'n wanaangepaste en ongelukkige lid doe
 In die Weermag, wat op spanwerk en onderlinge vertr

CONCLUSION

“We are all dumb in front of the wall of death. There is, even in the most brilliant mind, a collapse of the imagination before death. And because we cannot access death through our imagination, we fear death.” (Krog, 2013: 319 - 320)

Introduction

My father’s camera has been bequeathed to me, in as much the same way that the recipe book was given to me by my mother. As I put it away – for now – I remember the picture of my christening, and I remember my father, knowing that our journey into sense-making continues in this country I call home.

Summary of findings

My Inquiry aimed to provide an extensive insight into the background of the Afrikaner, the DRC and the SADF. I maintain that it is necessary to understand these contexts in order to provide a further understanding of the experiences of white Afrikaner females during the time of the conscription of white males between 1980 and 1990. What started as an insight into the photograph of my brother’s baptism, ended up providing a fundamental understanding of the roles of the institutions of the DRC, SADF and Apartheid society. It is understood that the legacy of the Afrikaners and their reliable identification with their European heritage paved the way in which they would aim to establish their identity and religion within South Africa. With the conversations that I had with most of my family members, there was definitely a sense of understanding that Apartheid was a heightened implementation of DRC values. This is primarily understood when they would discuss their experiences as children in the church. For most of their experiences, they associate the DRC with strictness and the way of life. It was of utmost importance to women to either be present or overtly active at church as a way of ensuring their place in Apartheid society rather than being an outcast.

Ultimately it is understood that the SADF and Apartheid society worked coherently towards the cultivation of patriotism among Afrikaner youth, specifically between 1990

and 1980. As I have discussed, the means to which the government implemented programs in schools in order to prepare the youth for their compulsory military service, extended into the design of Christianised education. I find that at the very early in the lives of the Afrikaner youth the church played an intricate role in provoking fear through the means of using terminology such as “rooi gevaar” (red danger) and “swart gevaar” (black danger). This promoted the ideas of communism and resistance as something which is evil. The terminology used by the church inspired the youth to provide a sense of responsibility to the country. The sense of responsibility among youth was also shared by the mothers who would send their sons off to the border, so much so that I would go so far as to say that it was normalised. My mother, my aunt and grandmother responded to compulsory military service in a similar way by stating that "they have to go" and "everyone else was going". It becomes a point of contention for many ex-conscripts to speak about their experience. My grandmother stated that she was really unsure of the experiences of my father. This echoes to no small extent, the silence lingering around conscription in South Africa today.

It is important also to mention the extent to which Afrikaner women were involved in Apartheid society and the roles they played in the lives of conscripts. It is a pressing point in my inquiry that there were women who were actively working against and for the institution of conscription. The role of the ECC remains great to the extent that they were also working against apartheid laws and in the understanding that the apartheid government was acting as an oppressive system. I would argue that it played a significant role, in the success of other movements, such as the *Voëlvry* movement as I discussed in my chapter 5. The importance of the DRC to Afrikaner women in Apartheid society is also a necessary point of consideration in my inquiry as it provided a platform from which women could share experiences of conscription with other women, and in most cases provided support through prayer and the exchange of helpful information on communication. In other examples, the roles of women organisations in the border war is understood in the participation of the Southern Cross Fund which was only perceived as a mainly women organisation because of the participation of women in the handing out of the donated items. The Southern Cross Fund became one of the main organisational entities which would contribute to the welfare of the troops and also comes under scrutiny

when discussing the fund as active supporters of the war. It is important to consider, however, the role which the “dankie tannies” played in the troops’ lives as they provided them with necessary items, such as writing paper which fell under constant need as my father often writes in his letters to my grandmother. These items became an important ingredient in the connection to home.

The troops’ connection to home is also seen throughout the inquiry as being the mother or sister who writes and sends packages. In most of the guidelines I unearthed in the archives and letters my father sent, it becomes a point of noting that the regular writing of letters and reception of food was a heartfelt connection to home. It is understood, thus, that any form of negativity in the communication was not advised. I understand now that my grandmother's narration of the meanderings of home life was a sense of banality in which my father might have found comfort. My father had cherished them as he had kept them for so long. I had probably read through these letters over a dozen times since I had started my inquiry, looking for anything that might be of interest, and I have finally come to understand that it is the ordinary that is of importance, as it speaks to the lived experiences of my father that he has cherished, but it also speaks to longevity of memory. It is this sense of the ordinary that becomes even more so important as it exists and persists even after the death of my father.

My inquiry allowed me to consider the archive of my family through the performance of practices. The importance of the culinary becomes a stark element in the experiences of my grandmother and mother. The shared recipe books are seen in my inquiry as an occurring practice among women who had sent packages of food to the border. This importance of food resonates with popular phrases among troops, such as “pos in die bos is kos" (Post in the veldt is food). The recipes enjoyed by mothers are furthermore the result of existing remnants of colonial food which displayed importance in the Afrikaner home. Food in Afrikaner society during Apartheid was considered linked to religious practices of the DRC. Most of the recipes used in the homes of Afrikaner women are considered as a result of the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652 and have been transformed since through the influence of various origins, such as Cape Malay cooking.

The packages which were sent with care to the border became an important connection for the mothers of troops.

Study Limitations and recommendations

The limitations of my inquiry are definitely my position as a researcher. It is necessary to understand that my position as the researcher provides a point of conflict as it may result in bias due to the fact that I am related to the participants of my inquiry. I do, however, aim to clarify throughout my inquiry that the very point of the research is to provide a narrative that speaks to my experience and the experiences of the women that have come before me. I thus propose that my inquiry negates this through creating a coherent narrative. I attempt to contextualise my discussion as much as possible by providing additional aspects of their experiences of the SADF and apartheid society in an attempt to create a dialogue on South Africa's past.

I propose that additionally my inquiry is also limited by terminology. It is no easy feat to discuss at length issues of whiteness, class and gender in the study of a Master's dissertation. I contend that it will require extensive study to flesh out ideas of whiteness, class and gender within my inquiry. The inquiry is also limited when considering its impact in a contemporary post-apartheid South Africa. Pressing debates on whiteness, class and gender is not considered in its state during apartheid society as my inquiry had focused, but should also be further considered in the extent to which these legacies are perceived and understood currently. I mentioned at the beginning of my conclusion that the inquiry I embarked on had certainly left me with more questions which I would suggest for further study. I had already touched on how Afrikaner youth reconcile with the legacy of Apartheid and its militarised and Christianised past through the understanding of popular culture, but I propose that this still requires in-depth study. Furthermore, I propose that the question of race and what it means to be a white Afrikaner in post-apartheid South Africa also leaves a gap for further investigation.

Further reflections

I never thought twice about my position in South Africa while growing up in a middle-class Christian home, until I embarked on the journey of delving deep into the narrative

of my family. My grandfather always says, you need to know where you come from to know where you are going. In a sense my inquiry left me only with the beginning of the understanding of where my story starts. None-the-less I begin to understand that it begins long before my father was conscripted into the SADF. I felt that I was able to escape the legacy of Apartheid because I was born-free but I feel that after my inquiry, I have the responsibility to address it.

My father passed away in 2015, leaving behind his Contessa LK camera for me. Soon after his death, I disturb his 'museum'. Stepping in, attempting to touch and feel that which was so close to him, I look at his collection as a history that ties me to him, and him to his mother. After his death, the flavours of our much-loved Sunday dishes took on a different hue. Meals were less enjoyable, every single dish a reminder of his death and our loss. It is no coincidence that these recipes served up now are replete with traces of my father and how I make sense of our past.

The above quote by South African writer Antjie Krog can be considered as an underscore of my inquiry. It brings to my attention the question of mortality and that which photographs grant us. I sit still with my father's Contessa LK camera, understanding what it meant to my father, his need to have it witness. I know that traces of his life exist in and on this camera, now a container of the dead. This work is, I admit, a work of mourning my father, a journey to make sense of a man who was drawn to the arts and who found himself in the midst of a nightmare My inquiry did not resolve this loss; if anything, I am left with more questions around the role I have as a white Afrikaner female in post-Apartheid South Africa.

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Annexure 1: Consent and Participation Forms



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UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Humanities
Department of Historical and
Heritage Studies

Attention MR/MRS _____

My name is Dominique Niemand. I am a masters student currently studying at the University of Pretoria. I am currently conducting research on the experience of white male and female Afrikaners during the time of apartheid specifically focusing on the experiences of conscription.

I would like you to take part in this research. Please know that this is completely voluntary and that you do not remain to benefit from participating in the study. You will not suffer any possible damages or consequences should you choose to participate in the study. The data of the interviews will be collected and archived digitally in order to be stored in the Department of Historical and Heritage Studies in line with the guidelines of the policy of the University of Pretoria which is set at 15 years of storage.

You have the right to remain anonymous during the interview process. It is however important to understand that your anonymity is limited as my supervisor will have access to the recorded interviews. The data gathered from the interviews could also form part of a larger body of work which can extend to scholarly articles and other related projects. It is important to note that I take your wish to remain anonymous very seriously and will use pseudonyms to protect your identity. You also have the right to be identified during the collection of data and will be allowed to state that you wish to be identified in which case your identity will be included in the transcripts.

Should you wish to withdraw from the study at any time you have the right to do so without any consequences. Should you require any further information regarding the study, do not hesitate to contact Dr Siona O'Connell (Supervisor) and or myself, Dominique Niemand (Researcher). Thank you kindly.

Please see contact details:

Researcher: Dominique Niemand Dominique.niemand@tuks.co.za +27 84 698 0444

Supervisor: Dr Siona O'Connell siona.oconnell@up.ac.za

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Humanities
Department of Historical and
Heritage Studies

I, _____ have read the information provided by Dominique Niemand and give consent to take part in the research conducted on the study titled: "Bid vir my ma: A Narrative inquiry into the experiences of white Christian Afrikaner females during SADF conscription from 1980 until 1990."

By signing this form I understand that:

My participation is voluntary

I may withdraw from the study at any time by instructing the researcher likewise

My interview data will be anonymised

My interview data will be analysed and may be used for future study

My interview data may be selected for publication

I may have my name attached to the published narrative if I so wish

My signed consent form will be stored separately from the responses I provide

Please select the relevant boxes below which you give consent to:

- I give permission to have my interview recorded and transcribed.
- I give permission for any photographs I provide to be copied and understand that the photographs may be included in the published narrative of the project.
- I agree to have my photograph taken for the purposes of record keeping.
- I understand that if I so desire, the interview can be deleted after it has been transcribed.

SIGNED: _____

DATE: _____

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Interview Schedule

Church

1. What was your first memory of going to church on Sundays?
2. How regular would you attend church on Sundays as a child?
3. Did you attend Sunday School?
4. If yes, What activities can you remember taking part in during your Sunday school classes?
5. Can you speak about any specific sermons related to conscription if you remember any?
6. Do you remember any specific role that you played as a female/male in the church?
7. How did your parents feel about the church?
8. How many religious practices can you remember that formed part of your school practices?
9. Do you remember any position that your church took on Apartheid?
10. How do you feel about the church today and why?

Basic Training

11. What can you recall on the day of your call up?
12. What was the reaction or feeling towards the call up from your parents and family?
13. Did you have any close siblings or partners that were called up?
14. If yes, how did this make you feel?
15. If yes, what did you do during the time of their conscription?
16. Can you remember any routines that formed part of your day during basic training?
17. Did you or any of your siblings/partner experience combat during your/their time of conscription?
18. Did you or any of your siblings/partner receive support by friends, family or a professional after your/their military service?
19. How important was religious practices would you say to the routine of basic training and why?
20. What are your views on conscription currently?

Annexure 2: Photographs from the Pakkies aan Boetie Exhibit





“Bid vir my ma”: A Narrative inquiry into the experiences of white Christian Afrikaner females during SADF conscription from 1980 until 1990.

by Dominique Niemand (u14173672)

Submitted to the University of Pretoria in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree MScSci Heritage and Museum Studies

Department of Historical and Heritage Studies

Date of submission: 04 November 2019

Supervisors:

Professor Siona O’Connell, University of Pretoria, South Africa



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