

**AFRIKAANS-SPEAKING SOUTH AFRICANS ON  
SCREEN: A COMPARATIVE VISUAL TEXTUAL  
ANALYSIS OF AFRIKAANS IDENTITY IN  
SELECTED AFRIKAANS TELEVISION DRAMAS**

**By**

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I understand what plagiarism is and am aware of university policy and implications in this regard.

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# SUMMARY

**Title:** Afrikaans-speaking South Africans on screen: A comparative visual textual analysis of Afrikaans identity in selected Afrikaans television dramas

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**Summary:**

Afrikaans television has experienced numerous transitions since the introduction of television in South Africa in 1976. An interesting trend in Afrikaans television since 2007 involves the rebroadcast of programmes, by the SABC and kykNET, which were originally produced 10 or even 20 years ago. These broadcasters do not only rebroadcast their own Afrikaans material, they also rebroadcast each other's material. Consequently, for the last several years, Afrikaans television programmes have been diverse in terms of source (SABC or kykNET) and original context (time of production and first broadcast). Against this background certain questions arose regarding the comparability of these different Afrikaans programmes and how each programme constructs Afrikaans identity in a certain way that is relative to its original context of production.

This comparative study explored the construction of Afrikaans identity in three Afrikaans television dramas each originating from a different context of production. The sample consisted of *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling (BE)* (SABC: 1987; rebroadcast on SABC 2: 2007), *Wenners* (SABC: 1992/1993; rebroadcast on kykNET: 2009) and *Song vir Katryn (Song)* (kykNET: 2003; rebroadcast on SABC 2: 2008). This study is situated within the context of cultural studies and a qualitative visual textual analysis was conducted, using narrative and semiotic analysis methods to unpack the meanings communicated by the selected visual

texts. Relevant themes, including language, gender, class and values, were identified and examined.

It was found that language-wise, these programmes reveal a major shift from the 1980s and early 1990s (on the SABC) to the 2000s (on kykNET) regarding the use of the Afrikaans language. *BE* and *Wenners* show standardised Afrikaans as the norm, while in *Song* non-standardised Afrikaans takes the dominant position. In terms of gender the texts from the 1980s and 1990s endorse traditional gender roles and heterosexual relationships as part of Afrikaans identity. The text from the 2000s, conversely, depicts both traditional and modern conceptualisations of gender and acknowledges both heterosexual and homosexual relationships. Class did not surface as a significant theme in *BE* or *Wenners*, but in *Song* this theme highlights the class awareness of a conservative Afrikaans community. *Song* constructs an Afrikaans identity that challenges Afrikaner conservatism. Each programme's values themes highlighted a particular focus. *BE* explores the complex relationship between the individual and the group within the 1980s. *Wenners* emphasises a conservative approach to Afrikaans identity that favours order, authoritative structure and good behaviour. In contrast, *Song* tackles the controversial issues of substance and sexual abuse, and presents an Afrikaans identity that is willing to deal with these taboo topics in an open-minded way. Finally, it was found that although all three texts are critical of the traditional nuclear family construct, they still maintain that even when contested, family remains a key part of Afrikaans identity.

In comparing these texts, similarities and differences were identified, but the findings show a noticeable transmutation, from the 1980s to the 1990s and finally the 2000s, in the conceptualisation and representation of Afrikaans identity.

**Key terms:**

Afrikaans identity, Afrikaans television, Afrikaans, television drama, identity, representation, Afrikaner, Afrikaner identity.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction and problem statement

South Africa has gone through many phases of transformation. Each phase or time frame has highlighted specific social, economic and political issues and the South African media has in turn reflected and explored these socio-political contexts in its output, including its television productions. As times have changed different representations of identities have been portrayed on South African television. What does it mean to be South African? What does it mean to be an Afrikaans-speaking South African? Over time television programmes have provided a number of ‘answers’ to these questions. Since its inception in South Africa, television has played an important role in the representation or construction of identity.

Television was only introduced in South Africa in 1976. The delay in its arrival was due to the apartheid government’s concern about the possible influence (read: negative influence) that television might have on the South African public (Wigston 2007). Nevertheless, the apartheid government finally incorporated television into South African society under strict conditions, one of which was that Afrikaans and English were to be the primary broadcasting languages. In the 1980s, Afrikaans television blossomed, with numerous television programmes being produced and broadcast locally.<sup>1</sup> During the apartheid era, Afrikaans television occupied a premium broadcasting position, but after the first democratic election in 1994 Afrikaans programming was downscaled substantially to accommodate the new language policy and mandate at the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) (Louw 2004).<sup>2</sup> Despite this, Afrikaans television has, yet again, seen considerable growth in the new millennium. Over the last couple of years, a number of original Afrikaans television programmes have been broadcast and the first commercial

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<sup>1</sup> In this research, a television programme is categorised as Afrikaans when its dialogue is primarily in Afrikaans and when it is generally described as Afrikaans television in popular literature, such as a television guide (for example, the DStv magazine or electronic DStv programme guide).

<sup>2</sup> After 1994, the SABC’s mandate and language policy were altered to accommodate programming in all 11 official languages of South Africa.

Afrikaans television channel, kykNET, was launched in 1999 (Du Plooy & Grobler 2002).<sup>3</sup> There has also been a noticeable trend in Afrikaans television since 2007 regarding the rebroadcasting of earlier Afrikaans television programmes.

This trend in Afrikaans television involves the rebroadcast of programmes, by the SABC and kykNET, which were originally produced 10 or even 20 years ago. These broadcasters do not only rebroadcast their own material, but also each other's material. In other words, the SABC rebroadcasts early SABC and kykNET productions, while kykNET does the same.<sup>4</sup> Although this trend still continues, new Afrikaans television programmes are also being produced by the SABC and kykNET. Consequently, for a number of years, Afrikaans television programmes have been diverse in terms of source (SABC or kykNET) and original context (the time in which it was first produced and broadcast). Because of this trend, the Afrikaans programme schedule of, for example, the SABC can over a period of time (for instance, a few months) include two SABC dramas<sup>5</sup> (one produced in 1987 and the other in 1992), and a kykNET drama (produced in 2003). Against this background, the question emerges regarding the comparability of these different Afrikaans television programmes and how each programme constructs or represents Afrikaans identity in a certain way that is relative to its original context of production.

The purpose of this study was to investigate (and compare) the construction of Afrikaans identity in selected Afrikaans television dramas, produced before and after 1994, particularly during the time frame 1985–2005. The study focused on the representation of Afrikaans characters and the formulation of narratives, while exploring the representation of relevant themes or issues such as gender, language, class and values,<sup>6</sup> which were considered key elements in the construction of identity. The following critical questions guided the investigation:

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<sup>3</sup> kykNET forms part of the subscription television service, DStv. In recent years kykNET has grown into a network of Afrikaans television channels, including kykNET & Kie, kykNET Musiek, Koowee and MK (Ferreira 2012; kykNET gets new spin-off channel 2013).

<sup>4</sup> This act of shared broadcasting between the SABC and kykNET is due to a special arrangement between the two broadcasters allowing the use of each other's (older) material for a fee (Ferreira 2009).

<sup>5</sup> See definition of key terms and concepts.

<sup>6</sup> See definition of key terms and concepts.

Central question:

- How are Afrikaans identities represented in selected Afrikaans television dramas originating from different historical contexts, including the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s?

Sub-questions:

- How do the constructions of Afrikaans identity in different Afrikaans television dramas compare?
- How are Afrikaans characters represented? Who is represented?
- What stories are being told? Whose stories are being told?
- How is language (particularly Afrikaans) used within these programmes?
- What themes are addressed in the Afrikaans television dramas?
- Do these visual texts deal with issues of gender and class? (How?)
- What values are brought to the fore and how are they dealt with? (For example, regarding family, relationships and success.)
- How do the above issues or themes contribute to (Afrikaans) identity construction?

According to Watson (1996), language is a marker of distinctiveness and an important part of our identity. The Afrikaans language has been highlighted as a distinct marker of identity among the different groups of Afrikaans speakers. Historically, Afrikaans has been mainly associated with white South Africans. It is, however, also the dominant home language of coloured<sup>7</sup> South Africans and there are also some black and Indian Afrikaans speakers in South Africa. According to the 2011 census, mostly white (60.8% of white South Africans) and coloured (75.8% of coloured South Africans) people acknowledge Afrikaans as their home or first language (Census 2011: Census in brief / Statistics South Africa 2012). It is, however, specifically white Afrikaans speakers that aim to position themselves within the new South African society on grounds of the Afrikaans language. Each group uses and experiences the history of the language and the role it plays in who they are in a different way.

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<sup>7</sup> It is acknowledged that the term 'coloured' is often considered to be a contested term. In the census of 2011 the term 'coloured' is used as a population group category. The study at hand makes use of the information provided by the census and therefore also uses the term 'coloured'.

Based on other research it is apparent that Afrikaans identity is a complex concept (Marlin-Curiel 2003; Marx & Milton 2011; Vestergaard 2001). It can be conceptualised as the cultural identity of Afrikaans speakers. Afrikaans speakers are, however, diverse in terms of culture, race and background. This diversity adds to the complexity of defining Afrikaans identity. In this research Afrikaans identity was understood as an inclusive concept, which could include different identity categories, such as Afrikaner identity,<sup>8</sup> and which highlights the important role played by (the Afrikaans) language in identity formation.

The Afrikaans language has an interesting history. Afrikaans has played the dual role of unifier (associated with the white Afrikaner nationalism project) and of oppressor (due to the link between apartheid and white Afrikaner nationalists) (Milton 2008:256). Within contemporary frameworks Afrikaans has in some circles made work of moving away from these previous associations and stigmatisations, aiming to reposition Afrikaans within the new South African context (Barnard 2006; Marlin-Curiel 2003). This is, nevertheless, a difficult task considering the language's multi-faceted speakers. Part of this repositioning is an emphasis on bringing together multiracial speakers of Afrikaans. This approach is visible in television programming, for example, in Afrikaans newscasts, magazine shows and soap operas, where Afrikaans speakers of different races and cultures are represented. This movement in a sense suggests a renegotiation not only of the language, but also of Afrikaans identity within the media, particularly on television.

## **1.2 Rationale for investigating Afrikaans television**

The 1994 election brought about social, economic, and political changes in South Africa. As democratisation moved through South African society, the SABC underwent its own processes of change and transformation. This drew the attention of various authors and researchers, and subsequently a number of studies explored how the SABC's new policies, structures and television programming had contributed to the post-apartheid task of nation building (Barnard 2006; Milton 2008; Teer-Tomaselli 2001). The post-apartheid time frame sparked renewed interest in the representation of South African identities on television. Consequently, many studies regarding South African identity and television chose to situate their research within a contemporary context. Studies focusing on Afrikaans identity have

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<sup>8</sup> See definition of key terms and concepts.

also identified the new South African context as a rich area of investigation due to the transformation and renegotiation of Afrikaans identity within this time frame.

The position held by Afrikaans (and Afrikaners) in the past has been destabilised (particularly due to the political changes experienced after apartheid was abolished) and because of this, the Afrikaans identity has been renegotiated (and continues to be negotiated) in the new South Africa (Vestergaard 2001). In order to investigate this renegotiation process, some authors have explored the reinterpretation of traditional Afrikaner symbols, the role of Afrikaans music and the representation of identity in Afrikaans television programmes (Marlin-Curiel 2003; Marx & Milton 2011; Milton 2008; Van Coller & Van Jaarsveld 2009; Vestergaard 2001). These studies highlight, among others, themes of multiplicity and mutation in relation to Afrikaans (and Afrikaner) identities. The investigation of Afrikaans television and identity construction has, however, mostly been limited to Afrikaans programmes produced by the SABC after 1994.

In the literature, certain points of interest can be identified regarding the exploration of Afrikaans television and identity construction. Attention is mostly given to SABC programmes produced after 1994, and preference is also shown for the soap opera genre<sup>9</sup> (Marx 2008; Milton 2008; Van Coller & Van Jaarsveld 2009). Little is known about the identity construction in Afrikaans television dramas and, in particular, Afrikaans television dramas produced before 1994. Furthermore, only limited literature is available about kykNET and its programming. Against this background, the research aimed to investigate and compare the construction of Afrikaans identity in Afrikaans television dramas from both the SABC (or SAUK as it was known before 1994)<sup>10</sup> and kykNET. The contemporary South African framework does provide an interesting space for investigation and was thus incorporated as part of the study at hand, but the inclusion of both earlier and newer television programmes, situated within a specified time period (1985–2005), added a different angle, depth and comparative possibilities to this exploration of Afrikaans identity.

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<sup>9</sup> A soap opera consists of 30-minute episodes that are usually aired every weekday. It is characterised by a permanent cast of actors in a specific location, with multiple storylines that focus on interpersonal situations and relationships. Soap operas can run for a very long period of time, e.g. 10 years (Dunn 2005; Huisman 2005; O'Donnell 2007). Examples of a soap opera would be *7de Laan* and *Days of our lives*.

<sup>10</sup> Before 1994 both abbreviations, SABC (English) and SAUK (Suid-Afrikaanse Uitsaaikorporasie – Afrikaans), were used to describe the South African public broadcaster. After 1994, SABC became the universal and official (brand) name of the public broadcaster in the new South Africa. In this study the term SABC is used to refer to the public broadcaster in periods before and after 1994 (Milton 2005; Wigston 2007).



It was my involvement in a departmental research project focussing on Afrikaans television and identity construction that specifically spurred my interest in the topic of Afrikaans identity on screen. This project looks at the impact of Afrikaans television on the identity construction of its viewers. The project directs its focus mostly towards newer or contemporary Afrikaans television programmes on SABC and kykNET. As part of the project these programmes will be analysed using content analysis. While involved in the project I became increasingly aware of the different ways in which Afrikaans speaking people are represented in the media, including the news, advertisements, sitcoms, soap operas and dramas. The different genres of Afrikaans television seemed to construct Afrikaans identity (identities) differently, each type of show putting forth different stories and characters. The variation of identities across genres provides another possible avenue of investigation. The scope and focus of this research study was, however, prompted by a number of Afrikaans programmes aired between 2007 and 2009.

Within this time frame (2007–2009) Afrikaans dramas (and other genres) originating from different historical contexts were aired, some on the SABC and others on kykNET. In 2007 the eighties Afrikaans drama *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling* was rebroadcast on SABC 2. I had watched this television drama as a child and then in my twenties, as a student at university, I had the opportunity to experience it again. For weeks my father and I tuned in on Friday nights to watch this classic Afrikaans drama. We watched and enjoyed the programme, but not with the same pleasure as someone viewing it for the first time. The pleasure we felt was founded in the experience of viewing the programme again. It was 2007 and we were watching a television drama originally produced and aired in 1987. Twenty years had passed, but the programme still had value, it was still being broadcast and still being watched. The SABC's rebroadcasting of Afrikaans television programmes continued well into 2013.<sup>11</sup> The rebroadcast of *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling* triggered my interest in the variety of Afrikaans television programmes (in terms of historical context) being broadcast on the SABC and kykNET. In 2008, *Song vir Katryn* premiered on SABC 2. The drama was originally aired on kykNET in 2003. The crossover of the programme from one broadcaster to another was due to the specific agreement between kykNET and the SABC, as mentioned earlier in this chapter. In 2009 the teenage drama, *Wenners*, was broadcast on

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<sup>11</sup> Afrikaans television dramas produced for the SABC such as *Vierde Kabinet* (1998) and *Onder draai die duiwel rond* (1997) were both rebroadcast on SABC 2 in 2012. *Onder draai die duiwel rond* was also repeated in 2010 on SABC 3. In 2013, the SABC productions *Konings* (1994) and *Torings* (1996) were rebroadcast on SABC 2.

kykNET. This SABC production was originally broadcast on SABC during 1992/1993. Once again the agreement between the SABC and kykNET allowed the broadcast of this SABC programme on the commercial channel. Many Afrikaans television programmes that had originally been produced and viewed within a particular context were now being rebroadcast within a completely new environment. While these earlier programmes (ranging from, for example, 5 to 25 years old) were being (re)broadcast, new programmes also saw the light on SABC and kykNET. Examples include the family drama *Erfsondes* (first season) and the dramedy *Andries Plak* that both premiered on SABC 2 in 2007.<sup>12</sup> On kykNET the drama *Kruispad* premiered in 2008.<sup>13</sup> Viewers could enjoy programmes produced during the current year while also enjoying programmes produced five or even twenty years ago. What was being represented in these different television programmes, and how would these representations compare?

This study investigated the following selection of Afrikaans television programmes:

*Ballade vir 'n Enkeling* (premiered on SABC: 1987; rebroadcast on SABC 2: 2007), *Wenners* (premiered on SABC: 1992/1993; rebroadcast on kykNET: 2009) and *Song vir Katryn* (premiered on kykNET: 2003; rebroadcast on SABC 2: 2008). The formal viewing and analysis of these programmes occurred within the 2010–2012 time frame and context. While the analysis process was carried out systematically and approached as objectively as possible, it is necessary to outline my reading or viewing position briefly. I viewed and examined these texts as a white, Christian and Afrikaans female student/researcher in her twenties. I grew up in Pretoria within a predominantly Afrikaans family, school and community. My background informs my position as researcher within this study. It is because of my background that I can recognise and understand certain conventions, traditions and values (when they are, for example, represented in Afrikaans television programmes) that are often associated with certain groups within the Afrikaans community. It is acknowledged that as a researcher I am situated within a particular framework or context, which is influenced by my background and my investigation of available literature while involved in this research project. This framework or context influenced my approach to the study and the selection of a sample of television programmes.

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<sup>12</sup> Most recently, the SABC's Afrikaans family drama, *Swartwater* premiered on SABC 2 in February of 2014.

<sup>13</sup> Other original kykNET dramas followed, including *Hartland* in 2011 and *Donkerland* in 2013.

Trends in the academic investigation of South African television, specifically Afrikaans television, showed a dominant interest in SABC programmes (produced and aired after 1994) as well as a predominant genre focus on soap operas. This study thus identified a gap: Almost no academic investigation of pre-1994 Afrikaans television dramas had been done<sup>14</sup> and the investigation of kykNET programmes was also limited. Furthermore, another trend was identified in the scheduling of Afrikaans television programmes on SABC and kykNET – the rebroadcasting (and shared broadcasting) of Afrikaans television programmes – between 2007 and 2009. To address the gap in the literature the selection criteria thus stipulated that the sample of programmes should:

- be (commonly) categorised as Afrikaans television dramas;
- have been rebroadcast during the 2007–2009 period;
- originate from different original contexts of production, including the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s;
- include SABC programmes that were originally produced and aired before 1994 (specifically, texts that were produced and aired between 1985 and 1993);
- include kykNET programmes that were originally produced and aired after 1999 (specifically, texts that were produced and aired between 1999 and 2005).

The above-mentioned criteria were formulated in line with gaps identified in the literature and observation of trends in the scheduling of Afrikaans television programmes on SABC and kykNET.<sup>15</sup> A further guideline in the selection of texts was to include only Afrikaans television dramas that I, the researcher, had watched before 2007 and then had watched again during 2007–2009. This guideline highlighted the specific viewing experience that was identified during the 2007–2009 period, that of *re-viewing*. It was a specific (Afrikaans television) viewing experience that I had been part of and that had contributed to the development of the study at hand. By using the criteria and guidelines the scope of the investigation was narrowed down to a manageable sample. The study at hand did not aim to provide views or generalisations about all Afrikaans television and Afrikaans identities. It highlighted and provided insight into only the selected Afrikaans television programmes and their constructions of Afrikaans identity. In this way, the study contributed to the on-

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<sup>14</sup> Exceptions include Teresa Smit's 2008 dissertation, which investigated *Wenners* (1992/1993), and Stephan Bouwer's article, which explored *Orkney Snork Nie!* (1989, 1990, 1991).

<sup>15</sup> Further discussion regarding the selection criteria of the sample of programmes is included in Chapter 3.

going discussion about Afrikaans identity and its representation in the media, specifically television. Further investigation of different Afrikaans television programmes from different perspectives will add further diversity and complexity to the discussion of Afrikaans identities.

### **1.3 Theoretical underpinnings and methodology**

The theoretical underpinnings of this study are found in the field of cultural studies which conceptualises identity not as fixed or stagnant, but as evolving and fluid (Barker 1999; Hall 1990). In other words, identities do not remain fixed, but change and evolve over time and are negotiated within different contexts or historical moments. Furthermore, identity can be formulated around points such as gender, sexuality, class, language, culture, nationality, age and value systems, and formations of identity are conceptualised in and disseminated through media representations (Barker 1999; Hall 1997). The mass media is viewed as a powerful creator of meaning and it plays a major role in most societies, influencing identity formations, perspectives and world knowledge. This study supports the assumptions that the media play a central role in producing and distributing representations of socially constructed identities, and that the investigation of media products or artefacts warrant attention. The identity constructions found in media texts are historical and cultural, implying that they are specific to a particular time, place and culture (Barker 1999; Fiske & Hartley 1978; Hall 1997). It is thus important to link the media text (for example, a television programme) under investigation with its relevant context, as was done in this research. An appropriate methodological framework was developed to suit the needs of the study.

The development of this study's methodological framework was influenced by its cultural studies approach. As such, the study utilised a qualitative approach, highlighting the importance of meaning. A comparative visual textual analysis design was employed, which entailed a narrative and semiotic analysis of the visual television texts. This design suited the needs of the study as it was focused on visual media texts and the construction of meaning. The sample of television programmes (as stipulated under the rationale section) was selected using a purposive sampling method guided by criteria formulated specifically for this study. The specifics of the selection process and the final selection of programmes and episodes are described in detail in Chapter 3 (methodology chapter) and Chapter 4 (description of sample chapter). During the analysis significant themes emerged and these

themes were consequently identified as the lenses through which Afrikaans identity would be investigated. Definitions of key terms and concepts are provided in the section below.

#### **1.4 Definition of key terms and concepts**

A number of key terms and concepts played an important role in the development of this research and they will be referred to throughout the dissertation. In the following section these terms and concepts are discussed as they are understood and utilised within this study.

*Afrikaans.* According to Hermann Giliomee (2004:25), “Afrikaans developed in South Africa out of a Dutch stem as a result of interaction between European colonists, who arrived in 1652, slaves imported from Africa and Asia, and indigenous Khoisan people”. Afrikaans was declared an official language (together with English and Dutch) of South Africa in 1925 (Giliomee 2004:39; The languages of South Africa 2013:[sp]). From 1948 until the early 1990s it was strongly associated with white Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid (Milton 2008:256). After the first democratic election in 1994 Afrikaans was (re)positioned as one of the 11 official languages of South Africa. White, coloured, black and Indian South Africans speak Afrikaans. It is, however, the first language (mother tongue) of mainly white and coloured South Africans. The multi-faceted speakers of Afrikaans add much diversity and complexity to conceptualisations regarding the language and Afrikaans identity. The role, status and meaning of Afrikaans to its speakers (regarding their culture and identity) and in South African society are continually being debated and negotiated in contemporary South Africa. According to the 2011 census, Afrikaans is the third largest mother tongue language in South Africa<sup>16</sup> (The languages of South Africa 2013:[sp]; Census 2011: Census in brief / Statistics South Africa 2012).

*Afrikaans identity.* Afrikaans identity can be seen as referring to the cultural identity of Afrikaans speakers. Notably, the Afrikaans language plays a central role in Afrikaans identity. Different racial and cultural groups in South Africa speak Afrikaans, and coloured, white, black and Indian Afrikaans speakers thus all bring something unique to their construction of Afrikaans identity. In the past, Afrikaans was largely associated with the white Afrikaner nationalism project (language as unifier) and white minority rule during apartheid (language as oppressor) (Milton 2008:256). In the new South Africa discussions

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<sup>16</sup> 13.5% of South Africa’s population use Afrikaans as their first language (Census 2011: Census in brief / Statistics South Africa 2012).

about the notion of Afrikaans identity and Afrikaans have been re-opened and reflect greater inclusivity and diversity than experienced before. Moving away from old apartheid associations and stigmatisations Afrikaans and Afrikaans identity are being diversified and repositioned in South Africa today.

*Afrikaans television.* Afrikaans television refers to the range of television programmes that use Afrikaans as their main language of communication. Other languages and subtitles may be incorporated to some extent, but Afrikaans is positioned as the central language. Afrikaans television includes news, magazine/lifestyle programmes (e.g. *Pasella*), game shows (e.g. *Noot vir noot*), soap operas (e.g. *7de Laan*) and dramas (e.g. *Song vir Katryn*). The exclusive Afrikaans-only kykNET channels on DSTv are also part of Afrikaans television in South Africa. SABC 2 is commonly described as the Afrikaans channel of SABC-TV, because of its many Afrikaans programmes. Two of its most popular slots during prime time are filled with Afrikaans programmes, including the soap opera *7de Laan* at 18:30 and the evening news (in Afrikaans) at 19:00.

*Afrikaner.* The term ‘Afrikaner’ usually refers to a white Afrikaans-speaking South African. The history of this concept dates back to the Dutch settlers who made South Africa their home in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. British, French, and German settlers later joined the Dutch farmers (or Boers) and over time the cultural group ‘Afrikaners’ (Dutch-Afrikaans word for ‘African’) came into being (Afrikaners 2010:[sp]; Jones and Jenkins 2003: [sp]).

*Afrikaner identity.* The notion of Afrikaner identity had particular importance in the time before the democratisation of South Africa. Particular ideas regarding religion, politics, culture, tradition and language were associated with Afrikaners or Afrikaner identity (Jones and Jenkins 2003: [sp]). White Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid were also closely associated. The apartheid philosophy was largely supported and enforced by many (but not all) Afrikaners. Since the 1990s the position of Afrikaans and the notion ‘Afrikaner’ have been renegotiated (and continue to be negotiated) in South Africa today. One would not typically refer to a coloured or black Afrikaans speaker as an Afrikaner. The term is mainly reserved for white Afrikaans speakers and is also closely associated with the term ‘Boer’ (understood as white Afrikaans farmer). Afrikaner identity can be described as a conceptualisation of identity that forms part of the variety and complexity of Afrikaans identity. Afrikaner identity is a category of Afrikaans identity.

*Identity.* Identity is about what makes you fit in and also what makes you stand out. Your identity allows you to fit into or belong to (and identify with) a certain group or community and it also distinguishes you from others. Identities can be formulated around elements such as gender, race, culture, age, class, sexuality, language and nationality (Barker 1999). This study takes a cultural studies (anti-essentialist) approach to identity and thus conceptualises identity as flexible and changeable; it (identity) is not a fixed, natural state of being, it is rather “a ‘production’ which is never complete, always in process” (Hall 1990). Representation is also closely associated with identity. Cultural representations in the media (e.g. in films, magazines and television programmes) provide us with socially produced descriptions of identities (based on aspects such as nationality and gender). These descriptions are not neutral or universal; they are constructions and are also specific to a particular time and place (Barker 1999; Hall 1997).

*Television drama.* As a television genre a drama consists of 60-minute episodes that are usually aired once a week. The content of the episodes focuses on interpersonal and/or work situations and relationships of a specific group of characters. A drama concludes after a set number of episodes (e.g. 10, 14 or 24 episodes). It can also be referred to as a drama series or serial and can run for more than one season. Specific types of dramas can also be identified (e.g. crime drama, family drama) (Dunn 2005; Huisman 2005; O’Donnell 2007).

*Values.* ‘Values’ is a complex concept since there are many different ways of understanding and explaining what it means. Values can be linked to beliefs and principles and can be described as thoughts or ideas about what is right and wrong, good or bad, appropriate or acceptable and inappropriate or unacceptable regarding particular aspects of life. Values are strongly associated with a chosen worldview that guides or influences our actions and appearance and also our way of thinking. Ideas are formulated regarding body image, health, sexuality, relationships, work, family, education, religion, the role of men and women, and so forth. In a sense the ‘ideas’ that are formulated about these aspects are understood as or act as a value system.

It is important to note that people do not all share the same values. Various elements (e.g. background, culture, religion) influence the formulation of values. Particular values are often associated with a certain group of people or community, but within the group or community there may also exist diversity and difference in values. Values can also change over time.

Values can be passed on or communicated through stories (e.g. in books, films and television programmes). This study asked: What values are communicated by the selected Afrikaans television dramas? To investigate this issue a sense of concreteness had to be added to the concept of values. Therefore, the study investigated the representations (including appearance and behaviour or actions) of characters. The representations are informed by the underlying values assumed by the programme (Values and Ideology in Media Studies [sa]:[sp]). All matters related to values could not be investigated within the scope of this study. Only key aspects as addressed in the programmes were thus identified and discussed in detail.

## **1.5 Overview of chapters**

The dissertation consists of nine chapters and four appendices. The sequence of the chapters helps the reader to navigate through the development of the study. The study is first introduced and background on the selected topic is provided. Thereafter the theoretical and methodological aspects are discussed, followed by a descriptive chapter to familiarise the reader with the selected television programmes. Individual analysis chapters are then provided for each television text to accommodate the detailed data analyses. This approach to the analysis section proves useful as it divides the thorough yet lengthy analyses into manageable parts. This is followed by a findings chapter, in which the findings of the study are discussed. The dissertation closes with a conclusions chapter. A brief outline of each chapter is provided below.

### Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter provides an introduction to the study of Afrikaans identity in Afrikaans television dramas. It offers some background on the selected research topic and highlights the merit of its academic investigation. The purpose of the study and the research questions are also stipulated. The rationale is explained and a brief overview of the theoretical and methodological approach of the study is outlined. A list of definitions of key terms and concepts is also included. The chapter concludes with a chapter outline.

### Chapter 2: Literature review

This chapter discusses key concepts and ideas as well as previous studies that informed the study at hand. Concepts such as ‘identity’ and ‘representation’ are theorised and the role of



the media in identity and meaning construction is illuminated. Furthermore, the chapter discusses Afrikaans identities, including Afrikaner identity, within the South African context. The development of Afrikaner identity is outlined and the relationship between the Afrikaans media, including film, print and television, and Afrikaans/Afrikaner identity is explored. Relevant studies, trends and results concerning television and identity are also highlighted.

### Chapter 3: Methodology

The methodology chapter explains the research design and research process that was utilised throughout this study. The data collection and sampling procedures are described in detail and the scope of the study is clearly defined. Brief descriptions of the selected television texts, as well as the relevant television genre, are provided. Moreover, a thorough overview is given of the chosen analysis methods, narrative analysis and semiotics, and their application to television texts. Measures concerning trustworthiness, validity and reliability are also clarified. The chapter concludes with a review of the methodology.

### Chapter 4: Who, what, when and where – Plot, character and episode descriptions

This chapter familiarises the reader with the selected television programmes. A plot summary and a list of characters are provided for each programme. The episode samples (episodes selected for detailed analysis – seven episodes per programme) are also outlined.

### Chapters 5–7: Analyses

Each analysis chapter focuses on one television programme: Chapter 5 – *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling*; Chapter 6 – *Wenners*; Chapter 7 – *Song vir Katryn*. These chapters each offer a detailed analysis of the specified television text. The discussions are thematically organised. In addition, detailed extracts or examples from the programmes or episodes are included in separate appendices.<sup>17</sup> In the analyses (including the appendices) and findings chapters examples of dialogue are included in Afrikaans. When short examples of dialogue are provided, the English translations follow in brackets. Longer examples or extracts are presented in tables, including English and Afrikaans versions.

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<sup>17</sup> Appendix 1 – *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling*; Appendix 2 – *Wenners*; Appendix 3 – *Song vir Katryn*.

## Chapter 8: Findings

The findings chapter consists of a thematic discussion highlighting the categories of language, gender, class and values. It presents a comparison of the selected television texts and elaborates on the construction of Afrikaans identity in these different television programmes. The outlined research questions are addressed in this chapter.

## Chapter 9: Conclusion

The final chapter presents an overview of the research aims and findings. The research process is revisited and reviewed and strengths and weaknesses are addressed. The chapter concludes with suggestions for further research.

## CHAPTER 2

# LITERATURE REVIEW – TELEVISION AND IDENTITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

### 2.1 Introduction

Identity is a complex concept and it has been probed not only in academic studies, but also in literature, films and television programmes. This study investigated the representation of identity in Afrikaans television dramas. To provide a solid foundation and context to the study it was necessary to explore key concepts, issues and approaches. For the study at hand it was thus important to explore the notion of identity and how it has been conceptualised and also to consider the role played by representation. Furthermore, media plays an important part as it continuously produces and circulates various representations of identities. This chapter looks at elements relevant to the discourses surrounding identity and its relation to the media, particularly television and also focuses on the main interest of this study, namely (Afrikaans) television in South Africa and Afrikaans identity construction.

In this chapter I discuss the construction of identities within apartheid and post-apartheid contexts and explore the role played by the media in this regard. As discussed in Chapter 1, Afrikaans identity is multifaceted, as Afrikaans speakers differ in terms of race, background and culture. During the investigation process Afrikaner identity was identified as a relevant concept in this study as part of Afrikaans identity. Therefore, parts of the discussion on Afrikaans identity in this chapter focus primarily on Afrikaner identity constructions. Relevant background information about SABC-TV and kykNET are also outlined. In this chapter I examine the literature and previous studies that have informed the study at hand. By looking at previous research and further literature it was possible to identify gaps within the field of interest.

### 2.2 Identity

Identity is about what makes you fit in and also what makes you stand out. Zegeye and Harris (2003:4) conceptualise identity as “forms of individual personhood or self-image as well as ... the collective self-image shared by the members of social groups or

communities”. Identity is a key concept in the relationship between the individual and the group. As Weeks (cited in Weedon 2004:[sp]) suggests, “[i]dentity is about belonging, about what you have in common with some people and what differentiates you from others”. Being a member of a particular group can influence one’s view of oneself. A certain group or community can be held in high regard, while another is marginalised (Zegeye & Harris 2003:4). Van Coller and Van Jaarsveld (2009:19) agree with this notion and state that in the past identity constructions were often aligned with nationalistic and/or religious ideals. These situations often led to rigid guidelines regarding inclusion and exclusion. Shared beliefs, values, traditions and a way of life can act as glue among people of a particular community or cultural group. Cultural identity is defined as the “descriptions we hold of ourselves, and with which we identify” (Barker 1999:9). However, one can ask: Do these descriptions and identifications remain fixed? In line with an essentialist view, identity is regarded as “one true self”; it is something that exists, that is ‘a whole’, in both its individual and collective forms (Barker 1999:27). In contrast to this view, cultural studies conceptualise identity as flexible, changeable; as something always in motion. Stuart Hall (1990:222) stresses this point when he states:

Identity is not as transparent or unproblematic as we think. Perhaps instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished fact ... we should think of identity instead as a ‘production’ which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation.

From the anti-essentialist position, identity is thus not seen as a fixed, natural state of being; instead it is viewed as a “process of becoming”, where cultural identity is composed around points of difference and similarity (Barker 1999:28). According to Barker (1999:28), “the points of difference around which cultural identities form are multiple and proliferating”. They include, for example, identifications of gender, class, sexuality, language, age, and morality. The study at hand looked at some of these different variables and how they related particularly to Afrikaans identity constructions. The aim was not to find or discover the ‘essence’ of Afrikaans identity but rather to explore the ‘process’ or ‘motion’ of Afrikaans identity as represented in (television) media texts from different socio-political and historical contexts. As Melluci (cited in Zegeye & Harris 2003:4) points out, “collective identities [like Afrikaans or Afrikaner identity] are not fixed rather they are always in flux”. These identities are constantly being constructed and negotiated. The cultural studies (anti-essentialist) approach to identity informed my approach to and

conceptualisation of identity. The process of representation was also viewed as a key element in this study's theoretical foundation.

Hall (1997:1) notes that “[l]anguage is one of the ‘media’ through which thoughts, ideas and feelings are represented in a culture”. He adds that representation through language is key to the processes by which meaning is produced. In language, signs and symbols are used to stand for or represent concepts, ideas and feelings to people (Hall 1997:1). We can, however, understand ‘language’ here in a broader sense. It is possible to refer to different or other ways of producing and communicating meaning (other representational systems) that also function or work ‘like a language’, because they use some element to stand for or represent what we want to say, to communicate certain ideas, feelings and concepts (Hall 1997:4–5). These elements can include sounds, words, visual images, clothes, gestures, objects, and so forth. According to Hall (1997:5), they “construct meaning and transmit it” and are “vehicles or media which *carry meaning*” because they operate as symbols and signs (original emphasis). Hall’s theorisation of representation is key to this study’s understanding of representation. Representation is closely linked with identity and knowledge. In a sense it is difficult to know what it means to be South African or British or American outside of all the ideas, values and images that are represented to people about national identity and national culture (Hall 1997:5).

As suggested by Hall, the argument that identities are formed within and through representation is very important. Within cultural studies identities are viewed as social constructions, which cannot exist outside of cultural representations and acculturation (Barker 1999:10). These cultural representations and meanings are not just floating around; they are embedded in films, magazines, television programmes and books (Barker 1999:13). Castello (2007:51) stresses that television “is perhaps the most important communication mechanism for spreading these representations”. It is within these representations that we find socially produced descriptions of identities, for example based on race, gender, nationality or a shared language, with which people identify. The media influences how people formulate the boundaries of the groups they belong to (and the ones they do not belong to). Hence, people use media descriptions or representations to position or locate themselves and others (Baderoon, cited in Zegeye & Harris 2003:5). These descriptions are, however, not natural or universal descriptions, but rather constructions that are specific to a particular time and place and related to definite social, historical and

cultural conjunctions (Barker 1999:25). Constructions or descriptions of identity can be explored in media artefacts or products such as films or television programmes. In addition, a media artefact or text is intimately linked with its specific socio-political context. This is an important point to take note of when investigating television programmes from different original contexts of production. During the analysis each programme's original context of production (in other words, the time it came from or was produced in, e.g. the 1980s) was taken into account. When thinking about representation and identity, the notion of recognition should also be reflected on.

Taylor (1992) stresses the link between recognition and identity. He states that "our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the *mis*recognition of others, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning ... picture of themselves". Questions of representation and recognition thus take on a critical role. Hall (cited in Milton 2008:271) takes this point further when he notes that "because there are many different and conflicting ways in which meaning about the world can be constructed, it matters profoundly what and who gets represented ... and how things, people, events (and) relationships are represented". For instance, within a patriarchal society women are represented as inferior, while racist representations of black people also define them as subordinate (Taylor 1992:25–26). These images of 'misrecognition' can inflict great harm when they are adopted as the truth. These issues thus show why there is a demand for equal recognition, particularly in a democratic society. This recognition can relate to gender and race, but also language, culture or ethnicity. All people want to be seen and heard and the media plays a crucial role in this regard.

People have a need for images and representation. They wish to see not only representations of life within their own culture, but also depictions of life within other cultures. Television plays an important role in this regard and can show a variety of different cultural groups. The poet William Wordsworth (cited in O'Donnell 2007:169) emphasised this need for images by stating that "people want a sense of who their fellow human beings are in order to have a sense of identity". This could suggest the construction of an 'us' and 'them' dichotomy. Depictions on, for example, television are not neutral and dominant groups who have greater influence over the representations that are communicated through television may construct certain groups as subordinate and others as

superior. This leads to the ‘othering’<sup>18</sup> of the subordinate groups. ‘Othering’ usually results in the homogenisation of a group and stereotypical depictions where individual differences are ignored (O’Donnell 2007:170). This once again stresses the importance of recognition, identity and representation. O’Donnell (2007:170) notes that in the past American television, film and radio were notorious for stereotyping race, ethnicity and gender. Trends of change are, however, visible in the new millennium with representations stressing racial equality, minority progress and acceptance of different sexual orientations and gender roles (O’Donnell 2007:170–173). Similar trends of change have also been visible in the South African media industry over the last few decades.

### **2.3 Television and identity**

Cultural representations that are produced and circulated by the media play an important role in the formation of cultural identities. Kellner ([sa]:1) states, “[r]adio, television, film, and the other products of media culture provide materials out of which we forge our very identities”. Television has been identified as one of the leading resources for the construction of identity projects (Barker 1999:3; Louw 2004:56). According to Giddens (cited in Barker 1999:3) the identity project stresses the idea that “identity is not fixed but created and built on ... [it] builds on what we think we are now in light of our past and present circumstances”. Hall (1996:4) also notes that “identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being”. The specific resources one brings to the identity project are important. It matters whether a person is white or black, South African or not, Afrikaans-, English- or seTswana-speaking, because all these aspects imply different cultural resources that have formed that person (Barker 1999:3, 15–16). What is more, these aspects play a role when identities are formulated for the screen, whether in film or television programmes. These media products then need to draw on different cultural backgrounds, values, traditions, beliefs and symbols, specific to the people (community) or characters that they want to depict. The intended audience can also come into play here, because the character depictions need to be ‘credible’ or believable to encourage viewer identification.

The meanings and attitudes that people or viewers produce interactively with media texts are woven into their identity projects. Thompson (cited in Barker 1999:4) suggests that “as

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<sup>18</sup> According to O’Donnell (2007:170), the ‘other’ “usually represents a group that people fear, dislike, or feel superior to, resulting in a ‘them and us’ attitude”.

people appropriate television's messages and meanings ... they routinely incorporate them into their lives and their sense of themselves as situated in time and space". Hence, television (and other media texts) helps people to make sense of who they are. It not only influences how one views oneself, but also how one views others. Ellis and Armstrong (1989:157) state that television is "a significant source of social learning where viewers learn about others vicariously". Consequently, the act of observation or watching by people or viewers is important. Bandura (cited in Ellis & Armstrong 1989:157) stresses that "people formulate large and integrated attitudinal and behavioural patterns through observation of behaviour models". Television provides a range of behaviour models, such as models of linguistic behaviour, gender behaviour and class behaviour. Through the observation of characters, how they act or react in certain situations, how they dress, talk and so on viewers can learn a great deal from television and this knowledge can also be integrated into their identity projects. Ellis and Armstrong (1989:158) emphasise that adults and children can "learn from television models of behaviours and incorporate what they have learned into their existing cognitive structure". What people see on television can influence their attitudes towards and perceptions of various social roles and issues. Ellis and Armstrong (1989:158) state that there exists "a large body of research relating exposure to such content [television programming] to the social attitudes of viewers". Twenty years later, Alexandrin (2009:150) contributes to this body of research<sup>19</sup> and states that "[t]elevision is a lifelong educator and shapes people's beliefs and attitudes, values, perceptions, and knowledge of themselves and others". The study at hand did not focus specifically on how people use or interact with the media, but it was relevant to highlight this important relationship between media, particularly television, and identity formation, since it illustrates one of the main motivations for the investigation of media texts, because media texts or products are interwoven into our lives and identities.

Media texts can influence our ideas, beliefs and attitudes regarding certain issues, such as family and language. In a study about American families on television, it was found that images or representations of family on television were capable of "influencing viewers' beliefs about what exists, what is normal, what is right, and how they should behave within families" (Albada, cited in Alexandrin 2009:150–151). Television thus plays a role in providing behavioural models and constructing 'realities' for viewers. Turning to language,

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<sup>19</sup> Alexandrin (2009:151) developed an exercise "to demonstrate the power television has in developing people's images of others and themselves". The exercise has been implemented successfully with participants from graduate, undergraduate and professional levels.



the way we think about language, how it is used, and its users can be influenced by what we see (and hear) in television programmes or films. When a character in a film or television programme uses language in a certain way or speaks in a certain way certain qualities, ideas and values are communicated (Ellis & Armstrong 1989:159). The character is then positioned in a particular way and can embody certain social roles or categories. Ellis and Armstrong (1989:157–158) state that “[a]ny form of language used repeatedly by characters on a television show communicates how a culture defines characters of that type, and becomes a source of data about what attitudes are held with respect to that character”. For example, specific characters can be defined as educated or uneducated (this can also be read as intelligent or unintelligent), as superior or inferior, or as middle class or working class based on their language use. Thus, the use of language in television is very significant. People take something from these linguistic representations, as the representations say something about the characters and by extension the possible groups or communities that they represent.

Ellis and Armstrong (1989:158) found that studies that combine linguistic indices and social categories on television are rare. Consequently they set about researching the relationship between language and social categories (specifically gender and class) in selected prime-time television sitcoms. Their study explored language codes (syntactic and pragmatic code structures) and how they distinguish characters on the basis of gender (male and female) and social class (middle class and non-middle class) (Ellis & Armstrong 1989:157–161). These authors took a very detailed approach, analysing the speech of characters according to a range of variables organised into two linguistic themes, namely structural complexity and elaboration, and a group of socially stereotypical linguistic features, for example, (socially) inappropriate word choice, and language errors. Their findings show that “[b]oth structural and socially diagnostic features ... can distinguish television portrayals of speakers of different sexes and social classes” (Ellis & Armstrong 1989:165). They concluded that middle class males, on the one hand, show more characteristics of the syntactic code (with features related to linguistic elaboration or structural complexity). The male non-middle class characters, on the other hand, were portrayed in a more stereotypical manner, and were “linguistically stigmatised” (meaning they used forms of expression that have gained negative connotations over time). Middle class females were also portrayed in a stereotypical manner and they were not given the same access to the syntactic code as was the case with males of the same class (Ellis &

Armstrong 1989:157, 166–167). These results communicate ideas about how these specific characters (male and female, middle class and non-middle class) are defined within a culture or society (the programmes investigated in their study were all prime-time American sitcoms). According to Ellis and Armstrong (1989:167), “language patterns on television provide role models for viewers and implicit messages about how people of different sexes and social class communicate”. Ellis and Armstrong’s research highlights the link between language use in television programmes and underlying meanings or messages.

Ellis and Armstrong’s study shows the relevance of language use in television programmes. Even though the study at hand also looked at the language use of characters, specifically the use of Afrikaans, it did not take the same detailed approach as exhibited in Ellis and Armstrong’s research. Ellis and Armstrong (1989) measure the number of words, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns and so on. In my study I rather looked at word choice (as used by characters), formal or informal registers, variations or types of Afrikaans as well as the mixing of language or code switching, for example the mixing of Afrikaans with other languages such as English (and also the level or extent of mixing). Within the study, language was investigated in conjunction with other elements such as gender and class. The study looked at *what* was represented and *how* it was represented. It focused on the characters, themes and stories of the selected television programmes. It, furthermore, questioned what one could learn about Afrikaans identity from the television texts. According to Fiske and Hartley (1978:17), “[t]elevision is a human construct, and the job that it does is the result of human choice, cultural decisions and social pressures”. These elements, including the process of selection as well as cultural and social issues and conditions thus all have a part to play in what we see represented on screen. Castello (2007:50) emphasises this point further when he states that the definition of identity or nation in media depends not only on the producers’ ideas, but that the production process, cultural policy, economic and political factors must all be taken into account. Context plays an important role when analysing media texts such as television programmes, since media constructions of identity are linked to social, political, economic and cultural contexts (Wasserman 2008:247). It follows that when investigating Afrikaans identity construction in Afrikaans television dramas it was necessary to explore the context of each programme (in particular, when they were originally produced and aired, and by which broadcaster).

Each of the selected programmes came from a particular broadcaster, set within a specific decade, each with its own issues, events and trends.

Media texts can be revealing about a particular time and place. Kellner (1996:108) stresses that “because of the closeness of popular media texts to their social conditions, they provide privileged access to the social realities of their era and can thus be read to gain insight into what is actually going on in a particular society at a given moment”. Because of this, representations in media texts can act as a snapshot of a particular historical moment, depicting relevant themes, values, ideas and attitudes. Over time these elements change or evolve and these developments are then once again ‘captured’ (temporarily) within texts. This argument corresponds with Hall’s conceptualisations regarding the arbitrary and temporary ‘closures’ that are required to create communities of identification, whether according to ethnic group, nation or sexuality (1993:136). To have identity a sense of closure is necessary, but this closure is provisional. It is not fixed, universal or guaranteed. It is to say, just for now, this is who we are or who I am (Hall 1993:136–137). In the same way, media texts depict temporary ‘closures’ or specific constructions of identity, but different texts can represent different closures and over time these representations and closures may change. Kellner ([sa]:2) also states that “cultural studies show how media culture articulates the dominant values, political ideologies, and social developments and novelties of the era”. Think, for example, of the different representations in South African films (and television programmes) made during apartheid, in contrast to those made in the post-apartheid era. For instance, films from these different eras depict characters (particularly black characters) and South African society very differently. Many films produced during the apartheid era reflected and supported the segregationist ideologies set forth by the apartheid government. Black characters were mostly represented in inferior roles and confined to specific spaces such as the rural environment. Films produced after 1994, such as *Tsotsi* (Hood 2005), depict leading black characters with depth and dimension. The transformation that is taking place in the new South Africa is also represented in the film (for example, the rising black middle class and the multicultural society). We tell stories to make sense of the world around us, to position and orientate ourselves, whether as a ‘nation’ or a particular community.

The media is an important informational source for many people. McQuail (2000:64) notes:

[The] images and ideas made available by the media may, for most people, be the main source of an awareness of a shared past time (history) and of a present social location. They are also a store of memories and a map of where we are and who we are (identity) and may also provide the materials for orientation to the future.

Zegeye and Harris (2003:1) highlight the importance of the media's role in (the new) South Africa when they state that the media "are not only important sources of public information and channels of communications; they also serve as important conveyors of the identities and interests of the different social groups within South African society". The representations of these different identities and interests can take shape in films, television programmes, newspapers, magazines and so forth. Looking specifically at Afrikaans television programmes, these texts provide Afrikaans viewers (and possibly others as well) with a sense of shared history, identity (past and present) and direction for the future. Television can play an important role in the transmission of language and culture; as television, in many ways, takes on the role of storyteller(s). Within the contemporary South African media environment, Patterson (2012:25) notes that Afrikaans television audiences appear to be growing. There is, therefore, a growing interest in what is represented on the small screen. Similarly, research interest in Afrikaans television texts is growing and I sought to contribute to this growing body of knowledge through my study. Through the years Afrikaans-speaking people have been represented on television in various ways. This study investigated and compared some of these representations.

#### **2.4 Television and Afrikaans identity in South Africa**

South Africa boasts a variety of cultural identities, but in this study I looked specifically at the construction of Afrikaans identities in a selection of Afrikaans television dramas produced between 1985 and 2005. I explored the representation of Afrikaans characters and the stories being told and how these elements contributed to the identities being constructed within these popular media texts. Afrikaans identity is not a fixed, homogeneous entity; on the contrary, Afrikaans identity is diverse and flexible and different identity categories or descriptions, such as Afrikaner identity and Afrikaaps<sup>20</sup> identity, form part of it. As previously mentioned, during the research Afrikaner identity emerged as an important concept in this study. A discussion of Afrikaner identity is therefore included in this chapter to shed some light on this relevant concept.

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<sup>20</sup> Afrikaaps refers to a dialect of Afrikaans that is spoken primarily in the Western Cape.

Notions regarding Afrikaner identity were already well established and disseminated before the introduction of television in South Africa. Already in its earliest stages Afrikaans literature showed a strong movement towards the creation of a separate (Afrikaner) identity and Afrikaans literature was for the most part viewed as Afrikaner literature (specifically literature produced after 1902 up until the 1960s). This was to a great extent motivated and driven by a growing Afrikaner nationalism, closely related to the Afrikaans language (Van Coller & Van Jaarsveld 2009:23–24). To better understand the construction of Afrikaner identity and the role played by nationalism and the Afrikaans language it is necessary to briefly examine the growth of Afrikaner identity.

Afrikaner identity is not a fixed entity. In 1979 Giliomee (1979:83) wrote: “Even now, Afrikaner identity may be going through a decisive phase of redefinition and change.” The post-apartheid era has definitely shown that this statement is as relevant today as it was in the late 1970s. Throughout history Afrikaner identity has been defined and redefined within different contexts and periods by different people. Certain aspects of Afrikaner identity have repeatedly been highlighted as significant to being an Afrikaner and many of these ideas were already established during the time of settlement and slavery in the Cape (1652–1800s). In the Cape Colony white burghers were given special privileges, such as access to land and the right to practise an occupation (such as farming). The white burghers interpreted these privileges as an entitlement “to special protection by the government and to a special legal status above that of slaves and Khoikhoi” (Giliomee 1979:87). This social hierarchy was covertly upheld and this led to many burghers (who later predominantly became known as the Afrikaners) associating political privilege with who they are and their position in society (Giliomee 1979:87). As most burghers were white, this privileged position was later basically perceived as white privilege. The Christian religion and literacy were also strongly associated with white people. In the late 1790s the few available clergymen focused their attention on white officials and burghers of the Cape. Being Christian and literate were considered important criteria for group membership. The notion of superiority of the white group as opposed to the black or non-white group(s) was also firmly established in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. In Voortrekker settlements the white vs. non-white distinction was incorporated into legislation. Within this context the notion of being a ‘chosen people’ was developed among some colonists (Giliomee 1979:95–96). This highlighted their belief of having a special and exclusive place in society and further stressed their superiority.

As the connection with Europe weakened for Dutch- and later Afrikaans-speaking colonists the indigenous Afrikaner group took shape. Giliomee (1979:96) explains that “[i]n the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they came to see themselves as an indigenous ethnic group with a distinctive national character and culture”. The ‘nationality’ or ‘ethnicity’ of this group highlighted language (Dutch or Afrikaans) and religion (Christianity) as vital elements of their identity. Another component was membership of a superior social class (Giliomee 1979:99). Clashes between the Afrikaners and British accelerated the development of an Afrikaner national consciousness. There were, however, still different views among the Afrikaners about who was considered to be an Afrikaner. Some defined Afrikaner as an exclusive identity that only included people who spoke Afrikaans. Others opted for a more linguistically inclusive approach stressing that Afrikaans, Dutch or English speakers could be considered Afrikaners. While some definitions remained vague regarding the racial categories in the Afrikaner identity, others were very specific in stipulating that being an Afrikaner meant being white (Giliomee 1979:100–103). These formulations stress how different meanings can be constructed, each supporting a particular worldview and set of interests.

Early in the twentieth century the importance of language to Afrikaner identity was stressed by General Hertzog and Dr Malan (leaders of the Afrikaner nationalist group). According to Malan (cited in Giliomee 1979:106) Afrikaans was a tool of mobilisation that could uplift Afrikaners and disseminate their culture, history and national ideals. Here the link between Afrikaans and Afrikaner (identity and nationalism) is stressed. According to Vestergaard (2001:26), the “promotion of the Afrikaans language was one of the most important features of the nationalist Afrikaner movement”. A period of rapid industrialisation followed after the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902) and many Afrikaner farmers became poor urban workers. Their standard of living was significantly lower than that of English-speaking whites and they also had to compete with blacks for work (Vestergaard 2001:21). The Afrikaans language was furthermore under attack after Britain’s victory in the Anglo-Boer War (Louw 2004:44). Louw (2004:44) states that Afrikaans passed through three phases during the twentieth century. The struggle against Anglo cultural imperialism was considered the first phase (1902–1947). After the war English was imposed as the language of business, administration and education. The use of Afrikaans was severely restricted as Lord Alfred Milner pursued a policy of “Anglicizing white Afrikaners” (Louw 2004:44). The 1930s and 1940s represented turbulent times of

poverty, dislocation and humiliation (British perceived Afrikaners as “culturally backward and lacking in sophistication”) for the Afrikaners (Giliomee 1979:111). In reaction to this Hertzog and Malan tried to regroup Afrikaners by exploiting the concept of Afrikaner and Afrikanerdom (‘Afrikanerhood’). They both defined these concepts in ways that would support their political agenda, Hertzog in inclusive linguistic terms (Afrikaans and English speakers as “equal Afrikaners”) and Malan exclusively stressing Afrikaans as the unifying factor among Afrikaners (Giliomee 1979:111–112). Malan’s National Party gained the support of the Afrikaner intellectual elite and they actively “ideologized Afrikaner identity and history” (Giliomee 1979:112). Through the Afrikaner Broederbond<sup>21</sup> the values and ideas of Christian Nationalism were spread and particular cultural, political and spiritual values were stipulated as criteria for inclusion into the Afrikaner ethnic group (Giliomee 2011:400–401).

The Afrikaners won exclusive political power in 1948. The National Party immediately took action to promote and safeguard Afrikanerdom. Restrictive racial legislation was put into place and the policy of apartheid was developed. In reaction to the repression experienced under British rule, the apartheid state initiated a full-scale economic upheaval for the Afrikaner people. Marx (cited in Vestergaard 2001:21) argues that apartheid attempted to solve the “intra-white social, economic, and political conflicts between the English and the Afrikaners”. An affirmative action programme entailing government positions, special funds for education and preferential treatment in the business environment was initiated for Afrikaners (Vestergaard 2001:21). The apartheid government thus made it their goal to promote and uplift Afrikaners. Afrikaans was also actively promoted as the language of business, law, administration and education. According to Louw (2004:44), the apartheid time frame represents the second phase in Afrikaans (1948–1990). Afrikaans received considerable patronage from the National Party. Afrikaans-medium schools, universities and colleges were built and Giliomee (2011:658) notes that between the 1920s and 1980s these single-language Afrikaans schools and universities were the main institutions responsible “for socializing youth with a particular set of cultural values into the Afrikaner community”. An Afrikaans book-publishing industry was established and the expanding literacy in Afrikaans further developed a thriving Afrikaans newspaper and magazine industry. The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC)

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<sup>21</sup> The Afrikaner Broederbond was founded in Johannesburg in 1918. According to Giliomee (2011:400), membership was restricted to “Afrikaans speaking Protestant white males who were financially independent”. The organisation aimed to advance the welfare and interests of the Afrikaner people.

was also established and its radio and television services played a central role in promoting the use and status of Afrikaans. These are just a few of the institutions and developments that significantly enhanced the status and use of Afrikaans (Louw 2004:45). With the help of relevant institutions the apartheid government constructed and endorsed a particular Afrikaner identity.

Giliomee (1979:116) comments that after the apartheid government took control Afrikaner ethnic identifications remained constant for many years. At different stages, however, different aspects of their identity were emphasised. Giliomee (1979:116) states that in the period 1948–1959 “the central theme in the Afrikaners’ self-concept was the paradox of an insecure white people in need of legislation to ensure its survival”. To this end, numerous laws were put in place to maintain the Afrikaner’s position of power, privilege and superiority and to enforce racial separation. By the 1970s particular ideas had been deeply engrained into the notion of white identity. White identity signified privilege, wealth and power. Vestergaard (2001:20) stresses that within the apartheid context Afrikaner identity was grounded on a number of values:

Afrikaner identity was based on values of God-fearing Calvinism, structures of patriarchal authority (husbands and fathers, priests, school principal, political leaders ...), adherence to the traditions invented by the nationalist movement, conservative values such as the fundamental importance of the nuclear family and heterosexuality, and, above all, the importance of whiteness.

These values as stipulated by Vestergaard were promoted and maintained with zeal. The boundaries of Afrikaner identity were clearly drawn and in a sense an ‘Afrikaner mould’ was created. To be accepted and to share in the economic and political power and privilege of being an Afrikaner during apartheid one had to take on the prescribed Afrikaner identity. Vestergaard (2001:21) states that “[i]f they failed to embody the ‘good Afrikaner,’ they could not only lose their material privileges, but also be ostracised from their communities, churches, or workplaces”. Rejection of the suggested Afrikaner identity thus had serious consequences, but a change in attitudes towards Afrikanerdom and Afrikaner identity emerged in the 1970s. Different surveys conducted during the 1970s showed changes in Afrikaner attitudes toward Afrikaner identity, politics, economics and social integration.

Giliomee (1979:120–124) explains the three different ways in which Afrikaners identified with the group. The first approach highlighted the exclusivity of the Afrikaner *volk*. Being



Christian and white, supporting the National Party and speaking Afrikaans were considered central to being an Afrikaner. The second approach highlighted the unification of white South African people, whether Afrikaans- or English-speaking. As with the previous approach this one also stipulated a racially exclusive formulation of Afrikaner. The third approach views the notion of being an Afrikaner as one of many different identifications. The focus here falls on Afrikaans culture and the Afrikaans language, and racial inclusivity is stressed. You can thus be black, white or coloured, an Afrikaner and a South African. Giliomee (1979:124) stresses that Afrikaners showed growing support for the third approach within the late 1970s. Vestergaard (2001:36) also highlights the crisis experienced by the apartheid regime during the 1970s. At that time white Afrikaans speakers started to ask critical questions about the political order. The discontent continued to grow and in the 1980s a protest movement was brought to the fore in the form of rock and roll music – the *Voëlvry beweging* ('free as a bird' or 'outlawed' movement). Many young Afrikaners supported the movement of resistance through Afrikaans rock music and it signalled a shift in their understanding of Afrikaner identity and Afrikanerdom (Marx & Milton 2011:729). The 1980s was a turbulent time in South Africa, marked by increasing resistance (from different social groups) against apartheid, the government and the conservative norms and values they imposed. By the end of the 1980s a new era awaited all South Africans.

The above discussion highlights different aspects of Afrikaner history and identity, including the emergence of an Afrikaner nationalist consciousness and the role Afrikaans played in this movement. A particular Afrikaner identity was purposefully constructed (and reconstructed) during different periods. These constructions were represented and promoted in different ways using the press, film, literature, national events and symbols. Particular ideas about Afrikaner identity and the Afrikaner 'nation' were, for example, represented in films such as *De Voortrekkers* (1916) (Maingard 2007:18). The film forefronts certain themes, namely the nuclear family, religion, white superiority, the inferiority of non-whites, nostalgia of a shared past and the roles of men and women (e.g. women as mothers, wives). The film acted as a propaganda piece for Afrikaner nationalism and was shown at prominent public events and celebrations, including the laying of the foundation stone for the Voortrekker Monument (Maingard 2007:18). According to Maingard (2007:19), this film "set the course of South Africa's national cinema for most of the twentieth century". The Afrikaans press and Afrikaans television also had their role to play in the representation of certain political viewpoints and cultural issues. Particular

conceptualisations pertaining to Afrikaner identity were communicated through the media and in doing so constructed an ‘imagined’ Afrikaner community. Anderson (1983:52–58) emphasises the importance of the press in communicating national images. The press and other forms of media help to construct an image (or images) of society, a community or nation.

During apartheid the media (specifically the dominant Afrikaans press and the SABC) for the most part endorsed ideas set forth by the apartheid government and this critically influenced their representations of identities<sup>22</sup> (Wasserman 2008: 245–246). When the National Party came to power a new political classification of South African newspapers was established. Newspapers either supported the government or they opposed it (Wigston 2007:45). Remnants of British colonialism and Afrikaner nationalism significantly influenced the South African press, which consequently led to it developing according to race and language. In other countries the press is commonly categorised according to political affiliations (Rabe 2012:28). As for South Africa, the National Party basically controlled the mainstream Afrikaans press resulting in strict self-censorship, as newspapers were uncertain of what could or could not be published. The Afrikaans press thus, for the most part, propagated the status quo as stipulated by the government. During the late 1970s the press revealed the government’s involvement in the Information Scandal. Millions of Rands of taxpayers’ money was illegally used to propagate the apartheid ideology to the world with the purpose of influencing public opinion in favour of South Africa’s position (Wigston 2007:46–47). The scandal signalled a turning point in the relationship between the Afrikaans press and the apartheid government. It was a rude awakening for many Afrikaners who were loyal to the National Party. Some Afrikaans publications openly condemned the government while others, however, still chose to support them. After this event prominent cracks started to emerge in the once apartheid-promoting Afrikaans press system.

The National Party government at first opposed the introduction of television in South Africa, fearing that it would suggest and promote cultural and social integration. Television was finally introduced as an SABC service in 1976 with the understanding that it would be utilised to promote and maintain apartheid principles such as separate development

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<sup>22</sup> During apartheid racial and ethnic identities were classified and imposed by those in power according to a set hierarchy. Your race particularly determined your identity, your value and your position in society. Other markers of identity such as gender and sexual orientation were also viewed as natural and fixed.

(Wigston 2007:14). Initial programming was only provided in Afrikaans and English on one channel. In the early 1980s further channels were introduced with broadcasts in major African languages. According to Milton (2005:89) programming aimed at black and white South Africans were “as rigidly segregated as was the population under the ideology of apartheid”. During the 1980s SABC-TV was still under the strict control of the government. The 1980s was a time of intense political turmoil in South Africa and strict censorship was imposed on the media. A State of Emergency was declared in 1985 and 1986 and this greatly restricted the actions of the press. Certain ministers were granted the power to close newspapers temporarily or permanently. The main purpose of the lockdown on the media was to “control what the government saw as incorrect or distorted images from being disseminated abroad. In reality it controlled the flow of accurate information to the South African public” (Milton 2005:90; Wigston 2007:50). The media was thus (forcefully) incorporated as a mouthpiece of the apartheid government and its ideas. President FW de Klerk lifted the State of Emergency in 1990. The political changes of the 1990s led to transformation in the South African broadcasting environment.

A new Board of Directors of the SABC was announced in 1993 and an Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) was established. The IBA was tasked with regulating broadcasting activities in the public interest, free from government control. In 1996 the SABC also re-launched its television channels as SABC 1, SABC 2 and SABC 3 (Teer-Tomaselli 2001:117–118). Deregulation and privatisation also came into play and room was made for more competition within the broadcasting environment. In 1999 the new Broadcasting Act was introduced and it stipulated three categories of television broadcasting, including public, commercial and community broadcasting (Milton 2005:96). With regard to the SABC, SABC 1 (broadcasts mainly in Nguni and English) and SABC 2 (broadcasts mainly in Sesotho, Afrikaans and English) are considered to be the public service channels. SABC 3, in comparison, broadcasts mainly in English, and is considered to be the public commercial channel (Wigston 2007:22). According to Wigston (2007:21), the public broadcaster’s “[p]rogramming is expected to reflect the diverse cultural and linguistic nature of South Africa”. Considerable emphasis was therefore placed on the production of local content to represent the diversity of the new South Africa and the IBA imposed specific quotas on the SABC (Teer-Tomaselli 2001:128) to address this need for local programming. A need for local Afrikaans programming was addressed in 1999 by kykNET.

As the SABC drastically minimised its offering of Afrikaans programmes, kykNET made its appearance. The SABC was mandated to broadcast in all 11 official languages and to implement the new language policy Afrikaans programming was reduced. In comparison, the commercial Afrikaans channel kykNET has a singular language focus (Robson 2012:35). At first the viewership consisted mostly of disaffected white Afrikaans viewers, but over the last 10 to 13 years the viewership profile has grown and diversified (De Jager 2004). kykNET provides a variety of programme genres in Afrikaans and aims to acknowledge the diversity of the Afrikaans community (Robson 2012:35). Initially kykNET broadcast old SABC content to help fill its schedule; now in the 2000s, the SABC regularly broadcasts old kykNET content (Ferreira 2009). This acknowledges the growing demand for local Afrikaans programmes on the SABC in the new millennium. Addressing the diverse language, cultural and identity needs of the South African society within the SABC and other media is an on-going process.

The history of the South African media and Afrikaner identity is relevant to the study at hand. Recounting the historical developments, prominent moments and changes provides relevant context and background to the study. This study investigated constructions of Afrikaans identity in Afrikaans television dramas set within particular historical periods. It is thus important to revisit the socio-political and cultural contexts of these particular moments in time. With the demise of apartheid the space for the renegotiation and questioning of identities (whether according to race, ethnicity, or gender) was created. According to Vestergaard (2001:22), the end of apartheid meant that the “Christian nationalist elite lost the political power to define Afrikaner – or any other – identity, leading to the reopening of the field”. Afrikaner identity and Afrikaans identity have been (and still are) probed, questioned and renegotiated within this transformational context (Van Coller & Van Jaarsveld 2009:25). After the 1994 election Afrikaners found themselves within a complex new environment. The post-apartheid condition unsettled white Afrikaans culture, challenging the power, privilege and normalisation inscribed into the white Afrikaans or Afrikaner identity construction (Marx & Milton 2011:723). Marx and Milton (2011:725) suggest that “white Afrikaans identities in particular struggled to come to terms with their place and position in the new South Africa”. Louw (2004:46) contends that the collapse of Afrikaner political power signalled the third phase in Afrikaans – the decline of Afrikaans. To support this claim he highlights the decline of Afrikaans in central, provincial and local governments, the law system, educational institutions and on television, to name but a few.

The Afrikaner national identity that was constructed during apartheid (phase two) is contested within the post-apartheid era (phase three). Louw (2004:47) states that “[w]hether this will erode Afrikaner cultural identity, or simply generate a mutation in this identity is a moot point”. This ‘mutation process’ is particularly relevant to the study at hand, as it explored the representation of Afrikaans identity in selected Afrikaans dramas from three subsequent decades – including the 1980s (part of phase two) and the 1990s and early 2000s (both part of phase three). The literature already suggests that evidence of a number of ‘mutations’ of Afrikaner or white Afrikaans identities have come to the fore. White and Afrikaner identities have been explored and deconstructed in multiple ways.

Whiteness studies investigate the construction of whiteness as normative, invisible and non-raced. It works to expose the many ways that whiteness is normalised and naturalised and operates on the basic assumption that whiteness is considered invisible (to white culture in particular). South Africa, however, appears to be an exception to the rule. Van der Watt (2005:122) argues that in South Africa “whiteness has never been invisible, certainly not to the non-white subjects of apartheid, but ... neither to white people themselves”. She maintains that the post-apartheid context has brought about a “hypervisibility” to whiteness and has directed attention particularly towards white masculinity (2005:119). There appears to be a willingness among some white artists and academics to dissect whiteness from the inside. Contemporary artists Steven Cohen and Peet Pienaar use performance art to explore and deconstruct white masculinity in its often “violent intersections with queerness, Jewishness [Cohen] and Afrikaner ethnicity [Pienaar]” (Van der Watt 2005:124). Through controversial performances Cohen aims to expose the constructedness of masculinities and to present a different version of masculinity. Pienaar uses his performances to show the “artifice of white masculinity”, stressing that the ‘realness’ or ‘naturalness’ of heteronormative white masculinity is only a myth (Van der Watt 2005:126). Another example of whiteness being dissected from the inside is the post-apartheid comic strip, *Bitterkomix* (established in 1992). The founding artists, Anton Kannemeyer and Conrad Botes use (among other techniques) satire as a tool to criticise and expose traditional and conservative values and ideas, particularly pre-1994 Afrikaner values and ideas. Van der Watt (2005:128) states that “*Bitterkomix* is ... focused on the self, exploring Afrikanerdom, whiteness and masculinity at a time when the hegemony of that triad has finally faltered”. These examples show that Afrikaner identity, Afrikanerdom and white identity have been opened up to investigation, redefinition and subversion.

Other cultural platforms have also been used to deconstruct and contest Afrikaner identity. The Afrikaans website *Watkykky* started in 2000 and includes entertainment and lifestyle news written in *zef* or common Afrikaans (Grobler 2012:17–18). The website celebrates *zef* culture. Grobler (2012:18) suggests that *zef* culture, including websites such as *Watkykky* and music acts such as *Die Antwoord*, is a “social phenomenon where a generation of Afrikaners – mostly in their 30s – have embarked on finding their own cultural identity by disowning the values associated with their parents’ generation – staunch Calvinism, nationalism, a white-picket-fence existence that rested on collective values and morals”. Grobler’s statement resonates with Giliomee’s (2011:664) claim that after 1994 many of “the younger generation were delighted to be rid of the stifling cultural conformity of Afrikaner society”. Some may find *Watkykky* offensive, while others admire and enjoy it. Grobler (2012:18), however, states that it has become an “iconic Afrikaans web presence and a cultural home to Afrikaners who don’t mind laughing at themselves”. This again shows an exploration of whiteness and white Afrikaans identity from the inside. Identity construction within the post-apartheid era shows Afrikaners using different cultural artefacts and forms of expression to reinvent and rearticulate Afrikaner identities.

After 1994, different means of exploring Afrikaans identity and supporting the growth (and survival) of Afrikaans have come to the fore. Vestergaard (2001:27) argues that the art scene is thriving, because musicians and writers use Afrikaans as their medium of expression. Afrikaans art festivals such as Aardklop and the Klein Karoo National Arts Festival (KKNK) and music festivals such as Huisgenoot Skouspel (Huisgenoot Extravaganza) and Oppikoppi offer a showcase for the diversity of Afrikaans and Afrikaans identity. According to Fourie (cited in Vestergaard 2001:27), one of the managers of the annual KKNK, the festival “celebrates the new vibrancy of the language and the wide variety in the types of Afrikaans spoken in different parts of the country and Namibia”. Vestergaard (2001:27) emphasises that by highlighting “unorthodox ways of using the language” the festival in fact challenges the notion of “*suiwer* (“pure”) Afrikaans, which was so important to the Christian nationalists” (original emphasis). In South Africa today, the Afrikaans music scene is also speaking to a wider audience. Commercial Afrikaans music is blossoming, with a multitude of artists performing and recoding CDs. Some of these artists and their music seem to romanticise being ‘Afrikaans’ and represent nostalgia for the past (Marx & Milton 2011:733). Besides this, there has also been a steady growth in the alternative Afrikaans music scene. In contrast to the more commercial Afrikaans music,

Marx and Milton (2011:733) note that many of these alternative bands are “as cynical about the dominant constructions of Afrikaans identity as they are about life in ‘the new’ South Africa”. These attitudes are reflected in their band-image(s), band names and lyrics. Music is thus a means of constructing, celebrating and questioning identity, and the conflict between commercial and alternative Afrikaans music is “indicative of the flux in which Afrikaner/Afrikaans identity continues to find itself” (Marx & Milton 2011:733). The literature by Vestergaard (2001), Van der Watt (2005), Marx and Milton (2011) and Grobler (2012) is valuable, because it highlights the interest in and relevance of exploring the diversity and renegotiation of white identity and Afrikaner/Afrikaans identity in music, comics, on the Internet and in performance art, and art festivals. These studies in a sense document the shifts, conflicts and complexities of these identities. The study at hand aimed to contribute to this recording process by exploring Afrikaans identity in television.

Within the framework of the new South Africa, the media is highlighted as a tool that can help people find new ways of thinking about themselves and of representing others and themselves. According to Wasserman (2008:263), “[r]epresentation in the South African media has received significant attention in the years since democratisation”. He notes that there have been multiple studies that focus on the representation of gender in the media, as well as the position of women in the industry. Questions of race and representation have also been investigated. Within the post-apartheid, democratic context of South Africa, people are renegotiating and repositioning themselves and the construction process and flexibility of identity is placed in the forefront. Milton (2008:256) states that:

Officially ‘the struggle’ was over, but unofficially 1994 marked the beginning of a new struggle – i.e. the construction of a national South African identity. Given South Africa’s history of inequality, the issue of identity has ... become an intense area of concern, debate and struggle, even as the country’s politicians are pushing the idea of ‘unity in diversity’.

The notion of ‘unity in diversity’ links with the aspiring idea of a Rainbow South African nation as articulated by Archbishop Desmond Tutu. These ideas and other ‘buzz’ concepts such as multiculturalism and multilingualism have become part of everyday debate and discussion. This has furthermore sparked the interest of various scholars, and studies focusing on the manifestation of these new South African issues (and their relation to identity) in popular media culture continue to emerge. The SABC and its assigned post-apartheid nation-building task have also been put under the spotlight to illuminate how its

new vision and mission informs not only its staffing and structure but also its content. Certain genres of SABC programming, including soap operas, sitcoms and dramas, have received considerable scholarly attention.

Soap operas are very popular in South Africa and locally produced soap operas attract large audiences. It is because of this undeniable popularity that many scholars have been drawn to it. Marx's (2008) investigation into selected South African soap operas<sup>23</sup> focuses on the construction or negotiation of identities in these popular visual media texts, particularly within the post-apartheid context. Although investigation regarding race and class are also relevant, her study highlights gender and sexual identities. Other scholars have also stressed the importance of investigating popular television programming, looking not only at gender but also race and language and particularly the role of these texts within the new South African framework.

Contemporary South African programming represents hybrid multicultural and multilingual identities. Commenting on South African sitcoms and soap operas, Barnard (2006:39) argues that "current popular culture in South Africa is working alongside political and social institutions to both chronicle the transformation of the country into a multicultural democracy and imaginatively/materially create a New South Africa". These texts thus provide a record of South Africa's transformational steps and can reveal much of the time from which they emerge. They also provide a space where a multicultural 'model' can be constructed and negotiated. It is within these contemporary media texts that identities within the new South Africa are represented in all their complexities and all their possibilities. Essentialist stereotypes and "binarised identity" are unsettled within plots and the "clashes and mixes of races and cultures in families, communities and other groupings" are explored (Barnard 2006:42–43). As Barnard states (2006:42), the soap operas and sitcoms of the new South Africa metaphorise the political and social processes of the country's transition from apartheid to democracy. He also foregrounds the importance of language in these texts, because "[I]anguage(s), then, function(s) to demarcate identities as well as to destabilise those identities" (Barnard 2006:51). This is especially relevant to South African media texts where more than one language is incorporated and in many cases multiple languages are utilised (through different characters and subtitles). Clearly these

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<sup>23</sup> Two Afrikaans soap operas, *Egoli* (M-Net) and *7de Laan* (SABC), are included in her selection of texts.



texts provide a rich area of investigation into the hybrid identity constructions of South Africans after 1994.

The media has an important role to play within the post-apartheid context. Considerable energy and creativity were put into the negotiation of the SABC's new vision and mission when the broadcaster, previously known as the mouthpiece of the apartheid government, was transformed into a fully-fledged public broadcaster (Teer-Tomaselli 2001:118). As with many public service broadcasters, nation building was identified as a central goal. Teer-Tomaselli (2001:125) notes that it is necessary to examine the concept of nation building as well as "the part that television, and especially programming broadcasts by the SABC, plays in this process". Television has been used to promote social change in many parts of the world and it has also been the case in South Africa. Investigations into drama/sitcoms produced by the SABC, such as *Suburban Bliss* (broadcast in the 1990s), have revealed prominent changes with regard to the themes and topics dealt with as well as the representation of characters. Changes include, for example, racial and cultural integration as well as leading black characters and at the time of writing Teer-Tomaselli (2001:133) stated that "[s]uch programmes would not have been possible even a few years ago". As for the SABC's Afrikaans-language television programmes, they too have their role to play in the nation-building objective.

The SABC's locally produced content plays an important part in South Africa's overarching national identity project. These programmes produce ideas and beliefs about South African identities and are thus interesting to study. Given the complex history of the Afrikaans language as both oppressor (language adopted by white Afrikaner nationalists during apartheid) and unifier (language of the white Afrikaner nationalism project), Afrikaans-language programmes provide an interesting grouping of texts to investigate regarding their role and position in relation to the SABC's continuing nation-building and national identity project (Milton 2008:255–257). In many Afrikaans language programmes set within the post-apartheid context one finds images of racial and cultural integration, in a sense a South African 'utopia'. Milton (2008: 262–263), however, reveals that selected programmes also investigate issues of discord and anxiety within the new South Africa, such as for example the loss of community. By looking at the discourses generated in selected soap opera, drama and dramedy texts, she argues that "a picture develops of the current state of affairs with regard to Afrikaans/South African identity" (Milton 2008:263).

While exploring issues of integration and bonding according to class, gender, race and language, she comments that the notion of change and mixing is represented within limits. Milton concludes that while certain racial and social transformation images are pushed to the fore, some ‘old’ stereotypes and demarcations still remain, for example the avoidance of multiracial romantic relationships. Although a multilingual stance is taken and the Afrikaans language is presented as being more inclusive, the Afrikaans used in these texts is still mostly geared towards standardised versions of Afrikaans (Milton 2008:267). The investigation of these Afrikaans language texts thus proves insightful in relation to questions of identity and particularly Afrikaans identity within the post-apartheid context.

Other studies have also probed the construction of identity in Afrikaans soap operas broadcast on the SABC (after 1994). Van Coller and Van Jaarsveld (2009:29–30) support Milton’s argument regarding the constructed (new) South African ‘utopia’ that can be found in some Afrikaans soap operas. They argue that Afrikaans soap operas such as *7de Laan* depict ‘multicultural’ characters as homogeneous. Everybody is situated within the same conditions, and everybody has the same dreams and ideals. Within this context historic and cultural complexities are ignored or neglected and a utopian reality is constructed. The programme represents a “micro cosmos of equality-in-diversity” (Van Coller & Van Jaarsveld 2009:30). *7de Laan* thus opts for a safer multicultural identity, where differences and conflicts are reduced to surface variations and superficial obstacles (Van Coller & Van Jaarsveld 2009:20, 31). Politics, religion and actuality issues such as serious violent crime, police corruption and prostitution are avoided. Van Coller and Van Jaarsveld (2009:30) suggest that a ‘relax and relate’ idea is put forth when ‘safer’ actuality issues are addressed, always with a comical subplot. This programme therefore presents a new (South African) identity within which South Africans live together in harmony and as equals.

As seen in the discussions above, television programmes produced within the post-apartheid context (mainly by the SABC) have received considerable scholarly attention. The studies by Milton (2008) and Van Coller and Van Jaarsveld (2009) pave the way for further research into Afrikaans television and identity construction. In order to make a relevant contribution to this growing field of research I broadened my scope of investigation and chose to include Afrikaans television programmes from not only the post-

1994 era, but also the pre-1994 era. This made for interesting analysis and comparison. As far as Afrikaans identity is concerned, the Afrikaans language plays a central role.

Language cannot be separated from identity. Language is described by some authors as a “validator” or “marker of distinctiveness” (Watson 1996). People feel connected to their language(s), as it represents an important part of who they are, of what makes them stand out, but also fit in. After the 1994 election, Afrikaans became one of 11 official languages in South Africa. This decision and the subsequent mission of the SABC to broadcast in all 11 languages acknowledge the importance of language to cultural identity, whether Afrikaans, Zulu, Xhosa, or any other language. People want to be linguistically represented and certain domains have a crucial role to play in the support and development (and survival) of languages, including education, public administration, social and economic life and the mass media (Watson 1996:256). Following the democratic restructuring of the SABC air-time allocated to Afrikaans was cut dramatically (bearing in mind the privileged position and status of Afrikaans during apartheid) and this drew strong reaction from many Afrikaans-speaking South Africans. This sometimes heated debate about the place of Afrikaans in South African society and the media still continues today and further emphasises the importance of and link between the Afrikaans language and Afrikaans identity (James 2011). As already stated in Chapter 1, Afrikaans has a multifaceted speaker base and each of the Afrikaans-speaking groups draw on the language and its history in their own way. The diversity of Afrikaans speakers contributes to the complexity of conceptualisations regarding Afrikaans identity.

McQuail (2000:80) points out that “[m]edia tend to support the values not only of society as a whole but also of segments within it, defined in various ways”. This is particularly relevant to South African media where notions of South Africanness and Rainbowism are generally endorsed but values, ideas and identities of segments within the South African community are also promoted. Afrikaans television programmes represent something specific to its particular community, with regard to its past and present. Wasserman (2008: 264) states that “these media call upon their audiences to take on a certain identity”. kykNET and the SABC highlight the complexity of the South African media landscape as they both have different visions, missions, ideals and approaches, yet still function within the same society and have a role to play concerning Afrikaans identity in the media. kykNET produces and broadcasts a variety of original Afrikaans programmes. These

productions say something about kykNET's position regarding Afrikaans media and Afrikaans identity. Karen Meiring (cited in Robson 2012:35), general manager of M-Net's Afrikaans channels, explains: "kykNET is more than just a television channel. It is a platform and showcase for a broader Afrikaans way of living." As for the SABC, it also contributes to the variety of Afrikaans programming, with its own original productions. Add to this the rebroadcasting of early Afrikaans material (by the SABC and kykNET), as well as the agreement between the SABC and kykNET in terms of shared broadcasting or rebroadcasting of each other's early material, and one finds a complex and diverse Afrikaans broadcasting environment. For several years viewers (including those with access to SABC and kykNET, and those with access only to SABC) have been exposed to many different representations of Afrikaans identity. This study aimed to shed light on some of these representations in order to explore (and compare) how Afrikaans identities are constructed in Afrikaans television programmes.

Through an investigation of other relevant studies and research on South African media, television and identity construction the need for further research on identity construction, particularly in Afrikaans television, was established. The literature helped to define the scope of this study and informed its approach to the analysis. In the literature review, textual analysis was identified as a very useful methodological approach and so guided the development of this study's methodological framework. This approach proved useful when looking at storylines, themes and representations.

## **2.5 Conclusion**

This chapter explicates a number of key concepts and assumptions that contributed to the theoretical development of this study. It highlights the cultural studies approach to identity and representation, and discusses the role played by media in identity formation. Identity as construction and its significant link to context (for instance, a particular time and place) is also stressed. The chapter further explores the construction and dissemination of identities through media representations and emphasises that these representations are linked to social, political, economic and cultural contexts and can thus change over time. Moreover, television as a source of information and a resource in identity projects is emphasised. The discussion illustrates that people use media, such as television, to make sense of who they are, but also to learn about others.

As for Afrikaans identity and the media, an overview of the development of Afrikaner identity is provided. This provides relevant background for the analysis. In addition, the changing South African media landscape is explored, highlighting the transformation from apartheid to democracy, as well as other new developments. Selected previous research on South African television, including Afrikaans television, is discussed to outline trends in academic investigations and to highlight needs for further research in this field, particularly concerning Afrikaans television and identity construction. To conclude, the complexity and diversity of Afrikaans identity and the Afrikaans broadcasting environment is explicated. This chapter informed the research conducted for this study. In the following chapter the research methodology is discussed.

## CHAPTER 3

# RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

### 3.1 Introduction

The literature review provided a basis for my understanding of relevant issues and key concepts. It also aided the identification of gaps in the literature, serving as motivation for the study at hand. This chapter (Chapter 3) outlines and discusses the methodological framework of the study, looking at the selected research design, sampling procedures, data collection techniques and data analysis methods. A review of the methodology used for the research is also provided. A brief discussion of television drama as genre is included in this chapter. To conduct the proposed research it was necessary to select an appropriate research design.

### 3.2 Research design

This study investigated the construction of Afrikaans identity in selected Afrikaans television dramas that were produced in different historical contexts, specifically the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s. Narratives and characters were examined and selected issues and themes such as gender, class, language and values were highlighted. All the above-mentioned elements have been identified (in the literature) as relevant to identity construction. The study asked: How were Afrikaans identities constructed or represented in different television dramas originating from different times or contexts? The type of design required was a comparative visual textual analysis. The study was concerned with what was being represented on the television screen and how Afrikaans identities were being represented in selected programmes. This type of design allowed for the investigation of the content of the selected television dramas and their meanings. According to Mouton (2001:168), the strength of this type of design is specifically that it can shed light on the meaning of texts as well as “historical periods, cultural trends and socio-political events”. Consequently, the chosen design suited the needs of the research and the investigation of the selected television texts satisfactorily addressed the outlined research question.

### 3.3 Methodology

A cultural studies approach was employed in the formulation of the study's methodological framework. A key concept in cultural studies is *meaning*. This research was interested in how (and which) meanings were being constructed and communicated in selected Afrikaans television dramas. Meaning is also vital in qualitative research. The study was not interested in only counting the number of for example, specific occurrences or depictions in television programmes (as would be the case with quantitative research); it rather employed a qualitative analysis focusing on detailed and multi-layered descriptions. Cultural studies is interdisciplinary and presents methodological flexibility, hence the study incorporated elements from two textual analysis methods – semiotics and narratology (O'Donnell 2007:159). Both these methods were ideal for the investigation into the construction of meaning in television texts. To conduct the study, the necessary data needed to be collected.

#### 3.3.1 Data collection

To address the outlined research questions it was necessary to collect and analyse appropriate data. The primary data that were collected consisted of the selected television programmes. The secondary data were derived from investigation of relevant literature. In order to narrow the scope and focus of the study a sample of appropriate Afrikaans television programmes was selected. The study entailed qualitative research and aimed to investigate a certain issue (Afrikaans identity construction on television) in detail. Miles and Huberman (1994:29) argue that sampling strategies for qualitative research should not be focused on “representativeness”. Sampling should be driven by the need to address conceptual questions. In line with a qualitative approach, this study employed purposive sampling (Miles & Huberman 1994:27; Devers & Frankel 2000:264). According to Maree and Pietersen (2007:178), purposive sampling is used “in special situations where the sampling is done with a specific purpose in mind”. As stated in the research questions, the study aimed to provide greater insight into the representation of Afrikaans identity in selected Afrikaans television dramas from different contextual periods. It did not, however, aim to generalise these findings to other settings. “[I]nformation rich cases” or examples thus needed to be selected and purposive sampling provided a useful strategy as texts or programmes could be purposely selected according to certain considerations and criteria (Devers & Frankel 2000:264). According to Miles and Huberman (1994:34), “typical” or

“representative” cases can yield rich results in purposive samples. Typical cases are “those [for example individuals, groups, texts] who are ‘normal’ or ‘average’ for those being studied” (Devers & Frankel 2000:265). Following this approach, the study identified (television) texts that could typically be described as Afrikaans (dramas).

During the selection process certain criteria for inclusion and exclusion were taken into account. This study sought to investigate the construction of Afrikaans identity specifically on television. For that reason other media forms, such as radio, print media and film were excluded. Limited research has been done on Afrikaans television and this study aimed to contribute to this field of inquiry. The selection of television programmes appropriate for this study were limited to locally produced South African Afrikaans programmes. In order to generate a list of possible Afrikaans programmes it was first necessary to outline what was considered to be an Afrikaans programme. When television was introduced in South Africa in 1976, SABC-TV broadcasts took place exclusively in Afrikaans and English (on one channel). Other channels and languages (specifically African languages) were only incorporated years later. The languages and programmes were rigidly separated in line with the segregationist ideology of apartheid at the time (Milton 2005:89). As a result, it was relatively easy to identify an Afrikaans programme during this time (from 1976 up until 1990) because of the strict categorisation of the programmes. The Afrikaans programmes used Afrikaans dialogue only and the programmes also worked with a mainly white Afrikaans cast of characters. Moreover, the programme titles indicated the (language) audience at which they were aimed.

From the early 1990s and specifically after 1994 dramatic changes were introduced into the South African broadcasting environment. Supporting the SABC’s nation-building ideals, subtitles were added to (most) locally produced television programmes and the SABC set out to cater to all 11 official languages. Multicultural and multilingual television programmes were the order of the day, a trend that still continues today. To identify an Afrikaans programme consequently became more complicated after 1994. To identify Afrikaans programmes for the study the following aspects were considered:

- The title of the programme (Afrikaans titles were considered)
- The description of the programme (for example in TV guides or on the internet, or on television, or by viewers)



- The content of the programmes (including aspects such as the language use/dialogue, subtitles, characters and narratives)

A range of programmes was selected and viewed according to the above-mentioned guidelines. During the time of initial general viewing (2007–2009) a programme described by television presenters and TV guides as an Afrikaans drama, *Erfsondes*, was criticised by Afrikaans viewers as being ‘too English’. According to the viewers the programme could rather be called *Sins of our Fathers*. This incident showed that when classifying television programmes as ‘Afrikaans’, various aspects needed to be considered. A list of local Afrikaans television programmes was compiled ranging from 1976 to 2008 (Afrikaanse TV [sa]:[sp]). Soap operas and sitcoms have been investigated in various previous studies (Barnard 2006; Marx 2008; Teer-Tomaselli 2001) and the study at hand therefore directed its attention towards television dramas. To further narrow the scope of the study a 20-year investigation period was outlined stretching from 1985 to 2005. Programmes produced before and after this time were eliminated from the list. The 20-year time span was formulated in line with the 2007–2009 scheduling or rebroadcasting trends of Afrikaans television programmes (as mentioned in Chapter 1). During the period 2007–2009 SABC and kykNET aired a variety of their own Afrikaans dramas, but they also rebroadcast each other’s earlier programmes. The rebroadcasts ranged from dramas originally produced in the 1980s and 1990s to the new millennium (2000 onwards). From 2007 until 2009 viewers were thus exposed to Afrikaans television texts from different broadcasters (SABC and kykNET), and different original contexts of production. The programmes aired during this time (2007–2009) were used as markers which guided the demarcation of a specific representational time frame, namely 1985–2005. What is more, the representational time frame incorporated very interesting and relevant times in the South African television environment.

With television only starting in South Africa in 1976, a boom in television productions (specifically Afrikaans television, spurred in part by the then National Party government) came to the fore during the 1980s. This was also a turbulent time of pressure on the apartheid system and the state of emergency. The 1990s brought forth a time of transformation, with South Africa breaking its ties with apartheid, moving forward and into a democratic society. From the late 1990s into the new millennium prominent changes and developments also came to light. The new Broadcasting Act was set in motion (1999) and

the Afrikaans channel, kykNET, was also brought to life. The selected 20-year span thus provided a rich and interesting area of investigation and comparison.

In order to explore the similarities and differences of television texts from different contexts, one text from each historical context or decade (1980s, 1990s and 2000s) was selected. To allow room for comparison more than one text is necessary, but it was considered wise to not include too many texts. This adhered to a qualitative research approach as articulated by Nieuwenhuis (2007:79), namely that “[q]ualitative research usually involves smaller sample sizes” than would be the case for quantitative studies. The sample size was also influenced by practical considerations such as time and cost (Maree & Pietersen 2007:178). Buying recordings (DVDs) of television programmes, specifically earlier programmes, can be very expensive and in-depth textual analysis of media texts can be very time-consuming and labour-intensive (Stokes 2003:54). The exploratory nature of the study also played a role in the number of programmes selected. The final selection of three television dramas thus provided a manageable sample that also offered some diversity. The final text selection comprised *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling* (Premiered on SABC: 1987; rebroadcast on SABC 2: 2007), *Wenners* (Premiered on SABC: 1992/1993; rebroadcast on kykNET: 2009) and *Song vir Katryn* (Premiered on kykNET: 2003; rebroadcast on SABC 2: 2008). The sample included texts from both the SABC and kykNET.

As was mentioned in Chapter 1, previous research concerning Afrikaans television and identity construction revealed a preference for examining SABC programmes produced after 1994. Since 1994, the SABC has undergone significant changes motivated by the social, economic and political changes taking place in the country (Teer-Tomaselli 2001:117). These changes have had various implications for SABC staffing, structures, policies and guidelines and also its content (Milton 2008:257–258). Accordingly, the post-1994 broadcasting environment is acknowledged as being a very interesting and relevant area of investigation. However, only limited research has so far involved the investigation of Afrikaans SABC programmes produced before 1994. kykNET, while situated within the post-1994 South African broadcasting environment, has also prompted only limited academic inquiry. The selection criteria were formulated in line with gaps identified in the literature as well as trends observed in the scheduling or broadcasting of Afrikaans television programmes. My viewing or reading position as researcher also guided the

selection of the sample of texts. Programmes were selected that I, the researcher, had already viewed on SABC or kykNET before 2007 and that I had re-viewed between 2007 and 2009. These texts were thus part of the (Afrikaans television) *re-viewing* experience that was identified in the period 2007–2009.

*Ballade vir 'n Enkeling* was a very popular SABC (or as it was then known, SAUK) Afrikaans drama in the late 1980s (its first season aired in 1987<sup>24</sup>). A rerun of the first season was shown on SABC 2 in February/March of 2007. In an episode of *Pasella* (26 January 2011), an Afrikaans lifestyle programme, lead actors from *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling* (Gavin van den Bergh and Alwyn van der Merwe) were interviewed. On this programme *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling* was hailed as one of the greatest Afrikaans dramas from what was described by the presenter as the “Golden era of Afrikaans television”. This programme was thus considered to be an appropriate Afrikaans drama sample from the 1980s. *Wenners*, an SABC (or SAUK) Afrikaans teenage drama, was first broadcast during 1992/1993. A rerun of this programme was broadcast on kykNET in 2009. It was considered to be an appropriate sample from the early 1990s. *Song vir Katryn*, an original kykNET production, was first broadcast in 2003 on kykNET (season 1).<sup>25</sup> Various reruns of *Song vir Katryn* have been aired. Both seasons were shown on SABC 2 from 2008–2009. *Song vir Katryn* provided a relevant example from the 2000s and from kykNET. All the aforementioned criteria were considered during the selection of ‘typical’ or ‘representative’ cases or examples, including the outlined conceptualisation of Afrikaans television programmes and television dramas, the focus and aims of the larger departmental research project on Afrikaans television and identity, the noticed trends in Afrikaans television broadcasting, gaps identified in the research literature and the formulated research questions. The selected television dramas needed to be collected and viewed.

One of the advantages of researching media texts is the availability of these texts in video or DVD format. Another advantage is that some of the potential readers of this study would already have been exposed to these texts at some point (Stokes 2003:54). DVDs of the selected television dramas were used for this study. *Song for Katryn* was purchased from a selected DVD store and *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling* was bought from the SABC’s Content Shop. *Wenners* was recorded during its airing on kykNET during 2009. The primary data collection technique employed in the study was that of observation. The aim was to gain a

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<sup>24</sup> The second season of *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling* was aired in 1993 on SABC.

<sup>25</sup> The second season of *Song vir Katryn* was aired in 2005 on kykNET.

greater understanding of the selected Afrikaans television dramas and their construction of Afrikaans identity. According to Nieuwenhuis (2007:84), observation enables the researcher to “gain a deeper insight and understanding of the phenomenon being observed”. In order to get to know the texts, I had to view them several times (Priest 1996:192-193). This approach is in line with Nieuwenhuis’s (2007:87) view that a single observation will not provide the researcher with rich data. The programmes were thus viewed numerous times and the level of structure regarding the observation varied from one viewing to the next. Each observation session had a specified purpose and focus directing the viewing – from unstructured and relaxed to more detailed and precise (Nieuwenhuis 2007:84). The first initial viewings were unstructured, allowing me the opportunity to get acquainted with the texts. From there on viewings became more structured as I identified relevant seasons and episodes and then significant themes, patterns and focus points.<sup>26</sup>

Two of the three programmes comprised two seasons. The first and second seasons of *Song vir Katryn* each consisted of 13 episodes. The first season of *Ballade vir ’n Enkeling* covered 14 episodes and the second a total of 28 episodes. *Wenners* only had one season and it consisted of 13 episodes. To narrow the scope of the investigation further it was decided that only the first seasons (1–13/14 episodes) would be part of the detailed data collection and analysis. The three programmes were still viewed as a whole, but seven episodes from each (first season) were randomly selected to investigate in detail. To select the seven episodes a specifically formulated random sampling process was followed for each text. To determine the random starting point for each programme numbers ranging from 1 to 13/14 (*Ballade vir ’n Enkeling* consists of 14 episodes and *Wenners* and *Song vir Katryn* consist of 13 episodes each) were written on slips of paper and placed in a container. One of these slips was randomly selected from the group. Using the selected number as a starting point, a further six episodes were then identified (following and/or preceding the starting point). This process was followed for each selected television drama. The selected seven episodes were representative of each programme as a whole and also provided a relevant basis for comparison.

Number two was the starting point for *Ballade vir ’n Enkeling* and the final sample thus included episodes two to eight. With *Wenners*, number 11 was selected as the starting point and the final sample included episodes seven to 13. Number one was selected as the starting

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<sup>26</sup> The formal viewing and analysis of these texts took place from 2010 to 2012.

point for *Song vir Katryn* and the sample thus included episodes one to seven. The succession or chain of episodes was selected for practical reasons since the stories, characters and events in this particular type of television drama flow from one episode to the next and this sampling approach thus made the observation and analysis more meaningful. (Television drama as a genre will be discussed in more detail later on.)

The choice of observation as data collection technique was appropriate for the study as I was interested in investigating the representations in television programmes. It was thus necessary to see what was being represented on screen. As a qualitative data collection technique, observation is highly selective and subjective and a researcher must thus always remain aware of possible biases (Nieuwenhuis 2007:84). Qualitative studies do, however, “accept researcher subjectivity as something that cannot be eliminated and see the researcher as the ‘research instrument’ in the data gathering process” (Nieuwenhuis 2007:80). Within this context the trustworthiness of the research conducted is very important. To enhance the trustworthiness of the study I continued to investigate relevant literature (in conjunction with the observation technique and analysis methods). Reviewing further literature prompted a secondary data collection technique. The research was exploratory in nature and the study of literature illuminated key concepts and issues. To ensure validity and reliability I worked systematically throughout the entire process. I recorded detailed descriptions of the data and ensured that procedures remained consistent. After the data had been collected, it was analysed.

At this point it is necessary to provide a brief discussion of television drama as genre.

### **3.3.2 Television drama as genre**

When working with television programmes it is necessary to have knowledge of the genre(s) that they belong to. It is important to be familiar with the genre because its characteristics influence one’s approach to and analysis of the programme. For instance, there is a difference in analysing a soap opera (such as *7de Laan*) and a crime drama (such as *Transito*). These texts are both considered to be television dramas, but they exhibit different drama formats and characteristics.

Genre can be defined as a style or category of art, music, or literature. According to O’Donnell (2007:96), it is a form of classification. In television a number of different

genres (and subgenres) can be identified, including news, sports, drama, reality shows, talk shows, game shows and children's television. Dunn (2005:138) states that "[t]here is no agreed list of television genres". Different authors conceptualise and describe genres in different ways and thus categorise programmes differently. The boundaries between genres are also fluid and new (or hybrid) genres are often constructed (Dunn 2005:138; O'Donnell 2007:98). When investigating television programmes it is necessary to outline the genres and/or subgenres that are part of one's study.

Television drama encompasses a number of different subgenres, including the serious or art drama, the soap opera, the sitcom, the comedy, the documentary drama, the crime drama, the hospital (or workplace) drama, the journalism drama, the science fiction drama, the children's drama or youth drama, the family drama and the hybrid drama (O'Donnell 2007:101–109; Smith, cited in Smit 2008:32–34). Only the subgenres that are considered relevant to the study's selection of texts are explored below.

*Wenners* can be categorised as a youth drama. A youth drama is characterised by adolescent main characters and the story is for the most part told from an adolescent perspective. These programmes are also aimed at an adolescent audience (Smit 2008:34). Both *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling* and *Song vir Katryn* can be described as hybrid dramas. According to O'Donnell (2007:106,123), a hybrid drama occurs when one genre merges or blends with elements of another genre (or genres). An example would be a family drama with elements of science fiction. *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling* presents elements of a family drama, romantic drama and journalism drama. Family dramas focus on interpersonal relationships, conflicts and crises. The cast usually includes young adults, children and senior citizens. A romantic drama highlights specific romantic relationships, focusing on the trials, tribulations and joys of specific couples. A journalism drama usually depicts a newspaper, magazine or television office, featuring the activities of the editorial staff and the stories that they investigate (Smit 2008:34). *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling* includes elements from all three these subgenres. *Song vir Katryn* incorporates elements from both a family drama and a romantic drama and can thus also be categorised as a hybrid drama.

The subgenres of television drama use different drama formats or forms. The drama form involves aspects such as the production process, the narrative structure, the length of episodes, the number of episodes, the content and the target audience (O'Donnell 2007:97; Smit 2008:35). Smith (cited in Smit 2008:35) distinguishes the following drama forms: the

serial, the series, the single play, the miniseries, the seasonal series, the spin-off and the follow-up series. Most authors highlight the distinction between the series and serial. These two drama forms are very popular on television. A series is considered formulaic and can consist of 13 episodes or more that are broadcast weekly (O'Donnell 2007:119). The main characters and settings remain constant throughout the series. Each episode features a self-contained story, which is concluded at the end of the allocated hour or half hour. Some storylines, such as relationships between main characters, can however develop from one episode to the next (Huisman 2005:154). Examples include *CSI*, *Frasier*, *Orkney snork nie* and *Die Manakwalanners* (Smit 2008:35). Serials usually consist of 11 or more episodes that can be broadcast daily or weekly. The content of the drama and the time of its broadcast determine the target audience (Smit 2008:35). The same main characters and settings feature throughout the programme and the storylines carry on from one episode to the next. According to Fiske (1987:150), the characters “grow and change with time, and have active ‘memories’ of previous events”. Serials often incorporate cliffhangers at the end of individual episodes. This technique creates suspense, heightens curiosity and thus motivates the viewer to return for the next episode. In most weekly serials the narrative typically drives towards closure in the final episode (Dunn 2005:132). Open-ended or daily serials can continue indefinitely with various small endings to particular storylines, but with no final resolution. This is characteristic of the soap opera (Dunn 2005:132; Huisman 2005:154). Examples of serials are *Agter elke man*, *Amalia*, *Triptiek* and *7de Laan*. Taking into account the above discussion of drama forms, *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling* (14 episodes), *Wenners* (13 episodes), and *Song vir Katryn* (13 episodes) can be identified as weekly serials.

After categorising the chosen television dramas the data analysis methods were appropriated to suit the investigation of the identified drama forms. Semiotics and narrative analysis successfully examined the selected drama subgenres and their serial format.

### **3.3.3 Data analysis**

Once the necessary data had been collected, a comparative visual textual analysis was conducted using semiotics and narrative analysis. As already stated, I was interested in investigating narratives and characters. In a weekly serial drama (such as *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling*, *Wenners* and *Song vir Katryn*) selected storylines, themes and characters can go beyond a single episode. Some issues or themes are dealt with in a short period of time, for

example, in 2–3 weeks or episodes, while others stretch over the entire length of the serial. These characteristics were kept in mind during the analysis. Given the form of the selected television dramas the selection of seven episodes per programme was appropriate, as it provided enough content to work with. The data analysis focused on the selected episodes in detail (seven episodes per programme), but the remaining episodes were also referred to where necessary, as they provided context to the analysis of the selected episodes and in a sense painted a fuller picture.

The selected data analysis methods and their application are discussed in further detail in the sections that follow.

### **3.3.3.1 Semiotics**

Semiotics (the study of signs) is derived from the work of Ferdinand de Saussure. He believed that semiotics could be used to study a large number of sign systems (Stokes 2003:70). Film and television can be viewed as sign systems that communicate various meanings (Fourie 1988:28, 31). By using semiotics the meanings of television and filmic texts can be analysed. I was interested in the meanings that were communicated in selected Afrikaans television texts and what these texts communicated about Afrikaans identity. Since I was thus interested in what was shown and what was implied (Stokes 2003:72) semiotics suited the needs of the study. The use of semiotics is a very subjective and interpretive method and different researchers may derive different interpretations when analysing the selected texts, but this does not diminish its value. As Jane Stokes (2003:72) emphasises, semiotics is about “enriching our understanding of texts”. It can deliver multi-layered and insightful results and set the stage for further research and discussion. In order to analyse the selected television texts semiotically, I focused on codes of content and codes of form. Codes of content refer to what the viewer can see and hear in an image. It includes aspects such as the theme, the story, the mise-en-scène (décor/setting, props, costumes), lighting, music, sound effects and acting. Fourie (1988:32) argues that these nonfilmic codes are vital “for the transmission of meaning in television and film communication”.



### 3.3.3.1.1 Codes of content

- Theme and story (characterisation)

According to Van Nierop (1998:19), a good starting point when analysing a film is to establish what the story or film is about. The same can be said when analysing a television programme. The title is a good place to start as it can say a great deal about the content of a programme (Van Nierop 1998:26). The title is usually related to the theme(s) and it can construct certain expectations regarding the text. For example, the title can suggest that it is a crime story or a love story. By exploring the plots or storylines relevant themes can also be identified. The story can further be examined by looking at the narrative and the narrative structures it contains (Fourie 1988:37). This entails examining literary factors such as exposition, crisis, climax, denouement and characterisation. Narrative structure is discussed in detail under the narrative analysis method; therefore characterisation only is highlighted at this stage. Characters usually change or develop over time, and viewers get to know characters in different ways. According to Butler (2002:35–39), different types of signs are used in television to construct characters. These character signs can include character name, appearance (including components such as the face, body and costuming), objective correlative, dialogue (what characters say and what others say about them) and action (what characters do in a story). Objective correlatives refer to objects (or animals) and environments or places that are associated with characters and that convey something about them (Butler 2002:38). The sitcom *Frasier* can be used as an example. Frasier's lavish apartment in Seattle is strongly associated with his character, as is the dog, Eddie, with the character depicting Frasier's father, Martin. Both the apartment (signifying class, elite lifestyle) and the dog (signifying 'down to earth'-ness, caring) say something about Frasier and Martin respectively. Regarding the character sign of appearance, Butler (2002:37–38) also states that bodily attributes communicate clearer meanings than facial ones. The actors' or actresses' physiques and the way they carry themselves can thus quickly communicate particular meanings about the characters to the viewer. A male hero's physique usually suggests strength, masculinity and control.

Fiske (1987:8–11) emphasises that characters are “embodiments of ideological values”. They convey, for example, values of attractiveness, success, class, villainy and heroism. The actors and actresses who are cast to play selected roles are real people who are already encoded by a society's social codes, for example their appearances are already encoded as

attractive or less attractive. When characters are depicted on television the social codes and technical codes (such as camera work, setting, costumes and lighting) work together to generate meaning and to embody ideological codes (Fiske 1987:4–10). Actors and actresses bring their own ‘baggage’ to each project, including links to previous roles, as well as links to other endeavours and other media coverage. *Song vir Katryn* provides a relevant example: the main character, Jinx, is an Afrikaans rock singer. In real life, Valiant Swart, who plays Jinx, really is an established and popular Afrikaans rock singer. His position within the Afrikaans rock culture is brought to his role in *Song vir Katryn*. Casting thus also plays an important role in characterisation.

Another important aspect of analysis is mise-en-scène.

- Mise-en-scène (décor, props, costumes)

Gouws and Snyman (1995:25–29) conceptualise mise-en-scène as the visual content of the frame and its arrangement. They stress that the positioning of objects or people within the frame provides valuable information about importance and focus. For example, when a character is positioned in the centre of the frame he/she becomes a focus point and is considered to be an important character. The amount of space a character takes up in the frame also communicates messages about his/her dramatic importance and social position. Usually a character that takes up more space than the others is considered to be an important character. Furthermore, one can look for balance and imbalance in the frames. The images on screen are usually balanced. This can convey a specific atmosphere of harmony or establish a particular relationship between objects or characters. An unbalanced frame can also be employed to communicate meanings of instability or confusion (Van Nierop 1998:33-36). According to Gouws and Snyman (1995:27), the décor or setting can suggest the conjuncture of time (e.g. the 1980s), the social standing of characters (e.g. upper, middle or working class), their financial circumstances (e.g. rich or poor) and their emotional situation (e.g. despair). Another way of communicating meaning is through the use of colour.

Specific meanings are associated with specific colours and these meanings are culturally specific. When colours are selected for décor and costumes these cultural meanings are kept in mind. For example, within a Western context black and white are often used to distinguish the hero (white costume) from the villain (black costume). Butler (2002:104)

emphasises that “[c]ostume is one of the first aspects of a character that we notice and on which we build expectations”. Costumes (and make-up) and props provide information about characters, such as occupation, financial situation, social position, emotional state, age and personality. Costume and make-up often change as the story develops (Smit 2008:50).

- Lighting

Various lighting codes are utilised in television programmes in order to create a particular atmosphere and convey a particular meaning (Fourie 1988:32). Lighting can be used to emphasise certain aspects within a scene and it can lead a viewer’s eye to specific points of interest. Both Butler (2002:109–110) and Gouws and Snyman (1995:32–33) distinguish between two lighting styles: high-key lighting and low-key lighting. High-key lighting entails that the set is very evenly lit, with low contrast between bright and dark. Most soap operas, sitcoms, game shows and talk shows incorporate this style of lighting. High-key lighting is considered ‘normal’ lighting. Low-key lighting entails a high contrast between bright and dark. This is considered to be the more dramatic style of lighting and is often linked to criminal and sinister elements. This style of lighting is commonly used in mystery, suspense and detective programmes.

Sound is another important mechanism that is utilised in television productions.

- Sound

Butler (2002:174–177) identifies three main categories of sound: speech, music and sound effects. In narrative television (such as soap operas) speech refers to dialogue among characters. According to Zetl (cited in Smit 2008:47) a character’s dialogue is determined by various factors, including his/her education, occupation, attitude, surroundings, background, situation, the time of the day and the people involved in the dialogue. Another demonstration of speech is the voice-over or narration. This means a character’s or omniscient narrator’s voice is heard over an image (Butler 2002:174). The voice occasionally addresses the viewer directly.

Music is very important in television programmes as it connects with the story and characters and so enriches the text. Music can be performed in the television programme (e.g. a concert) or it can be used to support the images (e.g. background music). Gouws and

Snyman (1995:41) highlight different functions of music in an audio-visual text. Music can create atmosphere and establish the appropriate tone for the scene. Music can also indicate locality, for example, the use of Afrikaans music in *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling* and *Song vir Katryn*. The specific use of music in these two programmes situates the texts within specific Afrikaans South African contexts and time frames. For example, *Song vir Katryn* is situated in the more contemporary Afrikaans rock context.

The final category of sound, sound effects, includes all audio-elements that are not speech or music, such as traffic sounds, sounds of birds in a park (Butler 2002:177). These sound effects help to create atmosphere and to establish the setting. Consider, for example, the different sound effects that are incorporated to establish a bustling urban city environment versus a rural farm setting.

The discussion provided above highlights a number of elements categorised as codes of content. In the discussion to follow, codes of form are explored.

#### 3.3.3.1.2 *Codes of form*

The term 'codes of form' refers to camera work (including point of view, angles, distance and movement) and editing. These codes of form also give meaning to images in a particular way (Fourie 1988:32–33). The camera acts as a narrator and it depicts the story in a particular way using various techniques. This can be done in an objective or subjective way (Van Nierop 1998:31). When the camera eye or point of view is objective the camera is simply used as a recording device and it remains predominantly static in order to reproduce a realistic version of the events being recorded. From this perspective the camera is viewed as passive and as a reflector of reality. When an active and subjective camera is employed it presents a 'way of looking' at the person/object in front of the camera and the viewpoint is purposefully manipulated using camera angles, movement and distance (Fourie 1988:32–33; Van Nierop 1998:31).

- Camera angles

Different camera angles can be used to make a statement. In a low angle shot the camera is lower than the object being shown. Using this angle, the viewer looks up at the character or object and this can make the object or person appear threatening and powerful. In a high angle shot the camera is positioned above the filmed object. When looking down at the

object or person, they may appear small and insignificant. A high angle shot can also provide an overall view of a situation; for example, it can show how a character is being led into a trap (Van Nierop 1998:36–38). The camera can also be positioned at eye level (thus level with the actors' faces). Eye level is considered to be the 'normal' height and it is often used to depict conversations between characters (Butler 2002:125). Butler (2002:126) stresses that stylistic elements such as camera angles do have meanings, but that those meanings are always formulated within the context of the specific programme.

Camera distance also plays an important role in how images are depicted.

- Camera distance or framing

Camera distance or the framing of a shot determines what we can and cannot see (Butler 2002:122). The most common object to appear before the camera is the human body and it thus serves as the standard when discussing camera distance or framing. Butler (2002:122–124) and Gouws and Snyman (1995:30–31) discuss a number of different framing options. With a close-up (CU) the character's head and shoulders fill the frame. Very little or no background is visible since the close-up functions to highlight emotion and detail. Any framing closer than a close-up is considered to be an extreme close-up (XCU). An XCU can signify entrapment or intimacy and it can signal an important narrative moment (Van Nierop 1998:39–40). The medium shot (MS) shows characters from the thigh or waist up. This shot is commonly used for conversation scenes and can take the form of a two-shot (frames two characters), three-shot or over-the-shoulder-shot. The MS can include both facial expressions and body language. In a long shot (LS) the entire body of the character is shown together with some background. A long shot positions a character within his/her environment. Its main function is to convey information, not emotion as is done with a CU. An establishing shot or extreme long shot (XLS) takes on an extremely distant point of view, typically in the form of an aerial shot, and its main function is to establish the setting. Characters can also be included in this shot, but they are usually depicted as small or barely visible. The establishing shot sets the scene for the story and the characters, for example, in an aerial shot of the city in which the story is set.

The camera can also be set in motion in different ways, as described next.

- Camera movement

Van Nierop (1998:41–50) and Gouws and Snyman (1995:35–37) distinguish various basic camera movements. Panning involves a continuous horizontal movement from one side of the frame to the other. The camera is placed on a tripod with a moving axis. The tripod legs remain stationary, while the tripod head turns from side to side. This movement can lead the viewer's eye to a specific point or it can help the viewer to take in a specific setting or scene. The swish pan involves a very rapid horizontal movement that blurs the image. This technique can be used to signify confusion. Tilting entails the vertical movement of the camera on a stationary tripod. The height of the camera does not change, only its angle of vision (Butler 2002:127). Tilting can be used to emphasise the height or beauty of a character or object. With the help of a zoom lens the camera can zoom in and out. The camera itself does not move but the lens can magnify and de-magnify the object it is recording (Butler 2002:119). This technique is often used to direct the viewer's attention toward an important character or object. A hand-held shot – as indicated by the name – implies that the camera is held in the operator's hands, rather than being mounted on a tripod or any other camera stand (Butler 2002:129). This technique is mostly employed to create a sense of immediacy, realism or instability. The steadicam is a portable camera that is carried by the operator. This type of camera steadies itself and thus provides smooth movements, while remaining close to the action. A dolly or trucking (or tracking) shot is taken from a moving vehicle (e.g. a car, bicycle or train) or an object on tracks. Using this approach the camera can move alongside, behind or ahead of the moving object. A crane shot is basically a dolly shot, but it includes the use of a mechanical arm that can move in different directions. Aerial shots are also considered crane shots but they obtain greater height by mounting the camera in a helicopter. The use of slow motion can highlight the characters' feelings and experiences, such as horror, shock or victory. This technique can suggest a dream-like state or emphasise a life-changing moment. A freeze-frame brings the moving image to a stop and it is typically used at a critical point in the text to convey a particular meaning. It can indicate a pause in time, a dramatic moment or the end of something (including the text).

- Editing

According to Fourie (1988:33), various editing devices are used to “structure the story of a film or the progress of a television programme”. Editing techniques include cutting, mixing

and fading. The cut is the most used editing technique. It entails the immediate transition from one shot to the next. The main function of the cut is to facilitate continuous movement and the tempo of the cut can communicate a specific meaning. Quick cuts can create a feeling of tension or suspense, while slow cuts can create a sense of calmness (Gouws and Snyman 1995:37). Butler (2002:160) states that a collection of scene-to-scene transitions has been developed to break the continuity of time in television programmes and films. These transitions can shorten story time or change its order without confusing the viewer. According to Butler (2002:160), “[t]hese transitions are marked by simple special effects that are used instead of a regular cut”. The transitional devices include the fade, the dissolve and the wipe. The image can fade out (screen gradually darkens the image until it is black) and fade in (screen starts in black and gradually illuminates the image). The fade-out and fade-in technique can indicate a change in time (Butler 2002:161). When one shot dissolves into the next, the first shot fades out while the next shot fades in. At some point during the transition the two images will briefly overlap one another. Dissolves are often used to signal transitions into the past (e.g. flashbacks) or into a dream. A wipe imitates the movement of a windshield wiper. This technique wipes one image off the screen and another on to take its place (Butler 2002:161). Wipes can signal a change in time or an immediate change in space.

In the study these codes were described and interpreted as they were employed in the selected texts (e.g. in the representation of certain characters, situations and settings), exploring the meanings that were being communicated and how this related to themes and the construction of Afrikaans identity. Since semiotics includes elements relevant to narrative structure, narrative analysis can thus be fruitfully combined with this method.

### **3.3.3.2 *Narrative analysis***

Narratives are an inescapable part of life. According to Stokes (2003:67), “it seems a basic human characteristic to tell stories about ourselves, about our world and about the people and phenomenon we encounter”. We thus use narrative to make sense of things, who we are, who we think others are and so forth. Narrative is also one means of communicating the values and ideas of a culture or group of people. Narrative analysis can therefore be used to bring to light various messages and meanings that are being communicated through texts. Stories can divulge a great deal about people, places and issues and I sought to investigate the messages that were being communicated through selected Afrikaans

television stories. In narrative analysis the focus falls on the structure of the story and the aim is to examine the underlying message(s) about various issues such as messages about heroes, family, or good triumphing over evil. There are a number of ways of investigating narrative and the techniques can be applied to individual television episodes (Stokes 2003:69). In this study I employed the basic narrative paradigm as well as Todorov's narrative model to explore the structure of the stories (Stokes 2003; Wigston 2001).

- Todorov's narrative model

For Todorov, the narrative begins with a state of equilibrium or social harmony. The equilibrium is disrupted early on in the narrative by the villain (and/or a lack of or a desire for something). The narrative then charts the course of this disequilibrium and ends with a resolution that brings about a new equilibrium (Fiske 1987:138–139; O'Donnel 2007:75; Wigston 2001:154–155). According to Fiske (1987:139), the second equilibrium may be similar to the first, but they are never identical. In line with Todorov's model I identified and described the state of equilibrium at the beginning of the story, the disruption of the equilibrium (and attempts to restore it) as well as the new or restored equilibrium at the end. Fiske (1987:139) suggests that, in this model, the ideological work of the narrative can be understood by comparing the opening and closing states of equilibrium and by distinguishing the force of disruption (e.g. the villain) and the force of stability (e.g. the police or hero). This approach to the investigation of ideology in narrative was incorporated in the analyses.

- The basic narrative paradigm

The basic narrative paradigm highlighted the exposition, climax, resolution and denouement of the selected stories. Wigston (2001:143) explicates each phase. The exposition introduces the main characters and the space or environment that they occupy. The enigma or problems to be addressed in the narrative are also stated in the exposition. In most television serials or series the recurring characters are re-introduced at the beginning of every episode as part of the title sequence (Wigston 2001:143). Smit (2008:40) describes the climax as the peak toward which the story drives. In a television drama the climax or peak is typically delayed till the final episode; however, a number of mini-climaxes and cliffhangers are incorporated. These smaller climaxes and cliffhangers are usually strategically placed at the end of a sequence before the commercial break or at the end of an



episode. The purpose of this is to heighten the interest of the viewers to ensure that they will return after the advertisements or for the next episode (Wigston 2001:143). The resolution follows the climax. During this phase of the narrative the enigmas or problems posed at the beginning are resolved. The denouement refers to the ending of the story. Wigston (2001:143) notes that “[t]he denouement brings about closure to the narrative by rounding out the story”. In many television dramas the narrative concludes with a closed ending where all (or most of) the enigmas or questions of the story are answered. When most of the narrative questions are left unanswered the story concludes with an open narrative or ending. According to Wigston (2001:143), narrative is closely associated with genre. The phases described above can be applied to individual episodes, or to a complete series or serial. The television genre will, however, influence how these phases operate.

Through these approaches the study examined the main characters, the problems and situations or issues they faced (or that came to the fore), and how these problems or issues were addressed and resolved. The chronological or a-chronological development of the story was also described and interpreted. The narrative analysis related its discussion to each programme as a whole, looking specifically at the endings, as the way things are brought to a close (or not – open endings are also possible) can communicate a range of important meanings. Myths and ideological values of a particular culture or group of people are often found in media texts (Fourie 2001:11). In this regard, Stokes (2003:77) states that the purpose of uncovering the ideology underlying a message is at the root of most textual analysis. The identification of myths and ideologies were taken into consideration during the semiotic and narrative analyses.

Each programme, specifically the selected episodes, were analysed separately using a combined semiotic and narrative analysis approach. I viewed the texts several times in order to become well acquainted with the content. After analysing the individual episodes, I identified emerging themes for each programme. I subsequently investigated these themes and where necessary the investigation was related to the broader context of each programme as a whole. During the analyses similarities and differences among the texts were identified. The texts were compared while keeping in mind their different historical contexts and the findings were then related to the outlined research questions.

Sandelowski (1998:379–380) stresses that writers must choose the organising principle or strategy that presents “the data in the most illuminating, least complicated, and

nonredundant way” and suggests that writers should experiment with different organisational schemes. During the analyses I experimented with different strategies for representing the data; for example I used the ‘natural’ presentation strategy. When using this strategy, a researcher presents the data “in a shape that resembles the phenomenon being studied” (Chenail 1995:7). Television shows are viewed as episodes and the data are then presented and analysed in episodic order. After careful consideration I selected a thematic approach as the most appropriate manner of organising the data. Using this approach connections among episodes were highlighted more efficiently and similarities and differences among the programmes were identified with greater ease. The natural strategy also provided extremely long descriptive accounts of the data, whereas the thematic approach grouped the information into more manageable pieces.

The write-up of the analysis and the discussion of findings were carried out in a consistent and systematic fashion. According to Chenail (1995:2), openness entails involving others in one’s research. This can include participants in the study, colleagues and experts, who read and comment on one’s work. In line with this suggestion drafts of my interpretations and discussions were shared with my supervisor for feedback. This encouraged critical dialogue and also acted as a validity and reliability check. The purpose was not to identify whether my interpretations and discussions were the ‘right’ ones, but rather to help me to stay close to the data and to provide persuasive and plausible arguments (Advice on writing up a qualitative study [sa]:2–3).

### **3.4 Review of methodology**

In the study a qualitative approach was utilised to investigate selected Afrikaans television dramas. A visual textual analysis was conducted, using semiotic and narrative analysis methods. This approach proved successful as it provided detailed descriptions of the data and encouraged critical discussion and interpretation. With the help of the selected methods the meanings constructed within the television dramas were identified and explored. This approach thus successfully assisted the investigation process and provided me with the necessary information to address the outlined research questions. During the investigation certain challenges were, however, experienced.

Constant access to one’s selected texts is crucial when doing textual analysis. Television texts are usually readily accessible because they are broadcast and made available to a wide

audience. With the necessary equipment these programmes can be recorded and some television programmes are also available from general stores to buy or rent. Nevertheless, when the television texts cannot be obtained in the above-mentioned ways they need to be purchased from the broadcasters themselves. This can prove to be an expensive endeavour. With the assistance of research funding this challenge was, however, overcome and the specific programme, *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling*, was purchased directly from the SABC Content Shop.

The analysis process, although interesting, was time-consuming and labour-intensive. In order to conduct a detailed and in-depth analysis numerous hours were spent on individual episodes. This process also generated a vast amount of data that needed to be filtered through and organised. A possible solution or improvement to the challenge of large amounts of generated data and the extensive lengths of time needed to examine and organise the data could be to further limit and focus the selection of texts. Another option could be to limit the thematic discussion and analysis to only one central theme per text. Yet, an advantage of this detailed and extensive analysis was that it brought out various layers of the different texts. As suggested by Stokes (2003:56), the selected analysis methods can be used “to draw out latent themes within texts and make connections between them”. This approach made it possible to explore meanings and values represented within the texts, which may not be obvious at a first or second viewing.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

In this chapter I explained the research design (comparative visual textual analysis) of the study as well as the data collection techniques and the sampling procedures and I discussed the specific analysis methods and outlined the procedure followed during the analysis process. A brief overview of television drama as genre was also provided. The chapter concluded with a review of the methodology employed in this study.

## CHAPTER 4

# WHO, WHAT, WHEN AND WHERE – PLOT, CHARACTER AND EPISODE DESCRIPTIONS

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter is included to familiarise the reader with the selected television programmes. A plot summary, list of characters and brief episode descriptions are provided for each television drama. Through the inclusion of this chapter the reader is prepared for the analyses that follow in the next few chapters. *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling* is discussed first, followed by *Wenners* and finally, *Song vir Katryn*.

### 4.2 *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling*

#### 4.2.1 Summary

First broadcast in 1987 by the SABC (and re-broadcast in 2007 on SABC 2), *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling* tells the story of Jacques Rynhard. Jacques is announced as the Basson prize winner for literature, but he is not at the ceremony to accept the award. A newspaper article then appears stating that Jacques has disappeared. Carina Human, a journalist, is instructed to write 'Jacques's story' and to find him. As the story unfolds Carina digs into his background to uncover the real story behind Jacques's disappearance. A number of flashbacks depict Jacques's childhood. His loveless and oppressive family environment as well as the love triangle between him and his childhood friends Lena and Jan-Paul is revealed. Jacques's childhood caregiver and only true friend, Trudie Linde, is also introduced. After a shooting accident where Jacques kills his father, Jacques is sent to a reformatory school where he completes his education. There he excels as a student, particularly in Afrikaans, but bullies torment him. Through the flashbacks and Carina's reporting Jacques's life unfolds on screen. His successes and failures in relationships and in his writing are explored. While looking for Jacques, Carina discovers that she has fallen in love with him and vows to find him. Consumed by guilt Jan-Paul finally reveals that he was the one who accidentally killed Jacques's father and then commits suicide. Jacques finally

returns to his old apartment and learns of Carina and the story she is writing about him. The serial ends with Jacques and Carina driving off together in her car.

#### 4.2.2 Character table

The character table (Table 4.1) provides a list of the main and guest characters in *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling*, the actors or actresses who portrayed these characters, and a brief description of each character.

**Table 4.1: Character table for *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling***

<b>List of main characters</b>	<b>Actor/Actress</b>	<b>Description</b>
Jacques Rynhard	Gavin van den Berg	Protagonist ('Enkeling'); writer; Liebet and Klaus's son
Carina Human	Karin Human	Journalist at <i>Die Huisvriend</i>
Liebet Rynhard	Babs Laker	Jacques's mother
Trudie Linde (Shivas)	Marie Pentz	Jacques's caregiver/confidante
Lena Aucamp	Selma van der Vywer	Jacques's friend/romantic interest; artist/painter
Jan-Paul Otto	Alwyn van der Merwe	Jacques's best friend; actor
Alicia Francke	Anneline Kriel	Jacques's girlfriend; daughter of John Francke (a publisher)
Otto Beuker (Knor)	William Egan	Editor of <i>Die Huisvriend</i>
Meisie Moolman	Shareen Swart	Journalist at <i>Die Huisvriend</i> ; Carina's best friend
Gavin Greeff	Hugo Taljaard	Jacques's antagonist; pupil at reformatory school with Jacques; photographer at <i>Die Huisvriend</i>
<b>List of guest characters (Episodes 2–8)</b>	<b>Actor/Actress</b>	<b>Description</b>
Klaus Rynhard	Louw Verwey	Jacques's father
Mr Steenberg	Carel Trichardt	Principal at Jan Prinsloo reformatory school
Mambie Engelbrecht	Alida Theron	Owner of the farm where Jacques worked after finishing high school

#### 4.2.3 Outline of episode sample<sup>27</sup>

##### *Episode 2:*

- Carina goes to Helderfontein, a small railway town, to interview Liebet.
- Liebet agrees to the interview. She claims that she was a good mother.

<sup>27</sup> As stipulated in Chapter 3, episodes 2–8 were selected as the *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling* sample.

- A number of flashbacks are shown. They depict Jacques as a child, growing up in Helderfontein with his parents. Klaus and Liebet are shown in a loveless marriage. Liebet is overly strict towards Jacques, while Klaus is passive and uninvolved. The special friendship bond between Jacques and Lena is also shown.
- Trudie looks at photos of Jacques and Klaus that she keeps in her Bible. Another flashback then reveals that Klaus begged Trudie to help take care of Jacques. Klaus states that Liebet does not love Jacques. Klaus further reveals that he was in love with Trudie and that he wanted to marry her. Trudie refused his proposal because she knew that Klaus wanted children and she was unable to conceive.

### ***Episode 3:***

- A flashback depicts Trudie as she arrives in Helderfontein to work for the Rynhards. Jacques is 10 years old and he and Trudie immediately get along.
- Various flashbacks show Jacques as he matures to being a teenager. He celebrates his sixteenth birthday, learns how to ride a bicycle and spends time with Lena and JP (Jan-Paul). The love triangle is clearly established. Trudie is shown as Jacques's friend and confidante. She supports and cares for Jacques, while his relationship with his parents remains tense and uncomfortable. As a teenager Jacques becomes more rebellious. He starts questioning and challenging his parents and other authority figures, such as the school principal.
- A flashback depicts Jacques, JP and Lena together at the local swimming hole as teenagers (Grade 11/Standard 9). JP and Jacques jump into the swimming hole from the highest ledge and this upsets Lena. She asks JP to take her home. The two of them drive away (JP's father lent him his car) and they leave Jacques alone at the swimming hole.
- Another flashback of Jacques's teenage years depicts the day when Klaus loses his job at the railway. Klaus is shown as weak and pathetic and this angers Jacques. Jacques confronts his father and tells him to fight for his job and to stand up for himself. The school principal, however, storms in on their confrontation and accuses Jacques of attacking his father.
- Carina provides her editor with the first draft of her story. He is dissatisfied.

- Carina locates Lena and tries to extract information from her about Jacques and Trudie, but Lena is reluctant to share information.
- Lena contacts Carina and agrees to do an interview. Lena tells Carina about the close bond between Jacques and Trudie. She also tells her that when Klaus started working at the mines Liebet insisted that Klaus should teach Jacques how to use a gun so that he can protect them when Klaus is working at night.
- A flashback shows the shooting accident. Jacques and JP are shown shooting at targets. Klaus makes his way to the targets and takes cover behind a small ridge while the boys take aim for another shot. Jacques is then distracted by a sound in the bush behind them. He shrugs it off and the two of them again take aim. Not knowing that they were distracted Klaus lifts his head from behind the ridge to see what is going on. Klaus is then shot in the head. Jacques runs to his father's lifeless body, while crying that it was an accident.

***Episode 4:***

- Carina and Lena continue with the interview. A flashback shows Jacques and Lena the night after Klaus's death. Lena tries to comfort and protect Jacques. The police arrest Jacques and Liebet refuses to accept that Klaus's death was an accident. She calls Jacques a murderer.
- Carina meets with JP. He is also guarded and is hesitant to talk about Jacques.
- A flashback depicts the court proceedings. The negative testimonies about Jacques outweigh the positive testimony provided by Trudie. JP also testifies and acknowledges that Jacques was responsible for Klaus's death. Jacques is found guilty and sent to a reformatory school. On his arrival at the reformatory school Jacques meets Gavin. Gavin and his gang immediately start bullying Jacques.
- JP calls Lena and arranges to meet with her to talk about Jacques.

***Episode 5:***

- Lena and JP meet at her house and talk about Jacques's time in the reformatory school.

- Flashbacks reveal Jacques's stressful time at the reformatory school. Gavin and the other roommates constantly intimidate and humiliate him. When Jacques goes home for a weekend after six months in the new school his mother is still distant and cold towards him. Jacques then goes to visit Lena and the two of them have a picnic. He tells Lena that he loves her. Liebet meanwhile calls the police to inform them that Jacques has run away. The police once again come to find him and he returns to the reformatory school.
- Another flashback depicts Jacques's principal (at the reformatory school) and Afrikaans teacher talking about him. They discuss Jacques's incredible talent for writing and the teacher states that Jacques expresses himself through his writing.
- Carina locates Jacques's old apartment. She discovers that the apartment is still filled with his belongings. On seeing this she decides to rent the apartment. As Carina leaves the apartment the viewer sees that Trudie lives in an apartment in the same building.
- A flashback shows Trudie at the reformatory school when she goes to visit Jacques. Trudie tells Jacques that he is welcome to stay with her when he is done at the reformatory school.

***Episode 6:***

- Carina moves into Jacques's old apartment. Meisie is unimpressed by Carina's behaviour. She confronts Carina and accuses her of being in love with Jacques (a man she's never met).
- Carina meets Trudie. At this stage she does not know that Trudie is in fact Jacques's caregiver and trusted friend, also known as Shivas.
- A series of flashbacks depict the day that Jacques leaves the reformatory school. The principal congratulates Jacques on his accomplishments – winning a writing competition and achieving six distinctions in his matric year. He also informs Jacques of his six-month probation period on a vegetable farm. There he will work for a salary and on her request Trudie will take care of him. On their way to the farm, Jacques and Trudie first visit Liebet. Jacques tries to open up towards Liebet. He seeks her forgiveness and



acceptance. Liebet, however, remains detached. Jacques and Trudie then make their way to Mambie Engelbrecht's farm.

- Gavin rummages through Carina's desk drawer while she is out of the office in search of her notes on the Jacques Rynhard story. He leaves empty handed.
- JP goes to visit Trudie. He questions her about Jacques's time on the farm and wants to know whether Jacques and Lena saw each other during that time.
- Flashbacks show Trudie and Jacques's time on the farm. Jacques learns from Liebet that Lena is studying art part-time. To pay for her studies she travels from town to town selling her own paintings. While in town one afternoon, Jacques and Trudie run into Lena where she has set up a small exhibition of her work.

#### ***Episode 7:***

- Carina meets with JP for an interview. She questions him about his relationship with Jacques and with Lena. She wants to know more about Jacques's six-month probation period.
- Flashbacks depict Jacques and Trudie's reunion with Lena. They arrange to have dinner together. Jacques later arrives at the hotel to pick up Lena in Trudie's car. They spend some time together in Lena's hotel room and it is clear that Jacques is delighted to see her. He kisses and hugs her. Unfortunately, Trudie's car fails to start and they do not make it to the farm for dinner. Instead, the two of them dine at the hotel's restaurant. Unknown to Jacques, Gavin is also at the restaurant. He enlists the help of two friends to get Jacques into trouble. Gavin's friends taunt Jacques and eventually start a fight. Gavin takes photos of the fight and calls the police, accusing Jacques of being the instigator of the conflict. Gavin also tells the barman that he should call the reformatory school to inform them of Jacques's aggressive behaviour.
- The flashback continues, showing Jacques and Lena fleeing from the angry restaurant crowd and the police. Jacques eventually sneaks into Lena's hotel room where he spends the night. The next morning just when he is about to leave, JP arrives at Lena's room, but JP and Lena hide JP's presence from Jacques. JP and Lena appear to be in a

relationship. When Jacques later calls the hotel, Lena instructs the receptionist to tell Jacques that she is not there. Lena asks JP to take her home.

- At the end of the interview JP asks Carina out on a date.
- Another flashback shows Jacques back on the farm. Even though he calmly continues with his daily tasks, Trudie is worried about him. At the end of the day Trudie informs Jacques that two policemen have come to the farm to talk to him about the bar fight.

### ***Episode 8:***

- Carina and JP go on their date. They spend most of the night talking about Jacques.
- Flashbacks reveal Jacques's final days on the farm. After the police questioned Jacques, Mambie tells him to leave the farm. The reformatory school's social worker also arrives to get Jacques's side of the story regarding the bar fight, but Jacques is hot-headed and refuses to tell the truth. After this incident Jacques is sent back to the reformatory school.
- A flashback depicts Jacques as he goes to visit his mother before returning to the reformatory school. The atmosphere is tense and uncomfortable. She still refuses to forgive Jacques and blames him for her miserable and lonely existence.
- The next flashback shows Jacques back at the reformatory school. The principal informs Jacques that he will remain at the school for a further 18 months and during that time he will enrol for a diploma course in journalism. The flashback dissolves from 1975 to 1978. Jacques has completed his time at the school and is once again on his way out. He is now 21 years old. He decides to hitchhike back to Helderfontein. On his arrival his mother refuses to open the door. Jacques then makes his way to the outgoing train and gets on board. As the train is about to leave Lena arrives at the Rynhard home looking for Jacques. She runs after the train in vain. Disappointed, Lena returns home and we learn that JP is at her house. They have a heated fight about Jacques and JP tells Lena that she must decide which one of them she truly loves.
- Carina arranges a meeting with Alicia Francke at Francke Publishers.

- Another flashback portrays Jacques's journey into the Lowveld. He jumps off the train and continues his journey on foot. In a fruit orchard he meets Alicia. She invites him to her home to get something to eat. While in the kitchen Alicia unexpectedly points a gun at Jacques and decides to call the police. Jacques is left standing with his hands in the air.

The summaries provided above give a brief overview of events (and flashbacks) in the selected episodes. The events have now been outlined in chronological order as they occurred in the flow of episodes. In the analysis an integrated approach is taken to the discussion of themes and a strict chronological order is no longer followed. Examples of important moments or occurrences from the selected episodes are highlighted when and where necessary. This approach is relevant to all three texts.

### 4.3 *Wenners*

#### 4.3.1 Summary

The Afrikaans youth drama, *Wenners*, is based on two youth novels, *Die Verklikker* (1983) and *Twee Wenners* (1984), written by Marilee McCallaghan (Smit 2008:1–2).<sup>28</sup> *Wenners* was first broadcast in 1992/1993 by the SABC and was re-broadcast in 2009 on kykNET. It tells the story of teenage twins, Jackie and Carl Lindeman. After their father's sudden death, their mother marries Heinrich Schüler. Schüler is involved in criminal activities. Jackie overhears Schüler and his partner, George da Silva, discussing their plans to steal jewels from a local business. She learns that they are planning to involve Carl in their scheme under false pretences. Jackie informs the police of their plans and Schüler and Da Silva are arrested shortly after completing the robbery. At this time their mother, Anet, is in a psychiatric clinic receiving treatment for a nervous breakdown. The children are then sent to the Hartbeespoort children's home. There they make new friends, but also encounter problems, one of which is bullying. Carl (very reluctantly) and Jackie join the athletics team and start to adapt to their new surroundings. When Schüler is released on bail he immediately starts looking for the children. He is determined to have his revenge on Jackie and to recover the jewels he thinks Carl is hiding. Carl, however, lost the suitcase

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<sup>28</sup> The examination of these two books falls beyond the scope of the study at hand. It is nonetheless relevant to mention that the television programme is based on books that were published in the early 1980s, because the origin of the story could have influenced the approach taken by the programme and the representations that are seen on screen.

containing the jewels after the robbery. Schüler tracks Carl and Jackie down and kidnaps them on the day of the big athletics meeting. The police, teachers and school friends help to rescue Carl and Jackie and Schüler is arrested. The story ends with Jackie and Carl being reunited with their mother who has made a full recovery.

#### 4.3.2 Character table

The character table (Table 4.2) provides a list of the main characters in *Wenners*, the actors or actresses who portrayed these characters, and a brief description of each character.

**Table 4.2: Character table for *Wenners***

List of main characters	Actor/Actress	Description
Carl Lindeman	Chris Mulder	Protagonist; Jackie's brother
Jackie Lindeman	Sorina Austin	Protagonist; Carl's sister
Anet Lindeman	Rina Nienaber	Carl and Jackie's mother
Snyman	Dick Reineke	Police detective investigating Schüler case (jewel theft)
Heinrich Schüler	Marcel van Heerden	Anet's second husband; Karel Lindeman's (Anet's first husband) business partner
George da Silva	Robin Smith	Schüler's partner in crime
Frans Gouws	Marcell Schoeman	Carl's antagonist; star athlete; bully; one of Carl's roommates
Bongo Potgieter	Francois Coertze	One of Carl's roommates and his friend; Jackie's boyfriend
Willemien Borman	Chantell Stander	Jackie's antagonist; one of Jackie's roommates; bully; Carl's girlfriend (at the end)
John McKeggy	Philip Moolman	History teacher and athletics coach at high school
Kate Viljoen	Henriëtte Gryffenberg	Art teacher and athletics coach at high school
Millie Marais	Flakie Lakie	One of Jackie's roommates and her friend
Tannie Vis	Milla Louw	Matron at children's home
Mrs Kritzinger	Cyrlene Slabbert	Social worker at school/children's home

### 4.3.3 Outline of episode sample<sup>29</sup>

#### *Episode 7:*

- Jackie sees Heinrich in the local Hartbeespoort café, Tony's Café. She narrowly escapes without being seen and returns to her hostel room in the children's home. There she tells Millie of her encounter. While they are talking, Willemien and her followers enter the room. Willemien teases and taunts Jackie and Millie, but she gets no reaction from them.
- The principal of Hartbeespoort High School speaks with Mr McKeggy. He informs Mr McKeggy that Heinrich is looking for the Lindeman children.
- At the police station Snyman informs his colleague of Heinrich's past. According to Snyman, Heinrich listens to Bach, is a weapon specialist and a trained gunman. Furthermore, he worked as a mercenary in Africa for many years and he had a reputation of being a merciless killer of animals and people.
- Carl joins Piet (another teenager at the Hartbeespoort children's home) in the recreation room at the home and talks to him about running away. Piet had attempted to run away from the home three times before.
- Jackie meets with Mrs Kritzinger and Miss Viljoen (Kate). They inform Jackie that the children's home has been raising funds for Millie to have an operation (Millie is in a wheelchair). They also tell Jackie that the school aims to raise the final amount needed for the operation during the annual athletics meeting.
- Tannie Vis persuades Carl to drink a cup of hot chocolate with her. She asks him about his father, Karel, and his stepfather, Heinrich. Carl is angry with his late father and praises Heinrich for stepping in when they needed him. Tannie Vis, however, mentions the jewel robbery and warns Carl that Heinrich is only using him and his mother.
- Frans is shown daydreaming in the shower. A hazy daydream is then depicted as seen from Frans's perspective. He is shown running in an athletics race with Carl. Frans easily wins the race and then sees his father standing on the field with his arms outstretched. Frans runs to him and they embrace each other. His father tells him how

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<sup>29</sup> As stipulated in Chapter 3, episodes 7–13 were selected as the *Wenners* sample.

proud he is of Frans and that he wants Frans to come back home. A noise pulls Frans from his daydream. The viewer sees that it is Carl who has just entered the bathroom.

- Frans gets out of the shower and makes his way towards Carl. He taunts him, telling him he's a loser.<sup>30</sup> Carl ignores Frans, but this only makes Frans angry and he then shoves Carl forward. Carl falls head first into the shower's door frame and is knocked unconscious. Frans panics and flees the bathroom, but Bongo sees him running away.

### ***Episode 8:***

- In the hostel room Carl is shown lying on his bed recovering from his fall in the bathroom. Tannie Vis, Bongo and Lanie (also one of Carl's roommates and friends) are with him. Carl lies to them about the cause of his accident and says that he fell because he slipped on a bar of soap. When Bongo and Carl are left alone, Bongo tells Carl that he knows Frans was responsible for the accident. Carl, however, shuns Bongo, telling him to mind his own business.
- The next day at school Bongo and Jackie begin a relationship.
- McKeggy and Kate discuss the plan to raise funds for Millie. McKeggy suggests that they need a special attraction to get people to attend the athletics meeting. He suggests a race including his top athletes – Carl and Frans.
- Heinrich visits Anet at the clinic. He asks Anet about the children's whereabouts, but when she refuses to tell him he gets angry. He threatens her and states that if he wants to find the children nothing will stop him.
- After Heinrich's visit, Anet phones Snyman and says that she wants to talk to him in person.
- At and Pote (Frans's friends/followers) question Frans about his grudge against Carl. Annoyed, Frans states that he just doesn't like Carl. The three of them plot to get Carl into trouble.

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<sup>30</sup> In the previous episode (6) Carl and Frans ran in a one-on-one race. Frans won the race, but it was clear that Carl was not giving his best and that he wanted Frans to win. Frans is, however, unaware of this and is very impressed with his victory.

- Snyman visits Anet at the clinic. She tells him about Karel's death and how Heinrich was at first very helpful and caring, but after they got married things changed. She noticed strange notes in his diary. Furthermore, Heinrich wanted Anet to transfer Karel's business to his name. She informed Heinrich that the business was left to Carl and Jackie in Karel's will, not to her. She states that while Carl was very fond of Heinrich, Jackie did not feel the same way. She informs Snyman that she now remembers (after Anet's nervous breakdown she temporarily suffered from amnesia) that Jackie was there on the day of Karel's death. Jackie was there when Anet reached Karel's office after she heard a gunshot. When Heinrich came out of the office he looked at Jackie with an expression of hatred and fear. Anet fears for Jackie's life.

### ***Episode 9:***

- Tannie Vis and Jackie visit Anet in the clinic. Anet is overjoyed to see Jackie. Anet is doing well at the clinic and shows improvement.
- At a school gathering the principal announces the plan to raise funds for Millie at the athletics meeting. All the students are excited, except for Willemien.
- Willemien and her two friends have a fall-out. Her friends want to help with the preparations for the athletics meeting and are happy that the school is making an effort to help Millie. They finally stand up to Willemien. After telling her how they feel about her controlling and bullying ways they walk away. Willemien is left alone and she walks away with tears in her eyes. Without her knowing it, Carl overhears the entire discussion.
- Frans talks to McKeggy about his victory in the race against Carl. McKeggy tells Frans that Carl was holding back during the race. Frans is upset and feels that McKeggy thinks Carl is better than he is.
- Willemien befriends Carl. They run together during the athletics practice. Jackie is upset when she sees Carl and Willemien together.
- Carl arranges a secret meeting with Piet. He wants to run away from the children's home and he attempts to persuade Piet to get involved. Bongo overhears their entire conversation.

- Heinrich is shown on his own at the Lindeman home. He listens to classical music, while he cleans his pistol.
- Frans, At and Pote meet in an old, abandoned barn near the children's home. They devise a plan to frame Carl. They will break into Tony's Café and steal goods and money. Then they will leave Carl's electronic watch on the scene, implicating him in the burglary.

***Episode 10:***

- Jackie asks Bongo to persuade Carl to take part in the athletics meeting to help Millie. Thus far, Carl has been reluctant to compete. He only trains to keep McKeggy happy. Bongo tells Jackie of Carl's plan to run away.
- Snyman asks Anet for her help. He wants to inspect the Lindeman house. Anet suggests that she will invite Heinrich to the clinic so that Snyman can examine the house and grounds without interruption.
- Heinrich and George meet privately. Heinrich informs George that he's still looking for the children. George is impatient and annoyed. He tells Heinrich that he has decided to make his own plans.
- Jackie tries to convince Carl to take part in the athletics meeting for Millie's sake. Carl remains stubborn. Jackie also confronts Carl about his plan to run away.
- Carl reads in the newspaper that George has become a state witness.
- Heinrich reads the same newspaper report. It infuriates him.
- Carl and Bongo play a game of pool. Bongo talks to Carl about Piet and other children who have also tried to run away. He paints a negative and troublesome picture. This angers Carl and he states that Bongo should leave him and his sister alone.
- Carl goes for a long run across the Hartbeespoort dam wall.
- Carl and Piet meet again. He agrees to Carl's plan.



- At night time, Frans, At and Pote break into Tony's Café. They steal sweets, cigarettes and cash from the till and then leave Carl's watch in the café.

***Episode 11:***

- The police pay a visit to the children's home. Carl is called to the principal's office where the principal and police officers question Carl about the burglary at Tony's Café. Carl proclaims his innocence. The police let him go with a warning, stating that they are still busy with the investigation.
- Back in the hostel room, everyone is curious to know why the police wanted to see Carl. Carl lies and tells them that the police wanted to talk to him about his stepfather.
- Carl goes for a walk and ends up standing on the stairs where an old school photo of his father is hanging on the wall. His father also attended Hartbeespoort High School and lived in the children's home. Carl is emotional and repeatedly tells himself that he is not a thief. He then goes for a run along the school athletics track.
- Carl later informs Piet that the electronic watch that they were planning to sell for money for their plan to run away has been stolen. However, he tells Piet that he has another watch that they can sell; he just needs to get it back.<sup>31</sup> At, Pote and Frans overhear Piet and Carl's discussion.
- At and Pote begin to question Frans's plan to frame Carl. They stand up to Frans, saying that they knew his 'clever' plans would get them into trouble one day.
- Carl tells Willemien that he likes her but that he loves his sister and he would like them to be friends. To this Willemien shrugs and walks away.
- Carl tells Jackie that he has decided to take part in the athletics meeting to help Millie. He will run in the race, but he will not try to win. Jackie is overwhelmed with joy and gives Carl a hug.
- On Anet's request Heinrich meets her at the clinic. Anet has made a complete recovery. She confidently tells Heinrich that she will be filing for divorce as soon as possible. She

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<sup>31</sup> In an earlier episode Carl gives the watch to Lanie. It was a gift from Carl's father before he died. Lanie decides to keep the watch safe until Carl comes to his senses.

now knows that Heinrich is involved in criminal activities and she suspects that Karel had also become aware of Heinrich's illegal behaviour.

- While Heinrich is at the clinic, Snyman inspects the Lindeman house and grounds. Snyman finds Heinrich's hidden stash of false passports.
- Carl tells McKeggy that he will take part in the athletics meeting.
- At the Lindeman home Heinrich rummages through drawers. He looks through papers and photos and finally comes across a school photo of Karel at Hartbeespoort High School. Heinrich then realises that Carl and Jackie are at their father's old school and children's home.

### ***Episode 12:***

- Heinrich is shown walking out of Tony's Café. He finds a pamphlet on his car's windscreen advertising the race between Frans and Carl at the Hartbeespoort High School athletics meeting. This confirms Heinrich's suspicion that Carl and Jackie are at their father's old school.
- Snyman visits Anet at the clinic and tells her of the evidence that was discovered at the Lindeman house. Anet remains uneasy. She tells Snyman that memories of the day of Karel's death are coming back to her. A flashback follows, depicting the day of Karel's death. Anet is playing the piano. As she plays she hears two men arguing; we assume it is Heinrich and Karel. A gunshot follows. She runs to Karel's office (which is outside the main house) and there she sees how Heinrich wipes a gun clean and puts that gun in Karel's lifeless hand. She also sees Jackie standing in the corridor leading to the office. Jackie has a shocked expression on her face. The scene cuts back to the present time. Anet realises that Heinrich murdered Karel.
- Heinrich books into a local hotel in Hartbeespoort under a false name. He also enquires about the roads leading into and out of the town.
- Carl tells Tannie Vis that he would like to talk to her about his father.
- Mrs Kritzinger informs Jackie that the doctor in Pretoria is positive about Millie's operation.

- Jackie finds Willemien crying in the storeroom. She comforts Willemien.
- Bongo confronts Frans, At and Pote about the burglary at Tony's and their plan to frame Carl. Bongo explains that he will give them the opportunity to come clean, but if they choose not to tell the truth, he will go to the police himself.
- Frans, At and Pote tell McKeggy about the burglary. The principal is very upset and reprimands all three of them for their terrible deed. He explains that the police must be informed.
- Heinrich visits George and informs him that he has found the children. George stresses that he is not interested in Heinrich's schemes as he is now working for the police. Heinrich, however, succeeds in changing George's mind when he starts talking about the amount of money that they will make when they sell the jewels.
- Snyman and his colleague go to the Lindeman house to arrest Heinrich, but they find that Heinrich is missing and the house has been ransacked. Snyman discovers the high school photo of Karel on a table and realises that Heinrich now knows where the children are.

***Episode 13:***

- At the police station Snyman tries to contact the principal at Hartbeespoort High School. George arrives at Snyman's office and informs him that Heinrich is planning to do another illegal job with a new accomplice. According to George, Heinrich's new partner wants to meet with Snyman the next day at a flea market. Snyman thinks that George is telling the truth and assumes that the children are safe if Heinrich is planning to do another job.
- McKeggy arrives at the school. It is the night before the athletics meeting and Kate is working late. He is worried about her and when she finally arrives at her car McKeggy lectures her about her safety. McKeggy says that he cares about Kate. They kiss.
- It is the day of the athletics meeting. Carl hesitantly gives Piet his father's watch. Piet wants to take the watch to a pawnshop.

- Heinrich is at the athletics meeting. He watches Carl and Jackie from afar. Meanwhile, Snyman is at the flea market. He soon realises that he has made a terrible mistake and races to Hartbeespoort High School.
- McKeggy gives his athletes a pep talk before they line up for the big race. During the race Pote trips and falls and he ends up tripping a number of other athletes, including Carl. Frans narrowly misses the accident and keeps on running. Carl hits the ground hard, but he gets back up and continues running. He catches up with Frans and then moves out ahead of him. Carl wins the race.
- Heinrich meets up with Carl at the finish line. Jackie joins them and tells Heinrich to leave. Snyman also arrives on the scene and tells Heinrich that he now has all the evidence he needs to arrest him for the murder of Karel Lindeman. Hearing this, Heinrich pulls out his gun and takes Carl and Jackie hostage. He forces them into his car and they drive off.
- The police radio announces that Heinrich has taken a dirt road that leads to the dam. Snyman and McKeggy follow in Snyman's car, while Frans, At, Pote, Bongo and Lanie make their way to the dam on foot, following a short cut suggested by Frans.
- Arriving at the dam, Heinrich forces Carl and Jackie into a rowboat with him. He wants to know where Carl hid the suitcase containing the jewels. Heinrich threatens to shoot Jackie if Carl refuses to take him to the suitcase.
- As they arrive on the other side of the dam, Heinrich is caught off guard by the young athletes. Frans tackles Heinrich, while Bongo takes hold of the gun and aims it at Heinrich. The police arrive and arrest Heinrich. McKeggy is overwhelmed with pride for his brave students.
- *Wenners* concludes with a get-together for family and friends at the Lindeman home. Anet, Carl and Jackie have all returned home. All their friends from school as well as Kate, McKeggy, Miempie, Mrs Kritzinger, Tannie Vis and the principal are present. Snyman is also at the party and he informs McKeggy that Tony has decided to withdraw his complaint against Frans and his friends because of their brave deed. The boys are overjoyed when they hear the news. Piet returns the watch to Carl, noting that they are probably no longer planning to run away. Carl and Willemien are in a

relationship and Willemien is now friends with Jackie and Millie. The programme ends with Snyman taking a group photo of all the friends and family together.

#### 4.4 *Song vir Katryn*

##### 4.4.1 Summary

An original kykNET production, *Song vir Katryn* was first broadcast in 2003. In later years (2008 –) it was also broadcast on the SABC. This Afrikaans drama is set in Pretoria and depicts the life of Katryn Bekker and Johan (Jinx) Bruwer. The serial begins with Katryn working as a waitress in the pub, Santini's, where Jinx performs with his Afrikaans rock band. There they meet for the first time. As the story unfolds their paths cross numerous times. Katryn captivates Jinx and he writes her a love song. Katryn is, however, reluctant to get involved with Jinx as she lives with an unhappy secret. Her mother, Hanna Venter, was sent to jail after poisoning her stepfather. The stepfather sexually abused Katryn and her younger half-sister, and that is why Hanna murdered him. The motive behind the murder was, however, never revealed during the trial. After losing her waitressing job at Santini's, Katryn is employed by Hulbrands Advertising where she works in the cafeteria. Her best friend, Jackie, a photographer's assistant at Hulbrands, persuades Katryn to be a model in an advertisement shoot for a new cosmetics and beauty product range. The heads of the new product line are impressed with Katryn's work and ask her to be the face of their product. With the modelling contract and newfound fame Katryn is bombarded with questions about her past.

Jinx, who performs with his band most nights, is also a doctor. While filling a locum position at the women's correctional facilities in Pretoria he meets Hanna, not knowing that Katryn is her daughter. When Hanna, a former nurse, is later released on parole he arranges for her to take care of his father who suffers from Alzheimer's disease. While struggling to keep his relationship with Katryn on track, Jinx also tries to take care of his younger brother, Mostert Bruwer (19). Mostert is often involved in drinking, partying and taking drugs. He makes an enemy of an underground drug pusher and paedophile, Robert Gouws, and ends up paying for it with his life. The police pursue Gouws and he is captured. Katryn decides to reveal her secret to her colleagues and her story is then published in the newspaper. Jinx so learns of her background and that she is Hanna's daughter. Katryn also discovers that Jinx is her mother's doctor. Jinx and Katryn decide to give their relationship

another chance. The serial ends with Jinx and Katryn together even though they will soon be parting. She is set to go to London for a few months to promote the new cosmetics and beauty line and Jinx is leaving to locum on a cruise liner. They vow to continue with a long-distance relationship.

#### 4.4.2 Character table

The character table (Table 4.3) provides a list of the main and supporting characters in *Song vir Katryn*, the actors or actresses who portrayed these characters, and a brief description of each character.

**Table 4.3: Character table for *Song vir Katryn***

List of main characters	Actor/Actress	Description
Johan Bruwer (Jinx)	Valiant Swart	Doctor; Musician/part of band ( <i>Jinx</i> ); Katryn's romantic interest
Katryn Bekker / Katherine Beaker	Therese Benade	Waitress; Jinx's romantic interest; sexually abused by stepfather (Venter)
Dad Bruwer	Marius Weyers	Jinx and Mostert's father
Hanna Venter	Antoinette Kellerman	Katryn and Marelle's mother; sent to jail for poisoning her second husband (Venter)
Edward Slabbert (Slab)	Mel Botes	Doctor; Musician/part of band ( <i>Jinx</i> ); Jinx's best friend
Ernst Hulbrand	Francois Coertze	Owner of Hulbrands Advertising
Jackie Scott	Dawn Matthews	Katryn's best friend; photo lab assistant at Hulbrands Advertising
Robert Gouws	Jacques Gombault	Katryn, Jinx and Mossie's antagonist; part of marketing team at Noddingtons; paedophile and drug pusher
Mostert Bruwer (Mossie)	Jacques Bessenger	Jinx's younger brother
Faantjie Bosman	Pieter Jacobs	Mostert's best friend
Max	Wim Beukes	Owner of Santini's pub
Hoffie Arends	Fezile Mpela	Photographer at Hulbrands Advertising; Jackie's boyfriend
Marelle Bekker	Daniella Retief	Katryn's younger stepsister
List of supporting characters (Episodes 1–7)	Actor/Actress	Description
Koba	Deidre Venter	Hanna's friend; prisoner
John Kok	Jonathan Pienaar	Chef at Hulbrands Advertising

List of main characters	Actor/Actress	Description
Verster	Lizz Meiring	Staff member at Hulbrands Advertising
Tant Maria	Isabella Mostert	Woman assigned by welfare to take care of Marelie
Cleo Vlok	Nana Stapelberg	Receptionist at the practice where Jinx locums
Muller	Lieb Bester	Senior staff member at Hulbrands Advertising
Elsa	Sally Campher	Senior staff member at Hulbrands Advertising
Vosloo	Roderick Jafta	Police detective (drug unit) investigating Gouws
Marius de Wet	Anrich Herbst	Jinx's attorney
Jack Noddington	Mike Huff	Owner of Noddingtons International
Fransie du Plessis	Marhette van Schalkwyk	Psychiatrist

#### 4.4.3 Outline of episode sample<sup>32</sup>

##### *Episode 1:*

- The opening scene shows a wedding. Jinx is getting married. His friends, Max and Slab, and his brother, Mossie, stop the wedding. Jinx is relieved. He is unsure of what he wants at this stage. He is still a drifter. (This is Jinx's equilibrium.)
- Jinx and his band perform at the Santini's pub. Katryn works as a waitress at the pub. She appears neglected, unhappy and sad. Katryn, like Jinx, is also a drifter, unsure of what she wants or where she is going. (This is Katryn's equilibrium.) Gouws is also at Santini's with a group of young men. Katryn accidentally spills a tray of drinks over Gouws and he is infuriated. He yells at Katryn and insults her. She stands her ground and retaliates. Jinx sees the incident from on stage. Katryn loses her waitressing job after the incident. (This event signals the disruption in the narrative.)
- The band finishes its performance and as Katryn is about to leave the pub Jinx asks her to join him for a drink. He tries to get to know her, but contrary to what he expects she shrugs him off. Katryn remains guarded and cold. Jinx tries to be friendly and charming, but his charms do not work on Katryn. He is surprised and intrigued by her. The disruption sends both Katryn and Jinx's lives in a new direction. Katryn is now

<sup>32</sup> As stipulated in Chapter 3, episodes 1–7 were selected as the *Song vir Katryn* sample.

without a job and she needs to make a plan to change her situation. Jinx is now aware of Katryn's existence and he wishes to know more about her. Their meeting sets the narrative in motion.

- Mossie notices that his friend, Faantjie, is spending time with Gouws at Santini's. Mossie confronts Faantjie, but Gouws rudely chases Mossie away.
- Outside the pub, Katryn's car is unable to start. Jinx offers her a ride, but she declines and calls him a bum. Katryn decides to walk home.
- In a discussion between Jinx and Max it is revealed that Jinx is a doctor (he locums at different practices) and he has almost been married four times. Each time his friends bailed him out of the situation.
- Katryn arrives home very late. She lives with her friend, Jackie. Jackie was worried about Katryn (Jackie calls Katryn 'Katherine'). Katryn is moody and upset about losing her job. Jackie remains calm and positive, stating that they will think of a plan.
- Early the next morning Mossie arrives at Santini's. He asks Max for a drink. Max tells him that he needs to sort out his life and get some direction. Outside the pub, Katryn tries in vain to start her car. Mossie finds her there and helps her to get the car going.
- Katryn goes to visit her mother in prison. They talk about Marelle, who recently turned 12 and Hanna suggests that Katryn should leave Pretoria and move to Durban or Cape Town where she can start a new life, get married and have children. Katryn becomes emotional.
- Jackie works at Hulbrands Advertising. She learns that there is a vacant post in the cafeteria and immediately thinks of Katryn. She persuades Katryn to apply for the position.
- Jinx's secretary at the practice where he locums invites him to dinner with her parents and their friends. Jinx attends the dinner with Cleo, but he embarrasses her in front of her upper class parents and their guests (pastor and his wife) when he tells them that he is in a rock band, performs in pubs and grew up in Danville with his father and brother.



- After the dinner, Jinx goes to Santini's. He talks to Max about true love and asks if it really exists.
- Katryn goes for the job interview at Hulbrands. She gets the job and meets Ernst Hulbrand, her new boss.
- Jinx cycles to the old age home to visit his father.
- Katryn is shown driving in her car. She receives a phone call on her cell phone informing her that her sister, Marelie, has been in an accident and had to get stitches. Distracted by the phone call Katryn accidentally knocks Jinx off his bicycle. Luckily he is not hurt, but his bicycle is damaged. They are very surprised to see each other again.

### ***Episode 2:***

- The episode begins with the accident. Katryn offers Jinx a lift. They drive to a nearby restaurant and have a drink. She promises to pay him for the damages to his bicycle.
- Katryn begins work at Hulbrands. She is shown washing floors. A female staff member at Hulbrands, Verster, decides to question Katryn about her background. Katryn lies to Verster and says that both her parents are dead.
- Faantjie arrives at Jinx's cottage. Mossie is there. At first Mossie is angry with Faantjie, but Faantjie then persuades Mossie to come out for a drink with him. Mossie phones Jinx and asks if he may borrow some money. Jinx lends Mossie his bank card to withdraw some cash.
- Katryn goes to visit her sister. She lives with an old family friend. Katryn, however, realises that the woman is physically and emotionally abusing Marelie and she decides to take Marelie with her to Jackie's apartment.
- When Jackie arrives home, she is surprised to find Marelie there, but she welcomes Marelie into her home.
- Jinx, Slab and Mossie go to a disco. Jinx dances with a prostitute and then passes out on the floor. Slab and Mossie take him back to the cottage. The next morning Jinx scolds himself for his irresponsible behaviour. Jinx begins at a new locum position in Danville.

- Hanna is shown in prison. A fellow inmate, Koba, tries to get Hanna to open up. She wants to know why Hanna murdered her husband. Hanna refuses to reveal her reasons.
- Jinx and Slab meet for drinks after work. They talk about Mossie. Jinx is worried about his brother. He tells Slab that he thinks Mossie is gay, but that Mossie is trying to hide it from him. Jinx also elaborates on Mossie's unhappy childhood. Their mother died after Mossie's birth and their father had multiple affairs with Mossie's babysitters. Mossie never had a happy, stable and comforting family set-up.
- Jackie informs Katryn that Marelle is welcome to stay with them. Katryn is overwhelmed with gratitude.
- Mossie and Faantjie are shown leaving Santini's drunk. They drive to Faantjie's house (his parents are divorced and Faantjie now lives in the house alone) where they plan to use drugs. They find Gouws waiting at the house. Mossie tells Gouws to leave, but Gouws then beats him up and forces drugs (pills) down his throat.
- Jinx arrives at his cottage only to find the place ransacked and a badly beaten Mossie passed out on the bed.

### ***Episode 3:***

- Jinx visits Mossie in the hospital. He is being treated for an overdose of drugs.
- Hulbrand and his team discuss the business pitch they need to prepare for the Noddingtons account.
- Katryn goes to visit Hanna. She takes Marelle with her and persuades Hanna to tell Marelle the truth about their situation. She insists that Marelle needs to know why Hanna is in prison. During the visit Katryn speaks with the head of the women's prison. She insists that Hanna should be let out on parole. The prison official stresses that Hanna must inform the parole committee of her reasons for the murder and must show remorse for her deed before she can be considered for parole. Katryn then tries to persuade Hanna to tell the parole committee the whole story. Hanna is, however, reluctant; she wants to keep it a secret. She thinks that by keeping it a secret she will protect her children.

- Jinx and Slab inform Max of Mossie's predicament. Max says that Mossie was at Santini's the night before with Faantjie. Faantjie and Gouws then arrive at the pub. Jinx confronts them. Gouws becomes aggressive and Max throws both Gouws and Faantjie out of the pub.
- The band performs. Jinx sings a song that he wrote for Katryn. She hears the song and they have a drink together after the performance.
- Inspector Vosloo visits Mossie in the hospital. They are gathering information on a drug syndicate.
- Vosloo also meets with Jinx at his practice. Vosloo informs Jinx that they are investigating Gouws. They suspect that Gouws is a drug pusher and a paedophile. Jinx tells Vosloo that his bank card and a bunch of keys were stolen from the cottage after Mossie's clash with Gouws.
- Jinx immediately contacts Dr Cas Vermaak at the practice where he previously worked (before he started at the practice in Danville) and asks him to check his medicine cabinet's registry. Cas then informs Jinx that some of the medicine is missing.
- The police arrive at the Vermaak practice. They check the medicine registry and also take note of the missing medicine. Vosloo contacts Jinx and instructs him to go to the police to provide them with his statement.

***Episode 4:***

- Jinx fetches Mossie from the hospital. The two of them then go to the police station to speak to Vosloo.
- Jackie develops a range of photos that Hoffie took of Katryn. The photos are unstyled and natural. Jackie is impressed. She suggests that with some make-up and wardrobe help Katryn can be a model.
- At the police station Mossie provides the police with information about his run-in with Gouws. He tells them about the drugs that Gouws gave him and that Gouws stole Jinx's bank card and keys. He also informs them that Faantjie was present during the conflict with Gouws.

- Jinx and Katryn go on a date. The date goes really well, but when Jinx starts questioning Katryn about her past, she becomes defensive and decides to cut the date short.
- Vosloo arrests Gouws.
- Jinx persuades Mossie to move in with him at the cottage.
- Jackie tells Katryn of their idea to turn Katryn into a model. They want to use her as a model for an advertisement shoot for the Noddingtons pitch. Katryn is at first hesitant, but Jackie finally persuades her to go through with it.
- Katryn spends the weekend shooting the advertisement with Jackie and the rest of the Hulbrands creative team.
- Jinx begins with his locum at the women's correctional facility. Hanna goes to the doctor because of a sore throat. Jinx (or Dr Johan Bruwer, as Hanna knows him) and Hanna get along very well. During her visit Hanna reads Jinx's palm. She 'reads' that he has a mysterious woman in his life and that he really likes her. She further notes that this girl means trouble; she sees only darkness and sorrow.

***Episode 5:***

- Hoffie and Muller show the pilot advertisement to Ernst. He is very impressed with Katryn and the advertisement concept.
- Jinx arranges for special blood tests to be done on Hanna. She goes to a hospital outside of the prison.
- Faantjie goes to visit Mossie at the cottage. Mossie is very upset. He informs Faantjie that because Faantjie refused to cooperate with the police Gouws has been released on bail and Jinx can get into a lot of trouble because of the missing medicine. He can even lose his licence. Mossie chases Faantjie away.
- Jinx and Slab meet for a drink. Jinx tells Slab that while Mossie was in hospital he had a blood test done and the results show that Mossie is HIV positive.

- Ernst meets with Katryn. He informs her that they have decided to use her for the Noddingtons advertisement. He goes on to question her about her background. She lies again. This time she tells Ernst that her parents are living in America and that her sister is only living with her because they are getting a divorce.
- Ernst feels uneasy about Katryn's background. He arranges to have her investigated. He wants to know as much about her as possible, because he wants to avoid a scandal.
- Hanna has an appointment with Jinx. He informs her that she has been diagnosed with cancer of the gullet. Hanna is emotional. Jinx asks her about her family and why she is still in prison and why she has not been released on parole. Hanna finally opens up about her motive for poisoning her second husband, Venter. He raped Katryn (Hanna's daughter from her first marriage) when she was 15 years old and he sexually abused their daughter, Marelie, when she was three years old. Katryn had to have an abortion.
- Katryn and Marelie visit Hanna in prison. They narrowly miss Jinx at the entrance. Both of them are unaware of the other's connection with Hanna. Hanna tells them about the cancer and the wonderful doctor, Johan, who is taking care of her. Katryn and Marelie give the head of the women's prison letters explaining their situation and Hanna's motive for the murder.
- At Santini's that night, Jinx sings another song for Katryn. She meets up with him backstage and gives him a hug.

### ***Episode 6:***

- Katryn joins Jinx, Slab and Mossie on a weekend camping trip. It is primarily a biker getaway. Jinx and Katryn enjoy their time together. Jinx then sings a song about Danville and this upsets Katryn. She believes he is making fun of her because she is from Danville (she does not know that Jinx is also from Danville). She slaps Jinx and makes her way home on Jinx's motorbike.
- Katryn takes the motorbike back to the cottage the next day. Jinx is very annoyed with her. He tells her that he also grew up in Danville. Katryn is embarrassed. Jinx invites her into the cottage for coffee, but Katryn declines and walks away.

- The person Ernst instructed to investigate Katryn arrives at Ernst's home at the weekend. He informs Ernst that he was unable to locate Katryn's parents in America and that Katryn and her sister had their names changed when they were children (Katryn to Katherine).
- Even though Ernst is still unsure about Katryn's background, he offers her a year contract. Noddingtons are impressed with the advertisement pitch and with Katryn. When Ernst again questions Katryn about her background she decides to quit.
- At the prison the parole process is set in motion by Katryn and Marelle's letters. Jinx also requests medical parole because of Hanna's illness. Jinx and Hanna meet for a check-up. He tells Hanna that the mysterious girl is always on his mind and that he misses her. He furthermore tells her of his father who suffers from Alzheimer's disease.
- Ernst phones Katryn and asks her to join him for dinner so that they can calmly talk about the contract and her position at Hulbrands. Katryn agrees to the meeting.

***Episode 7:***

- Jinx arrives at his cottage and finds Mossie passed out on his bed. Jinx finds pills in Mossie's bag. He takes the pills with him.
- A nurse at the old age home phones Jinx and informs him that his father has gone missing. Jinx goes to help them with the search. They eventually find him hiding in a park. Jinx takes him back to the home. The nurse tells Jinx that his father needs full-time care and unfortunately they cannot provide it. He assures her that he will do his best to get help for his father.
- Jackie arrives home and helps Katryn to prepare for her dinner with Ernst.
- Katryn and Ernst go for a fancy dinner. Ernst takes Katryn to his house for a nightcap. There he suggests that she should sleep over in one of his guest bedrooms. She refuses and he becomes annoyed. He arranges for a taxi to pick her up. As she leaves she kisses Ernst on the cheek.
- Back at the cottage Jinx arrives to find Mossie watching television. He confronts Mossie about the pills. He talks to Mossie and tells him that he knows that Mossie is

gay and that he and Faantjie were more than friends. He asks about Faantjie and Gouws's relationship. Mossie says Faantjie is infatuated with Gouws. Jinx suggests that Mossie should see a psychiatrist and that he should also have the necessary blood tests done to check for HIV and other infections (Mossie is unaware that Jinx already had him tested in the hospital). Mossie is offended and becomes aggressive. Jinx assures Mossie that he wants to help him because he loves him. Mossie finally agrees to the blood tests and an appointment with a psychiatrist.

- The parole committee decides to release Hanna on parole.
- Katryn is informed of the parole committee's decision. Newspapers run a number of stories about Hanna and her upcoming parole. Katryn is worried. Jackie reassures Katryn that she will help her take care of her mother. (Katryn finally told Jackie about her mother.)
- Katryn and Ernst attend a formal cocktail party at Noddingtons. Jack Noddington is impressed with Katryn and he is happy that she is part of the project. At the party Katryn is formally introduced to Gouws. He is part of the marketing team at Noddingtons. She remembers Gouws from Santini's, but with her new look Gouws does not remember her as the waitress at the pub. After the cocktail party Ernst again takes Katryn to his house for a drink. She asks for a taxi and he is again annoyed when she wishes to leave. He sternly tells her to think about the contract and her work at Hulbrands. If she commits, she will be working very hard, but also enjoying the perks of a company car and an apartment. He says she must make a final decision: is she in or out? The taxi arrives at Ernst's home and Katryn leaves.

#### **4.5 Conclusion**

This chapter provided an overview of the selected television dramas. It included a plot summary, list of characters and an outline of the selected episodes for each programme. In the next three chapters (Chapters 5, 6 and 7) the individual analyses will be discussed.

## CHAPTER 5

# ANALYSIS OF *BALLADE VIR 'N ENKELING*

### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter is the first of three analysis chapters. *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling* is examined in this chapter, followed by *Wenners* in Chapter 6 and *Song vir Katryn* in Chapter 7. This section serves as a brief introduction to the analysis as a whole, before the discussion moves on to focus specifically on *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling*.

The research sought to investigate (and compare) the construction of Afrikaans identity in a selection of Afrikaans television dramas originating from different contexts. In order to compare the television texts, each drama had to be analysed separately. Consequently, seven episodes from each television drama were randomly selected. During the analyses these sample episodes were analysed using a combined semiotic and narrative analysis approach. The semiotic and narrative analysis was conducted using the “natural” data representation strategy (Chenail 1995:6-7). This implies that the “data are presented in a shape that resembles the phenomenon being studied” (Chenail 1995:7). This study investigated Afrikaans television drama programmes. These programmes consist of episodes that are shown on television in a chronological order; in other words, the first episode is shown (Episode 1), and then during the next week Episode 2 is shown, then Episode 3 and so forth.<sup>33</sup> This pattern continues till the broadcast of the final episode. The individual episodes were thus examined chronologically, similar to how they would have been experienced on television. Themes, narratives and the representation of characters were explored to shed some light on the construction of Afrikaans identity in each text.

A number of elements can contribute to identity construction. The literature reveals that elements such as language, class and gender form part of identity formation. However, during the process of analysis it was discovered that the rigid focus on only these aspects, for example class and language, would limit the exploration of the texts. It was thus considered advantageous to broaden the thematic possibilities of the texts and in this way to gain greater insight into what was being represented. In order to do this, the texts had to

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<sup>33</sup> The television programmes investigated in this study typically show one episode per week.



take the lead. Specified themes were not imposed on the analyses, rather the investigation focused on themes that emerged during the process of analysis. The afore-mentioned points of interest (language, gender and class) were still kept in mind during the analyses and where relevant these themes were explored and issues related to them discussed. After the initial analyses, the data was revised and presented thematically.

In each analysis chapter, three themes are discussed in relation to the specific programme. In the *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling* analysis, family, individuality and gender were explored. The *Wenners* analysis examined the role of authority figures and the children's home, the opposition of good and bad, and gender. Finally, the *Song vir Katryn* analysis studied the themes of abuse, gender and sexuality and class. A number of other themes could also have been discussed, but within the scope of this study three themes per programme were considered sufficient. This approach provided focus and balance to the investigation. It is suggested that other researchers take the exploration further by examining other themes and issues. This qualitative study focused on the in-depth analysis of the selected themes. I kept in mind that similar themes and issues among different texts may occur but I realised that individual texts usually also produce unique themes that are specific to that programme. The investigation of the identified themes provided useful insight into the construction of Afrikaans identity within these television programmes originating from different contextual periods. As mentioned earlier, only a selected number of episodes were part of the detailed analysis. Summaries of these episodes were provided in Chapter 4.

The episode summaries in Chapter 4 describe events in chronological order as they occur in the flow of episodes. However, in the analysis chapters an integrated approach was taken to the discussion of each theme and a strict chronological order was no longer followed. Examples of important moments or occurrences from the selected episodes were highlighted when and where necessary. Longer examples or extracts from the programmes are included in separate appendices (*Ballade vir 'n Enkeling* – Appendix 1; *Wenners* – Appendix 2; *Song vir Katryn* – Appendix 3).

The rest of this chapter includes an introduction to the investigation of *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling*, followed by the thematic analysis. The chapter ends with a short summary of its contents.

## 5.2 Analysis of *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling*

### 5.2.1 Introduction: Title and structure

A ballad (Afrikaans: 'ballade') can be defined as a poem or song that tells a story, usually a romantic or love story. *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling* (*Ballade*) tells the story of Jacques Rynhard. Jacques is a strong individual who does not run with the crowd; he walks his own path. As the title suggests, this programme depicts the story of a unique individual, his experiences of love and his search for freedom. The inclusion of 'Ballade' in the title is very appropriate since music plays an important role in the drama and specific songs are associated with specific characters. Furthermore, a ballad often includes leaps in time within the story. Similarly, *Ballade* follows an a-chronological narrative structure with a number of leaps between the past and the present, which adds great complexity to the narrative as it constantly moves backward and forward. This highlights the notion of memory and how memories form part of our present situation; where we are now and who we are now. In a sense the past is always present. What is more, the flashbacks emphasise the role played by context. These flashbacks reveal information about the characters and their experiences and in doing so help viewers to understand and even identify with the characters. The title sequence also serves to inform viewers and it sets the tone for the programme.

As a television drama serial, *Ballade* opens with the same title or opening sequence at the beginning of every episode. *Ballade's* title sequence is accompanied by an instrumental version of the theme song "Enkeling" ("Individual") sung by Richard van der Westhuizen. This sequence functions as the exposition as it introduces the characters, location and problem or situation. After the title sequence in the first episode, the story opens with the Basson Literature Prize function. The year is 1985. Carina is reporting on the event and Jan-Paul, Lena, Trudie and Alicia are all present as guests. Jacques is announced as the winner of the first prize for his debut novel *Die Enkeling* (*The Individual*). The equilibrium is established. The camera then spins from the announcer on the stage to Jacques's seat, but the seat is empty. Shots of newspaper articles then follow, reporting that Jacques has disappeared. The equilibrium has been disrupted. The rest of the episode and the episodes to follow all depict attempts to restore the equilibrium or to create a new equilibrium. In the first episode the editor of *Die Huisvriend* (an Afrikaans magazine, *The House Friend*) asks Carina to write a series of articles about Jacques. The aim is to find Jacques and to uncover why he disappeared. The title sequence ends with a newspaper clipping headlining

Jacques's disappearance. The disruption is thus reintroduced for every episode. Viewers who watched the previous episode are reminded of the situation and new viewers (who missed the previous episode(s)) are informed of the situation so that they can follow the story. During the title sequence certain points of interest are highlighted, including relationships, the representations of men and women and individuality. These aspects as well as other relevant issues are discussed in the analysis section.

## **5.2.2 Thematic analysis<sup>34</sup>**

*Ballade* was shot and broadcast during the late 1980s. It was a time of political unrest in South Africa and the SABC was to a large extent conceived as the mouthpiece of the apartheid government. *Ballade* was rebroadcast in 2007 by the restructured SABC. In the analysis the following themes are addressed: family, individuality, and gender.

### **5.2.2.1 Family**

In *Ballade* the Rynhard family plays a central role in the story. After Jacques's disappearance we are taken into the Rynhard family home where Liebet lives alone after her husband's death. The interior of the house is old-fashioned. It has faded flower-patterned wallpaper and old photos and portraits line the wall. Liebet listens to a news bulletin on the radio reporting on Jacques's disappearance. She appears worried and she anxiously looks at a photo of her, Jacques and Klaus. The camera zooms in on the photo. Jacques (as a young boy) sits cross-legged on the ground, behind him to the right Liebet sits on a chair and to the right behind her Klaus stands in the background. The photo is cold, stiff and formal and no one looks happy. This photo reveals the family environment in which Jacques grew up. His father was always in the background, a marginal character in his life. Liebet was always the figure between them, keeping them apart and monitoring and dictating their relationship. Liebet never encouraged Jacques, she rather broke him down and constantly accused him of being 'difficult' and 'too much' to handle. As a family they were never close, and in the photograph this is revealed. The nuclear family was generally conceived as a cornerstone in conservative Afrikaner identity constructions (Maingard 2007; Vestergaard 2001). During the 1980s this was still considered the norm. The conventional nuclear family is depicted, including the mother, father and child. But, the

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<sup>34</sup> Episodes 2–8 were included in the *Ballade* analysis, while Episodes 1, and 9–14 were excluded. The excluded episodes were only referred to in the analysis when necessary to support an argument.

representation reveals that for Jacques and his parents, this was not a happy or satisfying unit. *Ballade* exposes the sometimes troubled inner workings of the family unit. Liebet and Klaus never show a loving and close relationship.

Liebet and Klaus's bedroom depicts an unconventional marriage arrangement. During a flashback to Jacques's childhood years, the viewer is taken inside Liebet and Klaus's bedroom. A high-angle shot is used to give an overall view of the room to show how Liebet and Klaus live within it. While Liebet sleeps alone on the large bed, Klaus sleeps in the corner of the room on a single mattress on the floor. Separation and control is emphasised here. They do not share a bed and no intimacy between them is ever depicted. They appear to be leading separate lives while living under the same roof. The only link they share is Jacques. Liebet figuratively keeps Klaus in the corner in their relationship. Klaus is presented as weak and inferior as he sleeps on the ground in an inferior position compared to Liebet. He does not act as the man of the house; Liebet has taken that role from him, and he plays an inferior role in their relationship and also in Jacques's life. Their bedroom setup clearly depicts an unhappy relationship. *Ballade* breaks with the typical depiction of the man as the head of the household. Conventional Afrikaner identity constructions of the 1980s and earlier emphasise patriarchy and the prominent role played by men within society (Vestergaard 2001). The Rynhard family presents to the outside world an image of Klaus as the head of the house and Liebet as the conventional wife and mother. But, when the inside workings of the family are explored a domineering wife and mother and a weak and passive husband are revealed. These depictions, therefore, destabilise the foundations of the traditional Afrikaner patriarchal family. Flashbacks provide an insider's look at the Rynhard family.

A number of events within the narrative highlight the Rynhard's family relations, presenting an overbearing mother, an almost absent father and a suppressed child. The parental roles are reversed in *Ballade*. Instead of having the father as the one who disciplines the child, the mother now takes on that role. In addition, Liebet is not depicted as loving and caring – characteristics typically associated with a mother. Rather she is presented as hard, cold and mean. Likewise, Klaus is not depicted as a typical father figure. He is not presented as a strong and confident head (leader) of the household; instead he is emasculated. These aspects are highlighted in the following example: On one occasion when Jacques was 11 years old (1967), he goes for a walk outside the house when he

cannot sleep. Liebet sees Jacques outside and Klaus is sent to fetch him. Inside the house a leather strap is shown hanging on the wall in the dining room. Liebet takes it off as she says, “Jy mag pappa nooit weer so laat skrik nie” (You must never again scare your father like that). Liebet speaks for Klaus, even if what she is saying is not what Klaus is thinking or feeling. She dictates Klaus’s position and feelings towards Jacques and this further emphasises her control within the household and in their marriage. Liebet takes the strap and goes into Jacques’s bedroom. Jacques looks up at his father, but Klaus does not do or say anything, he just looks at the ground with slumped shoulders. He appears weak, pathetic and cowardly. Jacques walks into his bedroom and facing the camera he slowly closes his bedroom door. He is shown staring at his father with tears in his eyes. The shot jumps between Jacques and Klaus till the door finally closes. Jacques looks disappointed, as if he was expecting his father to step up, to say something, to protect and defend him. The slowness of the editing during this moment between Klaus and Jacques builds tension. One waits for a reaction, but like Jacques, one is left disappointed. This suggests Jacques and Klaus’s entire relationship. Klaus never truly takes action, except when he approaches Trudie for help. (This event is discussed at a later stage.) A close-up shows Klaus as he listens to Liebet beating Jacques. We hear Liebet hitting Jacques with the strap and Jacques crying out in pain. Klaus shakes his head, but still does nothing. The scene stresses Klaus’s passive state within the family. Through these depictions *Ballade* comments on the conventional construction of the nuclear family and the issue of abuse behind closed doors. Jacques is caught in a stifling home environment.

Control and abuse are part of Jacques’s childhood. A flashback depicts Jacques and Lena (both 11 years old) as they hide away in an empty train truck. They are, however, caught out and Klaus (who works for the railways) takes Jacques home. As Klaus leaves, Liebet takes the strap off the wall again and Jacques leans against the table, awaiting his punishment. As she hits him, the camera zooms in on Jacques’s face and he begins to cry. Later that night Lena appears at Jacques’s bedroom window. He lets her in and she tells him that her father also beat her. Jacques lets Lena sleep in his bed and makes a bed for himself on the floor. The next morning Klaus returns from work and he goes to check on Jacques. Klaus finds Jacques and Lena asleep. He looks amused and smiles at the sight of the two of them. Liebet then walks in and she, on the other hand, immediately looks angry and shocked. Klaus picks Lena up to take her home, but she awakens and starts to cry. Jacques also awakens and immediately begs his father not to take Lena home, because her

father will beat her again. A medium shot frames all four of them together in Jacques's room: Liebet, Jacques and then Klaus with Lena in his arms. Liebet pulls Jacques away from his father, but Jacques persists. She then smacks him on the bottom. With this, Jacques turns around to face his mother. For the first time Jacques stands up for himself. Pointing his finger at his mother he states, "Ek luister altyd na ma, ma luister nooit na my ..." (I always listen to you mother, but you never listen to me) Liebet slaps Jacques and the camera zooms in to an extreme close-up of his shocked and disillusioned face. Jacques spoke the truth. They do not acknowledge Jacques as someone with feelings and ideas. He is just there to be controlled and to do as they (more specifically Liebet) say(s).

Jacques (and Lena) are examples of the traditional (Afrikaner) way of growing up in the 1960s and 1970s. During that time a strict parenting approach was emphasised supporting the Biblical reference that children were to obey their parents and parents were to discipline their children.<sup>35</sup> Liebet takes this approach to the extreme. A particular view of a child's place within the family is furthermore accentuated here: the notion that children should be seen but not heard. In the example discussed above this particular view of children is stressed. *Ballade*, however, reveals repeatedly how suffocating and repressive this approach can be. *Ballade* critically comments on the traditional values and norms of the Afrikaner family in the 1960s and 1970s. Jacques experiences physical and emotional abuse within his family.

Liebet physically and emotionally abuses Jacques. The only physical contact Jacques receives from his mother is when she beats him. She never hugs or kisses him. Emotionally, Liebet also manipulates Jacques. Another childhood flashback shows Liebet and Klaus in their bedroom getting ready to climb into their separate beds. They are arguing about Jacques. According to Liebet, Jacques is out of control and she complains that he rarely speaks to her. She continues to say that Jacques's upbringing rests solely in her hands, because Klaus does nothing and she then adds that if Klaus does not care for his son, then that is not her fault. Once again Liebet is speaking for Klaus. Meanwhile, young Jacques is still awake in the house and he hears his parents' discussion. The camera is kept on Jacques's eye level. A hurt expression crosses his face when Liebet says Klaus does not care about his son. Jacques quietly returns to his room and fills a small suitcase with some

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<sup>35</sup> Ephesians 6:1-4, "Children, obey your parents because you are Christians. This is the right thing to do. 'Honour your father and mother that everything may go well for you ...' Fathers, don't make your children bitter about life. Instead, bring them up in Christian discipline and instruction."

of his clothes. Jacques then climbs through the bedroom window into the night. The influence of such a strict and unstable parenting unit is stressed here. At the age of 11 Jacques feels pushed to a point where running away is considered a solution. While politics is not openly addressed in *Ballade*, the Rynhard household in a sense reflects the political climate of the 1960s to 1980s. During apartheid a repressive political system manipulated and controlled its citizens. People were expected to accept the status quo and to act accordingly. Similarly, Jacques is dominated and restricted by his mother. He tries to escape from this repressive and unloving situation. Later Klaus is shown bringing Jacques home, stating that someone had found him walking along the main road. Liebet once again beats Jacques with the strap, while Klaus remains passive. The strap is strongly associated with Liebet. It symbolises judgement, punishment and pain. That is how Jacques experiences his mother. In the 1960s and 1970s a strict upbringing was considered the norm in traditional Afrikaner communities, in the home and at school.

The rejection and pain Jacques experiences while growing up with parents in a loveless marriage can be considered to be a form of abuse. In another flashback of Jacques's childhood the notion of rejection is stressed. This scene opens with Klaus reading the newspaper while sitting at the head of the dining-room table. Liebet sets the food down on the table and a close-up shows the two of them seated at the table. Liebet asks Klaus if they can get someone to help with the housework and with Jacques, because Jacques is a handful. The shot then cuts to a medium shot of Jacques, revealing that he is also sitting at the table. The editing (juxtapositioning of images) emphasises that Liebet talks about Jacques as if he is not there. This stresses that she does not acknowledge his existence or importance. She also does not consider his feelings. Once again the subordinate position of the child within the family is stressed. Klaus puts the newspaper down and says, "Laat ons bid" (Let us say grace).<sup>36</sup> As Jacques reaches across the table to hold his mother's hand he accidentally knocks over a small pitcher of milk. He quickly pulls back his hand, regret visible on his face. Liebet yells at Jacques to clean it up. At the same time Klaus shows no reaction; he merely picks up the newspaper to read further. After the spill is cleaned up, Klaus again says, "Let us say grace" and Jacques reaches for his mother's hand. Liebet, however, does not reach out to Jacques and rather holds her hand against her forehead. A medium shot shows Jacques as he slowly pulls back his hand as his father prays, a sad and

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<sup>36</sup> In this example the issue of Christianity is also highlighted, but it will be addressed at a later stage in this section.

hurt expression on his face. Liebet rejects Jacques with this action. Jacques's experience of his repressive childhood environment is made central, and the viewer is given the opportunity to see and feel things from Jacques's perspective.

Liebet represents a repressive force in Jacques's childhood. A number of flashbacks are associated with Liebet. For example, she is shown thinking, daydreaming or sleeping followed by a dissolve that introduces a specific flashback. Now that Jacques has disappeared (present time in narrative, 1985) Liebet is revisiting events from their past, possibly rethinking and questioning these events. This could suggest that she feels regret or remorse. However, when Carina interviews Liebet this notion of regret is contradicted. In order to get Liebet's attention after she initially refuses to do an interview with Carina, Carina informs Liebet that they are going to publish a story stating that Liebet abused Jacques and drove him away. The plan works and Liebet decides to talk to Carina. Liebet says she was only good to Jacques. The flashbacks, nevertheless, contradict her statement. Liebet goes on to say that Jacques was very happy and that he worshipped his father. In other words, Liebet rejects the accusation of abuse and rather defends herself by stating that Jacques was a bit rebellious at times, but that she knew how to handle him. By stating that Jacques was difficult and rebellious she in a sense excuses or justifies her actions of abuse. From Liebet's discussion with Carina, it appears as if nothing has changed for Liebet. She still views herself as superior and seems uncritical of her own actions. Liebet's actions reflect a particular way of thinking prevalent within the socio-political context of the 1980s.

Some people challenged the politics of apartheid during the 1980s, while others still supported and justified the apartheid system. Those who supported the system wanted to maintain white (in particular Afrikaner) political control and white supremacy. As protests and rebellion shook the foundations of apartheid many conservative Afrikaners wanted to retain the status quo at all costs and did whatever they thought necessary to maintain the apartheid system (an example being the state of emergency that was in force from 1985 to 1990) (Milton 2005:89; Wigston 2007:50). In a similar fashion Liebet also tries to save face in light of the accusations of abuse that are directed at her. In conservative Afrikaner circles involvement in any kind of scandal, such as for example child abuse, was severely frowned upon and could lead to one being ostracised from the community. It was very important to retain one's reputation and image. As pointed out by Vestergaard (2001:21), one had to embody the "good Afrikaner" image or face the consequences of rejection in the



community, church or workplace. In *Ballade* one gets a sense of the socio-political context surrounding the Afrikaner during the 1960s to the 1980s. The following aspects are highlighted within a conservative Afrikaner context: a strict formal upbringing; control and discipline enforced by older generations who are set in their ways; and a repressive environment where a particular status quo is enforced and maintained.

In traditional Afrikaner identity constructions the nuclear family plays a significant role (Maingard 2007; Vestergaard 2001). The strong focus on family is prevalent in many Afrikaans television stories such as *Orkney Snork Nie*, *7de Laan* and *Erfsondes*. In *Ballade* we explore Jacques's family in detail, but we are also introduced to Lena's family, the Aucamps. Very few scenes take us inside the Aucamp home. On the day of Klaus's death Lena and her parents are shown having dinner at a small dining-room table.<sup>37</sup> Lena asks to be excused, but as she gets up to leave, her father grabs her arm. He is a thin man with grey hair, a beard and moustache. He angrily asks her why she looks so glum and tugs on her arm. Lena's mother, a small woman with short brown hair (somewhat younger than Liebet), defends Lena and tells her husband to leave Lena alone, but he angrily yells at his wife to be quiet. Lena's father threatens to give Lena a hiding. Lena's mother looks on sympathetically, but this time she remains quiet. Finally, he lets go of Lena's arms and she goes into her bedroom. Here one sees an aggressive and domineering father. Lena's mother tries to intervene, but her husband overpowers her. We thus have a contrast between the Rynhard family and the Aucamp family.

Jacques's father plays a subordinate role and his mother dominates, while in the Aucamp home Lena's mother tries to speak up but she and Lena are intimidated by the father's loud voice and aggressiveness. Both households function in a different way, but both of them are unhappy. Just as Jacques feels repressed and manipulated by his cold and distant mother, Lena feels restricted and controlled by her aggressive father. The theme of dominating and controlling parents is present in *Ballade*. It reflects on the often strict upbringing of children within conservative Afrikaner families. Lena's father is the head of the household, but he uses aggression to control and manipulate his family. Again, this representation comments on the traditional nuclear family construction. Neither the Rynhards nor the Aucamps represent the ideal family construction. In some of the early Afrikaans films (e.g. *De Voortrekkers*, referred to in Chapter 2) the nuclear family is stressed as central to the

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<sup>37</sup> At the time of Klaus's death JP, Lena and Jacques were all teenagers (Standard 9 or Grade 11).

stability and successful development of society, and in particular Afrikanerdom (Maingard 2007). In *Ballade*, however, the illusiveness of the ‘happy family’ ideal is fore-fronted.

Klaus does acknowledge the unhappiness within the Rynhard household. Although he is mostly depicted as uninvolved and passive, he is still aware of Jacques’s suffering. On Liebet’s request for extra help at their home, Klaus goes to see an old friend (and loved one), Trudie Linde, and begs her to come and look after Jacques. Klaus says to Trudie, “En nou het ek een [’n seun], en hy’s besig om te vergaan van die ellende van ’n liefdelose huwelik” (And now I have one [a son] and he’s suffering deeply because of a loveless marriage). Here Klaus speaks his true feelings for the first time. He verbalises what has been depicted of Jacques’s relationship with his parents through all the flashbacks thus far. He confides in Trudie that Liebet’s restrictive approach to parenting is destructive. The depictions of the overly strict parents (and to be discussed later – the strict school principal) suggest that children within the Afrikaner community, specifically the rural community, grew up within a strictly disciplined and almost restrictive atmosphere. Trudie’s approach to Jacques nonetheless shows another way of parenting.

Trudie’s parenting qualities are emphasised in various scenes involving her and Jacques. Shortly after Trudie starts working in the Rynhard household Jacques accidentally knocks over a vase and it breaks. Trudie picks up the broken pieces and fixes the vase. This is the first time that Jacques is not scolded or rejected for doing something wrong (whether the deed was intentional or not). His mother would have scolded, blamed and rejected him, while his father would have silently faded into the background. Trudie, however, sees Jacques as a child and she acknowledges that accidents happen. She rather helps him to find a solution to the problem. Trudie brings joy and laughter into Jacques’s life. On his 16<sup>th</sup> birthday, for example, she brings him breakfast in bed and she also teaches Jacques how to ride his new bicycle. Maybe this is something his parents should have done, but in their absence Trudie steps in. She supports and encourages Jacques when he struggles to ride his new bicycle. At one point Jacques says to Trudie, “Ek’s nie so sleg nie ou Shivas?” (I’m not so bad Shivas?) Trudie answers, “Nee, jy is nie jou ou skarminkel” (No, you’re not, you scallywag). She shows love and affection and she acknowledges his worth. Jacques longs for recognition and love and Trudie provides just that. She is neither aggressive nor passive; she participates in his life and pays attention to his needs. She is also firm when necessary, but not judgemental. Jacques responds to this kind of parenting and it brings out

the best in him. Breaking with the conventional idea that happiness and stability is found within the nuclear family unit, *Ballade* shows that a family bond can be found in unconventional places (and people). Trudie is not Jacques's biological mother, she's not even related to him, nor is she married, but she offers Jacques the comfort, support and connection that he longed for. Jacques and Trudie's relationship offers an alternative construction of 'family'.

Another element that is considered crucial to traditional Afrikaner identity constructions is the importance of Christianity (Giliomee 1979:87; Vestergaard 2001:20). In a previously mentioned example Klaus says grace while he, Liebet and Jacques are sitting at the dining-room table. The notion of a Christian upbringing is thus established. The Christian faith is often associated with the Afrikaner people (Vestergaard 2001). In another flashback where Jacques is still a young boy, a high-angle shot depicts Jacques and Liebet in the dining room. Liebet is listening to the radio and Jacques is playing with his toy trains. When Jacques mimics the whistle of a train Liebet scolds him and tells him to have respect. We then hear that Liebet is listening to a Christian radio programme. We hear the male presenter's voice as the radio programme continues: "Liefde kom van God ... wie nie liefde het nie het geen kennis van God. Liefde vir u medemens, liefde vir u man, liefde vir u vrou of u kind" (Love comes from God ... he who does not have love, has no knowledge of God. Love for your fellow man, love for your husband, love for your wife or your child). The radio message represents the values of Christianity, in line with conservative Afrikaner views. During the 1980s and in the many years before, most Afrikaners were instructed on the virtues of having Christian morals and values (Vestergaard 2001). Even though Liebet listens intently to the message of love, it stands in stark contrast to her behaviour in their household. Klaus and Liebet position themselves as Christians, but the fruit of the Spirit is not visible in their own household.<sup>38</sup> *Ballade* comments on how religion can become a front or disguise. By claiming to be religious or Christian one can be considered 'more of an Afrikaner'. On the surface everything appears in place, but behind the scenes Christian values and ideals are ignored. The notion of religious hypocrisy is stressed.

The other main characters, including Jacques, are not shown to have any specific or strong religious inclinations. It seems to be something more strongly associated with the older

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<sup>38</sup> Galatians 5:22-23, "But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faith, gentleness, self-control. Against such things there is no law." According to the Bible, when one chooses to live a Christian life, these qualities should be part of one's everyday life. In this case, Liebet does not show love, kindness, joy or patience towards Jacques and Klaus.

generation.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, Jacques's Christian background is made evident when he and Mambie Engelbrecht have an argument about a bar fight that took place at the Plaza Hotel.<sup>40</sup> Mambie Engelbrecht positions herself as a Christian, but she judges Jacques before she gets all the facts about what happened at the hotel. She immediately labels him as the guilty party. Jacques then puts her in her place and this infuriates her. Jacques is familiar with the Commandments taken up in the Bible. The notion of some Christians being hypocritical and judgemental is emphasised through Mambie and Liebet's characters. They consider themselves superior to others and instead of considering the flaws and limitations within their own lives they focus on criticising and judging the lives of others. Christianity is explored from different angles in *Ballade*. Not all people who claim to be Christian are the same. *Ballade* looks critically at the role of Christianity within a conservative Afrikaner context.

As a teenager (narrative time – 1970s) Jacques begins to question his surroundings. Liebet views this as rebellion and believes that Jacques should be controlled and kept in line. In conservative Afrikaner circles of the 1960s to 1980s rebellion of any kind was frowned upon and considered unacceptable. Children were expected to step in line and do as they were told. Resistance to parental and patriarchal control was considered disrespectful. During two specific flashbacks of Jacques's teenage years he shows clear signs of resistance: first when his parents confront him about his relationship with Lena, and second when the Helderfontein principal visits the Rynhard home on the same day that Klaus loses his job with the railways.<sup>41</sup> In the first example we see that Jacques is standing up for himself. He is asking questions and expecting answers. Liebet still tries to manipulate and control him (and Klaus), but Jacques is showing his discontent. Liebet's friend from church condemns Jacques and labels him a rebel. Again one sees an example of a Christian who judges Jacques; she also gossip about Jacques's alleged rebellious behaviour at school. In the second example the principal, just like the woman from church, makes up his mind about Jacques before hearing his side of the story.<sup>42</sup> Jacques's reaction to his father's situation and his call to action are thus stifled by the principal, who is considered an authority figure. Jacques shows resistance to the restrictions (physical and emotional)

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<sup>39</sup> Trudie is also shown to be a Christian. At the end of the second episode Trudie goes to her bedside table in her small apartment and picks up her Bible. As she opens it, photos of Jacques and Klaus are seen inside. The placement of the Bible on the bedside table suggests that Trudie reads her Bible often.

<sup>40</sup> See Appendix 1 – 1.1.1/Extract 1.

<sup>41</sup> See Appendix 1 – 1.1.2/Extract 2.

<sup>42</sup> See Appendix 1 – 1.1.3/Extract 3.

enforced on him. Giliomee (1979) highlights the growing attitude of resistance in the 1970s, particularly among young Afrikaners who were questioning the political order as well as the conservative norms and values associated with Afrikaner identity. This resistance to political control and the rigidity of Afrikaner identity is reflected in *Ballade* through Jacques's resistance to his parents and other authority figures.

In the 1970s and 1980s discontent about the apartheid system and conservative conceptions of Afrikanerdom grew among some Afrikaner youths, musicians and artists (Marx & Milton 2011:729; Vestergaard 2001:36). The resistance to and questioning of (Afrikaner) values and norms were also evident in some Afrikaans films of the 1970s (e.g. *Die Square*) (The Square) and the 1980s (e.g. *Boetie gaan border toe*) (Boetie goes to the border). At that time, the theme of resistance was not really the forte of Afrikaans television due to the very strict censorship guidelines enforced at the SABC, which was considered the mouthpiece of the apartheid government (*Daar doer in die fliek* 2011; Milton 2005). *Ballade*, however, grapples with issues of resistance in a covert way. This makes it a very interesting Afrikaans television text for the 1980s. Jacques embodies the resistance against conformity, patriarchal authority and conservatism. Jacques is critical of many of the traditional roles within his community and he rejects certain conservative norms about control and discipline. As a teenager he challenges the manipulation and abuse he experiences at home, he rejects the role of head boy (an issue that will be taken up again in a later discussion) and he questions the control and discipline exhorted by authority figures. Vestergaard (2001:35) emphasises that “[u]nder apartheid ... [patriarchal authority] figures customarily left no space for independent thinking and questioning – people simply had to obey”. Jacques rejects this way of thinking and being. He is, however, not the same type of ‘rebel’ as Gavin and his friends in the reformatory school.

Gavin and his friends also rebel against control and certain norms and values, but in a completely different way and for different reasons. In the reformatory school Jacques distances himself from Gavin and his friends. He does not join their group or participate in their rebellious behaviour. For example, Gavin and his friends smoke in the hostel room knowing full well that it is not allowed. They make it their task to intimidate and humiliate Jacques. They beat him up, spit on him, take his food and torment him with questions about his father's death. Gavin refers to himself and his friends as criminals. He appears proud of this status and his reputation. Jacques is not like them and even though they try to break

him, he remains strong and independent. His refusal to be like them or to become one of them frustrates Gavin and his followers. Gavin repeatedly tries to get Jacques into trouble and succeeds on some occasions. When Jacques matriculates he and Gavin have a final confrontation in their hostel room. As Jacques is about to leave Gavin states, “Jy dink seker nou is jou gewete skoon gewas, *spic en span*, skoon *ge-polish*” (You probably think you’re conscience is now washed clean, spic and span, polished). A close-up shows Jacques’s face as he replies, “My gewete was nooit vuil nie. Dis meer as wat ’n mens van jou kan sê, Greeff” (My conscience was never dirty. That’s more than one can say about you, Greeff). Jacques refuses to label himself a criminal or murderer. *Ballade* is set within a context where labels were largely fixed, rigid and stereotypical. Particular ideas and meanings were ascribed to certain labels and these were then presented as normal and natural. What it means to be a man, a woman or an Afrikaner was clearly defined by the dominant group of that time. *Ballade* highlights Jacques’s approach to various set labels, such as ‘rebel’, ‘criminal’ and ‘head boy’. Jacques navigates around these labels and attempts to find his own way of defining and understanding who he is and what he stands for. Jacques’s character highlights the process of renegotiation and reinterpretation, emphasising the ‘constructedness’ of these social labels. The 1980s was a time of instability and crisis in apartheid politics and people increasingly began to question the fixed ideas and values that had shaped Afrikaner identity and Afrikaner culture for many years. *Ballade* expresses this rising critical approach, uncertainty and resistance. In addition, the connection with family and the complexity of those relationships remain a focal point throughout *Ballade*.

Jacques battles with his longing for freedom and for acceptance, love and forgiveness. The bond between him and his mother remains a point of conflict. Jacques does, however, find trust, acceptance, love and friendship in his relationship with Trudie. Family is an important theme in *Ballade*, but attention is given to the role of the individual as well.

#### **5.2.2.2 Individuality**

The focus on the individual is clearly established in the title and opening sequence. The serial is about an individual (‘’n enkeling’), someone who paves his own way. Jacques is immediately positioned as a unique individual as a selection of shots in the opening sequence depict him on his own. It begins with a close-up of his face and then, as he is shown walking on his own in the bush and crossing a river, he is depicted as an adventurer. Jacques is also shown typing enthusiastically which suggests that he is a writer, an

intelligent and creative person. A newspaper article further highlights these attributes during the sequence, when it states “Die Enkeling haal blitsverkoperly” (*Die Enkeling* (Jacques’s novel) hits top sellers list). Jacques is thus not an average writer – he is an exceptional one. He has become someone who is acknowledged for his writing talent. Jacques is presented as a thinker. He is someone who has a critical approach to life and who reflects on his experiences and observations. This characteristic is explored at various points throughout the narrative (some of these points will be discussed later on). During an interview in Episode 3 Lena tells Carina that Jacques started thinking much earlier than other children. This suggests that Jacques questioned and wondered about things at a very early age. The focus on Jacques and his individual journey and individual success develops within the episodes.

The notion of individual success is emphasised when Jacques is awarded a coveted Afrikaans literature prize for his debut novel, *Die Enkeling*. Broadcast for the first time in 1987, *Ballade* highlights a link between the Afrikaans language and Afrikaans literature. A particular type of Afrikaans writing is acknowledged here as prize-winning literature. Jacques’s type of writing, the standardised Afrikaans that he uses, is considered appropriate and praiseworthy Afrikaans. At the award ceremony all the guests and nominees for the award are white men and women. *Ballade* was filmed during the apartheid era and at that time only white Afrikaans writers were included in these types of events and awards. Afrikaans was considered the first language of the (white) Afrikaner people and the coloured community. The standardised version of Afrikaans was, however, considered superior to other variants or vernaculars. This standardised type of Afrikaans was strongly associated with Afrikaans literature (Van Coller & Van Jaarsveld 2009). In *Ballade* it is this type of Afrikaans that is considered prizewinning Afrikaans literature.<sup>43</sup> During apartheid there was a strong emphasis on standardised Afrikaans – or as some labelled it ‘suiwer’ (pure) Afrikaans. The SABC followed strict guidelines regarding language and just as the different races or ethnic groups were separated, so too were the languages on television (Milton 2005:89). SABC-TV catered predominantly for white Afrikaans speakers and standardised Afrikaans was the norm. *Ballade* had to position itself within these guidelines

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<sup>43</sup> In *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling II* (a follow-up serial) Jacques takes his second novel *Lag van die Narre* (*Laugh of the clowns*) to another publisher after being shunned by Francke Publishers. Potgieter Press notes that Jacques’s language is too complex. The publisher suggests that he should rework it to fit the average layman reader. This infuriates Jacques and he takes his novel away from Potgieter Press. The Afrikaans that Jacques uses in his novel is thus considered to be the language of the intellectual and cultured person. Standardised Afrikaans as employed by Jacques was at that time (*Ballade II* was broadcast on SABC-TV in the early 1990s) still perceived as the superior type of Afrikaans.

and frameworks in order to be broadcast. *Ballade* illustrates support for the standardised use of Afrikaans. It is reflected in the dialogue of characters and the storyline focusing on Jacques as an Afrikaans writer.

Jacques is depicted as an only child, emphasising that his individual and sometimes isolating journey began during his childhood. Within his family unit, Jacques experiences rejection. His mother distanced herself from him at an early age and Jacques’s father was for the most part uninvolved and silent.<sup>44</sup> Jacques longed for a connection with his parents (a longing which continued throughout his teenage and adult years). Without any uplifting involvement from his parents, Jacques had to find his own way. From the narrative it becomes clear that Jacques excelled at school, but he was critical of certain labels and positions (such as head boy) and he resisted the restrictions that he thought were embodied in them. A flashback shows Jacques, JP and Lena at the swimming hole as teenagers (Standard 9 or Grade 11). During a discussion with JP Jacques’s views become clear.

<p>JP: “Ek hoor die ouens sê jy gaan dalk hoofseun word.”</p> <p>Jacques (J): “Hulle sê so ja. Ek stel nie belang nie.”</p> <p>JP: “Is jy mal!”</p> <p>J: “Ek wil nie vir ander sê wat hulle moet doen nie. Ek dink elkeen moet sy eie lewe leef soos hy goed dink. As hy anders wil leef moet hy dit vir homself uitmaak.”</p> <p>JP: “Moenie dat die ander ouens hoor nie.”</p> <p>J: “Ag.”</p> <p>(Episode 3)</p>	<p>I hear you might be the next head boy.</p> <p>That’s what they say. I’m not interested.</p> <p>Are you crazy!</p> <p>I don’t want to tell others what to do. They should decide for themselves how they want to live. If they want to live a different way, it’s for them to decide.</p> <p>Don’t let the others hear you.</p>
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Here the notion of the individual is highlighted. Jacques suggests that each person should lead their own life according to his or her own guidelines or principles. JP’s reaction to Jacques’s resistance supports the traditional view that the position of head boy is usually seen as a privilege or honour. Jacques, however, wants to lead his own life. He is often restricted and controlled at home by his mother and he now chooses not to control others. His feelings about the matter are further emphasised when the school principal visits

<sup>44</sup> These issues were discussed in detail under the theme of family.



Jacques and his mother at their home. Liebet and the principal discuss the possibility of Jacques becoming the next head boy. The scene cuts to a close-up of Jacques's face and he says, "Ek wil nie in beheer van ander wees nie. As jy hoofseun is misbruik almal jou net, jy kan nie jousef wees nie. Ek wil my eie lewe leef" (I don't want to be in control of others. If you're head boy people just use you, you can't be yourself. I want to lead my own life). Jacques is determined and unafraid to say what he thinks and feels. The close-up emphasises Jacques's certainty of his feelings and opinion. The principal does not see things from Jacques's point of view and he does not try to understand Jacques's views. Just before leaving, the principal turns to Jacques and angrily states, "Jy moet dink voor jy praat. Moenie onverskillige dinge kwytraak nie" (You must think before you speak. Don't say such rash things). The principal, therefore, wants to control Jacques by putting him into an 'appropriate' mould or box. Becoming head boy is traditionally seen as a privilege or as an opportunity to take up your (acceptable and patriarchal) place in society. Patriarchal structures of authority were inscribed in traditional Afrikaner identity constructions. Male figures such as politicians, priests and school principals were considered leaders in the community (Vestergaard 2001:20). The principal's visit is thus considered to be a very important occasion and being awarded the position of head boy should be seen as a sign of status and esteem. This patriarchal structure, however, weighs down on Jacques. He chooses to reject this position and sees it as a form of control and manipulation. Jacques experiences rejection not only in his home and at school, but also at different stages with his childhood friends.

Jacques experiences rejection from his two best friends, JP and Lena. During the same swimming hole scene mentioned earlier where JP and Jacques discuss the head boy position, the two of them jump into the swimming hole from a high ledge. Lena thinks it's a dangerous jump, but both of them still go through with it. This upsets Lena and she insists that JP should take her home. Lena takes hold of JP's arm and pulls him away from Jacques. Hand in hand they then walk away from Jacques, leaving him behind alone. Both Jacques and JP jumped from the ledge and JP was the instigator of the whole affair, but Lena chooses to be angry with and to reject Jacques only. She willingly goes with JP and JP also willingly walks away from Jacques with Lena. Jacques watches Lena and JP as they walk to JP's father's car. The set-up of the shots as they leave highlight Jacques's position as the outsider, as the 'enkeling' (loner). A long shot depicts Lena, JP and Jacques at different levels. Lena and JP are depicted together in the foreground, while Jacques remains

in the background. Just before they reach the car both of them turn to look at Jacques where he is still standing under the tree next to the swimming hole. They then drive away. The composition of these shots visually emphasises the distance between Jacques and his friends. The theme song, “Enkeling”, is playing when Lena and JP walk away.

The theme song supports the theme of individuality and includes the phrase, “Enkeling, vreemdeling, verstoteling, rug gedraai op die ligte kring” (Individual, stranger, outcast, back turned on the circle of light). ‘Kring’ or circle is typically viewed as a symbol of unity. When you are part of a group or circle (e.g. a circle of friends) you are considered to be an insider. The ‘ligte kring’ could have various connotations.<sup>45</sup> It can refer to the ‘status quo’ group or the ‘limelight’ crowd. It can also refer to the “lig in die broek”-group (said of someone who is not considered fit for the task at hand). The selected phrase or lyric stresses that Jacques is not part of the circle(s) or group(s), that he has been ostracised and he has turned away from the ‘insider’ group. He is rather depicted as someone who swims against the tide. When one is considered different from others one often experiences rejection because one does not fit into the status quo or norm. Jacques is different. Within the context of the 1980s many people experienced a time of instability. Identities were unstable, politics were unstable, and many people who chose to question and challenge the norms and values of the conservative Afrikaner status quo and the apartheid system were labelled outsiders (Vestergaard 2001:36). Jacques experiences a similar kind of rejection within his community.

Jacques experiences conflict and rejection within different areas of his life and within different relationships. Yet, he still rises to the top and becomes a successful author. Willpower, commitment and talent are presented as a winning combination. Jacques’s rise to the top can be considered indicative of a particular view of Afrikaners as go-getters and “bittereinders” (people who do not give up, they keep on fighting till the very end). Accounts of Afrikaner history highlight a number of events and challenges that Afrikaners overcame to reach a particular goal; an example would be the Groot Trek. Within these historical accounts characteristics of strength, determination, spirit and courage are associated with Afrikaners (Maingard 2007). Jacques exhibits these qualities and it helps him to reach his goal of becoming a published author, yet he is wary of the attention that success brings.

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<sup>45</sup> It is important to note at this point that interpretations related to dialogue or lyrics are based on the original Afrikaans dialogue or lyrics (not the English translations).

Jacques shies away from the spotlight while JP seems to be drawn to it. From JP's discussion with Jacques at the swimming hole as outlined above one could suggest that JP wants to be head boy. JP likes the attention. His successful acting career as an adult also testifies to this. In JP's apartment the walls of his bedroom and lounge are lined with posters of the theatre and film productions in which he has been involved. JP features as a main character in each of the posters and this indicates that he is an established and popular actor. The notion of individual success is stressed here. JP comes from the small railway town, Helderfontein, and he has made a success of himself in the big city (Johannesburg). Judging from the depiction of his father's car (a Mercedes) when he was a teenager (the car is shown during the swimming hole scene discussed above), JP's family was wealthier than Lena and Jacques's families. During an interview with Carina, JP tells her that he went to university to study Economics. As a student JP is shown driving a black convertible Mercedes. This suggests that JP's family was more financially secure than theirs. Lena comes from a poor family in a small railway town, but she also becomes a successful artist. Lena studies art after high school and as a student she travels from town to town showing and selling her paintings in her own self-organised informal exhibitions, using the money she earns to pay for her studies. When Carina starts looking for information about Jacques and those who knew him, she discovers that Meisie had written an article about Lena and her artwork. Lena's work is thus considered worthwhile for a magazine to write an article about her. The determination of Afrikaners and individual success is again emphasised.

Jacques, JP and Lena's stories all suggest that no matter what one's upbringing or background or financial position, with passion, determination and talent one can achieve success. The focus is, however, on individual success, highlighting individual achievements and the journey of the individual to overcome obstacles to reach his or her goal in the end. These characteristics are also associated with Carina. Carina is depicted as a successful individual. In the office that Carina and Meisie share a close-up of a framed award is shown hanging on the wall. It is Carina's award for best journalist 1984. This stresses that Carina is a successful and dedicated journalist. Carina is constantly telling Meisie that she is busy with work (e.g. going to interviews, calling contacts). Carina is focused on and committed to her work. Her dedication also pays off as she has already been acknowledged as the best journalist for 1984. Within the context of the 1980s these characters would be labelled Afrikaners, although they are never specifically referred to as Afrikaners within the text. Their individual journeys of success are highlighted. Even though they are considered part

of the Afrikaner community the focus here is not on the achievement or success of the group or community, but rather on the individual. In films such as *De Voortrekkers* the focus is on the achievement and success of the Afrikaner nation (Maingard 2007). *Ballade* sets forth a more individualistic approach in the narrative.

There is a focus on the individual in *Ballade*. Within the text the individual is represented as being part of the Afrikaans or Afrikaner community, but the group or community does not overshadow the individual. The story highlights the individual's path, their experiences and the notion of success (specifically in the work environment). These aspects are stressed by many of the main characters, including Jacques, Lena, JP, Carina and Alicia. Success is conceptualised as something important, suggesting that a person should strive to achieve success in what they do. The complex relationship between individual and group is also explored. Many cultures differ in their emphasis of importance regarding the individual and the group. Some praise individualism and independence, while others value group affiliation. Individuality and group/community thus have different meanings and notions of importance attached to them. In the title, *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling*, the notion of the individual is already fore-fronted. But even when the focus is directed towards the individual, there will always be some level of interaction with the group. The individual is never completely cut off or separated from the group and because of this, tension exists between autonomy and belonging to a group. *Ballade* explores this complex relationship through its characters.

Jacques is positioned as the outsider, the individual. He is, however, part of a trio of friends (and a family, a school and a community), but even there he remains on the periphery. Every group has criteria for inclusion and exclusion. The text suggests that when one acts or thinks differently (than what is expected or considered the norm or status quo) one is often branded as an outsider. To be part of the group one must do what they say, act as is expected and follow the status quo rules. On many occasions Jacques is situated in a position of conflict between individual and group. He is part of a circle of friends, but they also reject him. He is part of a family, but neither of his parents openly shows him love or support. At the reformatory school Jacques is assigned to a room with five other boys, but he never joins their gang. Throughout his stay at the school he is bullied because of his outsider status. The leader of the group, Gavin Greeff, realises that Jacques does not think of himself as one of them and he even calls Jacques an “*outsider hier tussen die manne*”

(outsider among the men). Jacques refuses to conform and because of this he is rejected. In contrast to Jacques, JP actively works to be part of the insider group.

JP works to be part of the mainstream, or the in crowd. Lena touches on this matter during a discussion with JP when she states that he always claims that he never gives interviews but every time she opens a magazine there is another article about him. She states that JP is only seen in the right places with the right people. Jacques, nevertheless, also has positive interactions with the 'group', including Trudie and the principal at the reformatory school, Mr Steenberg. As Jacques's caregiver, Trudie tried to support Jacques in ways his parents never did. At the reformatory school the principal, Mr Steenberg, and Jacques's Afrikaans teacher, Mr Botha, also provided Jacques with support. Both of them wanted to help Jacques and made a point of looking more deeply into Jacques's situation, instead of just judging him at face value. They identified Jacques's writing talent and potential and provided him with the opportunity to develop his talent and to further his studies (diploma course in Journalism). However, (given his relationship with his unloving parents, the controlling Helderfontein principal and his experience with the police after his father's death) Jacques shows a distrust of authority figures. He keeps to himself at the reformatory school and in the company of the principal (Mr Steenberg) and the social worker his behaviour is cold and unfriendly. This behaviour is in strong contrast to his friendly and loving nature when he is with Trudie, someone he trusts completely. As an individual and outsider, Jacques still experiences some connection with the group. Individuality is thus not viewed in isolation in the text. Rather the complex, give-and-take relationship between the individual and the group is emphasised.

In the narrative Liebet, Klaus, Lena, JP, Gavin and Alicia's betrayal is unmasked. They used and mistreated people in different ways to get what they want. Viewers are rather encouraged to develop an emotional connection with Jacques, Trudie and Carina. Trudie remains loving, understanding and cheerful throughout the story, a constant beacon of love and support for Jacques. Jacques searches for forgiveness and love and Carina searches for the truth (and unknowingly for love) and in the end they find each other. Each remains a strong individual, but the necessity of a connection with others is stressed.

### 5.2.2.3 *The representation of gender*

A range of characters is represented in *Ballade* and a number of ideas are communicated regarding masculinity and femininity. Jacques and JP are presented as examples of masculinity. Various ideas about Jacques are already communicated in the title sequence. He is depicted as brave, creative, intelligent, successful and strong. JP is depicted as serious, intense and strong. Physically Jacques and JP have a lean but muscular build and in the programme women continually describe them as attractive or handsome and flirt with them. Meisie admires and kisses a photograph of JP in her office and repeatedly comments on how good-looking and manly he is. On one occasion Meisie states, “Is hy [JP] nie die mooiste ding op twee bene nie!” (Isn’t he [JP] the most attractive thing on two legs!) When looking at photographs of Jacques and Alicia, Meisie also describes Jacques as a ‘stunner’. Jacques and JP are thus considered desirable. Traditional heterosexual norms of masculinity are represented. This is in line with what viewers would expect in a 1980s Afrikaans television drama. In the 1980s the SABC still endorsed strict conservative guidelines regarding the representation of gender. Gender roles were clearly defined and Afrikaans television programmes maintained the prescribed status quo, highlighting patriarchal authority and heterosexuality (Vestergaard 2001).

Jacques is represented as the adventurer. At the age of 21 Jacques finishes his time at the reformatory school and decides to walk home on his own. During this sequence Jacques is shown walking through veld and bush-areas carrying only his backpack. He also sleeps in the bush. He makes it home safely, but his mother does not let him into the house. Jacques then decides to jump on the train heading for the Low-veld. Without hesitation, he gets into an empty cattle truck as the train pulls out of Helderfontein. A romanticised summary of events follows depicting Jacques’s experience of the Lowveld as he braves the unknown. With the theme song playing in the background, Jacques jumps off the train and lands in a stretch of long grass next to the train tracks. The music highlights Jacques’s individual journey and suggests that he has finally found a sense of freedom. The splendour and untouched beauty of the Lowveld is stressed with the use of wide establishing shots and steady pans. An establishing shot shows Jacques in the foreground with a waterfall in the background. A pan movement then reveals green hills and trees lined in a gorge. Jacques appears in the centre of the frame as he runs up the grassy hill towards the camera. The sequence ends with an establishing shot of a waterfall, which dissolves to a medium shot of

Jacques swimming until he is under the waterfall. He washes his clothes and plays in the water. He appears happy, as if immersed into the beautiful nature. Through these scenes Jacques is depicted as an independent, spontaneous individual. He appears confident, strong and open to adventure. These depictions support conventional ways of representing men. Men are often depicted as adventurers who conquer and explore nature. The representation of Jacques's masculinity thus falls within conventional boundaries.

JP and Jacques are represented as the ideal of masculinity. In 1985, JP and Jacques are both 29 years old. They are young, fit and attractive and have become successful men. Success is also stereotypically viewed as an attractive feature of a man. Jacques becomes a prize-winning author and JP is a popular and talented actor. People (mostly women) recognise JP from his films and theatre productions and ask him for his autograph. He dresses fashionably, drives an expensive car and has his own modern apartment. JP represents the successful, young, trendy city boy. Both men are strong, masculine, adventurous, desirable, successful, heterosexual and competitive. When they ride their bicycles or dive into the swimming hole from the highest ledge, there is a sense of competition. What is more, both JP and Jacques are in love with Lena and even though they do not admit it to themselves at first, Jacques and JP are competing for Lena's attention and love. These representations of masculinity thus fall within the expected norm of the 1980s where men were for the most part constructed as successful heterosexual, 'manly' men. This notion is further supported by Meisie's construction of the ideal man. Meisie surrounds herself with pictures of what she considers attractive in men. Posters and photographs of JP, Tom Selleck and Marlon Brando are visible on her notice board and desk. She constructs an image of what she defines as the 'attractive and desirable man' and Jacques and JP fall into this category. Meisie, therefore, labels men as attractive (e.g. men on her notice board) or as unattractive or undesirable (e.g. Otto Beukes, aka Knor). These representations of desirable (and less desirable) men describe what is considered attractive and unattractive in the 1980s from an Afrikaner point of view. Manly, strong, successful heterosexual men represent the ideal of Afrikaner masculinity in the 1980s. Jacques's antagonist, Gavin, reveals another type of masculinity.

In *Ballade*, the masculinity associated with Gavin is represented as destructive and negative. Gavin is a bully. When Jacques sees Gavin for the first time at the reformatory school he smiles and introduces himself. Gavin does not smile. Instead he glares at Jacques

and without a word he walks past Jacques to his own bed. He then gets a packet of cigarettes from underneath his pillow, puts a cigarette to his lips and lights it. He immediately tries to establish himself as someone to be reckoned with when he finally states, “My naam is Gavin Greeff en hier rond beteken dit iets” (My name is Gavin Greeff and that means something around here). Gavin is introduced at the reformatory school as an unruly teenager. He smokes where he is not supposed to, he starts fights, he lies to teachers and he pesters and bullies others, particularly Jacques. Gavin is depicted as the leader of the group of bullies. In other words, he gives the orders and the others obey without question. Bullies are often depicted in groups and they are then usually put up against an individual, as is the case here. Gavin is positioned as the ‘bad guy’. He is aggressive and manipulative and he makes it his goal to torment Jacques. Conflicting masculinities are represented in the well-known opposition of good (Jacques) versus bad (Gavin).

We experience Gavin and his group’s bullying from Jacques’s perspective. A number of bullying incidents are included in the narrative, suggesting that it is an on-going struggle that many students have to cope with, especially in a hostel set-up where students have to live together for long periods of time and usually have to share a room and bathroom facilities. There are too many incidents to discuss each in detail; therefore only one selected event will be examined. This event epitomises the type of torment that Jacques was put through. During a flashback Gavin and his friends ambush Jacques in the bathroom at the reformatory school. They torment him with questions about his father’s death and eventually get him into trouble by lying to a teacher by claiming that Jacques attacked Gavin.<sup>46</sup> Gavin is a liar and manipulator. He hides behind bravado and aggression, while he is actually a coward. This is depicted as ‘negative masculinity’. Gavin represents a macho, intimidating, physically aggressive and over-confident type of masculinity. He views himself as the top dog and takes pride in his morally corrupt position. When Gavin is depicted as an adult he still displays the same qualities.

Gavin is untrustworthy, aggressive and manipulative. At *Die Huisvriend* he is often shown eavesdropping on Carina and Otto’s private conversations and he steals all Carina’s notes on her Jacques Rynhard story. In the final episode of the serial (season 1), Gavin attacks Carina in her apartment (Jacques’s old apartment) with a knife. He is still the same Gavin Greeff from the reformatory school. He tries to intimidate and scare Carina, but she stands

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<sup>46</sup> See Appendix 1 – 1.1.4/Extract 4



up to him and exposes him for the coward he really is. On his own, without his sidekicks, Gavin is weak. Both Gavin and Jacques were sent to the reformatory school, but they ended up taking two very different paths in life. Jacques rose above his circumstances. Gavin also showed talent and success in his photography and was considered a senior photographer at *Die Huisvriend*, but he allowed his vendetta and evil ways to derail him. The text emphasises different types of masculinity. Positive and negative images of masculinity are constructed, accordingly showing what was considered appropriate or good and what was considered inappropriate or bad during the 1980s, from an Afrikaner point of view.

Different types of masculinity are represented in *Ballade*. Gavin, similar to Lena's father, depicts a certain type of masculinity – aggressive, controlling and domineering. This type of masculinity is depicted in a negative light. Jacques's father, on the other hand, is in strong contrast to Gavin and Lena's father. Klaus is emasculated. He does not stand up for himself at his work or in his marriage and never really builds a positive and uplifting relationship with his son. Within the Christian and Calvinistic context of the 1960s and 1970s Klaus is, however, trapped within his abusive marriage, as it would have been considered inappropriate for him to divorce Liebet or to leave Liebet for Trudie. In the community Klaus still needs to uphold his pseudo-position as the head of the house. The importance (and maintenance) of the appropriate patriarchal Afrikaner image within the conservative Afrikaner community is stressed. As for Mr Steenberg, he represents a strong, active and professional role model in Jacques's life.

Mr Steenberg is Jacques's first positive male role model. He is a tall, broad-shouldered man with a deep voice, has a beard and moustache and is always dressed smartly in a suit. The day that Jacques leaves the reformatory school (after completing matric, January 1975) he meets with Mr Steenberg in his office. Mr Steenberg is seated behind his desk. He praises Jacques for his academic accomplishments (six distinctions) and congratulates him again on his success (first place) in the national student writing competition. Mr Steenberg states, "Ons is trots op jou" (We are proud of you). This is probably the first time Jacques hears these words from someone other than Trudie. At this point, Mr Steenberg stands up and walks to the front of his desk. He half-sits on the front of the desk and asks Jacques why he refused to join school activities or to talk to the school counsellor. Mr Steenberg shows interest; he wants to talk to Jacques and he is also willing to listen. He chooses to address the problematic issues head-on and wants to discuss them personally with Jacques. Jacques,

however, reacts aggressively and he barks out his replies and appears irritated. Mr Steenberg remains calm and states that Jacques's choice of non-communication only worsens the situation. Mr Steenberg introduces Mrs Du Plessis, a social worker, who will be reporting on Jacques's progress on Mambie Engelbrecht's farm. A close-up shows Jacques's irritated face as he rolls his eyes. Even though Jacques's behaviour is unfriendly and aggressive, Mr Steenberg remains professional and calm. He maintains his authority and by the end of their discussion his approach yields positive results. As Jacques leaves the office, Mr Steenberg says, "Sterkte ou seun" (Good luck, old chap). Jacques then walks back into the office and stretches out his hand towards Mr Steenberg. A medium two shot shows them shaking hands. This shot emphasises the relationship between these two men. Jacques represents a young man on the verge of adulthood, who lashes out because he is unhappy with his situation and Mr Steenberg represents an older and wiser man who is determined to give guidance and support. They oppose each other at this stage but with time and through mutual respect and understanding a positive bond develops. Jacques struggles to trust people, especially authority figures. His mother always controlled him with an iron fist and he is wary of others who might try to do the same. Mr Steenberg, however, shows compassion and understanding, while remaining professional. The two extremes represented by Gavin and Lena's father (aggression) and Klaus (submissiveness/passivity) are set forth as negative types of masculinity. *Ballade* thus highlights the negativity of passivity and over-aggressiveness. Mr Steenberg is represented as a positive role model and type of masculinity. He is strong and confident without being domineering and he is understanding and sensitive without being weak. Like Mr Steenberg, most top positions in the work environment are filled by male characters in *Ballade*.

In *Ballade* men (of a mature age) appear to be at the top in the work environment. One such male character is Otto Beukes, the editor of *Die Huisvriend*. Otto has a slight build, thinning hair and a moustache. He appears to be middle-aged and was once the short stories editor for *Die Huisvriend* (an award for best short stories editor, similar to Carina's, hangs in his office). He is depicted as a talented journalist and now holds the position of editor-in-chief. Meisie and Carina do not consider Otto desirable, like for example JP or Jacques. They rather poke fun at him and call him 'Knor' behind his back.<sup>47</sup> The two of them thus joke about him privately but they are never defiant or disrespectful to his face. They do not really consider him an intimidating figure, but they are cautious of him and try not to step

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<sup>47</sup> The name 'Knor', meaning growl or grumble, suggests that Otto is a grumpy person.

out of line. In Episode 3 Otto gives Carina a stern talking to in his office about her first draft of the Jacques Rynhard story. He is dissatisfied with her work and instructs her to rewrite the entire story. A close-up of Carina shows her infuriated expression. Yet, she controls herself and when Otto has stopped talking she storms out and slams the door. Otto is thus clearly positioned as the boss figure who makes the decisions and keeps his staff in check. In the two final episodes of *Ballade* we meet the staff of the *Dagblad* (Daily) newspaper. The editor-in-chief is also a white man in his forties. The depictions of Otto (the editor of *Dagblad*), Mr Steenberg and the Helderfontein principal suggest that the male authority structures are clearly in place in the Afrikaner community and work environment of the 1970s and 1980s (especially among an older generation of white men). The judge involved in Jacques's court case was an older white male and the police were all white men suggesting that white men (only) enforce the law and maintain order. The depictions within *Ballade* are thus in line with traditional ideas regarding white masculinity and patriarchy. It further reflects the context of apartheid by portraying white males in positions of control and power. *Ballade* does comment on traditional constructions of masculinity that highlight notions of power, control, and superiority, by stressing the fraudulence of Klaus's position as head of his household and labelling the excessive control and aggression by male characters (e.g. Lena's father and Gavin) as negative. But some stereotypical depictions of white men as leaders in the community, particularly in the work environment, are still visible. Now, the discussion turns to the female characters of *Ballade*.

Through the depictions of Lena, Carina and Alicia, notions regarding attractiveness and feminine beauty within the Afrikaner community of the 1980s are established. Lena, a creative and fun-loving brunette, is depicted as the girl next door. She is a free spirit. Various flashbacks depict Lena together with Jacques and JP, as teenagers: they run barefoot in a field, joke with each other, and have fun as the three of them try to stay on one bicycle together. In these flashbacks she is almost always shown laughing and having fun. She is attractive, yet ordinary. Alicia is presented as the wealthy blonde bombshell. She is the stereotypical beautiful and feminine woman. This is reflected in the photographs of Alicia and Jacques that Otto gives to Carina. In one of these photos Jacques stands behind Alicia with his arms around her. She is wearing a black sleeveless dress and her thick, wavy blonde hair falls loosely over her shoulders. They appear to be posing for the photo and Alicia looks like a model. Carina describes Alicia as a "beeldskone meisie" (very beautiful girl). Casting plays an important role with regard to this character. She is not just an actress.

At the age of 19 Anneline Kriel, who was cast as Alicia, won the Miss South Africa and Miss World pageants in 1974 (*Ballade* was filmed in 1987) (Anneline Kriel 2012). She was and still is better known for her beauty queen titles than for her acting. Kriel is thus branded as a beautiful woman in society and was purposefully cast in the role of Alicia. Alicia is the beauty and drama queen of *Ballade*. Young, well looked after, professional and modern women like Lena, Carina and Alicia are considered attractive and desirable. JP and Jacques desire Lena and at one point Jacques also desires Alicia. Alicia and Jacques's first encounter reveals various qualities of Alicia's character.

Alicia's confident, assertive and manipulative personality traits are evident in the first meeting between her and Jacques. They meet in her father's orchard during Jacques's trip to the Lowveld. Jacques is shown picking fruit in the orchard and she persuades him (a stranger) to accompany her home with the promise of food. She seems quite aware of her beauty and the power that it gives her. She uses her beauty to her advantage to control and manipulate men. After meeting Jacques in the orchard, Alicia takes him to her family home. It is a large house, filled with expensive furniture and ornaments. Jacques is amazed by the extravagance of the place and it stands in strong contrast to his own home in Helderfontein. In the kitchen Alicia shows Jacques their fully stocked refrigerator. This suggests that Alicia is from a wealthy family. While Jacques is getting food from the refrigerator, Alicia re-enters the kitchen, this time holding a pistol. She aims it at Jacques and tells him to put his hands in the air. Jacques is caught off guard. Alicia then picks up the phone and says she is calling the police. Jacques states, "Maar jy het my ingenooi, gesê ek kan kos kry" (But you invited me in, said I could get food). However, Alicia replies, "Ek het niks gepraat van kos nie. Jy oortree op privaateiendom" (I said nothing about food. You're trespassing on private property). The fact that Alicia purposefully led Jacques into a trap stresses her scheming character. Alicia and Jacques do, however, engage in a romantic relationship (in later episodes), but it is because of her manipulative and controlling ways that she ends up sabotaging their relationship. As a teenager Lena also reveals her manipulative ways when she plays Jacques and JP against each other.

Throughout the narrative Lena remains indecisive about her relationships with Jacques and JP. A number of flashbacks reveal that she never really chooses between them, but rather gives them both the idea that there is hope of a romantic relationship. Jacques and Lena meet by chance while he is working on Mambie's farm. They see each other only briefly,

but in that time they kiss and embrace each other like lovers (these scenes are discussed in more detail further on in this section). After the brief reunion with Jacques, JP comes to visit Lena at the Plaza Hotel. It is then revealed that they are in a relationship. Lena thus kissed Jacques while she was in a relationship with JP. At the age of 21, Jacques returns home from his second stay at the reformatory school. Jacques boards the train leaving for the Lowveld and as it pulls out Lena is shown running after it. She eventually fails to get Jacques's attention and she returns home crying. As she walks home, we see JP's car parked outside her house. It is once again revealed that she and JP are in a romantic relationship. Lena thus continually moves physically and emotionally between Jacques and JP. Even in the final episode of the serial, a flashback shows that Jacques returns to Lena's apartment the night before his disappearance. He wants to take her away with him, but on his arrival he finds JP with her. The decision is left up to Lena and again she refuses to choose between them. Ultimately Lena pushes both Jacques and JP away and she ends up alone. Liebet also pushes Jacques away with her manipulative and controlling ways. She too, ends up alone and unhappy. The text thus suggests that such qualities (e.g. manipulating, controlling) are negative or undesirable and eventually lead to unhappiness and loneliness.

In *Ballade* the young female characters are depicted as independent working women. As an adult, Lena lives alone and she has become an established artist organising her own art exhibitions. Her style of clothing is mostly informal, comfortable and colourful. As an adult, Alicia works for her father at Francke Publishers. Her sense of style is modern and professional. She also lives on her own. Another independent working woman is Carina. Carina is depicted as a dedicated, strong-minded and talented journalist. The costumes used for her character also look professional and modern (for the 1980s). Like Alicia, Carina has a fashionable and sophisticated look. Carina is brave and dedicated and in the end she unravels Jacques's mysterious story, but instead of finding him, Jacques ends up finding Carina.<sup>48</sup> Meisie Moolman is also a professional journalist. She dresses stylishly and professionally, but always adds an interesting twist to her look with her unusual hairstyles. Like Alicia, Carina and Meisie live on their own. They are independent women in the work environment. All the young women are presented as feminine, self-assured, stylish and professional. *Ballade* shows a younger generation of women in the 1980s, moving away from traditional gender constructions of wife and mother (Maingard 2007). Instead, they

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<sup>48</sup> In the final episode Jacques finds Carina at his apartment.

are career-driven and independent. These depictions are relevant to the context of the 1980s as more women were making their way into the work environment. Trudie and Liebet represent women from an older generation.

Liebet assumes the traditional role of homemaker. Klaus works for the railways (and later on the mines) and is thus the breadwinner. He provides for his wife and son. After Klaus's death, Liebet relies on her pension and lives alone in their home. Since she has no help and little money, the house and garden slowly deteriorate. The neglected house in Helderfontein can be seen as a metaphor for Liebet. When comparing the interior of the house in 1985 to the depictions of 1967 and 1973/74, the décor remains almost exactly the same and only minimal changes are visible (e.g. chairs or picture frames have been moved around). After Klaus's death Liebet stagnates, she neglects her relationships, specifically with Jacques and she refuses to go on with her life. By refusing to accept, forgive and understand her son (and what happened to Klaus) she tries to hold Jacques back and in this way she also holds herself back. She is in fact her own worst enemy. She creates a void between her and Jacques and even though Jacques tries to bridge the space between them Liebet's unwillingness to change and to forgive leads to a (final) break between them. Liebet is considered a bad or negative mother figure that exhibits negative character qualities or traits. Trudie and Liebet are complete opposites.

There is a constant tension between Liebet and Trudie, which highlights their differences. Trudie (or Shivas) is jovial, caring, affectionate, understanding and giving. She exhibits various qualities of a loving and caring mother. Through physical contact Trudie shows affection towards Jacques. She ruffles his hair or gives him a hug, something Liebet would never do. The two women also dress differently. Trudie reflects a casual, more modern and colourful style, while Liebet opts for a classic, more conservative and old-fashioned look. She is often shown wearing black and usually has a string of pearls around her neck. Through her clothing, Liebet is also distanced from Jacques. She appears formal and stiff. Trudie comes across as more down to earth and easier to approach. On the night of Klaus's death, the differences between Trudie and Liebet are overtly emphasised. During a flashback to that night they are shown sitting at the dining-room table (the police are still looking for Jacques at that stage). Trudie asks Liebet what she plans to do when Jacques returns home. A close-up shows Liebet's mean and unhappy face. She just stares in front of her and says, "Hy het my man doodgeskiet!" (He shot and killed my husband!) A

confrontation ensues.<sup>49</sup> Trudie goes outside in search of Jacques. When she finds him she tries to console him. Here we see that Liebet judges and rejects Jacques without question; she immediately believes the worst about Jacques. Trudie, on the other hand, is concerned about Jacques and what he must be going through.

Trudie is the positive motherly figure. While working on Mambie's farm, Jacques says to Trudie, "Shivas, vir jou sal ek enigiets doen" (Shivas, I would do anything for you). Trudie's love, guidance and support pay off and she is rewarded with Jacques's respect and love for her in return. Trudie remains Jacques's most trusted friend throughout the narrative. Trudie is an independent woman and she lives alone and takes care of herself. Trudie is depicted as a positive character who displays positive or good qualities. These qualities are highlighted as admirable, attractive and welcoming. *Ballade* offers different takes on motherhood.

The women from older generations are often depicted in more conventional roles of mother and wife. *Ballade*, however, shows that the concept of 'mother' is not a fixed notion since all mothers are not the same and some women can be 'mothers' without having children of their own. *Ballade* thus takes another look at motherhood within the Afrikaner context of the 1960s to 1980s. From a traditional Afrikaner point of view the mother plays a key role in the domestic environment. *Ballade* shows a disruption in the conventional family set-up. Motherhood is not depicted in conventional ways, such as being a natural role for women or motherhood always being a blessing and a privilege for women. Being a mother is not something that comes 'naturally' to Liebet. To her motherhood is a constant battle and disappointment. Trudie could not have children of her own, but when Jacques is put in her care she takes on the role of mother and friend and commits to it completely. Liebet and Trudie's experiences provide the viewer with different perspectives on motherhood.

In *Ballade* heterosexual relationships and romantic love are represented as the norm. Klaus and Liebet are in a heterosexual marriage. In their marriage Klaus is the provider or breadwinner and Liebet is a housewife. This is a conventional and conservative set-up that was considered the norm in the 1980s and the years before. But, Klaus and Liebet show no physical intimacy or love towards each other, suggesting that they probably did not marry for love. Both of them are unhappy in their relationship. Klaus does, however, show affection towards Trudie and reveals that he had wanted to marry her. The complex

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<sup>49</sup> See Appendix 1 – 1.1.5/Extract 5

relationship between love, marriage and happiness is explored. In a flashback where Jacques returns home for a weekend after his first six months in the reformatory school, the theme of romantic love is stressed. Jacques and Lena go for a picnic. They are depicted as two teenagers in love: they dance, laugh and kiss. Lena also asks Jacques whether he loves her and whether he will marry her one day. The promise of marriage is thus associated with the ideal of romantic love. Love, and what it means, remains a relevant issue in *Ballade* till the final episode. The serial ends with Jacques and Carina driving off together in her car. She has found the person she cares about, and Jacques has found someone who really cares about him. Love triumphs in the end and heterosexual relationships and romantic love are stressed as the ideal. *Ballade* deals with romantic love and marriage, but the issue of sex is avoided.

Jacques and Lena meet again when he is working at Mambie's farm. Jacques ends up spending the night in Lena's hotel room and the two of them are shown kissing passionately. The next morning Lena lies in a single bed making tea. Behind Lena one can see another single bed with its bedding disturbed and the implication seems to be that Jacques slept in the second bed. Sex is not depicted in *Ballade*. Vague suggestions are included, but no direct or explicit reference is made to sex. It is assumed that Jacques and Lena only kissed. A more conservative or covert approach is taken to this issue. *Ballade* is a family drama and in the 1980s sex was still a taboo topic. It was therefore viewed as an inappropriate topic and as such, not included in Afrikaans family television. *Ballade* was broadcast on SABC-TV in 1987 and the broadcaster at that time avoided controversial issues such as sex and sexuality. The SABC adhered to strict censorship and content guidelines and these limitations or boundaries were for the most part formulated by conservative Christian Afrikaners. Controversial issues such as homosexuality and sex were considered inappropriate for Afrikaans viewers.



### 5.3 Conclusion

This chapter introduced the analysis section of this study and provided a detailed investigation of *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling*, according to three themes: family, individuality and gender. Under the theme of family *Ballade* critically comments on aspects that were closely related to conventional constructions of 'Afrikanerness' and Afrikaner identity in the 1980s, namely the nuclear family, patriarchal structures and Christianity. The depictions of the Helderfontein principal and the Rynhard and Aucamp households paint a picture of a strict Afrikaner upbringing in the rural community of the 1960s and 1970s. The subordinate position of children in the family (and community) is also stressed within this restrictive environment. Trudie, however, reflects a different approach to parenting, stressing support, love and encouragement. Trudie and Jacques's relationship represents an alternative construction of family. Furthermore, religious hypocrisy is examined by looking at the conservative and judgemental attitudes often hidden under the guise of Christian values and norms. The conservatism of the Afrikaner community is explored and the socio-political context of the 1980s is highlighted through Jacques's resistance towards his repressive home environment and the patriarchal authority structures of his community. *Ballade* covertly challenges a number of conservative Afrikaner ideas and norms regarding the nuclear family and Christianity.

Under the theme of individuality Jacques's individual journey is investigated. Jacques's outsider status, his rejection of social labels and patriarchal authority and his experience of rejection at the hands of friends and family are explored. The notion of individual success is also highlighted, with Jacques, Lena, JP and Carina as examples. Although these characters are part of the larger Afrikaner community, the focus in *Ballade* is on their individual journeys. Moreover, the complex relationship between the group and individual is examined. *Ballade* acknowledges the interdependence between the individual and group and stresses that some link or connection is always present. Finally, the theme of gender is also discussed below.

In *Ballade* traditional heterosexual norms of masculinity are represented by Jacques and JP since they are depicted as young and desirable men. They are physically attractive, successful and admired (specifically by women) and represent the ideal image of Afrikaner masculinity in the 1980s. Gavin represents the macho masculine figure: he is a bully who uses aggressive and manipulative tactics to get what he wants. This type of masculinity is

represented in a negative light and Gavin is eventually exposed as a coward. A contrast is also established among the older male characters. On the one hand Klaus is portrayed as an emasculated male figure, and on the other hand, Mr Steenberg is shown as a professional, authoritative, positive masculine figure. He acts as a positive male role model for Jacques. The representation of professional success among older white males is also highlighted, reflecting the 1980s situation under apartheid, where white men mostly filled the top positions in the business or work setting. Traditional ideas regarding masculinity are thus for the most part supported. Turning to the representation of femininity, the analysis showed that Carina, Meisie, Lena and Alicia are depicted as young, independent and modern working women.

The young female characters in *Ballade* are represented as successful career women. Their interests (and representations) are not limited to just being wives or mothers. Trudie and Liebet, however, take on more traditional roles of caregivers or mothers. They are, nevertheless, positioned as complete opposites as they both experience and approach the notion of motherhood in different ways. Numerous character qualities are associated with female characters and they can be categorised as positive or negative. Positive qualities include being caring, supportive and loving, while negative qualities are manipulation and deception. Viewers are encouraged to identify with the characters who display positive qualities.

To conclude, heterosexual relationships and romantic love are represented as the norm, while the issue of sex is avoided. In the 1980s a conservative and predominantly Christian government largely influenced the SABC and this relationship regulated the SABC's approach to (or avoidance of) certain topics, such as sexuality and sex.

*Ballade* concludes with a message of hope, namely that love and truth will triumph in the end and that it is possible for the outsider ('Enkeling') to be the winner, no matter the hardships or obstacles one faces. *Ballade* was never openly or directly political in its narrative or approach, but the text is reminiscent of its production and broadcast context. Set in the 1980s, *Ballade* is grounded in traditional ideas and values often associated with Afrikaners and the apartheid context, including Christianity, the separation of different races or ethnic groups, the privileged position of (white) Afrikaners and the strong focus on standardised Afrikaans. *Ballade* does, however, question, explore and comment on a number of relevant issues, such as the nuclear family, conservatism, patriarchy and

religious hypocrisy. Even though *Ballade* took a critical approach to many issues, it still operated within the guidelines provided by the SABC at that time.

In the next chapter, an analysis of *Wenners* is provided.

## CHAPTER 6

# ANALYSIS OF *WENNERS*

### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the early 1990s Afrikaans youth drama, *Wenners*. Three themes are discussed in detail: the role of the children's home and authority figures in a child's life, good versus bad oppositions between characters and values, and the representation of gender. The chapter concludes with a brief summary of the analysis.

### 6.2 Analysis of *Wenners*

#### 6.2.1 Introduction: Title and structure

As the title suggests, this story is about winners ('wenners'). When you call someone a winner you think of him or her as the best. They have risen above the obstacles or challenges that they were faced with and they have come out on top. Subsequently, the serial's strong focus on school athletics supports the title. The narrative shows that Carl and Jackie Lindeman have faced various challenges on the athletics track and in life. In the story they are confronted with their father's untimely death and then their mother's marriage to his business partner, Heinrich Schöler. After their mother's nervous breakdown and Heinrich's involvement in criminal activities they are finally sent to the Hartbeespoort Children's Home. There they have to adjust to a new living environment and a new high school. Carl and Jackie overcome these obstacles and in the end they reach the top (a state of happiness and contentment). They are therefore shown to be winners on the athletics track and also in life.

*Wenners* follows an a-chronological structure. Flashbacks are included in the narrative and these flashes are presented in the form of dreams, thoughts, recollections and daydreams. From Episode 2 and onward *Wenners* also incorporates a short summary of events at the beginning of the episode. The words "Verlede week ..." (Last week ...) are displayed while short snippets from the previous episode are shown (Figure 1). This brings the viewer up to date and highlights important events. After this short summary the title or opening sequence

follows. The title sequence acts as the exposition of the episode and because *Wenners* is a serial drama it opens with the same title sequence for each episode.

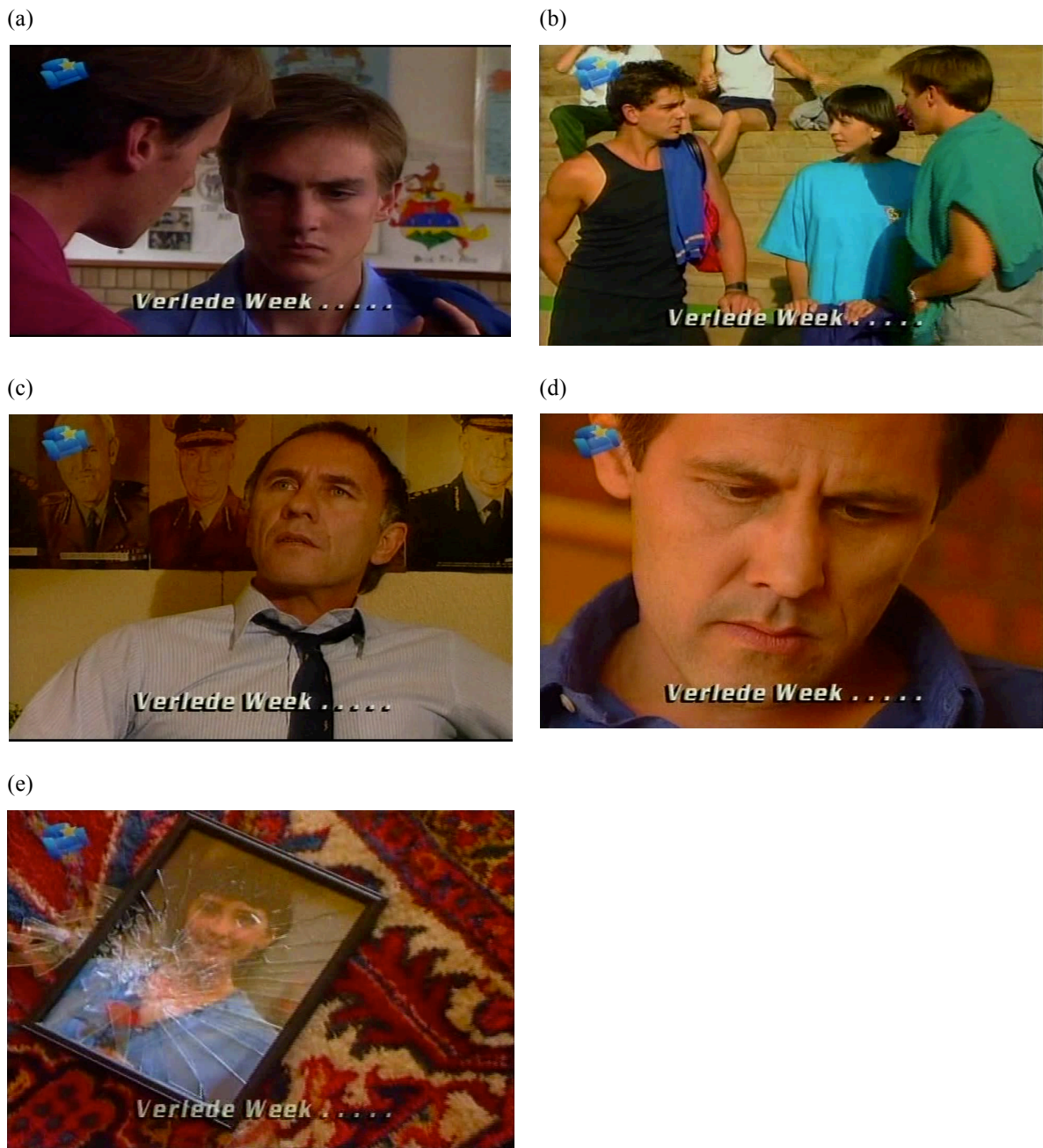


Figure 6.1: Summary of events at the beginning of Episode 7  
(These images summarise the previous episode.) Courtesy of SABC and kykNET.

Episodes 1–6 are excluded from the detailed analysis. To provide context to the discussion it is necessary to recap the content of these episodes briefly. The equilibrium is established in Episode 1 where Carl and Jackie are still living at home with their stepfather, Heinrich Schüler. Carl trusts Heinrich and looks up to him. Jackie, however, does not trust Heinrich

and she is suspicious of his actions. At this stage their mother is already being treated at the clinic. It is thus not an extremely happy and harmonious equilibrium, but they are – to some degree – living a normal life. The equilibrium is disrupted when Heinrich and George steal a case filled with jewels. Carl is involved in the robbery under false pretences (he believes it is a sham robbery being used as a ruse to catch drug smugglers, but this is not the truth). Unaware of its precious contents, Carl loses the case. Thanks to a tip-off from Jackie, the police apprehend Heinrich and George. With both of their parents now unavailable to take care of them, the inspector and social worker decide to send Carl and Jackie to the Hartbeespoort Children's Home. Under these circumstances, their normal life is disrupted and in the episodes to follow they attempt to establish a new equilibrium. Carl is very unhappy at the children's home and he blames Jackie for their predicament. At this stage, Carl still believes Heinrich is innocent. Carl openly rejects Jackie and this causes her great pain. Heinrich and George are released on bail and Heinrich is determined to find the children and the jewels. He seeks revenge on Jackie and he also believes that Carl still has the case filled with the stolen jewels. At the children's home, Carl and Jackie slowly adjust to their new surroundings. They both get involved in athletics and they make friends, but they are also bullied. At the school and children's home the teachers, social worker and matron give them support and guidance. Carl is, however, very hot-headed at first and Mr McKeggy (McKeggy) and Tannie Vis make it their goal to show Carl he is a winner ('wennersmateriaal'). At the clinic, Anet recovers steadily. At first she is very confused and disorientated, but as time passes she recalls various details about her husband's death and her relationship with Heinrich. Moreover, Inspector Snyman works vigorously to solve the Schüler case (which entails Karel's death and the jewel theft) and to keep Anet and the children safe. Snyman fears that Heinrich will stop at nothing to get what he wants.

The selected episodes that were analysed in detail range from Episode 7 to Episode 13.

Brief summaries of the episodes selected for the analysis are provided in Chapter 4. As mentioned in the BE analysis, the provided episode summaries follow a chronological order, yet the analysis takes an integrated approach to the selected episodes and a strict chronological order is not necessarily followed. Examples from different episodes are provided when they are deemed relevant. Longer extracts or examples are provided in Appendix 2. The thematic analysis of *Weners* follows in the next section.

## 6.2.2 Thematic analysis

*Wenners* was first broadcast on SABC-TV in 1992/1993. The 1990s heralded a time of change in South Africa. The state of emergency was lifted by then president FW de Klerk and the first democratic elections were held in April 1994. When the African National Congress (ANC) came into power it signalled the end of white political rule and the abolition of apartheid. The SABC underwent large-scale transformation. It became a public service broadcaster tasked with providing quality content for all South Africans in the newly designated 11 official languages (Milton 2005; Teer-Tomaselli 2001; Wigston 2007). In 2009 *Wenners* was rebroadcast on kykNET.

In the analysis to follow, three themes are explored: first, the role of the children's home and authority figures in a child's life; second, the binary oppositions of characters and values; and third, the representation of gender.

### 6.2.2.1 *The role of the children's home and authority figures in a child's life*

In *Wenners* viewers are given an insider's look into an Afrikaans children's home as depicted in the early 1990s. Children are sent to a children's home for different reasons. Within a children's home staff and children often deal with serious issues such as abuse and feelings of rejection. A few days after arriving at the home, Carl notices long scars on Frans's back while in the bathroom one evening. He asks Bongo who hit Frans to cause those scars. Bongo explains that it was Frans's father and adds that that is why Frans is in the children's home. Carl is completely taken aback by the story. Bongo states that it is good that Carl takes notice of these things because maybe he will then realise that he (Carl) is not the only one going through tough times. All the children in a children's home have a story and in many cases the stories are very sad. In a discussion between Frans and his two best friends (At and Pote) Frans stresses that Carl's situation is completely different from his own. While Carl's father is dead, Frans's father is alive, but he chooses to neglect Frans. Frans therefore experiences an intense sense of rejection, yet he still longs for his father's approval and love. This longing is depicted in a daydream Frans has while in the shower one afternoon.<sup>50</sup> Frans dreams of being reunited with his father. He yearns for love and affection and believes that by being the best in athletics it will make him worthy of attention and praise. This highlights how far a child will go to gain the love of his parents.

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<sup>50</sup> See Appendix 2 – 2.1.1/Extract 1.

Traditional ideas regarding family such as the need and longing for family and the central role of the father figure are explored. The story suggests that disruption in the nuclear family can lead to serious disharmony. Carl and Jackie's father dies and it leads to disunity in their family. Carl and Jackie disagree about Heinrich's motives for getting involved with their family and their mother has a nervous breakdown. Frans's family unit has been disrupted due to his father's abusive ways and this leads to further disharmony as Frans acts out his anger and frustration by bullying others. Both Carl and Frans are searching for father figures in their lives. The importance of the stable and supportive family unit is thus emphasised. The family is traditionally seen as a central part of the Afrikaner community and Afrikaner identity and this way of thinking was still prevalent in the 1980s and early 1990s (Vestergaard 2001). In *Wenners* alternative family (and/or support) structures are explored in response to the disruptions of traditional families. Disrupted families are seen as a reality in the 1990s – whether caused by abuse, financial constraints, divorce or death. The role of institutions such as the children's home, friends and teachers are examined.

The school, children's home and police work together to protect and support the children. *Wenners* depicts a mostly white Afrikaans-speaking community working together to protect its children. *Wenners* acknowledges the disruptions in the family caused by abuse, neglect, death and criminality and suggest a course of action or solution: development of alternative support structures such as childcare and protection services and the education system. However, it remains grounded within a primarily white Afrikaans community. The narrative acknowledges the instability of the traditional Afrikaner family unit, but steers clear of the numerous other socio-political disruptions that characterise the early 1990s in South Africa. For many Afrikaners the 1990s ushered in a time of disruption and change regarding their worldview, politics and their way of living as South Africa began its movement towards democratic change (Louw 2004; Marx & Milton 2011; Vestergaard 2001). *Wenners*, nevertheless, avoids the political complexity of the 1990s and rather limits its focus to challenges and solutions within the white Afrikaans community. It still holds as the ideal the Afrikaner community (home, school and police) working together to protect the future of its children. *Wenners* is based on two youth novels published in the early 1980s. This can explain the conservative approach to the story and the values that are expressed. In this ideal community construction the children's home also has its role to play.



A children's home needs to provide a safe haven for children coming from disappointing and unhappy circumstances. Many children in homes carry pent-up feelings of resentment, anger and rejection. At, for example, refers to the children at the children's home as 'weeshuisbrakke' (orphanage mongrels) with nowhere to go and Pote adds, "Ja, niemand wil ons hê nie" (Yes, no one wants us). Pote says this jokingly but this is exactly what Frans is feeling. A home is supposed to be there to help children through these difficult emotions and times. The staff at schools and children's homes need to provide care, protection, support, guidance, motivation and love. In *Wenners* the Hartbeespoort Children's Home fulfils this purpose. The home represents the ideal, where personnel are supportive and caring and through their actions have a positive impact on the children's lives. Examples include Tannie Vis (matron at the children's home), McKeggy (history teacher and athletics coach), Kate Viljoen (art teacher and athletics coach) and the social worker, Mrs Kritzinger. These examples will be discussed further at a later stage. These characters (teachers, social worker and matron) also highlight the important role played by authority figures in a child's life.

Authority figures can play both a positive and a negative role in a child's life. In *Wenners* both these possibilities are explored. When Heinrich is released on bail Inspector Snyman fears for Carl and Jackie's safety. He informs the principal of his suspicions and Mr Van Aswegen decides to discuss the matter with McKeggy. The principal and McKeggy are both troubled by Snyman's suspicions and they consider it their duty to protect the children. Here the police, as represented by Snyman's character, are depicted as protectors. Snyman is tasked with ensuring the children's safety. It is implied that authority figures do not only protect children, but they can also provide help, support and guidance. The supporting role of authority figures is illustrated when Jackie approaches Kate about her friend Millie. Millie has been in a wheelchair for most of her life, but Jackie believes that doctors might be able to help Millie with the new technology and knowledge at their disposal. Kate is eager to help and she takes the matter up with Mrs Kritzinger. Mrs Kritzinger then later meets up with Kate and Jackie in her office to discuss the issue. Mrs Kritzinger shares the news that the managing body of the school had started a fund for Millie three years earlier. She goes on to tell them that they still need some money to pay for an operation for Millie, but that they are planning to raise the funds by means of the annual athletics meeting. The above scene stresses the role played by teachers and social workers in a child's life. They have the means and the power to take action and to change a child's life. Children need this

type of support and help, and for this reason Mrs Kritzinger and Kate take an active interest in Jackie and Millie. This role of support is taken further when the principal informs the entire school of their fund-raising plans to help Millie. He encourages all the students to get involved and to play a part in helping someone in need. Teamwork is thus promoted and they also motivate the children to help and support each other. These representations of positive characters and their behaviour are aimed at instilling positive values in children-viewers. These positive representations continue in the depictions of Tannie Vis and McKeggy.

At the children's home Tannie Vis takes it upon herself to support and help Carl and Jackie. Their father grew up in the children's home and Tannie Vis knew Karel Lindeman very well. Karel was like a son to her and she subsequently takes a particular interest in Carl. When Carl walks into the kitchen to give Tannie Vis a letter for his mother in the clinic she seizes the opportunity to have a talk with Carl. She asks him about his father and Heinrich.<sup>51</sup> Here we see an authoritative figure stepping in to help Carl. Heinrich is misleading Carl and Tannie Vis takes a supportive approach to help Carl see the light. She also realizes that Carl is fighting an inner battle about his father's unexpected suicide. She tries to support Carl by talking to him about his father. Later on in the narrative Carl opens up to Tannie Vis and says that he would like to talk about his father some more. Carl thus feels free to approach her and share with her. She plays a positive role in Carl's life and helps him to work through some of the issues with which he has been struggling. Consequently, her supportive and open approach to Carl yields positive results. Similarly, McKeggy also aims to positively influence his students.

McKeggy wants to develop his students as people and as athletes. As a result, McKeggy plays an important role, both on and off the athletics field. To many of the boys at the home he is a role model. McKeggy, for example, tries to give Frans guidance and constructive criticism during a discussion about the initial race between Frans and Carl.<sup>52</sup> Here McKeggy highlights his role as coach, stressing that he is there to attend to all the athletes in order to hone their abilities on the field. McKeggy takes a positive approach to his discussion with Frans. He wants to motivate Frans to be a better athlete and to compete in good spirit and with more humility. Frans, however, clearly interprets McKeggy's words differently. Frans views McKeggy as a male role model and he is looking for McKeggy's

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<sup>51</sup> See Appendix 2 – 2.1.2/Extract 2.

<sup>52</sup> See Appendix 2 – 2.1.3/Extract 3.

approval, praise and attention. He is, therefore, disappointed when he does not get the reaction he wanted. McKeggy knows Carl did not give of his best during the race and he thus refrains from praising Frans for winning as the outcome of the race was unreliable. As he says, he has not seen Carl's best yet. Athletics is Frans's strong suit and on the athletics track he excels and receives attention and praise. Carl is also a strong athlete and Frans fears that Carl will steal the (or his) attention and glory. This is possibly one of the reasons why Frans bullies Carl. Yet, on a much later occasion in the narrative Frans does get the praise and acknowledgement from McKeggy that he longs for. This scene will be discussed later on. Returning to McKeggy, he motivates his students and athletes with pep talks in which he stresses that he expects something from them (their best). Where many of the children might feel that no one expects anything from them, as they are just regarded as 'weeshuisbrakke' (orphanage mongrels), McKeggy continually urges them to work hard and to be the best they can be. McKeggy promotes self-confidence, teamwork, school pride and discipline.

Discipline guides and structures a child's life. It is often the responsibility of authority figures, such as teachers, principals, police or parents, to impart discipline. Frans, At and Pote broke into the local café, stole cigarettes, sweets and money from the till and left Carl's watch on the scene to implicate him in theft. However, their attempt to get Carl into trouble fails, because Bongo knows that they are the culprits and he threatens to tell the principal and the police unless the three of them confess of their own accord. They decide to confess to stealing from Tony's café and McKeggy and the principal are very disappointed in their behaviour. The three of them are shown in the principal's office with their heads and shoulders hanging. The principal addresses them sternly and stresses that stealing is a criminal act and the police will have to be informed. He furthermore instructs them to return all the stolen goods. The three boys appear truly regretful and ashamed of their actions. The principal acknowledges this and states that he trusts that their confession and remorse will count in their favour. When wrong decisions are made and students conduct themselves in a dishonest way steps need to be taken to remind them of the consequences of their actions and the importance of knowing right from wrong. Authority figures are there to address these issues and to help children make informed decisions. In *Wenners* the positive and important roles played by the children's home and authority figures are emphasised. Besides this, the negative influence of some authority figures who abuse their position of power is also looked at.

Unfortunately authority figures can also mislead and abuse children. That is exactly the case with Heinrich and Carl. Carl trusts Heinrich and that is why he defends him in his conversation with Tannie Vis.<sup>53</sup> Heinrich, however, manipulated and misled Carl with lies and a cunning act and only pretended to be a caring and supportive stepfather. After Karel's death (which everybody assumed was a suicide) Carl was angry and felt lost and Heinrich stepped in while Carl and his family were at their most vulnerable. Because of Heinrich's lies Carl rejected Jackie and blamed her for their misfortune (Heinrich being arrested and their being sent to the home). Carl only later realises and accepts the truth. As far as Frans is concerned, his father physically abused him. Children are supposed to trust and respect their parents, but when Frans's father beat him he destroyed that relationship of trust and respect. Nevertheless, Frans still longs for his father's love and approval. But, unless his father changes his ways, Frans cannot return to such a destructive and hurtful environment. There are thus two sides to the authority figure coin and in *Wenners* viewers are encouraged to identify with the positive side.

The teachers, principal, social worker, matron and police inspector are depicted in a positive way. In contrast to how some of these types of characters are depicted in BE, these authority figures in *Wenners* are not represented as repressive and dominating. Instead the depiction of education and parenting in the early 1990s suggests a less strict and domineering approach to a child's upbringing. In *Ballade* a very strict and formal Afrikaner upbringing is emphasised (set within the 1960s to 1980s time frame). In *Wenners* authority figures such as teachers and parents are, for the most part, represented as protectors, supporters and caregivers. Children play a central role in *Wenners* as the story is specifically targeted at a teenage audience. The conservative view that children should only be seen and not heard is not implied in *Wenners*. Here the children are encouraged to talk about what they think and feel and to express themselves (however, within certain limits).<sup>54</sup> In this teenage story there is a very strong focus on authority figures. The narrative suggests that authority figures should take up their place in society to protect, guide and care for

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<sup>53</sup> See Appendix 2 – 2.1.2/Extract 2.

<sup>54</sup> Extreme cases of expression or rebellion by teenagers are not shown in *Wenners*. Although some children's behaviour can be described as mischievous or hot-headed, there are no extreme cases of defiance against teachers or other authority figures. Control by authority figures is thus in a sense always maintained. *Wenners* operates within the boundaries of a more conservative Afrikaans family television programme. This corresponds with what was expected from the SABC during the early 1990s, especially for a youth serial drama. With transformation and democratisation in its early stages, the SABC at that time still adhered to strict content guidelines that had been formulated by mostly conservative Afrikaners during apartheid. These guidelines influenced the approach taken to issues and topics on screen.

children. *Wenners* depicts an ideal Afrikaner community where leaders in the community, such as police, educators and social workers are trustworthy, supportive and caring people who stand up against those who abuse their position of power, like Frans's father and Heinrich. In *Wenners* the positive authority figures outnumber the negative ones. Authority figures are, however, not dissected in a very critical and satirical way as is the case in the South African comic strip *Bitterkomix*, which was first published at about the same time that *Wenners* was broadcast (1992) (Van der Watt 2005). *Bitterkomix* probes and questions Afrikaner identity and traditional Afrikaner authority figures such as the principal and father figure and other conservative values associated with the pre-1994 era. *Wenner* takes a considerably more conservative approach to its narrative and depictions and rather highlights the positive roles of parents, educators and the police. *Wenners* was broadcast by the SABC before most of its major changes (initiated by the 1994 democratic elections) took hold. The SABC still functioned within a very conservative Afrikaner framework and that position is reflected in *Wenners*. In many narratives the opposition of good and bad are addressed and in *Wenners* this opposition is explored in terms of characters and values.

#### **6.2.2.2 *The good and the bad – binary oppositions of characters and values***

The theme of good versus bad is applicable to all age groups, but it is especially appropriate in a television programme aimed predominantly at teenagers. The teen years are important formative years and stories of good versus bad are often used to communicate messages about making (good) choices and building (good) relationships. According to Butler (2002:39) “what characters do ... their actions ... determine what they mean”. Characters who do good things thus signify goodness and those who do bad things signify evil. *Wenners* is about constructing images of good and bad as embodied by different characters through their actions. A conventional opposition between police and criminals is included in *Wenners*. Inspector Snyman works tirelessly to solve the Schüler case. He is shown in his office working through numerous files and paperwork. Hence, he is depicted as hardworking and committed. The other inspector (Louw) jokes about Snyman's ‘obsession’ with solving the case. Snyman stresses that it is not just a routine case and that Heinrich Schüler is a very interesting character with an interesting background. Snyman lists a few of the details he uncovered regarding Heinrich: he likes to read poetry; he listens to classical music, specifically Bach; he is a weapons specialist and sharpshooter; he worked as a mercenary in Africa and there he built up a reputation as a merciless killer of people

and animals. This background information gives context to Heinrich's character and the viewer now understands that he is capable of cruel and criminal acts. Heinrich (criminal) is thus clearly positioned as the bad character while Snyman (police) represents the good character. Heinrich is described as dangerous and unpredictable and Snyman considers it his duty to protect Anet and her children. Anet also trusts Snyman and asks him to protect her children, because she no longer trusts Heinrich. Through Snyman's character viewers are encouraged to trust the South African (specifically white Afrikaans-speaking) police force. Snyman is depicted as a committed, brave and clever inspector who serves and protects the community – particularly women and children. From a traditional Afrikaner point of view the conservative depictions of the police force were aimed at representing law enforcement officers as trusted and necessary leaders in society. This conservative approach is present in *Wenners*, as the narrative focuses on the hard work and commitment displayed by the police. Amid the social and political changes taking place in South Africa in the early 1990s it is possible that the SABC, still under mostly white Afrikaner leadership, wished to communicate a positive message about the (white) South African police force and to emphasise a feeling of order and trust. In *Wenners* the criminals are clearly identified.

Through different forms of characterisation Heinrich is revealed to the viewer. The depictions of Heinrich (his actions and dialogue) and descriptions of him by other characters reveal his true colours. Tannie Vis describes Heinrich as a worthless criminal that only used Carl and his family to get what he wanted. Heinrich is driven by greed and he will do anything to get the jewels and money. He even killed Karel Lindeman (and made it look like suicide) and married Anet to get his hands on Karel's business. When Heinrich goes to visit Anet for the first time at the clinic he pretends to be loving and caring, but when he does not get his way he reverts to aggressive behaviour and threats. He asks Anet about the children's whereabouts pretending to be concerned about them, but in truth he just wants to find out where they are so that he can find the jewels. Anet refuses to give Heinrich information regarding her children. This angers Heinrich and he jumps up from his seat and walks over to where Anet is standing. A close-up shows Heinrich as he moves closer to Anet and whispers, "Dink jy rêrig ek kan nie die kinders kry as ek wil nie? Dink jy vir een oomblik jy kan hulle vir my wegsteek? Jy gaan spyt wees hieroor" (Do you really think I can't find the children if I wanted to? Do you even think that you can hide them from me? You'll regret this). Heinrich then kisses Anet on the cheek and walks out the

door. Heinrich tries to bully and intimidate Anet. Heinrich is a killer, a liar and a criminal. He embodies characteristics that are viewed as undesirable and unwanted within the (1990s) Afrikaner or Afrikaans community. He is clearly positioned as the bad character. On another occasion, when Heinrich tries to persuade George to help him kidnap the children, he lures George with the promise of money, “Dink net aan al daai geld George” (Just think of all that money, George). Money is the driving force behind Heinrich and George. Snyman is driven by the need for justice. The opposition between them is thus clearly established. The viewers are encouraged to identify with Snyman and as a result appropriate or desirable roles and behaviour within society are stressed. The focus on good characters and values is further emphasised by the teachers (McKeggy and Kate) and parents (Karel and Anet).

Anet and Karel are represented as good parents. In Carl and Tannie Vis’s discussion Carl describes his father as a peaceful and gentle person.<sup>55</sup> From this discussion and other comments about Karel by Tannie Vis it is suggested that Karel made a success of his school career and of his life and that he loved his family dearly. Karel did not see the children’s home as a punishment or setback, but rather as a place to grow and develop. As for Anet, she fights to protect her children and she shows love and affection towards them. When Jackie goes to visit her mother at the clinic, Anet’s love and care for Jackie is evident. She holds Jackie’s face in her hands and tells her she looks beautiful. She also says, “Kom sit my kind, ek wil alles hoor, alles” (Have a seat, I want to hear everything, everything). She is interested in Jackie’s life and showers her with love and affection. Turning to McKeggy and Kate, they are depicted as decent and respectable teachers. Both McKeggy and Kate consider it a privilege to be teachers and they are depicted as approachable and friendly. When Jackie needs someone to talk to about Millie’s situation she talks to Kate. Kate then goes out of her way to help Jackie and Millie. While informing McKeggy of their plans to raise money for Millie, she states, “Ek wil so graag die kinders help” (I really want to help the children). She genuinely wants to help the children and improve their lives. Similarly, when Frans, At and Pote decide to confess about the break-in at Tony’s Café, they first go to McKeggy. This is a sign of trust. McKeggy feels responsible for the children. When Heinrich abducts Jackie and Carl at gunpoint at the athletics meeting McKeggy immediately tells Kate that he is going with Snyman to save Jackie and Carl. Kate considers stopping him, but as he runs after Snyman he exclaims, “Kate, dis my kinders!”

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<sup>55</sup> See Appendix 2 – 2.1.2/Extract 2.

(Kate, they're my children!) McKeggy takes ownership of the children. He cares for them and will do whatever necessary to protect them. The contrast is clear: whereas Heinrich contemplates hurting and manipulating Carl and Jackie, Snyman, McKeggy and Kate choose to help and protect them. The opposition between good and bad is clearly established. Viewers are motivated to support the good characters and to associate their actions and behaviour with what is acceptable and desirable in society. Different levels of the authority structure in society are thus highlighted – parents, teachers and the police. All three levels are depicted here as protective, trustworthy and caring. This text could suggest a longing for an ordered, stable and positive or good society, where good prevails over evil. The opposition between good and evil is not only left to the adults.

Within the children's home setting the qualities of good and bad are explored. Both Carl and Jackie are confronted with bullies. Jackie is depicted as a good character. She wants to help Millie and puts Millie's needs above her own. Jackie is, however, opposed by Willemien Borman, who bullies both Jackie and Millie. For instance, Willemien makes fun of Millie's disability by calling her "Millie-skillie", suggesting that Millie is as slow as a tortoise ('skilpad') because she is in a wheelchair. Willemien is a bully and her support system consists of two tag-along friends. She dislikes opposition; she wants to be the leader of the group. Something about Millie and Jackie makes Willemien uncomfortable and that is why she targets them. She puts them down and intentionally hurts them to show her power and control. She wants to be feared. In truth, Willemien has pent-up anger, resentment and unhappiness, most probably because of her own situation and her lack of power and control within it. By bullying others she feels she can regain some of this power and control and she finds a release for her pent-up emotions. It can be noted that Frans and Willemien show a number of similar characteristics. Willemien struggles to understand why one would want to help someone other than oneself. When the principal announces their plan to help Millie with the funds raised at the athletics meeting Willemien does not join in the celebration. When the principal makes the announcement the other children are shown cheering and smiling. A medium shot shows Willemien with her arms crossed and an indifferent expression on her face. Surprisingly, Willemien's two friends do look happy about the news and a close-up shows the two of them smiling. Willemien exhibits anti-social behaviour and so attempts to distance herself from the other students. Willemien eventually ends up distancing herself from her two followers as well. When the two of them want to help with the preparations for the athletics day to help Millie, Willemien lashes out



at them.<sup>56</sup> Willemien does not want to help or join in the teamwork. She is bossy towards her two friends and she pushes them away when they no longer want to do what she tells them to do. When Willemien's friends oppose her she retaliates with insults. They walk away and Willemien is left alone. While this discussion (as outlined in Extract 4) takes place, Willemien's expression is hard and mean. But when they leave and she finally walks away her eyes are filled with tears. Even though Willemien works very hard to keep up a cold and mean exterior, Jackie sees another side of her later in the narrative (Episode 12).

Jackie discovers that Willemien's callous and mean exterior is only a front. In truth, she longs for friendship, support and understanding. Jackie learns this on the night before the big athletics meeting when Mrs Kritzinger sends her to fetch towels from the linen storeroom. Jackie finds Willemien crying on her own in a dark corner of the storeroom. She slowly approaches Willemien and kneels down next to her and offers her a tissue. She softly asks, "Wat makeer?" (What's the matter?) Willemien answers, "Niks, dis ..." (Nothing, it's ...) and then continues crying. A high-angle long shot shows the two of them alone in the dark storeroom. Jackie then holds and comforts Willemien while she cries. Willemien, like most bullies, is not a clear-cut black/white or good/bad character. Willemien is very unhappy because of her situation (she has been in the home for almost a year and she has not received even one letter from her parents). She hides her frustration and sadness behind a mask of meanness and sarcasm. Through the narrative it is suggested that Willemien is from an unhappy or unstable family environment and her mean and aggressive behaviour is depicted within this context. She acts out or rebels because of the disruption in her family unit. She feels rejected, neglected and unloved. Again the importance of the stable (Afrikaner or Afrikaans) family unit and community support structures (e.g. offered by institutions like the children's home) is stressed. Willemien has caused Jackie considerable pain, but Jackie does not run off and gossip or make fun of Willemien's vulnerability. Instead she is very mature and she decides to comfort and befriend Willemien. This event signals a turning point for both characters. Willemien opens up to someone and finally reveals her true feelings and Jackie gains greater insight and sensitivity into Willemien's situation. Finally they accept each other. Jackie's actions initiate a positive change in Willemien.

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<sup>56</sup> See Appendix 2 – 2.1.4/Extract 4.

Just like Willemien, Frans is also a bully. Frans sees Carl as a threat and takes an aggressive approach by bullying him. After the first race in which Carl and Frans compete, Frans boasts about his victory when he and Carl meet in the men's bathroom. He walks over to Carl and says, "Mos gedink jy's so great, nè Lindeman? Maar toe *surprise* ek jou. Sommer so lag-lag" (Thought you were so great, Lindeman? But I surprised you. Easy peasy). Frans is trying to get a reaction from Carl, but Carl does not pay attention to Frans and makes his way towards the showers. Frans then grabs Carl's shoulder and says, "Wil nie hoor hy's 'n *loser* nie" (Don't want to hear you're a loser?). To this Carl replies, "Eerder 'n *loser* as 'n *pateet*" (Rather a loser than pathetic). As Carl walks away, Frans pushes him forward. Carl falls, hits his head and is knocked unconscious. Frans yells at Carl to get up, but Carl does not respond. In a panic Frans then runs out of the bathroom. Frans is aggressive and uses force to get what he wants. He wants Carl to be afraid of him and he wants Carl to admit that he (Frans) is the best athlete. This pent up anger and need for acknowledgement does not come from nowhere. Frans's actions are rooted in his feelings towards his parents, himself and his situation. Later, when Tannie Vis questions the boys about Carl's accident Frans remains silent. He does not take responsibility for his actions. He acts in a cowardly fashion and is therefore positioned as a bad character.

Frans, like Willemien, is bossy towards his two friends (or followers) At and Pote. When At and Pote question Frans's motives for bullying Carl, Frans becomes aggressive and questions their loyalty. Frans says, "Wag nou, aan wie se kant is julle nou?" and "Los my man, gaan maak *pals* met Lindeman" (Wait a minute, whose side are you on? Leave me alone, go and make friends with Lindeman). Frans wants to be the leader and he dislikes opposition; therefore, he emotionally manipulates (and in a sense also bullies) his two friends. He vents his anger and frustration on those around him. After Frans's outburst, At and Pote apologise. As already mentioned in a previous discussion, Frans seeks approval, praise and acceptance from McKeggy. Frans's father does not support him and Frans thus views McKeggy as a stand-in male role model. By doing well in athletics, Frans gets positive attention. He views Carl (who is also a strong athlete) as a threat and fears that Carl is going to steal not only the spotlight but also McKeggy's attention and praise. When Frans then does not get the reaction he wants from McKeggy after the first race between himself and Carl, Frans feels rejected and he blames Carl. Because of this, Frans devises a plan to get Carl into trouble. He says that they (Frans, At and Pote) have been getting in and out of Tony's Café for the last few months without trouble. (The three of them climb into

the café through a window at night and steal cigarettes.) He then suggests that they break in again, but this time they should not only steal cigarettes and sweets, but they should also clean out the till. At and Pote immediately say no, the idea is crazy and dangerous. They do not want to get involved with the police and At adds, “Liewer die weeshuis as die tronk” (Rather the orphanage than prison). Annoyed and angry Frans explains that they will be framing Carl by leaving his watch in the café. Frans pressures At and Pote to join him. All three of them know stealing is against the law, but they decide to go ahead with the plan. This is considered very bad (criminal) behaviour.

The day after the planned burglary the police arrive at the children’s home to question Carl about the break-in, but the police do not take him away with them. This makes At and Pote very nervous and they finally stand up to Frans. At says, “Ek het geweet jou slim plannetjies gaan ons een of ander tyd laat klippe kou” (I knew your clever plans would get us into trouble eventually). Frans is a bad influence and because of his vendetta against Carl all three of them can get into a lot of trouble. Bongo later confronts At, Pote and Frans about the break-in.<sup>57</sup> He says he knows all about their nightly visits to Tony’s and that they are now trying to frame Carl. At first all three of them deny any involvement in the break-in. Bongo, however, persists and tells them to make a clean breast of it by telling Mr Van Aswegen and returning all the stolen items. If they fail to do so, he will go to the police himself. Frans is infuriated by Bongo’s accusations, while At and Pote look nervous. They eventually decide to do the right thing and confess to McKeggy and Mr Van Aswegen that they were responsible for the break-in. They also apologise sincerely and ask to be given a second chance. The principal is very disappointed, but he acknowledges that they all show sincere remorse about their actions. By telling the truth they take responsibility for their actions and this shows a positive change in At, Frans and Pote. In *Wenners* the change or growth of characters is very important. A number of values or lessons are communicated in the story.

As a youth drama the didactic element is present in *Wenners*. The text does not attempt to subdue or suppress children nor does it follow the ‘children should be seen and not heard’-philosophy, but the story does instruct teenagers to follow what is considered desired behaviour and to avoid what is considered negative or undesirable behaviour. Hence, the text provides a model of how white Afrikaans or Afrikaner children should behave within

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<sup>57</sup> Bongo is constructed as a good character. He is perceptive, understanding and trustworthy. He is always willing to help Jackie and he tries to befriend and support Carl.

the context of the early 1990s. *Wenners* stays within the micro-cosmos of a conservative white Afrikaans community. The target audience of the programme is white Afrikaans-speaking children and television at that time still took a very conservative approach to children's programming and its content. *Wenners*, for the most part, supports a conservative Afrikaner point of view and the selected topics or themes portrayed in the programme are never extreme cases or issues such as rape, drug abuse or gangs. The teenage characters that are labelled as bad characters are also given a particular background, usually that of the unhappy or abusive family. The background or backstories provide context for their aggressive or unsavoury behaviour. In *Wenners* bad deeds do not go unpunished, while good deeds are celebrated and rewarded. This is one of the lessons communicated by *Wenners*. Positive role models and good characters are highlighted and the text further suggests that change is possible for all characters, including bad characters. There is a focused movement towards 'goodness' in the story and negative characters such as Heinrich, or negative elements such as bullying and stealing are systematically eliminated as the narrative progresses. The narrative speaks to the ideal (Afrikaner or Afrikaans) community where negative or undesirable elements and people are removed from the good and wholesome community. It suggests that in the end, good will prevail over evil. This message of hope and change is also reflected in Carl's character.

Carl's character changes in the course of the narrative. When Carl and Jackie arrive at the children's home Carl is angry and bitter and he blames Jackie for getting them into the children's home. Carl starts off as hard-headed and moody. He refuses to take part in athletics and he openly rejects Jackie. Carl isolates himself and rejects opportunities for friendship with Lanie and Bongo. The insinuations of theft are a wakeup call for Carl. Carl shows a willingness to change and reaches out to the people around him. He begins to rebuild his relationship with Jackie and befriends Bongo and Willemien. Furthermore, he agrees to take part in the athletics meeting. The 1500m men's race is the main event at the athletics meeting. During the race Pote falls down on the track and a number of runners trip over him, including Carl. Frans narrowly misses Pote and continues with the race. Carl takes a bad fall and lands on his shoulder. An extreme close-up shows Carl on the ground. The scene briefly cuts to Jackie and Bongo on the pavilion looking on in disbelief and then cuts back to an extreme close-up of Carl. This is Carl's moment; the theme music begins to play as Carl gets to his feet. A close-up shows Carl as he rejoins the race with new vigour. Carl wins the race and everyone is overjoyed. He finally shows what he is made of on the

track and McKeggy is proud of him. Characteristics traditionally associated with Afrikaners are determination and a winning spirit, stressing that obstacles or challenges do not keep them down. Carl embodies these characteristics when he changes his attitude and decides to give of his best in the race. Set within the early 1990s context, this text communicates the traditional message of (Afrikaner) strength and determination to a younger Afrikaans generation. Given the conservative approach taken in *Wenners* it is not surprising that certain traditional ideas or values are promoted.

Another positive value communicated in *Wenners* is that of helping others in times of need. When Carl and Jackie are kidnapped by Heinrich after the big race at the athletics meeting, Frans, At, Pote, Bongo and Lanie band together and take action to help the police. They know Heinrich is heading to the dam and Frans tells the others that he knows about a short cut through the bushes that leads to the dam. They immediately sprint off. Frans and Bongo are the front-runners and they reach the dam just in time to catch Heinrich off guard. Frans dives Heinrich into the water and Bongo picks up the gun and aims it at Heinrich. The police, including Snyman and McKeggy, then arrive on the scene to arrest Heinrich. The other boys also arrive, clearly out of breath after the long run. McKeggy is very proud of his athletes, “Bongo, jou ou doring! Frans, julle kêrels, as dit nie vir julle was nie ... Manne, ek wil net vir julle dankie sê” (Bongo, well done! Frans, all of you, if it weren’t for you ... Guys, I just want to thank you). Frans then asks with a smile, “Ons ook darem iets **goed** gedoen, nè meneer?” [Own emphasis added.] (We also did something **good**, right sir?) Smiling McKeggy answers, “Frans, baie dankie” (Frans, thank you very much). Here Frans finally receives the acknowledgement and approval he longed for. These events support the conventional storyline of most conservative Afrikaans children’s stories where good always overcomes evil.

The narrative ends with a party at Jackie and Carl’s home. All their friends from the children’s home are there, together with Mr Van Aswegen, Mrs Kritzinger, Miempie (the secretary), Kate, McKeggy, Tannie Vis and Snyman. Jackie and Carl are reunited with their mother who has made a full recovery. At the party McKeggy informs At, Pote and Frans that Tony (from the café) has decided to drop the charges against them because of their brave act. They are thus rewarded for their good deed. Carl and Willemien are also shown as a couple and Jackie, Willemien and Millie are now all friends. Jackie says to Millie, “Een van die dae rinkink jy saam met ons rond” (One of these days you’ll be gallivanting

with us). Millie laughs, “Ek hoop so Jackie, maar ...” (I hope so, Jackie, but ...). Willemien interrupts and says, “Nikse maar nie. Die dokter het gesê jy gaan weer loop” (No buts. The doctor said you’ll walk again). Millie smiles and says, “Nou goed, hy’t gesê ek staan ’n goeie kans” (Okay fine, he said my chances look good). Thus, the future looks bright for Millie. The whole group gets together to pose for a photo. Snyman tells them to get ready and he then takes the picture. The final scene depicts a happy ending. The Lindemans have been reunited and friends and family surround them. A new equilibrium has been achieved. The happy ending stresses the significance of friends and family within the Afrikaans community. ‘Good’ behaviour as well as ‘good’ friends and family are depicted as the components of a happy life. Within the Afrikaans microcosms as depicted in *Wenners*, good overcomes bad and the value of good friends and family is emphasised. The politics of the day are not addressed. Given the conservative nature of Afrikaans television content (particularly for children) at that time, socio-political issues of the day were probably not considered appropriate topics for a youth drama.

### **6.2.2.3 The representation of gender**

*Wenners* is set in the early 1990s and reflects a number of traditional gender roles. Men are predominantly depicted in top working positions. The headmaster, Mr Van Aswegen, is an older white man with thinning grey hair. He is tall and has broad shoulders and dresses in a professional manner (suit and tie). His stature and deep voice signify masculinity and authority. Snyman is depicted as a committed police inspector. He is an older white man with thinning brownish-grey hair. He has a smaller build than Mr Van Aswegen, but he is still depicted as masculine and strong. He leads the Schüler investigation and is, therefore, in a position of authority. In *Wenners*, women are not depicted in these kinds of positions. Conventional patriarchal authority structures that position men as leaders within society are followed and white masculine control is established as the norm (Van der Watt 2005; Vestergaard 2001). This suits conservative Afrikaner conceptions of masculinity and authority structures, which were for many still the order of the day at the start of the 1990s. Before 1994 the SABC endorsed a mostly white Afrikaner point of view and this was reflected in most of its television content (Wigston 2007). Furthermore, only male characters, namely Heinrich, George, At, Pote and Frans depict the criminals or lawbreakers in *Wenner*. The police are also only represented by male characters, namely Snyman, Louw and the two officers that question Carl about the break-in at Tony’s. In

Snyman's office at the police station a row of pictures can be seen against the wall behind his desk. All the pictures (portrait-type photographs) seem old and are of older white men of senior rank in formal police attire. These pictures are probably of previous police inspectors or other established men within the police force. They all look serious and powerful. The police force is thus portrayed as men's work, stressing the link between men and elements of law, order, control and power. The police pursue and catch criminals who are also mostly male. These representations emphasise not only masculine power and control, but also white political control and provide insight into the time frame (early 1990s, pre-1994) that is depicted in *Wenners*. Men are furthermore represented as protectors.

The stereotypical construction of men as protectors is present in *Wenners*. In Episode 7 Mr Van Aswegen calls McKeggy to his office. McKeggy is a youngish white teacher, probably in his early thirties. The headmaster talks to McKeggy about the Lindeman children's safety and stresses that Inspector Snyman suspects Heinrich is looking for them and might do them harm. Both of them wish to protect the children and to keep them safe. As already mentioned, Anet also puts her children's safety in Snyman's hands. In addition, the young men at the children's home show that they too are protectors. Bongo, At, Pote, Frans and Lanie race to save Carl and Jackie from Heinrich. Bongo and Frans are fit, strong runners, therefore they reach Carl and Jackie first and manage to overpower Heinrich. In this situation Bongo and Frans's fitness and brave actions connote strength and masculinity. As teenagers the boys already take on their role as masculine protectors. Moreover, McKeggy takes on the role of Kate's protector (whether she asked him to do so or not).

In McKeggy and Kate's case, the man is positioned as the protector, while the woman is the one to be protected. McKeggy lectures Kate about her safety when he finds her working alone at the school late at night.<sup>58</sup> The scene suggests that it is considered dangerous for a woman to be out on her own at night. McKeggy acts somewhat condescendingly and Kate jokingly reacts by calling him 'meester' (master). This is suggestive of earlier Afrikaner generations where the man or husband was considered to be the master of the house and where women were mostly expected to be submissive to men. Kate is an independent young woman who takes pride in her work. She does not expect McKeggy to take care of her or watch over her. An independent 1990s Afrikaner woman is represented by Kate's

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<sup>58</sup> See Appendix 2 – 2.1.5/Extract 5.

character and she thus pokes fun at the old-fashioned idea of men as masters over women. But, the stereotypical role of the man as the protector and physical and intellectual leader is emphasised more prominently in *Wenners*. More occasions are shown where McKeggy takes the lead or is in control than is the case with Kate. In a sense, McKeggy's concern for Kate's safety is justified when it becomes clear that he has (romantic) feelings for Kate. He struggles to express his emotions (a quality stereotypically associated with men) and Kate then takes the lead (a quality not stereotypically associated with women, but it does tie in with notions of the independent woman). She initiates the kiss and this highlights Kate's femininity and her sense of confidence. Through Kate and McKeggy's interaction we see a play between conventional versus more modern (1990s) depictions of men and women. The scene in which they kiss establishes Kate and McKeggy's romantic relationship.

Romantic love and heterosexual relationships are presented as the norm. Bongo and Jackie and McKeggy and Kate's relationships act as examples. By the end of the narrative Carl and Willemien are also shown as a couple. In the final episode the couples are shown holding hands and kissing. Their actions act as signs to indicate that they are in a romantic relationship. These relationships are depicted as wholesome and decent, in keeping with the appropriate tone for an Afrikaans youth drama programme and the context of the early 1990s. *Wenners* reflects a conservative view of and approach to romantic relationships. The issue of sex is completely avoided. Broadcast in 1992/1993, the SABC still provided strict guidelines regarding content, and sensitive issues such as sex were avoided. *Wenner* had to adhere to the conservative criteria as prescribed by the SABC for a teenage drama of the early 1990s. At that stage the SABC was still largely run by conservative white Afrikaners and *Wenners* had to accommodate their views of relationships and sex. Homosexuality and multicultural or multiracial relationships are not represented. The depictions in *Wenners* remain true to conservative ideas and values already well-established before the 1990s. It can even be considered conservative because the programme was aimed at an under-aged audience.

The interaction between the couples is explored further in the paragraphs that follow: first Kate and McKeggy, then Jackie and Bonge.

Kate is presented as a young and enthusiastic art teacher. She is probably in her late twenties or early thirties. She has long, curly blonde hair and is often depicted wearing floral print dresses. These characteristics highlight her femininity. She is tasked with



organising the athletics meeting and in Episode 8 Kate and McKeggy discuss Jackie’s plan to help Millie as they walk into his empty classroom. It is a typical classroom of that time, with a blackboard, posters, desks, chairs and a projector. A medium shot shows McKeggy and Kate as they talk in the middle of the classroom and in the background the pre-1994 national flag of South Africa is seen against the wall. The décor of the classroom stresses the time frame of the text and positions it within the early 1990s, before the first democratic elections in South Africa. Kate optimistically tells McKeggy that they plan to raise the money for Millie with the athletics meeting. McKeggy, however, appears sceptical and shakes his head. Kate immediately looks worried.

<p>Kate: “Jy dink nie dis ’n goeie idee nie?”</p> <p>McKeggy: “Nee, nie regtig nie.”</p> <p>K: (Disappointed) “Ek is jammer ek het jou tyd gemors.” (She begins to walk to the door.)</p> <p>M: “Kate, wag jy verstaan my verkeerd. Ek sal enigiets doen om jou te help, dis net dat ek nie dink dat ons met ’n gewone atletiekbyeenkoms genoeg belangstelling gaande maak nie”.</p> <p>K: “Maar ...”</p> <p>M: “Maar ek sal dink wat ons kan doen om die belangstelling te kry. Tevrede?”</p> <p>K: “Ek’s jammer as ek so op loop sit, maar ... ek wil so graag die kinders help”.</p> <p>M: “Jy’s vergewe. Dis seker julle vroumense se voorreg om so moeilik te wees”. (A close-up shows Kate smiling at McKeggy.)</p> <p>(Episode 8)</p>	<p>You don’t think this is a good idea?</p> <p>No, not really.</p> <p>I’m sorry for wasting your time.</p> <p>Kate, wait, you misunderstood. I will do anything to help you, but I just don’t think that we can get enough interest in our regular athletics meetings.</p> <p>But ...</p> <p>But I will think of something to get interest. Satisfied?</p> <p>I’m sorry for getting so carried away ... I just really want to help the children.</p> <p>You’re forgiven. It’s probably your right as a woman to be so difficult.</p>
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This discussion takes place during school hours. Later on in the same episode McKeggy waits at Kate’s car at the end of the school day. When Kate arrives at her car McKeggy tells her that he has been thinking about her problem and that he has a possible solution. Kate

now looks doubtful and states that McKeggy did not come across as being interested during their discussion that morning. McKeggy says he was only being realistic. He does not think that an ordinary athletics meeting will do the trick and suggests that they need a special event or feature to attract more attention. His idea involves advertising a special race between his two best long-distance athletes, Carl and Frans. Kate is immediately optimistic and suggests that they make large posters to advertise the event in town and even the neighbouring towns. She says, “John, dis ’n wonderlike idee” (John, that’s a wonderful idea). These two discussions highlight interesting ideas about Kate (women) and McKeggy (men). Kate takes her plan or ‘problem’ to McKeggy and he is the one to approve or disapprove of it. When he disapproves of her plan, he is the one to suggest a new plan or solution to the problem and she then praises him for saving the day. Kate also apologises for getting over-excited and McKeggy forgives her. Kate is depicted as emotional, caring and creative (idea for posters), while McKeggy is depicted as a thinker or someone who can devise a plan and who is calm and rational or realistic. According to Fiske (1987), cultural constructions of gender are often naturalised through media representations. The specific representations of Kate and McKeggy naturalise certain gender role characteristics or qualities that construct men as rational and collected, and women as emotional and caring. Jackie and Bongo seem to reflect a similar gender set-up.

In Episode 10 Jackie meets with Bongo during recess. She mentions the athletics meeting and says that she wants to ask him a favour. Bongo, like McKeggy, is also sceptical about the fund-raising possibilities of the athletics meeting. Jackie informs Bongo of McKeggy’s idea of a feature attraction in the form of a race between Carl and Frans. She asks Bongo to talk to Carl and to persuade him to compete, for Millie’s sake. Bongo agrees to do it, but adds that he also wants to tell Jackie something. Jackie immediately becomes upset: “Wat het gebeur?” (What happened?) Bongo tells her of his suspicions that Carl and Piet are planning to run away.<sup>59</sup> In this example, Jackie is the one to ask for help and Bongo is the one to provide assistance. Bongo remains calm and collected, while Jackie is depicted at first as happy and cheerful, then worried and stressed. Once again the woman is portrayed as emotional and almost helpless and the man is depicted as strong and self-assured. This is, however, not the only way that Jackie is depicted. In a previous episode (not included in the analysis sample) Jackie stands up to Willemien and her clique when they are bullying Millie during recess. The girls took one of Millie’s shoes and when Jackie shows up they

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<sup>59</sup> See Appendix 2 – 2.1.6/Extract 6.

are throwing it around like a ball. Jackie takes it back and puts Willemien and her friends in their place. Jackie is thus brave and confident and she stands up for her friend and for what is right. She is not helpless. However, when she is depicted with Bongo, he takes the leading role. In the depictions of McKeggy and Kate, and Bongo and Jackie, the men are the strong, clever, calm and collected problem solvers, while the women are emotional and supportive and need the leadership of the men. These depictions conform to traditional Afrikaner identity constructions of men and women. The patriarchal model is upheld, with men represented as leaders in society. These gender norms are applied to the teenage as well as the adult characters. A standard is thus depicted reflecting what is considered (gender) appropriate within the conservative Afrikaner context of the early 1990s. Some of the female characters represent an interesting tension between traditional and modern (gender) sensibilities. This reflects the transitional context of the 1990s, a movement from traditional or conservative to modern and independent depictions of women. Kate and Jackie may be depicted as subordinate to McKeggy and Bongo, but both these female characters are also at times depicted as independent and confident; therefore, there appears to be some indication of change or diversity in the representation of women. This argument is further supported by Anet's character. While men are mostly depicted as protectors in *Wenners*, women are predominantly depicted as caregivers.

The women (e.g. Anet, Kate and Tannie Vis) are represented as nurturing and caring, but that does not imply that they are weak. Anet is a good example. When we first see Anet in the clinic she is timid, weak and confused. She is shown without make-up and her hair is messy. Her clothes appear crumpled and she is clearly in distress. As she recovers, her appearance changes and she regains her confidence. In Episode 11 Anet meets with Heinrich at the clinic for the last time. A medium shot depicts Anet walking outside the clinic in the garden and next to the pool. She wears a peach-coloured dress, she is wearing make-up and her hair is done in a French plait. She looks confident and calm. When Heinrich arrives he once again pretends to be the loving husband. In a calm but serious tone Anet informs Heinrich that she will be filing for divorce as soon as possible. When Heinrich retaliates with insults and threats she stands her ground. Anet shows strength, determination and courage. She refuses to be bullied and manipulated by Heinrich any longer. She takes a stand and removes herself (and her family) from an abusive relationship. Anet is thus another example of the play between traditional and modern representations of women that exists in the narrative. Anet is the traditional, loving and

caring Afrikaner mother, but she is also a strong and independent woman (and now a single mother). She takes the lead by initiating the divorce and takes back her life and her family. Kate, Jackie and Anet reflect this interplay between traditional and modern conceptions of women-ness or femininity. What is more, these depictions are relevant to the 1990s context. Change was in the air and representations of gender were being reconsidered and renegotiated. Implementation of these changes in local South African television content was, however, a lengthy process, but by the time of the 1994 elections the (media) transformation process was well underway.

### **6.3 Conclusion**

Chapter 6 provided a detailed analysis of *Wenners*. Three themes were addressed: the role of authority figures and the children's home in a child's life, the opposition of characters and values, and finally the representation of gender. While exploring the role of the children's home and authority figures in a child's life, the importance of family and other community support structures (such as a children's home) were emphasised. The longing of children for love, affection and support was stressed; the text suggests that a disruption in the family unit usually leads to disharmony. It is at these times of disruption that other support structures must step in. In *Wenners* the ideal children's home is represented. At Hartbeespoort Children's home the staff are devoted and supportive and through their guidance they have a positive influence on the lives of the children. Authority figures that protect, care for, encourage and help others are represented in a number of characters fulfilling the roles of teachers, police, social workers and matrons. The positive authority figures are fore-fronted in *Wenners*. Socio-political issues of the 1990s are not addressed in the text; rather the focus remains on the white Afrikaans community. *Wenners* constructs an image of an Afrikaans community where people stand together against the injustices of society, such as abuse and crime. Educators, police and social workers or other caregivers are not depicted as domineering but rather as supportive and caring figures. In *Wenners* these figures aim to protect children from others who abuse their position of power, such as abusive or manipulative parents. Less restrictive school and parenting environments are sketched, but control is always maintained. Conventional authority structures are upheld in *Wenners* and no extreme cases of rebellion against teachers or other authority figures are shown. Authority figures are not challenged or criticised. Viewers are rather encouraged to identify with the positive authority figures. The programme takes a conservative approach

to parenting, education and authority. This reflects the mostly conservative position of the SABC and many Afrikaners at the beginning of the 1990s.

The theme of binary oppositions of characters and values highlights the constructions of 'good' and 'bad' in *Wenners*. A number of oppositions are represented and clearly categorised. Snyman (the police), for example, protects and helps others and pursues justice, whereas Heinrich (the criminal) manipulates, threatens and hurts people. Heinrich's character thus comes to signify 'evil', while Snyman signifies 'good'. These depictions also aim to instil trust in the (white, Afrikaans) South African police force. Karel, McKeggy and Kate are constructed in a similar fashion as good characters. Among the teen characters, constructions of positive and 'good' or negative and 'bad' are also provided. Examples include Jackie, Willemien and Frans. The context or background of bad or troublesome youths is, however, emphasised and the movement from bad to good is represented as an achievable goal or ideal. *Wenners* offers a model of behaviour for teenagers, highlighting what is considered to be appropriate and inappropriate behaviour in the white Afrikaner community of the 1990s. *Wenners* suggests a positive approach to life. Viewers are encouraged to follow the desirable suggestions of behaviour, such as bravery, perseverance and honesty. The positive ideals of a white Afrikaans community are highlighted and the overriding message is that good will prevail over evil. It stresses that within an Afrikaans community negative elements should be identified and removed while the worthwhile things such as family and friends should be treasured. The party held at the Lindeman home at the end of the final episode, where family and friends are shown in high spirits, epitomise the newfound harmony and happiness of the (good) characters. Traditional ideas associated with Afrikaner identity constructions are highlighted in *Wenners*, such as the fighting spirit of Afrikaners and the importance of family. The narrative shows a movement towards order, stability, structure and goodness. The focus remains on the white Afrikaans community, and the larger social, economic and political issues of the day are ignored. The final theme explores the representation of gender.

In the discussion of gender a number of conventional gender constructions are examined. In *Wenners* men are depicted as masculine, authoritative protectors and they take up the top positions within the working environment. Conventional Afrikaner patriarchal structures are thus upheld. During the early 1990s, the SABC still followed conservative content guidelines formulated by mostly conservative Christian Afrikaners. As such, traditional

Afrikaner values were, for the most part, supported in Afrikaans programming. This is reflected in *Wenners*. Romantic, heterosexual relationships are represented as the norm and no other alternatives offered. Controversial issues such as sex are also excluded. The relationships between Kate and McKeggy or Bongo and Jackie, for example, are represented in an appropriate manner to suit the target age group (teenagers) and the more conservative Afrikaans viewer. The romantic relationships in *Wenners* provide interesting depictions of men and women. Jackie and Kate are depicted as the ones with problems or needs, and the male characters, Bongo and McKeggy, are portrayed as the problem solvers. Additionally, Bongo and McKeggy are portrayed as rational and calm, while Jackie and Kate are shown as emotional. Through these representations, these stereotypical gender roles are naturalised. Traditional depictions of men and women are thus exhibited but interplay between stereotypical and modern depictions of women is also present in the narrative. The women in *Wenners* are represented as caring; they are concerned with the well-being of others and provide help and support where necessary. Moreover, they are at times depicted as strong and independent. The notion of the modern or independent woman is thus hinted at in the text, but overall the men take the dominant positions and roles within the Afrikaans community and relationships.

In *Wenners* the importance of friends and family, including good support structures such as the children's home, are emphasised. It is suggested that with good leadership, support and love, children will stay on (or get onto) the right track and become winners in life. *Wenner* was not overtly political. Politics are never mentioned and the state of the country at that time is not really reflected. When analysing *Wenners* it is as if nothing has changed (from the 1980s to the 1990s). The SABC appears to have gone on as before. *Wenners* was, however, broadcast before the first democratic elections in 1994 and before most of the major changes to content were implemented at the SABC. It thus reflects a conservative white Afrikaans-orientated perspective. A primarily white Afrikaner community, school and police force are depicted. People of other cultures, languages and races are almost completely excluded from the story. It is thus very similar to SABC television programmes produced during the 1970s and 1980s. The portrayal of the old South African flag and the depiction of the flea market scene in the final episode where people from different races are shown shopping and selling at the market are brief indicators of the early 1990s time frame. The predominantly conservative approach taken to issues of family, sexuality, gender and

authority figures highlight the conservative Afrikaner point of view that was still characteristic of the SABC during the early 1990s.

In Chapter 7 the kykNET drama, *Song vir Katryn*, is analysed.

## CHAPTER 7

# ANALYSIS OF *SONG VIR KATRYN*

### 7.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a thematic analysis of *Song vir Katryn* (*Song*). Three selected themes, including abuse, gender and sexuality and class, are discussed. The chapter concludes with a summary of the analysis.

### 7.2 Analysis of *Song vir Katryn*

#### 7.2.1 Introduction: Title and structure

The title suggests the idea of a love story or a love song. When a person writes or composes a song for someone, it is usually a way of expressing feelings, to say something to or about that person. A song can communicate messages of love, affection and understanding and in some cultures writing a song for someone can be considered a romantic gesture. The title of this programme draws on these connotations and in the story this song is in fact a love song. The viewer thus expects a love story and *Song for Katryn* tells a story about a man and a woman from Danville who fall in love. Jinx or Johan is an Afrikaans rock musician by night and a doctor by day, and Katryn is a mysterious girl with a dark past. They are not the conventional princess and her prince, a charming pair, but in the end Katryn does become a ‘princess’ and Jinx is her ‘prince’ on a motorbike (instead of on the traditional white horse). The title does more than just introduce the love story theme; it also reveals something of the programme’s context of production. The mixed use of language signals a contemporary trend Afrikaans.

The word choice in the title suggests a contemporary approach to the Afrikaans language. The integration of English words and phrases into Afrikaans dialogue suggests a certain level of multi- or bilingualism. This type of Afrikaans or way of speaking (in other words, mixing Afrikaans and English while Afrikaans remains the dominant language) is particularly prevalent in certain communities and subcultures, including young speakers of Afrikaans. In an episode of the Afrikaans soap opera, *Villa Rosa* (a kykNET production),



broadcast in August 2012, a white male character playing the role of an Afrikaans professor comments on the language use of a black Afrikaans-speaking female student. Professor Fritz Retief says (with a smile) to Lerato Jackson, “Julle jonges wat julle taal so meng” (You young people who mix your languages), to which Lerato answers (also with a smile), “Ons jonges *like* van ons taal *mix*” (We young people like to mix our languages). This contemporary example speaks of the new millennium context. This is a time of mixing, fluidity and integration. Different versions, dialects and types of Afrikaans are present in communities and everyday conversation. These trends are also visible in media texts such as television programmes and films. Mixing languages or code switching is part of the 2000s context.<sup>60</sup> The title, *Song vir Katryn*, immediately establishes this time frame. Most of the characters in the programme mix their languages regularly. It could be suggested that this programme targets viewers with similar language tendencies.

By using the word ‘song’ in the title the central role that is played by music in the story is immediately established. The expectation of music or songs within the story is met. Music is intertwined with the narrative. The characters Jinx and Slab are musicians in the narrative and they perform together as an Afrikaans rock band called *Jinx*. Their performances (whether formal, e.g. a performance at a pub or *OppiKoppi*, or informal, e.g. singing around a camp fire) are realistically incorporated into the story. The actors Valiant Swart and Mel Botes, who portray Jinx and Slab respectively, are also well-known Afrikaans musicians in real life and this emphasises the focus on music in the story and provides a sense of authenticity to the text. These actors can really sing, play the guitar and write music. The list of credits validates this by stating that Swart produced all the original music used in the programme. Furthermore, the use of Afrikaans music in this programme provides a sense of locality. It locates the text within the Afrikaans community and the Afrikaans (rock) music scene. The Afrikaans music scene showed incredible growth during the 2000s (Marx & Milton 2011; Vestergaard 2001). Mel Botes and Valiant Swart are established artists in the Afrikaans rock scene and are still actively involved in the Afrikaans music industry.

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<sup>60</sup> The mixing of languages, code switching and the presence of different Afrikaans dialects is not restricted to the late 1990s and the 2000s only. These elements have always been present within South African communities. However, in the late 1990s and 2000s the visibility of these elements (particularly in the media) have increased as space was opened up after 1994 for variety in expression and identity formation, specifically in Afrikaans. Up until 1994 standardised Afrikaans was considered the norm (especially in the media).

One can choose to describe *Song vir Katryn* as a romantic drama, but the content of this drama looks at more than just the relationship between Jinx and Katryn. It also addresses serious social issues such as drug abuse, sexual abuse, child pornography, paedophilia and AIDS and HIV. The narrative embeds Jinx and Katryn's lives within this upsetting and often destructive context. The willingness to deal with and explore controversial and taboo issues is characteristic of the context of the 2000s. Afrikaans media of the 2000s, including film and television, participate in this trend of exploring themes and issues that were once considered unacceptable and offensive within traditional Afrikaner circles. *Song* aims to represent these often controversial and serious real-life issues in a realistic fashion. A chronological narrative structure is used and the camera work and editing operate in an unobtrusive way. In the next section a thematic analysis of *Song* is provided.

### **7.2.2 Thematic analysis<sup>61</sup>**

*Song* is a kykNET production that was first broadcast in 2003. The follow-up season was broadcast in 2005. After the significant decline in Afrikaans content on the public broadcaster in the late 1990s, the 2000s saw an increase of Afrikaans content produced by kykNET and the SABC. *Song* was broadcast on SABC 2 in 2008. After the excessive publicity and euphoria surrounding the new South Africa began to fade, the 2000s ushered in a new phase of transformation and change. The multiplicity of Afrikaans identity was (and still is) explored and sensitive issues which were previously avoided were being addressed in different Afrikaans media, including film, television, music, literature and art. In *Song*, issues such as abuse, addiction, relationships, sexuality and gender are addressed. These issues are examined in the following section under the themes of abuse, gender and sexuality and class.

#### **7.2.2.1 Abuse**

The bar as setting is used repeatedly in *Song*. It represents an interesting space of multiple meanings and labels. To some it is a place of escape, freedom, entertainment and relaxation. A bar is often associated with drinking (alcohol abuse), drugs, parties, live music and fighting ('bar fights'). These associations are depicted as part of the Santini's

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<sup>61</sup> The detailed analysis sample includes Episodes 1 to 7. Brief summaries of these episodes are provided in Chapter 4. Examples from or references to the omitted episodes (8 to 13) are only included when they are specifically needed to support an argument.

bar. In the first episode Jinx's Afrikaans rock band performs at Santini's and almost every person is shown drinking. Jinx and his band members also enjoy beers and shooters. This is considered normal behaviour in a pub. Another type of behaviour that is represented as the norm in a bar is the (verbal) abuse of waitresses by male customers. While Katryn waits for her order at the bar, Gouws yells in her direction, "Kom aan, kan ons 'n bietjie *service* kry hierso!" (Come on, can we get some service here!) Both Max and Katryn look in Gouws's direction with expressions of disgust on their faces. However, no one says anything about the matter and Gouws's verbal abuse of Katryn continues when she brings him his drinks, "About bloody time, koekie [cookie]!" A man bumps into Katryn and she accidentally drops the tray of drinks and spills them all over Gouws. Gouws is furious and he yells at Katryn to clean up the mess. She stands up to him and tells him to clean it himself. Gouws then yells, "Ek sal sorg dat jy jou werk verloor, meisietjie. Ek is 'n *customer*. Wie dink jy is jy?" (I'll make sure that you lose your job, missy. I'm a customer. Who do you think you are?) Katryn does in fact lose her job after the altercation.

Later that same evening Jinx questions Max's decision to fire Katryn and says, "Hulle het haar 'n helse harde tyd gegee. Veral daai *macho* poephool. Pleks jy hulle uitsmyt" (They gave her a pretty hard time, especially that macho asshole. You should've thrown them out). Max replies, "As 'n *girl* in 'n *pub* wil werk, pel, moet sy nie *attitude* hê nie. Sy moet die mans kan vat" (If a girl wants to work in a pub she shouldn't have an attitude. She should be able to handle the men). This type of rude behaviour and abuse by men is thus considered the status quo and according to Max it is the woman who needs to adapt in order to handle it. The men's (rude) behaviour is thus not questioned further. When Katryn arrives home after losing her job she tells Jackie about what happened. Katryn refers to the likes of Gouws as "*macho hairy-backs* wat vroue behandel asof hulle bediendes is [that treat women like maids]."<sup>62</sup> A typical patriarchal structure is presented here, where men are positioned as being superior to women. The man (Gouws) is not reprimanded for his abusive behaviour towards a woman (and/or others); instead the woman (Katryn) is

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<sup>62</sup> Katryn's reference to 'bediendes' or maids is interesting and complex when considered within the South African context. It can be suggested that Katryn's words here imply the notion of women being inferior to men and therefore considered as servants of men. It stresses the conservative idea that women must be subservient to men. In the South African context (during apartheid and there after) the description 'bediende' or maid often infers a black female servant or domestic worker. The term has been labelled as a derogatory description in that it ascribes an inferior position to these women. The complexity of the 'bediende' reference does not form part of the investigation at hand, but it is noted as an interesting point of discussion. Possible approaches to the topic might include looking at different representations of 'bediendes' in the media or examining the notion of the 'bediende' as a/the silent entity.

punished (by another man (Max)) when she stands up for herself. Men are thus still depicted in positions of control and power, while women are depicted as being inferior or as victims. Traditional Afrikaner identity constructions also highlight the dominant role of men in society (Vestergaard 2001). In the new millennium many initiatives are run to empower women and Women's Day is celebrated (on 9 August), but reports in the news testify to the ongoing abuse of women and children of all races within South African society and beyond. *Song* shows that in the twenty-first century, where so much has been done to promote strong and independent women and gender equality, patriarchy is still part of the composition of South African society, and the white Afrikaans community.

Other important issues are also touched on within the bar setting, including alcohol abuse and drunk driving. After Jinx's performance (still Episode 1) most of the people leave and Max begins to empty the cash register. Two men are, however, still hanging around at the bar, drinking beer. Max tells them to go home because he's closing up. The two men beg Max for one more round, but he refuses. From their slurred speech and unsteady movements it is clear that they are drunk. The one man finishes his beer by pouring it into his mouth and it runs down his chin. The two of them then pick up what appear to be their leather jackets and walk out of the bar. Their biker clothing suggests that they are at the bar with motorbikes. The two of them are clearly very drunk and struggle to stand steadily, yet they are planning to drive home in their drunken condition. This highlights the notion of drunk driving. Thousands of people die on the South African roads every year because of drunken drivers. It is a very serious issue, but here it is depicted as just another dangerous (everyday) reality of the bar setting. The text does not explicitly highlight this as a problematic issue, but through the analysis this relevant issue is brought to the surface. In *Song* this drunken behaviour is typically associated with men.

Alcohol abuse is a very serious issue and it is often associated with drug abuse. Mossie is depicted as a young man who is struggling with alcohol dependency. However, he downplays the seriousness of the addiction.<sup>63</sup> Mossie starts drinking early in the morning. He 'borrows' drinks from Max and even though Max questions Mossie's lifestyle and suggests that he should get some help, he still ends up giving Mossie alcohol. This just encourages Mossie's addiction. Mossie furthermore manipulates Max by saying that the band will quit his bar and play in another bar if Max refuses to serve him alcohol. To run a

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<sup>63</sup> See Appendix 3 – 3.1.1/Extract 1.

successful business, Max needs people in the bar drinking and listening to music and for that he needs a band that attracts a crowd. Another issue hinted at by Mossie is that if he does not get what he wants here (at Santini's from Max), there are hundreds of other pubs he can go to. Alcohol addiction is problematic in many communities, but here it is specifically associated with the white Afrikaans community or Afrikaners. In some Afrikaans films and television productions (produced before the 1990s) a pure and pristine image of Afrikaners was constructed. Afrikaners were envisioned as a chosen and God-fearing people (Maingard 2007; Vestergaard 2001). In *Song* the 'evils' of society, including alcohol, drug and sexual abuse, are directly associated with a (mostly white) Afrikaans community. These serious issues cannot be ignored. Alcohol abuse among students has become a serious concern as many young people who abuse alcohol often develop additional dependencies such as drug addiction.

Peer pressure plays an important role in alcohol and drug abuse. Faantjie joins Mossie in his destructive behaviour. Faantjie shows up at Jinx's cottage where Mossie slept over after another late night of partying.<sup>64</sup> Mossie is still suffering from a hangover, but Faantjie suggests that they should start drinking again (in the morning). According to Faantjie drinking is considered a pick-me-up or boost ("regmaker"). Neither Faantjie nor Mossie has money, so they decide to borrow some money from Jinx. At this stage, Faantjie already owes Mossie money. This behaviour creates a cycle of debt. Money is needed to sustain an addiction and this usually leads to further trouble. In Mossie and Faantjie's relationship peer pressure is clearly evident. Faantjie persuades Mossie to borrow money and to go drinking. Peer pressure and 'wrong' or 'bad' friends can lead to negative behaviour such as drug or alcohol abuse. Mossie was thus correct when he told Max that he should change his circle of friends.<sup>65</sup> Jinx ends up giving Mossie his bank card to withdraw cash. When Mossie arrives home that night he is drunk and one assumes he used Jinx's money for alcohol. He stumbles into the sitting-room where Slab and Jinx are playing the guitar. Jinx laughs at the sight of Mossie. Mossie's speech is slurred when he suggests that they should go to a club to see a specific girl dance. The discussion continues and it becomes clear that the 'dancer' is a prostitute, or as Slab describes her, "meisie van die nag" (girl of the night). Slab firmly states that they are not going anywhere. Jinx agrees. The scene then immediately cuts to a close-up of a disco ball and loud dance music can be heard. Jinx and

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<sup>64</sup> See Appendix 3 – 3.1.2/Extract 2.

<sup>65</sup> See Appendix 3 – 3.1.1/Extract 1.

Slab's words are contradicted. A long shot shows Jinx dancing with a scantily dressed girl. She dances suggestively around Jinx and then begins taking off his clothes. The striptease continues till Jinx passes out on the dance floor. The next scene shows him being carried into the cottage by Slab and Mossie. Jinx and Slab thus joined in the party. They are Mossie's main role models and the example they set only encourages his excessive drinking and partying lifestyle. Jinx is shown the next morning, as he gets ready for work. He scolds himself for his foolish behaviour of the previous night.

<p>Jinx: "Vyf-en-dertig en jy lê in die <i>pubs</i> rond agter daai ding aan. Wat maak jy? 'n Gat van jouself."</p> <p>Slab: (Slab spent the night at the cottage, he walks into the doorway) "En jy't die verkeerde vriende, my kind."</p> <p>J: "Dit kan jy weer sê."</p> <p>S: "Jy's onder baie slegte invloed."</p> <p>J: "Dis presies wat my ma sou gesê het."</p> <p>(Episode 2)</p>	<p>Thirty-five and you're hanging around in pubs, chasing after that thing. What are you doing? Making an ass of yourself.</p> <p>And you've got the wrong friends, my child.</p> <p>You can say that again.</p> <p>You're under a bad influence.</p> <p>That's exactly what my mom would have said.</p>
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Jinx labels his behaviour as negative. Later on in the above scene Slab comments that Jinx should check on Mossie, because he does not look well. Jinx laughs, but Slab then states, "Dis nie 'n *joke* nie Jinx, dis 'n professionele mening" (It's not a joke, Jinx, it's my professional opinion). The destructiveness of this lifestyle is therefore downplayed. Jinx does not appear to show any real concern about Mossie or his own partying lifestyle (at this stage). The 1990s and 2000s are characterised by the renegotiation, reinterpretation and critiquing of traditional Afrikaner values (Van der Watt 2005; Vestergaard 2001). *Song* positions itself within that time frame by highlighting a less rigid and strict lifestyle. The strict rules, guidelines and values of a conservative Afrikaner household are not followed. Drinking and partying are considered the norm. Jinx does, however, question his behaviour (on more than one occasion) and the effect it has had on himself and his younger brother and this could suggest that the loose, unrestricted lifestyle (just like the overly restrictive and repressive lifestyle) also has its own weaknesses and pitfalls. Jinx's true feelings about

their situation are revealed later in a conversation with Slab.<sup>66</sup> Jinx and particularly Mossie's unhappy childhood is revealed in this discussion.

The context of Jinx and Mossie's family environment is stipulated and it provides a reason for their current lifestyles. Even though their father invested in Slab's life and gave him the opportunity to become a doctor, he neglected his own children, specifically Mossie. The lack of family support and guidance is suggested as a reason for Mossie's current state. Jinx feels guilty because he was not there to support and encourage his younger brother. Now, Mossie is caught up in a destructive lifestyle and Jinx is unsure of how to help him. Slab tries to encourage and help Jinx. They have been friends since they were children and it is possible that one of the reasons why Jinx has achieved a level of success and stability in his life is because of his friendship with Slab. They share similar interests, medicine and music, and they have stood by each other and encouraged each other since they were children. Music and medicine provide direction and focus to Jinx and Slab's lives. Mossie lacks this kind of positive friendship and life interests. Mossie's homosexuality is also introduced in this scene.<sup>67</sup> Again, Jinx is unsure of how to approach this situation. A disruption in the traditional nuclear family is suggested here. Jinx and Mossie grew up in a dysfunctional family unit and it is suggested that this context negatively influenced their growth and development. The importance of family is often highlighted as a traditional Afrikaner value and within the new millennium the theme of family remains relevant. *Song* shows the imperfection(s) of the family unit. It shows that people and families are flawed; they have weaknesses. The secure and supportive family (and friends) unit is thus thought of as the ideal, but what one sees in *Song* is a complex, unstable family construction. These representations suggest that these are some of the types of families that one will find in white Afrikaans communities of the 2000s. This programme presents something different to the often prim and proper nuclear family construction – loving mother; strong, masculine, moral Afrikaner father; disciplined child – that was usually promoted and presented in conservative Afrikaans television before 1994.

*Song* does not shy away from serious contemporary issues. There are grave consequences when one is involved in the abuse of drugs and alcohol. Not only does alcohol and drug abuse negatively affect one's health and normal way of life, but it can also implicate one in criminal activities. The use, manufacture or selling of drugs is illegal in South Africa.

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<sup>66</sup> See Appendix 3 – 3.1.3/Extract 3.

<sup>67</sup> The topic of homosexuality will be addressed at a later stage.

Mossie gets caught up in this web of abuse and criminality. After a serious run-in with Gouws at Faantjie's house, Mossie ends up in hospital. Mossie consumed large quantities of alcohol at Santini's and was afterwards beaten up by Gouws and forced to take an overdose of drugs. Inspector Vosloo, from the narcotics division of the police, pays Mossie a visit while he is in hospital. The police are investigating the operation of a drugs syndicate and they require his help. Mossie denies knowing anything about drugs. Jinx later fetches Mossie from the hospital and takes him to his cottage where he informs Mossie of the repercussions of the night that he was drugged and assaulted. Because of Jinx's connection to Mossie, he has also become implicated in the drug investigation and this could lead to his being criminally prosecuted and his medical licence revoked. Jinx states that they are at a crossroads and he emphasises that they need to make the right decision as it will affect both of their lives. To pretend that nothing happened or to ignore the situation is not the solution. He suggests that they go to the police to provide their statements and to help with the investigation. Jinx states, "Ons is nie misdadigers nie, ons het niks om weg te steek nie. Ons kan kies om misdadigers te wees. Dis ons keuse" (We are not criminals, we have nothing to hide. We can choose to be criminals. It's our choice). Criminality is depicted in a negative way and it is considered unacceptable. Jinx motivates, helps and supports Mossie to take responsibility for his actions and to do the right thing. Mossie mentions Jinx's bank card and this evokes another consequence of Mossie's involvement with Gouws and Faantjie. Jinx states that his bank account is completely empty. Mossie tells Jinx that his attackers beat him up to get the pin number. Jinx takes a calm yet serious approach to this discussion; he does not yell or become irrational or emotional. He ends the discussion by stating, "Luister Boet, geld is nie alles nie. Bucks kan jy altyd weer terug kry. Jou eerbaarheid, dis wat tel" (Listen brother, money isn't everything. Bucks you can always get back. Your integrity, that's what counts). Jinx and Mossie go to see Vosloo together. In addressing these serious social issues *Song* reinforces the importance of certain values, such as taking responsibility for one's actions and being trustworthy. It furthermore encourages a certain way of dealing with issues such as those discussed above, such as not rejecting others, but rather supporting and helping them, or going to the police for help. *Song* provides a framework of how these issues can be handled in the Afrikaans community and which values are relevant in that community.

The theme of family repeatedly surfaces in *Song*. The approach is two-pronged: it bares the flaws and weaknesses of families, but also stresses the importance of family and of being



there for one another. In a discussion between Mossie and Jinx (after Mossie's time in hospital) the topic of family takes a central position.<sup>68</sup> Mossie's assault and drug overdose signal a change in Jinx's character. He now no longer jokes about or shrugs off Mossie's addiction to alcohol or drugs, but rather accepts responsibility and steps in to help his younger brother. Jinx has sympathy for Mossie's situation and realises that his background plays an important role in where he is today. *Song* shows a modern (unconventional) Afrikaans family dealing with contemporary issues such as addiction and abuse. Jinx chooses not to reject or judge Mossie (Mossie is already struggling with questions of self-worth and belonging), but rather supports, comforts and encourages him. Jinx also accepts his own position (and responsibility) within the situation. Jinx and Mossie are part of a particular community and (sub)culture, namely the biker and rock scene.

The biker-and-rocker scene or lifestyle provides a backdrop for Mossie and Jinx's stories. The biker-and-rocker lifestyle is considered to be an alternative to the conservative Afrikaner lifestyle promoted before 1994 by the Afrikaner government and the conservative Afrikaner church. In the late 1980s the *Voëlvry* movement (an alternative Afrikaans music initiative) supported a similar alternative lifestyle that was opposed to the traditional way of life of most Afrikaners. The *Voëlvry* movement questioned and critiqued the traditional values of the Afrikaner government – including the apartheid ideology, patriarchy and staunch Calvinism (Marx & Milton 2011; Vestergaard 2001). The 2000s Afrikaans biker-and-rocker scene in *Song* evokes this 1980s resistance to conservatism and support of an alternative Afrikaner or Afrikaans identity construction. The alternative lifestyle is, however, not without its own limitations. Jinx and Slab go to Santini's to inform Max of Mossie's drug and alcohol addiction. After hearing the news, Max states, “[A]s hy [Mossie] so aangaan is sy dae getel. Jy beter help om daai boetie van jou reg te ruk. Hy's besig om in sy moer in te gaan. Dis die moeilikheid met jol. Party mense kan jol en die volgende dag met die lewe aangaan, ma' ander jol tot hulle dood neerslaan. En Mossie is een van daai” (If Mossie continues on this path his days are numbered. You had better help to sort out that brother of yours, or he's a goner. That's the trouble with partying. Some people can party, and then go on with their lives the next day, but others party till they drop dead. And Mossie is one of those). Mossie indulges in this partying lifestyle and struggles to function in regular everyday life. The compulsive partying culture or lifestyle is often associated with alcohol and drug abuse. This lifestyle implies spending a lot of time partying and

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<sup>68</sup> See Appendix 3 – 3.1.4/Extract 4.

drinking (and in many cases regularly using drugs) whether at a bar, club or other venue. In *Song* a glimpse of this kind of lifestyle is provided. Jinx and Slab can “jol” or party, but the next day they go on with their lives; they know they have to work and provide for themselves. *Song* does not present the alternative lifestyle as a perfect antithesis to Afrikaner conservatism. Instead it shows the negative side of the alternative lifestyle. Jinx tells Slab that Mossie suffers from depression and that he experiences regular ups and downs. Depression often leads to alcohol and drug abuse. The person feels a need to experience the high or buzz brought on by heavy drinking or drug use, but the buzz always comes to an end; therefore, the person repeats this destructive behaviour and usually becomes addicted. Any type of addiction is difficult to overcome.

*Song* shows that drug and alcohol abuse is a constant struggle, not just for those using but also for the friends and family involved. In Episode 7 Jinx discovers that Mossie is once again taking pills. He confronts Mossie about the issue.<sup>69</sup> Jinx urges Mossie to open up to him, to share what he is feeling and experiencing, because without communication both of them are left in the dark. Recovering from an addiction is a lengthy and difficult process. There is no instant or easy fix. *Song* openly addresses a number of topical social issues, including drug and alcohol abuse, sexual abuse, paedophilia and homosexuality. Before 1994 these issues would rarely, if ever, have been addressed on Afrikaans (SABC) television. These topics were considered inappropriate and taboo, particularly within the conservative Afrikaner community. *Song* is a kykNET production. kykNET is a private broadcaster and in that capacity it is viewed as being more daring in its approach to Afrikaans television and its content. kykNET is not government funded and can act independently in choosing and producing its content. It is open to addressing more controversial issues and aims to explore the diversity and complexity of the Afrikaans culture and the Afrikaans community. The channel head Karen Meiring (in Robson 2012: 35) commented on this matter as follows: “[kycNET] is a platform and showcase for a broader Afrikaans way of living.” After the instability and uncertainty of Afrikaans in the late 1990s (regarding its place in the public sphere and on television) (Louw 2004), the 2000s display determined and assertive steps in the development of Afrikaans media – including films, television and music. kykNET is part of that movement and *Song* embodies a similar assertiveness in its approach to controversial issues within a contemporary Afrikaans context. Even the language use in *Song* shows a movement away from traditional

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<sup>69</sup> See Appendix 3 – 3.1.5/Extract 5.

norms regarding the use of standardised Afrikaans on television. Characters swear, they mix Afrikaans and English in their dialogue and on kykNET nothing is beeped out.<sup>70</sup> Song also takes on the issue of child abuse.

Child abuse is introduced early on in the narrative. Marelle, Katryn's 12-year-old half-sister, is abused by the woman who is supposed to be her caregiver and guardian. Katryn goes to visit her sister after receiving news that Marelle was hurt and had to get stitches. The woman lives in a poor working-class area and the house is small and cramped. She has dry and brittle blonde dyed hair and her dark roots are clearly visible. She is middle aged and thin and she looks bitter and unkind. When Katryn walks into the house she hears Marelle crying in another room. The woman stops Katryn and says she should leave Marelle alone till she stops her nonsense. She adds that Marelle misbehaved and that she gave her a hiding. Katryn asks what Marelle did wrong. The woman sneers and says, "Ag, sy gooi tantrums en ek kan dit net nie meer vat nie en dis net mooi genoeg. G'n geld is dit werd nie" (*Ag, she threw tantrums and I just couldn't take it anymore, I'd had enough. No amount of money is worth this*). Katryn ignores the woman and goes to Marelle. Marelle lies on a bed crying in a small, crowded room. The room is filled with two closets and other cabinets. An old computer, papers and bottles are stacked on the cabinets. The room is clearly not a child's room and it has not been adapted to suit Marelle. The décor of the house suggests a (financially and emotionally) poor home environment. Marelle holds on tightly to an old teddy bear as she cries. Katryn tries to comfort her and sees the Band-Aid on her head. Marelle tells Katryn that the woman pushed her and that she then hit her head against the bed. She also shares that the woman insulted their mother and said that Hanna deserves to be in jail. Hence, the woman physically and emotionally abuses Marelle. Katryn decides to take Marelle away. Later when Marelle and Katryn are at Jackie's flat, Marelle tells Katryn that the woman said to her that no one wanted or loved her and that she was a "weggooikind" (a thrown-away child). Many children in abusive homes are faced with these questions about their self-worth and where they belong. Children are neglected and abused by the very people who are supposed to take care of them. These children are then left with an intense feeling of rejection. Marelle and Katryn both experienced sexual abuse at the hand of their stepfather.

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<sup>70</sup> When one selects the family-language option on the DStv decoder swear words are beeped out.

Sexual abuse is still considered a taboo subject by many people. Unfortunately, people who experience sexual abuse often remain silent about their situation, mostly out of fear and humiliation. Hanna lost everything because of an abusive man and she refuses to talk about what happened. She only opens up to Jinx in an emotional moment of weakness. Jinx is Hanna's doctor in prison and he informs her that she has gullet cancer. Overwhelmed by the news, Hanna finally breaks the silence about her reasons for poisoning her second husband. She reveals to Jinx that the man molested their own three-year-old daughter and raped her 15-year-old daughter. Her teenage daughter (Katryn) became pregnant and had to have an abortion. When she discovered what he was doing to her children, she killed him. Hanna feels extremely guilty about what her children had to endure (abuse and murder) and describes herself as a burden to and curse on her children. Jinx suggests that he will ask for medical parole to be granted to Hanna, but she refuses, stating that she wants to die in prison. When Katryn and Marelie visit Hanna in prison, Katryn encourages her mother to tell the parole committee what drove her to commit the murder. Hanna, however, states, "Ek kan nie. Dis ons geheim" (I can't. It's our secret). Hanna thinks she is protecting Katryn and Marelie, but in truth she is robbing them of having a supporting and loving mother in their lives. If Hanna had been open and truthful about her reasons for the murder she would most probably not have been sent to prison, but would only have received a suspended sentence. She did not know how to cope with the situation and by remaining quiet she only made it worse. Hanna most probably grew up in a conservative Afrikaner community during apartheid where issues such as sexual abuse were taboo, most often ignored or left unspoken. Revealing abuse would bring shame on the supposedly happy Afrikaner nuclear family and would usually lead to rejection within the community. Hanna thus wishes to remain silent about the abuse in her family. In her mind the murder and her imprisonment have already done enough damage to her family. The impact of abuse on the family or those involved is immeasurable.

The damaging impact of the abuse is clearly visible in Katryn's character. When Katryn visits her mother in Episode 1, Hanna urges Katryn to make a new start in a new town where no one knows about her background. She says that Katryn is pretty and smart and that she should find a good man, get married and have children. Katryn, however, shakes her head and emotionally says 'No'. Hanna, also emotional, then says, "My kind, alle mans is nie eners nie. Almal is nie soos hy was nie" (My child, not all men are the same. They are not all like him). In *Song* abuse – specifically physical and sexual abuse – is mainly

associated with men, but the narrative does not construct all white Afrikaans men as abusive monsters. Jinx and Slab are depicted as good men who do not abuse women and children. Katryn still carries the scars of the abuse she experienced and thus struggles to trust people, specifically men. Even Jackie, Katryn's best friend and roommate, is in the dark about Katryn's background. Katryn goes to extreme lengths to keep what happened to her and Marelie a secret. This stops her from living a full life. She opens up to Jackie to some extent (she reveals that her mother is in prison), but she still keeps most of her background a secret. Her secretiveness leads to conflict between her and Jinx and it also complicates her work environment. Katryn lies about her background to Verster and Hulbrand at Hulbrands Advertising. By lying she establishes a reputation of being untrustworthy. Revealing her secret (abuse and mother in prison) naturally has serious implications. Katryn does not want to lose her job; she does not want to be rejected, labelled and judged. Marelie's life will also be affected by revealing the truth. Katryn talks to Marelie about this and asks, "Gee jy om as ander mense hiervan weet [abuse and mother in prison]?" (Would you mind if other people knew about this?) Marelie is unsure, "Ek weet nie. Wat sal my maats sê?" (I don't know. What will my friends say?). People often do not know how to handle such sensitive matters and this can sometimes lead to the person involved feeling rejected, humiliated and isolated. Nonetheless, bringing the truth into the open is stressed as the best course of action.

*Song* emphasises that all kinds of abuse, whether physical, sexual, drug or alcohol abuse, should be brought into the open. By confronting the abuse openly change can be initiated. *Song* includes a number of examples to support this point: Jinx takes Mossie to the police to tell the truth; Jinx also encourages Katryn to talk to someone about her problems. Hanna's choice to hide her true reasons for the murder shows how keeping the abuse of her children a secret only leads to more pain and sadness. Katryn and Marelie lead an unfulfilled life while constantly trying to hide their past. When Katryn ultimately reveals her secret to Hulbrand and Noddington (in an episode not included in the selected sample) she finally frees herself, Hanna and Marelie from the prison of their past. Jinx talks openly with Mossie about his drug and alcohol addiction and this also has a liberating effect on them and their relationship. In many conservative Afrikaner or Afrikaans communities sensitive issues such as abuse, unfaithfulness, alcoholism, homosexuality, unwanted pregnancy and divorce were and sometimes still are hidden, suppressed and frowned upon. The following questions are grappled with: What will people say? What will the church say? These

judgement-ridden questions withhold people from telling the truth or being open about their situation. In *Song* this issue is dealt with. It stresses that many people still think these issues should be overlooked, hidden or ignored, but instead it suggests that in this day and age (2000s) these issues should be brought into the open and dealt with. *Song* investigates taboo issues such as homosexuality, sexual abuse, paedophilia, drug addiction, alcohol abuse and HIV/AIDS, all within the Afrikaans-speaking community. Its approach to these issues corresponds with the direct and open approach that is typical of the 2000s context and characteristic of kykNET's endeavour to explore the complexities of the Afrikaans community and its culture. Another important theme that is explored in *Song* is gender and sexuality.

#### **7.2.2.2 Gender and sexuality**

Both heterosexual and homosexual relationships are represented in *Song*. The traditional heterosexual ('Christian') norm is introduced early on in the first episode. Katryn goes to visit her mother in prison. During their talk Hanna suggests that Katryn should find a good man, get married and have children. The ideal of the heterosexual relationship and nuclear family is stressed here. Hanna goes on to say that she prays for Katryn every single day. This highlights Hanna's Christian beliefs. Heterosexuality and the nuclear family are traditional beliefs associated with Christian Afrikaner identity constructions (Vestergaard 2001). Even in the new millennium these conventional beliefs are still upheld and supported by many Afrikaners, particularly those of an older generation. These beliefs and values are reminiscent of pre-1994 Afrikaner ideals and values, but they still form part of many Afrikaners' frameworks in the 2000s. A number of depictions in *Song* support the heterosexual norm. Jackie and Hoffie are in a romantic relationship and Cleo actively pursues Jinx. Jinx's intended but cancelled marriage at the beginning of the first episode also falls into the heterosexual category. The relationship between the two main characters, Jinx and Katryn, is the primary heterosexual relationship in *Song*. The issue of sex is also addressed in *Song*.

An open approach to sex is taken in *Song* and discussions about sex are included in a number of conversations. The overt inclusion of this topic reflects kykNET's willingness to provide a platform for issues once considered too controversial and sensitive for Afrikaans television and its viewers. kykNET and *Song* furthermore operate within a context where South Africa's once extremely strict censorship laws were relaxed after the 1994 election

(*Daar doer in die fliiek* 2011). This gave more freedom to the media in their selection of and approach to topics and themes. In *Song*, sex is seen as part of life, but explicit depictions of sex are not included. The programme adheres to characteristics of a family serial drama and is considered appropriate for family viewing. Jackie and Hoffie are in a romantic relationship and sexual references are also included in their discussions. In Hoffie and Jackie's office at Hulbrands Jackie asks Hoffie if he wants to see a selection of photos she developed. She playfully asks, "Wat gee jy my as ek jou wys?" (What will you give me if I show you?) to which Hoffie answers, "Wat wys? Ek het al alles gesien" (Show what? I've seen everything). Jackie then says, "Ek praat nie van my lyf nie, ek praat van die foto's!" (I'm not talking about my body, I'm talking about the photographs!). Their intimate or sexual relationship is highlighted in this discussion. In a later episode (not included in detailed analysis sample) Jinx and Fransie have a drink at Santini's and they openly talk about sex. Fransie suggests that Jinx only stays in a relationship as long as the sex is worthwhile. To this he answers that if friendship and love do not develop in a sexual relationship, then the sex loses its meaning as well. *Song* does not shy away from the issue of premarital sex.

*Song* portrays premarital sex as a reality within the contemporary Afrikaans community. During apartheid the Christian church and conservative Afrikaner government proclaimed the view that sex was only acceptable within the bounds of marriage. Premarital sex was, however, already part of the Afrikaner community during apartheid as many early Afrikaans films such as *Debbie* (1965) and *'n Beeld van Jeannie* (1976) addressed this issue as well as the issue of pregnancy outside of marriage (*Daar doer in die fliiek* 2011). Afrikaans television (pre-1994) for the most part avoided these issues or depicted them in a negative or damning way. *Song's* openness towards discussions about sex is sustained till the final episode (Episode 13) where Jinx asks Katryn about how her background of sexual abuse has influenced her feelings about sex. Katryn explains that she experienced sex as a victim and that it is not supposed to be like that. It should be a special experience. She adds that she could never have a relationship based purely on sex. Jinx replies that she then has a good chance of making it through a relationship undamaged. The openness regarding the issue is seen in a positive light. The discussion suggests that a relationship based only on sex is empty and meaningless. Only with friendship and love can a relationship survive. Promiscuity is thus not promoted, but rather meaningful relationships (whether they are intimate or not). Conservative Christian Afrikaner values regarding sex are diverted from in

*Song*. Sex is depicted as part of everyday life and everyday conversation. Other issues that have also become part of everyday life and discussion in contemporary South Africa are homosexuality and HIV/AIDS.

Homosexuality was for the most part completely ignored in Afrikaans television texts produced before 1994. After 1994 such previously controversial issues have been given more attention. HIV/AIDS has also become an extremely important theme in South African films and television productions, as the epidemic is a major concern in the contemporary South African context. In *Song* the topics of homosexuality and HIV/AIDS are addressed. After the bicycle accident Katryn offers Jinx a lift. As they drive along, Jinx raises the topic of sexuality.<sup>71</sup> During their discussion a clear time reference is made to situate *Song* in the new millennium. Homosexuality was labelled as unacceptable and morally wrong by many conservative Afrikaner communities or groups, as is reflected in the example (Extract 6) when Jinx refers to homosexuality as “bloedsonde” (incest). However, times have changed and in the new millennium many people are more accepting of this life choice and homosexuality and related issues have received more media coverage. In *Song* the issue of homosexuality is placed within the Afrikaans community. With a programme like *Song*, kykNET promotes greater awareness and tolerance within the South African and particularly Afrikaans community, regarding different worldviews or different ways of life. In the new millennium there is a determined movement to destigmatise issues such as homosexuality and HIV/AIDS.

Jinx knows that Mossie is gay and that he is HIV positive and he accepts his brother and still loves him. Nevertheless, Jinx is unsure of how to cope with the situation and turns to his friend, Slab, for advice.<sup>72</sup> In Episode 5 Jinx and Slab meet for drinks at a local pub. This is after Mossie’s conflict with Gouws and his time in the hospital. In this discussion Jinx reveals that he had blood tests done on Mossie while he was in hospital and the results indicate that Mossie is HIV positive.<sup>73</sup> Jinx confides in Slab that the news regarding Mossie’s HIV status is weighing him down. HIV and AIDS influence not only the person

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<sup>71</sup> See Appendix 3 – 3.1.6/Extract 6.

<sup>72</sup> The discussion in which Jinx reveals that Mossie is gay has already been touched on in the section on abuse (Extract 3). In this discussion Jinx stresses that Mossie is trying to hide his sexuality. Even though homosexuality is more common and openly expressed and celebrated in the new millennium it is still met with some reservation by many people. Homosexual people thus sometimes choose to hide their sexuality in order to protect themselves from judgement or ridicule. This is reflected in *Song* as Mossie tries to hide his sexuality from his brother.

<sup>73</sup> See Appendix 3 – 3.1.7/Extract 7.



who is infected, but also their family and friends. Jinx feels depressed and guilty. *Song* takes an open approach to HIV/AIDS and the seriousness of the epidemic is not underplayed.<sup>74</sup> In the discussion with Slab (Extract 7) Jinx furthermore highlights his longing for the security and support of a loving family (specifically a wife). The notion of a man and a woman as a team and the comfort of a supportive family structure are emphasised. Traditional Afrikaner values associated with family are highlighted here, but within a completely new context. Jinx wishes he had a wife who could support him and his brother through this difficult time and who would be accepting and understanding of the situation (Mossie's homosexuality and his HIV status). *Song* therefore represents a tension among traditional Afrikaner values (e.g. stability and security of the nuclear family unit), contemporary issues (homosexuality, HIV/AIDS) and a more liberal or modern Afrikaner sensibility. Jinx talks openly and directly with Mossie about his drug abuse and his sexuality (Extract 5).<sup>75</sup>

Gay relationships and the stigma associated with homosexuality and HIV/AIDS are addressed in the scene from Extract 5. Jinx emphasises that things need to be brought into the open, because hiding or ignoring these issues will only lead to more trouble and unhappiness. Jinx takes the time for a one-on-one conversation with Mossie. He offers support, guidance and help. At first Mossie is upset and offended when Jinx addresses such sensitive issues. Mossie fears rejection and isolation from Jinx and his other friends. Rejection would only aggravate Mossie's situation, thus leading to further substance abuse, self-hate and possibly even suicide. Jinx therefore assures Mossie that he cares about him and wants to help him. He accepts and understands what Mossie is going through. A possible course of action is also suggested, including talking openly about the issues (with family, friends and a psychiatrist) and getting tested to know one's status. Jinx states that homosexuality is not a sin. Many conservative Christian Afrikaner groups view homosexuality as morally wrong and in fact a sin. As a television text set in the 2000s, *Song* shows that there is greater sensitivity and acceptance of homosexuality at this time, compared to 15 or 20 years ago. *Song* indicates a break with pretence and rigidity associated with traditional Afrikaner values and identity formation. Conservative ideas

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<sup>74</sup> In an episode outside of the detail-analysis sample, Dr Fransie du Plessis and Jinx meet with Mossie to inform him of the blood test results. On hearing he is HIV positive Mossie has an emotional meltdown. He screams and swears at Jinx and Fransie, and then runs off to be alone. Fransie states that an HIV-positive status is a hard reality to face. She equates it with a death sentence.

<sup>75</sup> The following scene (Extract 5) has already been touched on in the abuse section (scene where Jinx confronts Mossie about the pills he found in Mossie's bag), but it will now be elaborated on.

stressing that drinking, drugs, premarital sex, swearing, homosexuality, abuse and HIV/AIDS are not part of an Afrikaans Christian community are challenged. *Song* shows Afrikaner/Afrikaans people dealing with issues and contexts of the new South Africa and suggests a shift in focus, from the 1994 transformation to the issues that are relevant within the contemporary (2000s) South African context. *Song* also examines the gender roles of men and women.

Both men and women are depicted as abusers or bullies in *Song*. Marelie is abused by her aunt, Maria, and Mossie and Faantjie are abused and bullied by Gouws. Furthermore, Venter abused Marelie and Katryn. The abuse of (a position of) power (such as father, stepfather or adult) is accordingly not limited only to men, but in *Song* the focus is more prominently put on men who abuse others. This could be a critical comment on (white) masculinity in the 2000s. Whereas traditional Afrikaner identity constructions highlight the man as leader, protector and provider of the family and community, *Song* reveals the abuse of masculine power in the white Afrikaans-speaking community and family. The condemnation of abuse (by men and women) is, however, also emphasised in *Song*. As far as the work environment is concerned, men and women are represented together within this setting.

Men and women are both represented within the professional work environment. At Hulbrands, Jackie, Elsa and Verster are depicted as strong, professional individuals. Nevertheless, Hulbrand remains the boss, stressing the traditional representation of men in top positions at work. During lunch at Hulbrands, HOFFIE, Muller, Elsa and Ernst have a meal together in the cafeteria. Elsa is often depicted as the only woman in this core group at Hulbrands. She holds her own and does not allow the other men to push her around or to badmouth other women. During lunch Katryn serves the table (at this stage she still works in the cafeteria, but she participated in the advertisement shoot for Hulbrands). Hulbrand mentions that Katryn is attractive and compliments HOFFIE on selecting her for the advertisement. To this HOFFIE replies, “Dit was nie ek nie, meneer Hulbrand, dit was Jackie. En *mark my words*, oor ’n maand gaan ons wens ons het haar in die kombuis gelos waar sy hoort” (It wasn’t me, Mr Hulbrand, it was Jackie. And mark my words, by next month we’ll be wishing we left her in the kitchen where she belongs). Irritated by HOFFIE’s insult, Elsa calls him a chauvinist pig. It can be suggested that HOFFIE’s remark implies that women should be kept in the kitchen where they belong. This invokes conservative views regarding

the role of women within society, which stresses that women should be homemakers, not businesswomen. This offends Elsa as she herself is a mother and a professional businesswoman. Hoffie furthermore continues to call Katryn, “Kombuiskoeke” (Kitchen cookie). This is considered a derogative term and Jackie confronts Hoffie about this and calls him a chauvinist as well. Hence, the male colleagues challenge the women at Hulbrands, but the women do not remain silent. It is suggested that in the new millennium, an era boasting slogans of gender equality and women’s empowerment, women still need to affirm their position in the mostly male-dominated work environment. In *Song* there are no female bosses, with the exception of Dr Fransie du Plessis, who appears to be working for herself. The work environment is very competitive and men are placed in top or respected positions. Jinx and Slab are successful doctors. Ernst is the boss of his own company and Inspector Vosloo is a senior inspector in the police. The forensic specialist is also a man. In contrast, all the secretaries and nurses depicted in *Song* are women. Stereotypical depictions of men and women in particular positions in the work environment are for the most part maintained. Women hold mostly subordinate positions while men hold top positions. In the new millennium women have taken a more active and confident place in this competitive setting and gender equality is stressed in most business spheres. *Song* shows this multi-gender work setting, but highlights that old stereotypes of the roles or positions of men and women are still present.

The stereotypical notion that women still need to rely to some extent on their appearance to get ahead in the work environment is mentioned in *Song*. When Jackie first tells Katryn of the available position in the cafeteria at Hulbrands, Katryn refuses to attend the interview. She states that she does not want to talk to the personnel man because she does not like men. To this Jackie replies, “Wat is jou saak met mans, huh? Mans is *lovely* goed as jy net weet hoe om met hulle te werk. Jy draai hulle net om jou vinger. Hoekom dink jy het die liewe Here jou mooi gemaak, ’n mooi lyf gegee, verstand ... om dit te gebruik, ou dier” (What’s your problem with men? Men are lovely things when you know how to work with them. You just wrap them around your finger. Why do you think God made you attractive, gave you an attractive body, intelligence ... to use it old girl). Katryn remains unsure and asks what she is supposed to do. Jackie states, “Dan kyk jy vir Harry in die oë, gee vir hom jou mooiste *smile*, ’n glimsie van jou *boobs* en jy *flirt* so bietjie. Die *job* is joune. Ek het hom klaar opge-*chat* so beter jy dit nou nie gaan opfok nie oraait!” (Then you look Harry straight in the eye, give him your best smile, a glimpse of your boobs and you flirt a bit.

The job is yours. I have already chatted him up, so you'd better not fuck it up, okay!). To Jackie flirting is a tool that women can use to manipulate men in order to get what they want. She stresses that a woman (as stated in the dialogue example) is both beautiful and intelligent and that is why she should use all means at her disposal to get what she wants. In this example of Jackie's dialogue she uses strong language. She is not the only one; Katryn uses strong language on a number of occasions. These representations break with conservative depictions of women as being meek and mild. This type of language use is generally not associated with women, specifically not depictions of Afrikaans women on television. In *Song*, Jinx embodies a particular masculine image.

Jinx's rocker image, his wardrobe (torn jeans, t-shirts and biker jacket) and his motorbike stress his masculinity. Jinx is constantly pursued by women, such as his secretary Cleo and later Fransie. Jinx is not the stereotypical attractive, fit and muscular leading male character. He is a combination of two worlds; he has both the 'bad boy' image (rocker and biker) and the 'perfect catch or good boy' image (intelligent and successful doctor).<sup>76</sup> Jinx is the unconventional leading male and in *Song* he is depicted as a desirable man. *Song* takes a different approach to the conventional beautiful leading pair.

In *Song*, both the leading characters are troubled, imperfect humans with worries and weaknesses. The reason for this could be that *Song* endeavours to reinterpret the conventional romantic love story. It combines elements from the traditional romantic love theme with an imperfect couple in an imperfect world dealing with serious social issues. It therefore positions the love story within the hardships and realities of contemporary (2000s) South Africa. Romantic love is emphasised through a number of events. After the bicycle incident Jinx flirts with Katryn and suggests that the repeated crossing of their paths should be considered to be a sign – a sign meaning that they should be together. The idealistic romantic love idea that people are meant to be together or are made for each other is hinted at here. Jinx is depicted as a romantic. He pursues Katryn and writes a love song about her.<sup>77</sup> The advertisement shoot for the Noddingtons pitch also supports the conventional heterosexual romantic love 'fairy tale'. In the advertisement Katryn portrays the Cinderella character and after her transformation from rags to riches (with the help of the beauty products) a 'prince' arrives on a horse to take her away. While shooting the advertisement

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<sup>76</sup> A stereotype often associated with doctors is that women want to marry them because they earn large sums of money and they are respected in society.

<sup>77</sup> It is, however, a sad and complex love song, not the stereotypical sentimental love song. This again stresses the unconventionality of their love story.

Katryn imagines that the man on the horse is Jinx. Jinx and Katryn's story is not as simplistic or ideal as the advertisement; however, they do have their 'happy ending'. Jinx and Katryn are finally reunited in the final episode after various obstacles. They declare their love for each other and spend some quality time together. This happy ending supports the myth of romantic love. Furthermore, the happy ending stresses an underlying positivity in the contemporary Afrikaans community that love will still overcome all obstacles and adversity. The notion that love will conquer all is considered to be a universally shared theme.

Returning to the Noddingtons advertisement the man (Jinx) is depicted as a rescuer and the woman (Katryn) as the one who needs rescuing. In this traditional romantic love set-up, conventional roles of men and women are supported. Men are the protectors and rescuers while women are the ones who need to be protected and rescued. This suggests that stereotypical gender depictions are still part of the media environment and are often depicted as the norm (Fiske 1987). In *Song*, men are depicted as protectors (of course, excluding those that are represented as abusers). As one of the main characters Jinx is a prominent example. On the night of their first meeting, Jinx offers Katryn a ride home when her car will not start outside Santini's. Katryn rejects his offer and begins to walk away. Jinx calls after her, "Hey man, dis nag, dis donker, dis Suid-Afrika! Kom ek gaan *drop* jou!" (Hey man, it's night time, it's dark, it's South Africa. Let me drop you off!). This suggests that it is unsafe for a woman to walk on her own after dark in the streets of South Africa. By offering her a ride, Jinx will come to her aid and protect her in the process. Katryn still declines and walks home. Jinx does become a beacon of stability, direction and hope in Katryn's life later on in the narrative. He is represented as a leader and provider. He takes care of his brother and his ill father. In addition, Jinx decides to provide for and protect Hanna when she is released on parole. A number of traditional characteristics associated with Afrikaner masculinity are embodied in Jinx's character – the man as leader, provider and protector. The women in *Song* are represented as feminine and the importance of appearance is stressed.

Various scenes in *Song* highlight the importance of a woman's appearance. The Rags to Riches advertisement stresses that a woman needs beauty products to achieve both inner and outer beauty. According to the narrative of the advertisement, when a woman is beautiful her prince will rescue her and she will have everything her heart desires. This

advertisement endorses the stereotypical idea that the major goal in a woman's life should be finding a man, money and possessions. In another example, when Katryn prepares for her dinner date with Ernst, her appearance becomes a topic of discussion. A medium shot shows Katryn as she stands in front of a mirror, while Jackie holds a number of different dresses in front of Katryn to see how they look. Katryn is annoyed by the dress-up situation.<sup>78</sup> Jackie informs Katryn that she arranged for someone to do Katryn's hair and make-up for the occasion. All the beautification is done to impress Ernst and to secure Katryn's job at Hulbrands, again stressing the importance of a woman's appearance (particularly to get a foothold in the work environment). However, Jackie emphasises that it is in fact not for the man, but for the woman that the beautification is done. It motivates her to feel beautiful, good and positive, both inside and out. Image is thus considered to be very important. *Song* stresses that being beautiful and well looked after are important for a woman, but it is for her benefit, not for the man's.

In *Song* most of the women (excluding the abusive aunt and Verster) are represented as caring and supportive. Jackie is a good example. She motivates and takes care of Katryn and later of Marelle as well. She gives Katryn a place to stay and she helps her to get a job. In the example where Katryn prepares for her dinner date with Ernst, Jackie is ready and willing to help (Extract 8). She unselfishly wants the best for Katryn. Jackie is strong, independent and caring and she remains a loyal and trustworthy friend throughout the narrative. Katryn, Hanna and Marelle also care for each other. At Hulbrands, Elsa encourages and supports Katryn. These feminine characteristics are often associated with the representation of women and they support traditional constructions of Afrikaans femininity. In *Song* one sees traditional feminine values embodied in independent and modern women such as Elsa, Jackie and later Katryn. *Song* emphasises that a woman can be feminine, while still having an independent and strong voice. In the 2000s, this is the type of message that kykNET would want to promote as it encourages gender equality and defies the once subordinate and limited image (woman as mother, caregiver, wife) assigned to (Afrikaans) women (Maingard 2007). In conservative Afrikaner identity constructions (prevalent in the pre-1994 era) women often occupied an inferior position to men. The media plays an important role in documenting the social changes taking place in society (Barnard 2006; Teer-Tomaselli 2001). *Song's* representation of women speaks of its time. It suggests that while many social changes regarding gender have taken place, it still remains

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<sup>78</sup> See Appendix 3 – 3.1.8/Extract 8.

an ongoing process for women to affirm and redefine their position in the work and home environment. In *Song*, Afrikaans femininity is furthermore not limited to only white Afrikaans femininity. A multiracial Afrikaans femininity is depicted. Women are, however, only depicted in a heterosexual capacity.

Different sexualities are represented in *Song*, but only men are represented as homosexual and heterosexual. Gouws, Mossie, Faantjie and John (“die kok”) (the chef) are portrayed as gay characters, while Jinx, Slab, Max, Dad and Ernst are heterosexual. Lesbianism is not explored, but only referred to briefly. Jinx asks Katryn if she’s gay after the bicycle accident, and after Marelie’s arrival at the apartment Jackie confronts Katryn about her secretiveness and her hate towards men. She states, “Jy’t nie ’n *boyfriend* nie. Hoekom nie? Oor jy bang is vir mans? Want *gay* is jy nie. Ek’s nie *stupid* genoeg om saam met ’n *gay* persoon te lewe nie. Dis nie goed vir my *image* nie” (You don’t have a boyfriend. Why not? Because you’re afraid of men? Because you’re not gay. I’m not stupid enough to live with a gay person. It’s not good for my image). The existence of lesbian women is acknowledged, but it is not represented in *Song*. The focus is rather on homosexual men. Male homosexuality has received more attention over the last 15 years (particularly in Western countries) than female homosexuality. Lesbianism has not yet (to my knowledge) been addressed in Afrikaans fictional television. *Song* also sidesteps this taboo topic. It remains an unconventional topic in most conventional Afrikaans media. *Song* explores depictions of different gender roles and sexualities and in doing so, comments on what is considered relevant, acceptable (or unacceptable) and contested in different circles of the Afrikaans community. The representation of class is also examined.

### 7.2.2.3 *Class*

*Song* highlights and challenges numerous class stereotypes, associations and preconceived ideas. The acute awareness of class differences within the Afrikaner community has been explored in a range of older Afrikaans films, such as *’n Sonneblom in Parys* (A sunflower in Paris) (1974) and *’n Seder val in Waterkloof* (A cedar falls in Waterkloof) (1978). It is therefore not a new topic, but it is still considered to be relevant, as is shown in *Song*. A particular class position is often associated with a certain area. In Pretoria, the Waterkloof area would, for example, be described as a suburb for affluent middle- or upper-class people. Certain ideas and values are ascribed to a place or area over time and these ideas then become the norm, as if it is a natural or neutral construction. In the same way that

Waterkloof is associated with upper-class and wealthy families, so other areas gain contrary associations of being suburbs for poor and working-class families. The Danville area has, for example, been labelled as common, working class and poor. These connotations can change over time and different people view or describe different places and areas in different ways. For the purpose of this discussion, however, the stereotypical ideas associated with areas such as Waterkloof and Danville (and the people who live there or who originate from there) are acknowledged, as it is precisely these stereotypes that are exposed and challenged in *Song*.

*Song* explores different social class constructions within the Afrikaans community.

The character Cleopatra Vlok (Cleo) is only a secondary character, but she plays an important role in establishing the middle-/upper-class construct. In Episode 1 Jinx performs at Santini's and afterwards Max informs him that Cleo phoned Santini's 10 times, wanting to speak to Jinx. Max warns Jinx against Cleo, stating, "Pasop vir meisies wat so mooi en beskaafd praat" (Be careful of women who speak in such a prim and proper way). He states that Cleo is only interested in finding herself a doctor as a husband. Her language use, as referred to by Max, already typifies her as prim and proper, possibly from a middle-/upper-class upbringing. When Jinx returns to his cottage later that same night a number of voice messages have been left on his answering machine by Cleo. The first message states: "Hallo Johan, dis Cleo. Ek's nou net terug van die biduur af. Ek dink al die hele aand aan jou. Die dominee het so mooi gepleit vir die verslaafdes en die verlore nes van siel ..." (Hallo Johan, it's Cleo. I've just returned from the prayer meeting. I've been thinking about you all night. The minister made such a moving plea for all the addicts and lost souls ...). Jinx pushes the 'next' button. Two more messages follow. In the first voice message Christianity is purposely associated with Cleo. She is a churchgoer. While Jinx was performing in the pub, she was at the prayer meeting at her church. At the practice where Jinx locums, Cleo is depicted wearing tight-fitting clothes; mostly in leopard or other animal prints, she has shoulder-length black hair and wears chunky gold jewellery. She is dressed appropriately for her position as secretary and appears to take good care of her appearance. Jinx agrees to attend a dinner party with Cleo and her parents.

During the dinner Cleo and her family's social and economic positions are revealed. Cleo drives an expensive convertible car and her parents live in a large house. The Vloks are represented as a wealthy upper-middle-class family. A medium shot takes the viewer into



the dining-room of the Vlok house, while violin and cello music plays in the background. This music contrasts sharply with the music heard in Santini's. The dining room walls are lined with paintings and the windows are draped with heavy curtains. Six people are seated around the table and everyone – including Cleo, her parents and their friends, the minister and his wife – is dressed formally, except for Jinx. An elderly white man sits at the head of the table. He is wearing a blue suit and the woman sitting closest to him has curly red hair and is wearing a dark-coloured formal dress. Next to this woman sits Cleo wearing a leopard print dress with a gold necklace. The minister's wife begins the conversation at the dinner table.<sup>79</sup> The social class position of Cleo and her family is implied by a number of signs. Cleo's car, the music and the elaborate house (and its decor) all signify wealth. It would be very easy to imagine a family like the Vloks living in the Waterkloof suburb of Pretoria. The clothing of the Vlok family and their friends, the minister and his wife, is formal and appears to be expensive. Jinx, in comparison, looks underdressed for the occasion. Their use of Afrikaans is more formal and proper. They, for example, use "u" (polite form of you), not "jy" (informal you) and use words such as "verruklik" (exquisite). These kinds of words are not included in, for example, Jinx's normal dialogue. This type of formal Afrikaans is regarded by some as 'correct' or 'pure' Afrikaans and is often associated with educated and cultured Afrikaans speakers (Vestergaard 2001). Jinx is the only character to use English words in his dialogue during the discussion at the dinner table. It is, however, evident (in the final argument between Jinx and Cleo) that Jinx knows how to use 'proper' Afrikaans like the Vlok family, but he chooses to speak Afrikaans in a way that is less formal. Jinx's clothes and language use differentiate him from the upper-middle-class Vlok family and their friends. The typical association between conservative Afrikaners and Christianity is stressed in the dinner scene. The minister and his wife are Cleo's parents' best friends. A conservative Christian religion was considered one of the most important pillars of traditional Afrikaner identity (pre-1994) (Giliomee 1979; Vestergaard 2001). This scene evokes those old ideas and values, showing that it is still part of contemporary Afrikaans or Afrikaner communities. Jinx, nevertheless, pokes fun at the conservative upper-class Christian Afrikaner and so challenges the conventional Afrikaner identity construction. Jinx does this by shocking the Vlok family and their guests with his behaviour and conversation while at the same time amusing himself.

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<sup>79</sup> See Appendix 3 – 3.1.9/Extract 9.

Jinx purposely reveals things about himself that Cleo would rather have kept hidden. He reveals that he performs in pubs, that he enjoys the wild (“rof”) lifestyle of pubs, and that he grew up in Danville in an ‘unusual’ family (growing up without a mother, thus not the traditional nuclear family like the Vlok family). Prejudices within the Afrikaner community are highlighted when the Vlok family and their guests are totally shocked by Jinx’s revelations. Danville is considered to be a working-class area and pubs are seen as places where the working class go. The awareness of class differences within the Afrikaner community is stressed. Jinx is a medical doctor and they therefore expected him to be like them. He is an educated man and doctors are seen as respected members of society. It is because of their preconceived ideas about Danville, pubs and rock music that they struggle to equate Jinx’s education and profession with his background and rocker lifestyle. *Song* plays with different stereotypes. Jinx is an alternative Afrikaans rock singer who performs in pubs, likes to party and usually wears torn jeans, t-shirts and a biker jacket. He even wears an earring, but he is also a successful doctor. Slab is another example of the reconfiguration of these stereotypes. Jinx refers to himself as an Afrikaner “seun”. This label upsets Cleo, she does not agree with him. Traditionally, being an Afrikaner is not associated with drugs and sin (as put by Cleo). On the contrary, traditional Afrikaner identity constructions emphasise Christian principles and values, which condemn sin (such as drug or alcohol addiction). Jinx frees the definition of Afrikaner from conservative Calvinistic conceptions. *Song* challenges the conservative perceptions of what it means to be an Afrikaner and what it means to be a doctor and a musician. Jinx is intelligent, successful and decent, but he does not fit into the status quo mould of Afrikanerness. The Vlok family dinner scenes stress the notion of reinterpretation and defiance that is present in many new millennium conceptualisations of Afrikanerness and Afrikaans identity (Grobler 2012; Marx & Milton 2011; Van der Watt 2005). Old conservative norms and preconceived ideas are exposed and challenged. In the 1980s, the *Voëlvry* movement also challenged Afrikaner conservatism and the National Party stronghold on national Afrikaner identity (Marx & Milton 2011; Vestergaard 2001).

Jinx is an alternative Afrikaans rock musician (as is Valiant Swart) and his appearance and music are reminiscent of the *Voëlvry* Afrikaans rock movement of the late 1980s. Jinx even boasts that he enjoys singing one of Koos Kombuis’s songs. Koos Kombuis was one of the musicians involved in the *Voëlvry* movement. Set within the new millennium, Jinx also challenges the norms and values of conservative Afrikanerdom. The new millennium has

seen significant growth in the Afrikaans music industry, both in mainstream and alternative circles (Marx & Milton 2011). This thriving Afrikaans music scene is highlighted in *Song*. People are shown enjoying and supporting Afrikaans music at the Santini's performances, but also at music festivals. In one of the episodes Jinx and his band perform at *Oppikoppi*. In the 2000s, Afrikaans music and art festivals were alive and well. Numerous Afrikaans festivals have seen the light since 1994 and the number of artists and supporters continue to grow (Vestergaard 2001). *Song* taps into this context and subsequently highlights the renewed interest in and promotion of Afrikaans (in all its multiplicity) in the new millennium, after the large-scale decline of Afrikaans in schools, government and the media in the latter part of the 1990s (Louw 2004). In the 2000s, class differences and conservatism remained relevant issues.

*Song* looks critically at the Afrikaans community of the new millennium. It reveals the class awareness and hypocrisy still present among some conservative Christian Afrikaners. Shortly after the dinner at the Vlok house Jinx moves on to another locum position in Danville. When he arrives at the practice he is surprised to find Cleo as his secretary. She informs him that she did a job swop with the other secretary. Inspector Vosloo arrives to question Jinx at the Danville practice and they have a brief discussion in the consultation room. As Vosloo leaves the room, Cleo enters with a smug expression of her face. She states, "Ek hoor dis *drugs*. Dit kom dan nou van jou verheerliking van *drugs*" (I hear it's drugs. That's what you get for your glorification of drugs). Jinx asks Cleo to leave, but just before she goes she states, "God slaap nie" (God is not asleep). Cleo does not know the whole story and she does not ask Jinx about it. She immediately judges Jinx and labels him as the guilty party. Cleo views herself as being superior to Jinx. This event highlights other characteristics that are typically associated with conservative Afrikaner Christians – that they are quick to judge and to condemn, and that they look down on people who are not like them. Cleo and her family embody this rigid, conservative (class-aware) Afrikaner construction. In Afrikaans media, before 1994, the conservative Christian Afrikaner point of view was for the most part considered the norm. The SABC supported this view and maintained it as the status quo. In *Song* this conservative point of view is exposed as a socially constructed perspective. It is no longer the only acceptable point of view available to the Afrikaans community. In the 2000s, the conservative point of view was being challenged, it was made visible and no longer accepted as natural or normal. Tensions between social classes are explored further in *Song*.

By using specific characters (such as Katryn, John and Verster) a tension is established between different social classes in the Afrikaans community. Verster views Katryn as an inferior member of the Hulbrands staff. She questions Katryn about her background and her qualifications as a way of gauging what type of person Katryn is. Verster concludes that Katryn is a lower-class worker who needs to be checked up on and controlled. When Katryn is eventually selected to do the advertisement for Noddingtons and Hulbrands, Verster is spiteful and mean and refuses to congratulate Katryn. She rather makes snide remarks such as, “Nee, jy’s mos te *grand* vir ’n kombuis Beaker. Hoekom vra jy nie vir meneer Hulbrand vir ’n beter werk nie, huh? ’n *Madam* soos jy hoort ten minste op die topvloer” (No, you’re too grand for the kitchen, Beaker. Why don’t you ask Mr Hulbrand for a better job, huh? A madam like you belongs on the top floor). Verster is upset that a person of lower social standing, such as Katryn, can be given such an opportunity, which gives her the chance to rub shoulders with the boss, Ernst Hulbrand, and other executives. Verster’s class awareness and prejudice are stressed. Verster’s character highlights the once generally accepted belief that a higher social standing or class ‘naturally’ implied more respect, power and importance in society, while a lower social standing or class implied inferiority and less importance and power in society. Cultural studies argues that these beliefs are all social constructions maintained by those in power or those whose interests are being served (Barker 1999; Fiske 1987). These class positions and perceptions are explored in *Song*. Katryn, for example, moves beyond the confinement of a (or her) social class position. There is an interesting play between the ‘classes’ or social groups in *Song* that reveals the challenge or resistance of the subordinate working class to the superiority of those of higher social standings or classes. This is achieved through humour.

Class superiority is challenged in *Song* with the use of humour. At Hulbrands, John makes fun of Verster. John’s mannerisms, behaviour and dialogue construct him as a gay character. He refers to himself as an “antie” (auntie) and comments on how sexy Ernst is. John exhibits traits that have become stereotypically associated with homosexual male characters on television. He provides comic relief and befriends women (in this case, Jackie and Katryn). John is a likeable character who speaks his mind and shows insight. He is at times very melodramatic and often uses swear words, but he is also caring and supportive in his own unconventional way. John regularly gets the better of Verster. At first Katryn is intimidated by Verster and during an initial discussion with Ernst she even states that she will resign if Verster complains about her work. As the narrative progresses, Katryn is

supported and positively influenced by people like John and she slowly regains her confidence. She and John show resistance to Verster's supposed position of superiority through jokes and witty responses.<sup>80</sup> Verster thinks she is in a position of control and power, but through these jokes and responses Katryn and John get the better of her. Katryn and John could be considered to be the conventional underdogs, Katryn is from a poor working-class family (and area) with a complicated background and she has no formal training or qualifications, while John is an Afrikaans homosexual man. They resist Verster's domination and control over them by making jokes. Their resistance is similar to Jinx's behaviour during his visit to the Vlok house. Pretentious upper-middle-class characters are made fun of. Working-class or unconventional people are usually repressed and made to feel guilty about who they are or where they come from, but here the working class and those who go against the status quo get the upper hand. Hence Jinx, Katryn and John are presented as unconventional winners in the social class conflict. These representations are in line with the 2000s mindset reflected in various South African media, where previously repressed or often ignored or rejected people (or groups) are no longer depicted as one-dimensional, but rather as complex, intelligent and witty. Different types of Afrikaans people are represented in *Song* and viewers are encouraged to identify with unorthodox 'heroes' or winners like Jinx, John and Katryn. *Song* highlights the awareness of class differences in the Afrikaans community and points out that it is still a relevant topic in the new millennium.

A number of characteristics are used to differentiate social classes in *Song*. In many stories the focus is usually on middle-class characters and their settings and situations.<sup>81</sup> *Song*, however, deliberately tells the story of two people from the Danville community. Such areas or communities are often ignored or positioned on the periphery, but in *Song* the Danville or working-class context plays a central role. Already in the first episode certain characteristics are associated with Jinx and Katryn (and a number of other characters) that differentiate them from, for example, the upper-middle-class characters such as Cleo. These characteristics include their language use, their appearance and their settings. Language particularly becomes a key differentiator. Jinx and Katryn and other characters such as Mossie, Jackie and Slab include strong language (and swear words) in their dialogue, such

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<sup>80</sup> See Appendix 3 – 3.1.10/Extract 10.

<sup>81</sup> There have been some exceptions in Afrikaans television over the years, particularly productions by the filmmaker, television producer and writer, Willie Esterhuizen. His Afrikaans television sitcoms such as *Orkney Snork Nie* (1980s and 1990s) and *Vetkoekpaleis* (early 2000s) focus specifically on the life and times of the Afrikaans working-class community.

as “donner”, “moer” and “fok”. They also regularly insert a number of English words into their mostly Afrikaans dialogue. It is a more informal and hybrid approach to the use of Afrikaans that is especially prevalent among younger generations of Afrikaans speakers (including teenagers to adults in their thirties). They do not use ‘proper’ or ‘pure’ Afrikaans. This informal and sometimes crude use of Afrikaans defies traditional standardised constructions of Afrikaans mostly used in Afrikaans television before 1994 (Vestergaard 2001).<sup>82</sup> In the post-apartheid era there exists a prominent break with or reinterpretation of conservative Afrikaner values and norms, including the way Afrikaans is used. Not all Afrikaans speakers might talk in this hybrid or informal way, but many do use Afrikaans in this manner. kykNET aims to showcase different parts of the Afrikaans community, its culture and its language variations (Robson 2012) and *Song* is part of this Afrikaans multiplicity. *Song* highlights the flexibility and reinterpretation of Afrikaans by Afrikaans speakers in the new millennium. This type of flexible Afrikaans was not promoted during the apartheid era; instead standardised Afrikaans was promoted as the only acceptable and appropriate type of Afrikaans to be used or aspired to. In *Song* different races are also shown using Afrikaans fluently in different situations and environments, including home and work settings. Black, white and coloured characters are Afrikaans speakers (both at home and at work). This stresses the diversity of Afrikaans and its users.<sup>83</sup> In *Song* the Afrikaans language is used as an element of identity construction and characterisation. The informal and mixed Afrikaans register is associated with the working-class characters or characters from a working-class background. Certain objective correlatives and dress codes are furthermore associated with these characters.

One’s appearance and the places where one spends time can play a role in how one is perceived by others. On most occasions Jinx is shown in typical rocker attire. He wears dark – usually black – t-shirts, with torn jeans. Even Katryn, upon their first meeting, describes Jinx as a bum. Contrary to his rocker appearance at Santini’s, Jinx is in fact a respected doctor. When Jinx locums he dresses in a professional manner, but he still often arrives at the different medical practices with his motorbike, wearing his biker jacket and his earring. Likewise, Slab is a member of the *Jinx* band and he originates from the Danville community, but he is also a successful surgeon and at one stage Slab mentions that

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<sup>82</sup> It is interesting to note that when the SABC first broadcast *Song* on SABC 2 (in 2008) they included the strong language use. Midway through the serial the strong language was, however, beeped out.

<sup>83</sup> In the media certain fictional (Afrikaans) programmes overtly address language as a significant theme, for instance the dramedy *Andries Plak* (an SABC production, first broadcast in 2007), while other programmes, like *Song*, take an indirect approach.

he drives a new BMW. The notion of not judging a book by its cover is firmly established in the first episode. Jinx and Slab are not ‘typical’ doctors or ‘typical’ musicians, and even though they originated from Danville, a mostly poor community, they achieved success in a highly sought after, respected and often financially rewarding profession. *Song* explores the stereotypes often associated with areas such as Danville by offering an unexpected twist in the character constructions of Jinx and Slab, and in this way preconceived ideas are disrupted. In *Song* the Danville context is viewed from an insider’s perspective. Jinx and Slab have positive memories of their childhood in Danville. They think fondly of it and Jinx even considers moving back to the neighbourhood. Both of them realise that with the help of a good education they were able to rise above the stigma that is often associated with the neighbourhood in which they grew up. They both became more than just another “dude from Danville”.<sup>84</sup> Jinx and Slab take ownership of their childhood neighbourhood and their background. Instead of letting others give meaning to their background, they assign their own meanings to Danville and their lives there. This is similar to the reinterpretation and redefinition process ongoing within the Afrikaans community. After 1994 new possibilities were opened up to explore previously defined ideas about places and people. Breaking away from the fixed and rigid conceptualisations characteristic of the apartheid era, many cultural groups such as the Afrikaans communities opted to reinterpret and renegotiate previously defined notions of identity (Van Coller & Van Jaarsveld 2009; Vestergaard 2001). In *Song* the Afrikaans language is used to highlight the diversity of the Afrikaans community and their language use. At the bikers’ camping get-together Jinx sings a song about Danville while everyone is sitting around a fire.

<p>Jinx: “My meisie bly in ’n pienk en blou huisie in Danville / Sy’s opgedollie in rooi krimpilien, pienk bra en ’n <i>slip</i> uit crèpe-de-chine / <i>Plastic</i> blomme op die <i>mantlepiece</i> en <i>nylon covers</i> op die <i>toilet seats</i>/ <i>Curlers</i> in die hare / <i>Cutex</i> op die naele en buite in die tuin staan die konkreet swane / Daar’s ’n brandewynpiekniek in die voorste <i>yard</i> en <i>teenage</i> stukkies stoot <i>pram</i> in</p>	<p>My girlfriend lives in a pink and blue house in Danville / She’s dressed up in red crimplene, pink bra and a slip made of crèpe-de-chine / Plastic flowers on the mantlepiece and nylon cover on the toilet seats / Curlers in the hair / Cutex on her nails and outside in the garden stand the concrete swans / There’s a brandy picnic</p>
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<sup>84</sup> Slab’s dialogue (Extract 3), “En ek was maar net nog ’n *dude* van Danville,” (And I was just another dude from Danville) suggests that not much, if anything, was expected of him because of his background. It is mainly because of preconceived ideas and stereotypes that not much is expected of people from places like Danville. *Song* shows that these stereotypes can be contradicted.

<p>die straat / Tussen al die honde staan 'n Ford Cortina / <i>Fur</i> op die <i>dash</i> en die <i>mags</i> lyk <i>mean</i> ja / Katryn, Katryn my roos in die tuin / Vel soos satyn, lippies soos wyn / <i>My pleasure my pain</i> / <i>You drive me insane</i> / As ek jou kon kry sal my sorg verdwyn.”</p>	<p>in the front yard and teenage girls are pushing prams in the street / Among all the dogs stands a Ford Cortina / Fur on the dash and the mags look mean yes / Katryn, Katryn my rose in the garden / Skin like satin, lips like wine / My pleasure my pain / You drive me insane / If I could have you then all my problems would disappear.</p>
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Everyone listening to the song, including Slab and Mossie, laughed as Jinx referred to different stereotypical characteristics of Danville. Jinx is from Danville and he is therefore familiar with the stereotypes and is now able to make fun cleverly of these stereotypes for comic effect. The lyrics reveal interesting language constructions and the mixing of Afrikaans and English is prominent. The Vlok family, for example, would not use Afrikaans in this way. This song reveals a creativity and inventiveness that is unique to this type of Afrikaans. It suggests a loose, informal, almost rebellious and trendy use of the Afrikaans language. Clearly, a break with conservative Afrikaans language norms is established. *Song* aims to explore the lives of people from the Danville community with insight and complexity. Jinx is not ashamed of his background. Katryn, however, associates her unhappy childhood with Danville and suffers from an inferiority complex. *Song* shows that people from Danville can become doctors and models and rock stars, but that certain social issues are also part of the community, such as poverty, child abuse and domestic violence. Although these issues can arise in any neighbourhood, rich or poor, they are often a more visible reality in poor communities. For example, in his Danville song Jinx refers to “*teenage stukkies*” with their prams in the street. Teenage pregnancy is an important concern in many poor communities. In *Song* child abuse is also explored through Katryn and Marelie’s stories of abuse. Tante Maria represents the stereotypical lower-working-class person who lives in Danville. Her home and appearance position her in a lower-working-class category. *Song*, however, shows that class or background does not have to determine one’s identity. No matter what one’s background one can achieve success. Katryn’s character acts as an example of this.



Katryn's character undergoes a complete inner and outer transformation. Both her appearance and her outlook on life change. She becomes more confident and motivated and she starts seeing a future for herself. Her character shows that one does not have to live the stereotype. She does not have to be just another girl from Danville. By working hard, using opportunities and getting an education she can achieve her goals (in Katryn's case, eventually becoming a qualified nurse and taking care of her mother and sister). In the final episode, Katryn and Jinx talk about their background. Katryn says that Jinx did not know that she was from Danville and Jinx mentions that Katryn did not know that he was from Danville (until after the Danville song episode). She then states, "En so het ons saam-saam ons *roots* ontdek" (And so we discovered our roots together). In the end Katryn makes peace with her background and accepts it as part of her life. Both Katryn and Jinx achieve success. Even after revealing the truth about her background Katryn still gets the Noddingtons and Hulbrands contract. She is set to go to London to complete a number of advertisements for Noddingtons, while Jinx takes a locum position on board a cruise ship. In *Song*, class stereotypes are disrupted and played with. In the new millennium class remains an interesting topic and *Song* shows that class awareness is still part of the Afrikaner and Afrikaans community.

### 7.3 Conclusion

This chapter offered a detailed analysis of the kykNET drama, *Song vir Katryn*. Three themes, namely abuse, gender and sexuality and class were explored. First, the theme of abuse highlights different aspects of alcohol, drug, verbal and physical abuse (including sexual abuse). The bar setting is explored and a patriarchal structure is exposed where men are in positions of power and control. In addition, alcohol and drug addictions are made central issues in the narrative. *Song* comments on the role played by peer pressure and role models in alcohol and drug abuse. Faantjie encourages Mossie to drink and to borrow money for alcohol and the two of them take drugs together. Jinx and Slab also take part in the partying and drinking lifestyle, thus encouraging Mossie's way of life. The loose and unrestricted lifestyle that Jinx and Mossie follow contrasts strongly with the more conservative and often repressive ideas about a traditional and 'proper' Afrikaner household. The 2000s are characterised by a renegotiation and reinterpretation of traditional Afrikaner values and the conservative Afrikaner way of life. However, *Song* is also critical of this unrestricted and free lifestyle, indicating that this lifestyle also has its own pitfalls

just as is the case with an overly conservative way of life. *Song* takes a critical look at social issues, such as alcohol and drug abuse, within the contemporary Afrikaans community. Jinx realises that he needs to be a role model for his younger brother and he changes his ways in order to support and help Mossie. In this way *Song* suggests a possible course of action when dealing with addiction. It promotes love, support and guidance as a way of dealing with such issues. *Song* depicts a modern, unconventional white Afrikaans family dealing with serious social issues such as alcohol and drug abuse.

The disruption of Jinx and Mossie's nuclear family is stressed as an important influence in their lives. Yet the importance of family is highlighted by Jinx's character. He cares about Mossie and wants to help him. In traditional constructions of Afrikanerness the nuclear family played a central role. *Song* deals with unconventional constructions of the family unit, for example a single parent set-up, or the relationship between siblings who have to live without their parents. *Song* shows the (Afrikaans) family construct as flawed and complex. Other aspects of abuse that *Song* grapples with are child and sexual abuse.

Child and sexual abuse are key issues in *Song*. Katryn was sexually abused by her stepfather and Marelle by her own father. Hanna experiences intense guilt and refuses to talk about the abuse, but her silence only makes matters worse. The impact of abuse is also highlighted as Katryn still carries the scars with her as an adult. Katryn and Marelle are hesitant to talk about their abuse because they fear the rejection, shame and judgement associated with such situations. *Song* examines social issues that are extremely relevant to its contemporary time frame. Within the socio-political time frame of the early 2000s the elation surrounding the new democracy that was at its peak in the 1990s had simmered down and the focus moved from political issues to social issues. *Song* shows this shift in focus and it chooses to deal with issues that are relevant to the contemporary Afrikaans community. An important message that is stressed in *Song* is that all forms of abuse should be confronted and brought into the open. In the past, social issues such as abuse and abortion were kept secret in conservative Afrikaner communities. These were not issues to be addressed in public or seen on television or in films. *Song* shows up the inhibitions experienced by these communities and counters them by repeatedly offering the alternative – exposing the ills of society. Jinx talks to Mossie about his addiction and encourages him to work with the police to stop drug pushers from ruining more lives. Jinx also urges Katryn to talk about her background or to get help from a psychiatrist. When Katryn finally

tells her secret she frees herself and her family from their unhappy past. The Afrikaans media of the new millennium shows a willingness to address taboo issues openly. kykNET is part of this movement. It aims to explore relevant issues within diverse settings of the Afrikaans community. This willingness is expressed in *Song* as it takes an open and direct approach to very serious social issues.

The second theme, gender and sexuality, explores the representation of heterosexuality, homosexuality, and the roles of men and women. Under the heterosexual construction the traditional Christian norm of a man and woman in a nuclear family is promoted. Hanna encourages Katryn to get a good husband and to have children. In traditional Afrikaner conceptions, a heterosexual relationship is considered the norm. This norm is still widely maintained in the Afrikaans community. *Song* exhibits openness towards the discussion of sex, yet no explicit representations are included. Topics such as sex, premarital sex and sexual abuse are accepted in everyday discussions because they are part of life. Consequently, *Song* aims to promote a culture that speaks openly about sex and related issues. Sex was traditionally marked as a taboo topic and was preferably avoided in most Afrikaans television texts. Another previously taboo topic that is addressed in *Song* is homosexuality.

Times have changed and in the new millennium there is an open and more accepting attitude towards issues such as homosexuality and sex. Many conservative Afrikaner groups labelled homosexuality as unacceptable and disgraceful. In *Song* a more liberal stance is taken and awareness and tolerance are promoted within the Afrikaans community. Jinx knows Mossie is gay and he accepts him as he is. Mossie's uncertainty about revealing his sexuality and Jinx's concern about Mossie are explored. Jinx takes a direct approach and talks openly with Mossie about his sexuality, his relationship with Faantjie and HIV/AIDS. The HIV/AIDS issue is addressed and *Song* stresses that it is not only related to gay relationships, but that it is important for everyone to know one's status. The seriousness of HIV/AIDS is emphasised through the pain and regret experienced by Jinx and Mossie when Mossie's test results show that he is HIV positive. Jinx longs for a family with a wife that would support him and his brother. He thus longs for a conventional family set-up that is supportive and caring. In *Song* there exists a tension between traditional Afrikaner family values, contemporary issues such as HIV/AIDS and homosexuality, and a liberal Afrikaner sensibility. Sensitive issues such as homosexuality and HIV/AIDS are relevant to the social

context of the 2000s and *Song* shows Afrikaans people grappling with these issues. In terms of sexuality, only male characters are depicted as homosexual. Faantjie and Mossie share a close friendship and Gouws is described as being gay by other characters. The chef at Hulbrands, John, is also openly gay. Lesbianism is for the most part avoided. It is referred to on a few occasions in *Song*, but the issue is not dealt with any further. It is still considered a taboo topic in some Afrikaans circles in the 2000s.

Gender roles and the construction of masculinity and femininity are examined as well. *Song* shows that abuse can be inflicted by men and women, but in the narrative the focus is mostly on white men. *Song* furthermore depicts a male-dominated work environment, where women still need to affirm their position within the work environment and in some cases they still need to rely on their appearance to achieve their goals. The ongoing struggle for gender equality is also highlighted. Traditional ideas and values of masculinity are maintained in *Song*. Jinx is depicted as a protector, provider and a desirable man. A number of women pursue him as they find his rocker image combined with his position as a doctor as irresistible. He is depicted as a manly man who takes care not only of Mossie and his father, but also of Hanna. The women in *Song* are represented as feminine, strong, independent and caring. The importance of a woman's appearance is stressed. The Rags to Riches advertisement highlights the focus on the (outward) beauty of women and the role played by beauty products in this process. Jackie also helps Katryn to prepare for her dinner date with Ernst and great care is taken to make sure that everything is perfect. However, Jackie stresses that the power and impact of beauty is not for the man's benefit, but for the woman's own benefit. The notion of being an independent, modern and confident woman is thus promoted. Overall, *Song* concludes with a happy ending. Jinx and Katryn end up together and the myth of romantic love is reinforced.

In the third and final theme, class, *Song* exposes and challenges class constructions and stereotypes. The awareness of class differences within the Afrikaans community is stressed as a central issue. The Vlok family represents the upper middle class conservative Afrikaners. Jinx disrupts their ideas of what it means to be an Afrikaner and a doctor. Jinx challenges the conservative norms and values that are often associated with Afrikanerness and thus embodies the defiance that is typical of the 2000s context. In the new millennium many Afrikaners are challenging and questioning traditional Christian Afrikaner values and ideas. In *Song*, Christianity, which is often described as a cornerstone of traditional

Afrikanerness, is associated with Afrikaans characters. In the case of Cleo, however, negative characteristics such as Christians being judgemental and viewing themselves as superior to others are highlighted. *Song* looks critically at hypocrisy, conservatism and class awareness within the Afrikaans community. In addition, *Song* highlights the resistance to or defiance of class superiority by subordinate or marginalised social groups, such as the working class or homosexuals. John and Katryn use humour and wit to get the better of Verster. Different types of Afrikaans people are depicted and viewers are encouraged to identify with unconventional heroes or winners such as Jinx, Katryn and John. *Song* shows that the topic of class is still very relevant in the 2000s context, especially within the Afrikaans community. Particular values or meanings are ascribed to certain areas or neighbourhoods and the people who live there or who grew up there. For instance, some areas are labelled as upper class and rich, while others carry labels of being lower or working class and poor. These stereotypes are explored and challenged in *Song*.

The Danville setting plays a central role in *Song*. Most of the main characters originated from Danville and it is continually referred to and depicted. The stereotypical ideas associated with this area and its people are acknowledged and *Song* then works with, reinterprets and challenges these ideas. The working-class characters or characters from Danville are differentiated from the upper-middle-class characters in terms of language, appearance and setting (or objective correlatives). Their language, particularly, shows a break with traditional and standardised Afrikaans conventions. In the past, standardised Afrikaans was considered to be the norm for media communication (particularly on the SABC). Now, the flexibility, hybridity and variety of Afrikaans are explored in *Song*'s dialogue and music. Within the socio-political context of the 2000s, *Song* explores the multiplicity of the Afrikaans community in terms of language, class and background. It breaks with and reinterprets many conservative Afrikaner representations and shows that there are different ways of being Afrikaans or an Afrikaner in the new millennium.

In the end, *Song* leaves the viewer with the overall happy message that love can overcome obstacles and that good will ultimately conquer evil. The ending suggests an underlying positivity that hardships can be overcome and that criminals will be brought to justice. *Song* focuses on social issues that are of importance to the Afrikaans or Afrikaner community of the 2000s. It is not openly concerned with politics, but rather addresses taboo topics that were often ignored or marginalised in the pre-1994 era. Issues such as homosexuality,

HIV/AIDS and abuse are investigated and conservative Afrikaner beliefs and values are challenged.

This chapter concludes the trio of analysis chapters (Chapters 5–7). Chapter 8 provides a discussion of the research findings.

## CHAPTER 8

# DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

### 8.1 Introduction

This study explored the construction of Afrikaans identity in selected Afrikaans television dramas, each originally produced in different decades, namely the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s. Themes, stories and characters were analysed as these elements play an important role in the construction of identity on screen. The literature indicates that gender, language, values and class are considered key aspects in the investigation of identity construction (Barker 1999). Subsequently, the investigation initially endeavoured to only use these central aspects of identity as themes in the analyses of the selected episodes. However, this approach limited the analysis process to a large extent. An alternative approach was therefore utilised where the texts (not pre-specified themes) led the researcher. This approach opened up the texts and a number of themes emerged during the analysis process. Some of the themes identified coincided with what was originally suggested in the literature, but unique themes were also revealed.

Chapters 5 to 7 provide an in-depth discussion of the thematic analyses of the selected television dramas. Three themes were explored in each programme analysis. The themes addressed in the late 1980s programme, *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling (Ballade)* (SABC), included family, individuality and gender. *Wenners* (SABC), an early 1990s production, examined the role of authority figures and the children's home, gender, and the opposition of good and bad in terms of characters and values. Finally, the early 2000s programme, *Song vir Katryn (Song)* (kykNET), highlighted the themes of abuse, gender and class. These themes guided the detailed analyses and provided significant and interesting data. In Chapter 8 the discussion returns to the elements identified (within the literature) as significant in the discussion of identity construction, namely language, gender, values and class.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> A number of other elements or themes can also be utilised in the investigation of identity construction, but within the scope of this study the aforementioned themes were selected as focus points to structure and organise the discussion of findings.

These four categories provide structure to the discussion of findings and simplified the process of comparison. Each selected television text and its themes, identified during the analysis process, reveal something of the conceptualisation of Afrikaans identity at a particular time in South Africa. Certain trends, points of view and attitudes are highlighted. As emphasised by Kellner ([sa]; 1996) media texts highlight the values, social issues and trends of their context of production. These texts therefore act as snapshots of a particular society or group at a given time. It follows that over time these snapshots, or closures, as suggested by Hall (1993), can change and evolve. This study explored the mutation or development of themes in Afrikaans television dramas in the time frame stretching from 1985 to 2005. Important questions considered during the discussion of findings include the following: Has Afrikaner or Afrikaans identity changed its position regarding language, gender, class and values from the 1980s to the 2000s? What are the similarities and differences in the representations and themes from Afrikaans television dramas from the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s, and from the SABC and kykNET? And finally, are universal stories and values communicated in the selected Afrikaans television dramas? Some of the main findings include a noticeable shift in the use of Afrikaans from the 1980s and 1990s to the 2000s. In the 1980s and 1990s texts standardised Afrikaans was considered the norm, while in the 2000s text, non-standardised Afrikaans holds the dominant position. In terms of gender, *Ballade* and *Wenners* maintain traditional gender roles and promote heterosexual relationships. In comparison, *Song* departs from this conservative approach by exploring both traditional and modern conceptualisations of gender and acknowledging both heterosexual and homosexual relationships. The theme of class is primarily addressed in *Song* and an Afrikaans identity is represented that challenges Afrikaner conservatism and notions of class superiority. The value themes highlight different areas of focus in each text. *Ballade* explored the complex relationship between the individual and the group as part of Afrikaner identity in the 1980s. *Wenners* highlighted a positive (and conservative) approach to Afrikaans identity, in favour of order, (authoritative) structure and ‘goodness’. *Song* emphasised the importance of controversial social issues such as abuse, and constructed an Afrikaans identity, which is willing to address these issues in an open-minded way. All three texts explored the disruption(s) of the nuclear family unit and suggested that even when challenged or questioned, family remains a key part of Afrikaans identity. A detailed discussion of the findings follows in the next section.



## 8.2 Discussion of findings

### 8.2.1 Language – The use of Afrikaans in the selected Afrikaans television dramas

According to Watson (1996), language and identity are intertwined. When investigating Afrikaans television and Afrikaans identity it is therefore important to examine the use of Afrikaans in the selected television programmes. The Afrikaans language is utilised for characterisation in the form of dialogue. Through dialogue meaning about the character is communicated (Butler 2002:39). Not only is it important to examine *what* characters said, but also to consider *how* they said it. The Afrikaans language is considered a key element in Afrikaans and Afrikaner cultural identity (Giliomee 1979; James 2011). During apartheid, up to the early 1990s, standardised Afrikaans was promoted as the norm in South African society. The Afrikaans education system, public administration and media (newspapers and the SABC) supported this stance as prescribed by the apartheid government. After 1994 the language scale in South Africa was adjusted and (standardised) Afrikaans had to relinquish its once privileged position to become one of 11 official languages. During the latter part of the 1990s there was a sharp decline in the use of Afrikaans in the public sphere and considerable pressure was exerted on Afrikaans because of its previous links to Afrikaner nationalism and Afrikaner apartheid politics (Louw 2004; Milton 2008; Van Coller & Van Jaarsveld 2009). In the new millennium one sees renewed interest in and support for the growth and diversification of Afrikaans, particularly in the arts. There is a noticeable upsurge in Afrikaans theatre, cinema, music, television, literature, festivals and even Internet activity (Grobler 2012; Marx & Milton 2011; Robson 2012; Vestergaard 2001). These developments are taking place in mainstream and alternative circles. The diversity and flexibility of Afrikaans is visible as different Afrikaans-speaking groups affirm their connection with Afrikaans and its place in their identity formation. In the 2000s, Afrikaans is no longer (mis-)conceptualised as being ‘only for Afrikaners’ or only acceptable when in its standardised form (James 2011; Vestergaard 2001). In the 1990s and 2000s one sees the reconfiguration of Afrikaans identity (and the Afrikaans language) as standardised Afrikaans and conservative Afrikaner norms, values and ideas are challenged and renegotiated (Grobler 2012; Marx & Milton 2011; Van der Watt 2005). Many of these positions, changes and developments the Afrikaans language are reflected in the selected texts. The approach to Afrikaans is different in each of the programmes.

In *Ballade* standardised Afrikaans is depicted as the norm as was the case in society (and at the SABC) at that time. Basically, all the characters, including the main character, Jacques Rynhard, use standardised Afrikaans. It is depicted as normal; just the way things are in an Afrikaans community (of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s).<sup>86</sup> In addition, Jacques's Afrikaans novel earns a coveted literature prize, thus stressing the superiority of this kind of Afrikaans. It is represented as noteworthy and intellectual. Other Afrikaans speakers, for example black or coloured Afrikaans speakers, are mostly ignored in *Ballade*, consequently reinforcing the conservative idea that standardised Afrikaans is considered to be the language of white Afrikaners. This representation of Afrikaans as exclusive correlates with Van Coller and Van Jaarsveld's (2009) argument that during most of the 1900s Afrikaans literature was primarily viewed as Afrikaner literature, because alternative Afrikaans voices were excluded. In *Ballade* alternative representations of Afrikaans speakers are ignored. *Ballade* thus supports the traditional idea that standardised Afrikaans is the norm for white Afrikaners and Afrikaans identity in the 1980s. Standardised Afrikaans is positioned as superior, intellectual and 'pure'. This is furthermore reflected in the use of Afrikaans as a means of distinguishing between Jacques and Gavin. Jacques who uses proper or 'pure' Afrikaans is constructed as the hero in this opposition, while Gavin who uses slang or mixes his languages (Afrikaans and English) is constructed as the criminal and bully. Gavin, for example, uses phrases such as: "'n **Outsider** hier tussen die manne!" and "Jy dink seker jou gewete is nou skoon gewas ... skoon **ge-polish**?" Jacques does not use these types of Afrikaans-English constructions. Jacques and his use of language are thus represented as the ideal during the 1980s. *Ballade* adheres to the SABC's language guidelines at that time. These guidelines remained relevant till the early 1990s.

Language-wise *Wenners* still reflects the conservative norms of the SABC before 1994. Similar to the depictions in *Ballade*, all the characters use standardised Afrikaans. Occasionally the teenagers use slang or mix their languages, for example: "Mos gedink jy's so **great**, nè, Lindeman?" and "Wil nie hoor hy's 'n **loser** nie" (Excerpts from Frans's dialogue), but for the most part standardised Afrikaans is the norm. When one compares the language use in *Wenners* to that of *Song* or examples of Afrikaans youth films produced during the 2000s, the conservative and standardised approach used in *Wenners* becomes even more apparent. *Wenners*, like *Ballade*, represents white Afrikaans speakers only.

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<sup>86</sup> *Ballade*'s storyline time frame stretches from the 1960s when Jacques was a child, through the 1970s, his teenage and young adult years, to the 1980s, when Jacques is an adult in his late twenties.

Hence, *Wenners* portrays standardised Afrikaans as the norm for white Afrikaans or Afrikaner identity. In comparison to *Ballade* and *Wenners*, *Song* shows a radical change in its approach to and use of the Afrikaans language.

In *Song* standardised Afrikaans is not the norm. All the main characters (including Jinx, Katryn, Slab, Mossie and Jackie) use non-standardised Afrikaans.<sup>87</sup> Their language use is characterised by strong language and the mixing of Afrikaans and English. Examples from Jinx and Slab include: “Ou *dad* het dit *ge-like*”, “*Shit*, ek’s *sad* oor ou *dad*” and “Slab, Mos is *gay*”. Traditional (pre-1994) ideas dictating that only ‘pure’ or standardised Afrikaans is appropriate for society and Afrikaans television are ignored. The Afrikaans actress, Lizz Meiring (*Daar doer in die fliek* 2011), argues that many Afrikaans speakers more readily identify with the less formal, more everyday, laid-back type of Afrikaans.<sup>88</sup> What is more, *Song* depicts a multiracial Afrikaans community. In *Ballade* and *Wenners* only white Afrikaans-speaking characters are depicted, while *Song* depicts black, white and coloured characters as Afrikaans speakers. Although a non-standardised approach is used in *Song*, the diversity of Afrikaans among the different ethnic or racial groups is limited. Everyone speaks the same non-standardised Afrikaans and variations of Afrikaans dialects are not included. In her study of selected Afrikaans programmes on SABC-TV, Milton (2008) argues that although a multilingual stance is taken, the Afrikaans used in these programmes still leans towards standardised versions of Afrikaans. In addition, Van Coller and Van Jaarsveld (2009) emphasise that post-apartheid Afrikaans soap operas (e.g. *7de Laan* on SABC 2) homogenise multicultural characters. Despite this, *Song* still shows a different approach to language as was usually the norm on SABC-TV before 1994. It emphasises that there are different ways of speaking Afrikaans (not just standardised or ‘pure’ Afrikaans) and highlights the multiracial user base of Afrikaans. This approach reflects one of kykNET’s goals as kykNET aims to represent the multiplicity of Afrikaans culture, in Afrikaans (Robson 2012). The approach to the Afrikaans language in *Song* stresses the

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<sup>87</sup> In the study at hand the use of standardised Afrikaans is understood as the use of Afrikaans in a manner that adheres to prescribed grammatical rules and where alternative English words are not regularly inserted into Afrikaans sentences where relevant Afrikaans terms or words are available. Examples: “Hy lyk *gelukkig*” (He looks happy) = standardised Afrikaans; “Hy lyk *happy*” = non-standardised Afrikaans. The use of non-standardised Afrikaans is understood to be the use of Afrikaans in a manner where English words are regularly inserted into Afrikaans sentences and/or adapted to suit Afrikaans language rules, for example, “Ek het jou *ge-drop*”. Non-standardised Afrikaans use can also include the use of different Afrikaans dialects, such as Afrikaans (Afrikaans dialect spoken in the Western Cape).

<sup>88</sup> This type of Afrikaans was also characteristic of many of the Willie Esterhuizen film and television productions in which she was involved. Examples include: *Lipstick Dipstick* (1990s, film) and *Molly en Wors* (2000s, kykNET television sitcom).

renegotiation of Afrikaans and Afrikaans identity in the post-apartheid context, particularly by younger generations. Being Afrikaans does not only mean that one is white or an Afrikaner. There are multiple sides to being Afrikaans and in the new millennium this multiplicity is represented (Botha 2012). Language is also incorporated as a differentiator in *Song*.

Language is used to distinguish between the conservative upper-middle-class Afrikaans characters and the lower middle- and working-class Afrikaans characters. The upper-middle-class characters use formal, 'pure' Afrikaans, for example, "Annelien, jou kos is **verruklik**. Of hoe dink **u**, Dokter Bruwer?" whereas the lower-middle- and working-class characters use an informal and hybrid Afrikaans, for example, "Skaapharsings ... op **toast**." This correlates with Ellis and Armstrong's (1989) argument that the way in which characters use language on television communicates particular messages, ideas and values. In *Song*, the contrasting use of Afrikaans is applied to highlight class awareness within the Afrikaans community and to stress how social class was and often still is associated with language use, education and culture. Ellis and Armstrong's (1989) study of American sitcoms also emphasises how language patterns on television provide messages about how people of different social class communicate. The findings of the study at hand, as well as Ellis and Armstrong's conclusions, therefore show that language can be used on television to distinguish social class. *Song* depicts the Afrikaans rock music scene, which celebrates the alternative, flexible and hybrid use of Afrikaans.

There has been considerable growth and diversification in Afrikaans music in the 2000s. Afrikaans artists such as Jack Parow and Valiant Swart emphasise the creativity, inventiveness and 'cool' factor of an informal and hybrid type of Afrikaans. Jinx's Danville song and the music of the *Jinx* band incorporate these qualities. These elements represent an almost rebellious type of Afrikaans in deliberately breaking with norms and rules of what was traditionally considered appropriate or acceptable. This type of rock Afrikaans is part of the Afrikaans variety that is now celebrated in the contemporary Afrikaans community. The Afrikaans language is still mutating, adapting and growing. In *Ballade* and *Wenners* this type of diversity is excluded. In the 1980s and 1990s texts the approach to language is more conservative and it suggests that Afrikaans or Afrikaner identity largely implies the use of standardised Afrikaans. *Song* uses language to show diversity in the Afrikaans community and diversity in Afrikaans identity constructions. There are different

ways of being Afrikaans and in the 2000s being non-standardised or unconventional have become viable options. *Song* provides a forum for an alternative, unconventional and modern representation of Afrikaans identity.

### **8.2.2 The representation of gender in the selected Afrikaans television dramas**

Appearance, behaviour, dialogue and setting or objective correlatives are some of the important elements to consider when exploring gender roles and gender representations on television (Butler 2002:37-39). According to O'Donnell (2007:97), “[c]ultural themes reflect the societal norms in a given time”. In the past, men were often depicted as the ones with careers while women were mostly limited to being mothers or homemakers. Times have, however, changed and “[t]oday women on television have careers, may be single parents, and have sexual relations. Sometimes couples are gay as well as straight” (O'Donnell 2007:97). Over time social norms and values change and so do their representations in the media. In the past, traditional Afrikaner identity highlighted conservative (and fixed) gender roles and heterosexuality was propagated as the only acceptable norm (Maingard 2007; Vestergaard 2001). Men were considered to be the providers and heads of the household, while women were viewed as mothers and homemakers. During the 1980s conservative ideas regarding gender roles and relationships were still deeply ingrained in the Afrikaner culture. Furthermore, a patriarchal system still guided the white Afrikaans community where husbands, fathers, principals and ministers were considered to be the leaders and authority figures in society (Vestergaard 2001). For the most part, the pre-1994 SABC adhered to these conservative gender guidelines. Many social changes were stirring in South African society at that time and these changes influenced thoughts and ideas concerning gender roles, women's position in the home and work environment, sexuality and sexual orientation. These changes were gradually taken up in the media.

The 1990s brought a time of renegotiation, where the field of identity formation (regarding gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality and nationality) was opened up for all South Africans, including Afrikaners (Vestergaard 2001). This movement escalated into the new millennium where previously taboo topics such as sex, homosexuality and AIDS became topics for discussion and investigation. As O'Donnell (2007:99) notes, topics such as homosexuality and sexual relationships would never have been the subjects of television programmes in the past, but now they are commonplace on television. In the post-apartheid

context, South African television, including Afrikaans programmes, grapples with these and other complex issues. All three of the selected Afrikaans dramas deal with the issue of gender.

Images of Afrikaner masculinity are constructed in *Ballade*. Jacques and JP represent the ideal (and desirable) masculinity. They are strong, adventurous, muscular, attractive, young, successful, competitive and heterosexual. These qualities suit traditional ideas concerning masculinity in the 1980s. Positive and negative conceptualisations of masculinity are presented in a number of character oppositions. While Jacques is a strong, independent and intelligent individual, Gavin is an aggressive bully who needs the support of a gang to feel powerful. Gavin, Lena's father, and Klaus represent 'negative' constructions of masculinity. While Gavin and Lena's father are aggressive, Klaus is weak and passive; both of these constructions are depicted in a negative light. Characters like Jacques and Mr Steenberg represent the 'positive' constructions of masculinity. Mr Steenberg is depicted as a positive male role model. He is neither controlling nor aggressive. He tries to support, understand and help the children put in his care. The text, therefore, reveals attitudes towards Afrikaner masculinity of the 1980s. During apartheid a patriarchal system was considered to be a key element in conservative Afrikaner identity constructions (Vestergaard 2001). This authoritative structure is depicted in *Ballade*.

Men are represented in positions of power and authority in *Ballade*. The work environment is male-dominated and women do not challenge these positions. Examples include Mr Steenberg, the Helderfontein principal and Otto. The representations in *Ballade* reflect the socio-political context of the time. Mostly white men were in positions of power during apartheid (Giliomee 1979; 2011). The importance of this male authority structure is emphasised when Klaus has to act the part of leader of the household to uphold the traditional Afrikaner ideals. The viewer knows that Klaus takes a subordinate position within his household, but to save face within the community he must act as the leader and authority figure. Liebet also partakes in this charade. The importance of the right or appropriate Afrikaner image within the conservative Afrikaner community is thus emphasised. As Vestergaard (2001:21) puts it, "the 'good Afrikaner'" mould had to be embodied at all times, and failure to do so could lead to being ostracised from the community or church. *Ballade* thus highlights the artifice of this Afrikaner mould and Afrikaner masculinity. Peet Pienaar used performance art in 1996 to expose the constructed

nature of white masculinity. *Bitterkomix* also focused on debunking Afrikanerdom, whiteness and masculinity in the 1990s (Van der Watt 2005). Likewise, *Ballade* shows some signs of this critique or trend, while still in the apartheid context. *Ballade* takes a critical approach to the patriarchal system. It acknowledges the status quo, but remains cautious of the power given to some men who choose to use it to control and intimidate others.

Similar to the representations in *Ballade*, *Wenners* also represents men as masculine, strong, authoritative and in top positions in the work environment. In this 1990s youth drama, white masculine authority and control is considered the norm. *Wenners* promotes traditional gender roles. In the early 1990s conservative gender representations were the norm on SABC-TV. At that stage the SABC was still managed by mostly conservative Afrikaners and a conservative approach for a youth drama was probably recommended. The programme can act as a guide, showing and encouraging children to take on the ‘appropriate’ gender roles in society. As noted by Ellis and Armstrong (1989), television provides viewers with models of behaviour, including gender behaviour. The gender representations in *Wenners* contrast strongly to the approach taken (also in the 1990s) by *Bitterkomix*, and artists Cohen and Pienaar, to white masculinity. Where *Wenners*’s approach is conservative, their approach is satirical, critical and in some cases subversive (Van der Watt 2005). *Song* takes a critical approach to white Afrikaner masculinity in the 2000s context.

The abuse of masculine power is a central issue in *Song*. Multiple examples are included: Katryn and her sister were sexually abused by their father, men in the pub verbally abuse Katryn, and Mossie and Faantjie are assaulted and sexually abused by Gouws. Abuse or abusiveness is not linked exclusively to men, but it is represented as the dominant trend in society. Traditional masculine constructions of leader, provider and protector are thus contradicted. *Song* offers a contemporary critique of white masculine authority and power, highlighting the abuse of power by men in society. *Ballade* is also critical of the traditional masculine authority structure, while *Wenners* for the most part upholds this structure. *Wenners* only affirms that ‘negative’ masculinity entails men who are aggressive, manipulating and dishonest. Still, *Song* does not completely disregard traditional masculine values. In his rocker/doctor capacity, Jinx embodies a number of these values. He is a leader, and a protector of and provider for others. This could suggest that these qualities are

still expected of Afrikaans or Afrikaner men in the new millennium. In *Song* patriarchy is still relevant in the 2000s, particularly in the work environment.

In *Song* men hold the top positions and are considered the authority figures in the work environment. This was also the case in *Ballade* and *Wenners*. Women are included in the work environment, but they are not bosses or police inspectors. Instead, women are mostly represented as nurses, secretaries and assistants. Traditional gender roles are thus largely maintained in the work environment. However, in *Song* modern, independent and strong professional Afrikaans women are also shown challenging the male-dominated work environment. Women like Elsa and Jackie are not silent in the corporate world. In *Ballade* and *Wenners* independent and professional women are also depicted in the work environment, but they do not challenge the male-oriented authority structure. In the 2000s women are more empowered, but the work environment is still male-centred. Consequently, women must (re-)affirm their position and voice. *Song* highlights these complex gender relations. *Ballade* constructs an image of Afrikaner femininity in the 1980s.

*Ballade* sketches an idea of what kind of Afrikaner femininity is considered to be attractive, desirable and positive and what is not within the 1980s context. Qualities such as being caring, loving, supportive and understanding are highlighted as positive feminine qualities, while being manipulative, controlling and deceitful are labelled as negative feminine qualities. A younger generation of white Afrikaans women (e.g. Carina, Lena and Alicia) in the 1980s context are conceptualised as being confident, career-driven, successful, professional, modern, independent, fit, attractive, well looked after and single women. These younger women are no longer thought of as mothers or wives only; they are depicted as single, successful and independent. However, an older generation of white Afrikaans women (such as Liebet and Trudie) are depicted in more traditional roles, such as mother and caregiver. Although more conservative roles are given to the older Afrikaans female characters, these roles are not left unexplored. Different perspectives on motherhood are considered. Traditionally, motherhood is viewed as being a natural and positive role for a woman and it is stressed as the key role of a woman in society, but in *Ballade* the contrasts between Liebet and Trudie highlight that all Afrikaner women do not experience or think of motherhood in the same way. *Ballade* sketches the current situation (1980s) with its generally accepted norms, attitudes and values and finds a way to comment on the situation



from within, for example by exploring masculine power, motherhood and the changing roles of women in (Afrikaner) society.

In *Wenner* conventional gender roles are mostly upheld, in keeping with the more conservative Afrikaner views of the early 1990s. Women are represented as feminine, caring, supportive, creative, passionate and emotional. When the female characters are represented with their male counterparts they mainly take on supportive or subordinate roles. The men are represented as the ones who take the lead or take action, who make important decision and plans and who find solutions to problems. Women are represented as the ones who need help or assistance and they are the ones that offer support and praise to others. According to Fiske (1987), these representations naturalise cultural constructions of gender and usually bear the dominant ideology of that particular time. Some representations do highlight qualities of independent, strong and modern women (e.g. Kate as an independent and professional working woman, and Anet as a single mother, standing up against an abusive man), but overall men are predominantly depicted as the leaders and women as the supporters. The younger female characters in *Ballade* even come across as more independent, confident and driven than is the case in *Wenners*. A reason for this could be that *Wenners* is aimed at a young audience. It is because of its specific audience that the content takes a more conservative approach to the issue of gender. *Wenners* thus reveals a mix between conventional roles and depictions of women and more modern roles and depictions of women in the 1990s. The traditional mother, caregiver or supportive roles as well as representations of strong, independent and modern women, such as the single working mother and the young professional woman, are included. In *Wenners* the notion of gender as part of Afrikaans identity is still conceptualised in a very conservative way. Basic social changes are shown, for example professional women in the work environment, but for the most part men are still constructed as the ones who make plans, find solutions and take the lead. Traditional gender constructions are thus upheld and not much change is evident in comparison to gender representations in *Ballade*. In comparison to *Wenners*, *Ballade* comes across as more progressive in its gender representations, specifically of women. *Song* takes a progressive approach to the representation of femininity.

A combination of traditional and contemporary feminine values is presented in *Song*. Most female characters are depicted as caring and supportive, as is done in *Ballade* and *Wenners*. *Song*, however, highlights modern and independent femininity as part of the 2000s context,

where women are feminine but also have a voice. Social changes in society are stressed and women no longer only embody the traditional roles of mother, wife or caregiver. An ongoing gender equality process is emphasised where women are still in the process of defining and expressing their position(s) and voice(s) within the mostly male-dominated work environment. *Song* furthermore shows a multiracial Afrikaans femininity. This angle is excluded in *Ballade* and *Wenners*. In this way, the significant changes in the South African context since the 1980s and early 1990s are exposed in *Song*. Stereotypical gender roles are depicted in the Rags to Riches advertisement where the man is portrayed as the hero and protector, while the woman is shown as the victim, the one who needs a rescuer and as the one who is (overly) concerned with appearances. *Song* argues that women require both looks and intelligence to achieve their goals (particularly in the work environment) and that the appearance or beauty of a woman is not for the benefit of a man, but rather for the benefit of the woman herself. Traditional and stereotypical notions regarding femininity and beauty are thus explored in *Song*. Even though the advertisement adheres to stereotypical depictions of men and women, the narrative of *Song* aims to explore both traditional and modern perceptions of gender within the Afrikaans community. The approach to gender in *Song* emphasises the renegotiation and reinterpretation of Afrikaans identity in the new millennium. Many traditional ideas and values still influence contemporary conceptualisations of Afrikaans identity, but the identity construction process also takes into consideration the modern and sometimes controversial aspects of the contemporary South African context. From *Ballade* and *Wenners* to *Song* the mutation or progress in gender conceptualisations is evident. Changes in the approach to sexuality are also visible.

The Afrikaans dramas deal with sexuality in different ways. In *Ballade* the heterosexual (man and woman) norm is promoted throughout. Homosexuality is not even considered or mentioned as an option. The representations in *Ballade* were aligned with the expectations and values of the conservative Christian Afrikaner community of the 1980s. The SABC followed strict content guidelines as approved by the conservative Afrikaner government and taboo topics, such as homosexuality and sexual relations, were not explored. When intimacy is included, for example in *Ballade* between Jacques and Lena, it is never explicit and it is usually limited to the younger generation. The predominant message within the Afrikaner community at that time was that sex was only acceptable and 'pure' within the bond of a Christian marriage. These ideals were supported in Afrikaans television

programmes of the time, as is seen in *Ballade*. The importance of romantic love is also promoted. In *Ballade* love is constructed as a powerful life force and it is presented as a necessary element for a successful and happy marriage. *Ballade* explores this issue by looking at an Afrikaner marriage in an unconventional way. Instead of constructing the Afrikaner marriage as a sacred and secure bond, it highlights the weaknesses and destructiveness of a loveless Afrikaner (Christian) marriage. *Ballade* adheres to conservative norms regarding gender, sexuality and sex in its construction of Afrikaner or Afrikaans identity. However, within its conservative context *Ballade* comments on issues such as Afrikaner patriarchy and motherhood, and hints at the changing gender roles within society (e.g. career-driven women in the work place). The romantic heterosexual norm as stipulated in *Ballade* is maintained in *Wenners*. Men are represented as the leaders in relationships. The conservative approach to sexuality and relationships in *Wenners* follows conservative Afrikaner values and attitudes that were still part of the SABC during the early years of the 1990s. In order for the programme to be broadcast on the SABC it had to suit the intended audience (white Afrikaans youth) and be acceptable to their parents or guardians. Controversial issues such as sex, homosexuality and multiracial relationships are therefore completely excluded from the content. *Wenners* does not challenge the status quo. It rather supports it by depicting gender behaviour that is considered ‘appropriate’ for white Afrikaans teenagers (and adults). The depictions in *Wenners* remain in line with expectations of the conservative Afrikaner government and SABC-TV in the early 1990s. According to *Wenners*, being a white Afrikaans speaker in the early 1990s means being a conservative heterosexual and not acknowledging homosexual and multiracial relationships. In comparison to *Ballade* and *Wenners*, *Song* shows a radical change in its approach to topics of sex and sexual orientation.

In *Song*, heterosexuality and homosexuality are addressed in an open manner. There are a number of heterosexual couples in the story and these representations support the more conventional conceptualisation of relationships. As confirmed in the analyses of *Ballade* and *Wenners*, traditional Afrikaner and Afrikaans identity constructions emphasise the heterosexual norm and the nuclear family unit. Many Afrikaans people still uphold these values and norms, as it is part of their background and upbringing, usually an Afrikaans Christian upbringing. Within the heterosexual set-up romantic love is depicted as the ideal; where a man and woman find contentment when they are together. *Song*, however, takes the conventional romantic love story and sets it within an imperfect contemporary South

African context. A regular couple is depicted: they have problems and weaknesses, but in the end there is a happy ending. The ending conveys an underlying positivity suggesting that no matter what the obstacles or circumstances, love will triumph over all. This positive (universal) message of love is also present in the two other texts. The traditional heterosexual love story thus takes on a new contemporary feel in *Song*. While *Ballade* and *Wenners* choose to focus on heterosexual relationships only, *Song* incorporates homosexuality into its narrative as well.

Homosexuality has received more media coverage in recent years and it is now more often seen as part of contemporary society. *Song* promotes awareness and tolerance of homosexuality within the contemporary Afrikaans community. In the past homosexuality was completely avoided on Afrikaans television as it was considered morally wrong by many conservative Afrikaner Christians. In the 2000s homosexuality is a known topic in public and private spheres, but many homosexual people still fear rejection and judgement by society or their community and therefore hide the truth about their sexuality. This state of affairs is depicted in Mossie's story. Many media initiatives are trying to de-stigmatise issues such as homosexuality and AIDS, but so far, homosexuality has not been explored extensively in Afrikaans media. kykNET and *Song* show a change in the Afrikaans media's approach to sensitive issues such as sex and AIDS. In her study of selected Afrikaans programmes on SABC-TV, Milton (2008) states that while certain racial and social transformation images are highlighted, some old stereotypes and demarcations still remain, for example the avoidance of multiracial romantic relationships. This is similar to what can be seen in *Song*. Male homosexuality is explored, but lesbianism and multiracial relationships are ignored. In *Song* lesbianism is acknowledged, but it remains a largely uncharted issue in the Afrikaans media. *Ballade* and *Wenners* make no mention of any type of homosexuality. Male homosexuality has generally received more media coverage over the past few years and *Song* also chooses to focus on gay relationships within its narrative. Another important topic dealt with in *Song* is HIV/AIDS.

HIV/AIDS has become a very important topic in contemporary South Africa. To many it is still a sensitive topic, even though it has been covered extensively in the media. Many people do not know how to deal with this matter and there are many stigmas associated with HIV/AIDS. *Song* aims to address this issue. In an indirect way *Song* offers a message on how to deal with homosexuality and HIV/AIDS. It urges people to not reject, judge,

accuse or blame others in such situations, but rather to show love and support. Talking openly about the situation is also stressed as the best course of action. Van Coller and Van Jaarsveld (2009) analysed the Afrikaans soap opera *7de Laan* (SABC) and concluded that serious actuality issues, such as homosexuality, AIDS and violent crime are avoided in this Afrikaans programme. A 'relax and relate' approach is rather opted for. In contrast, *Song* includes actuality issues such as abuse, paedophilia and AIDS, and aims to address these issues openly. As an independent television channel, kykNET decides what will be included in their schedule and what not. The approach taken in *Song* highlights a willingness on kykNET's part to address contemporary actuality issues in Afrikaans, for Afrikaans viewers.

kykNET and *Song* operate within a time of less restrictive censorship laws. Hence there is more freedom to address sensitive issues such as sex and AIDS. These matters are, however, not dealt with in any explicit ways as kykNET remains a family television channel and *Song* is a family drama and both choose to explore the issue within certain set limits. In the past (before 1994), Afrikaans programmes on SABC-TV avoided the topic of sex as it was considered inappropriate for viewers within the conservative Afrikaner community. This view is reflected in *Ballade* and *Wenners*. *Song*, on the other hand, does not shy away from the issue of premarital sex and depicts the topic as being acknowledged by the contemporary Afrikaans community. In the past this issue was avoided or depicted in a damning way due to the conservative views held by the Afrikaner Christian church, the apartheid government and the SABC. Only a few Afrikaans films dared to address the issue under the watchful eye of the then Publication Board. Even though sex is depicted as part of life, promiscuity is not promoted in *Song*. It rather encourages meaningful relationships, whether they are sexual or not. In a sense *Song* aims to promote an Afrikaans culture that speaks openly about sex, while avoiding unnecessary stigmas and stereotypes. Its focus is directed specifically at the Afrikaans or Afrikaner community, because of its very conservative cultural background where issues such as sex or sexuality were usually left unspoken. *Song* therefore shows that heterosexual relationships are still an acceptable option in Afrikaans communities and part of Afrikaans identity, but homosexuality is also considered an acceptable option. It constructs an Afrikaans identity that is more tolerant and aware of changes and alternative life choices in society. The programme openly addresses the issues of sex, HIV/AIDS and meaningful relationships and highlights an underlying optimism about love. All of these relevant issues are incorporated into the image

of Afrikaans identity sketched in *Song*. In *Song* one sees a thematic shift from the 1990s to the 2000s – a shift in focus from the transformation of the new South Africa to contemporary issues relevant in modern-day South Africa. This programme shows Afrikaans people dealing with issues of homosexuality, HIV/AIDS and drugs, all topics that were once ignored on Afrikaans television, as is shown in *Ballade* and *Wenners*. Challenges to conservative Afrikaans or Afrikaner values and identity constructions are explored, while highlighting that Afrikaans identity is not fixed; it is still being negotiated and reinterpreted. The representation of class was also explored.

### 8.2.3 The representation of class in the selected Afrikaans television dramas

During the analyses class was not identified as a prominent theme in *Ballade* or *Wenners*. However, in *Song* it emerged as a central theme focusing on the class awareness of the Afrikaans community in the new millennium. In *Ballade* the issue of class is hinted at when Liebet tells Jacques that he should not be spending so much time with Lena because she is from a “slegte huis” (bad home). This could suggest that Liebet considers Lena and her family to be of lower social standing or class compared to herself and Klaus. When comparing the homes (house, furniture, ornaments) of the Rynhards and the Aucamps, the Rynhards appear to be better off financially than the Aucamps. Another interpretation of Liebet’s reference to Lena’s ‘bad home’ could be that she is referring to Lena’s aggressive father. In contrast to Jacques and Lena, Alicia is depicted as an upper-middle-class character. She lives in an expensive and luxurious house and her father is a successful publisher. Other than the above examples, class did not feature as a significant theme during the *Ballade* analysis. A similar trend was identified in *Wenners*.

*Wenners* does not openly address the issue of class. Class differences are briefly introduced when Heinrich’s partner, George, is depicted in his home. In comparison to the Lindeman home, which is large, light, open and neatly furnished, George’s home is small, stuffy and uninviting. Visually it appears brownish in colour and the small rooms seem disorganised and overcrowded with furniture, ornaments and pot plants. The representation of George’s home is quite similar to the representation of Aunt Maria’s home (in Danville) in *Song*. These home environments suggest a lower-working-class context. Nevertheless, class is not delved into much further in *Wenners*. In comparison, class emerges as a much more significant theme in *Song*.

Different social classes are represented in *Song*. An image of the Afrikaner upper middle class is constructed through the Vlok family and their friends. During the family dinner scene they are depicted as wealthy, snobbish, pretentious, and extremely aware of class. These depictions highlight conservatism, a strong association with Christianity, and the use of 'proper' or standardised Afrikaans. These characters regard themselves as being superior to others and look down on those who are different from them. They are represented as hypocrites who only act like Christians when it suits their needs, as shown in representations of Cleo. She immediately judges and condemns Jinx when the police inspector visits Jinx at his practice. However, in the first episode Cleo states that the minister at her church prayed for people struggling with addictions. When she is faced with the actual situation, she criticises and judges Jinx without giving him an opportunity to him explain the situation or without getting all the necessary facts. The representation of Cleo and her family shows a number of similarities when compared to the representation of Liebet and members of the Helderfontein community (e.g. the principal and the woman from church). They are churchgoers and are labelled as Christians in their community, but instead of showing compassion, love and patience, they judge and condemn Jacques without question. Hypocrisy within the conservative Afrikaans community is thus highlighted in both the 1980s and 2000s. The upper-middle-class construction in *Song* calls on numerous aspects that are strongly associated with traditional Afrikaner identity (e.g. standardised Afrikaans, Christianity and conservatism) (Vestergaard 2001). Jinx therefore challenges the conservative Afrikaner identity construction by poking fun at the Afrikaans upper middle class. His clothes, behaviour and language use differentiate him from the Vlok family and their friends. The awareness of class differences within the contemporary Afrikaans community is stressed. Even though *Ballade* and *Weners* only hint at the notion of social class, *Song* shows that socially constructed class positions or social standings are still acknowledged within the Afrikaans community. Jinx (as well as other characters in *Song*) represents the contemporary challenge to Afrikaner conservatism.

Jinx's character frees Afrikanerness from the conservative Afrikaner mould. In the past, conservative Afrikaner identity, based on values of patriarchy and Christianity, was considered the norm. In the new millennium various Afrikaans identity constructions have come to the fore and traditional (Afrikaner) ideas, values, norms and symbols are being questioned and reinterpreted (Marx & Milton 2011; Vestergaard 2001). Jinx embodies this critique of the status quo and the reinterpretation of values and ideas. His image and music

are reminiscent of the Afrikaans *Voëlvry* movement in the late 1980s. This movement was driven by Afrikaans artists and musicians who challenged the apartheid system and the conservative and repressive values and norms inscribed in Afrikaner identity. Before 1994 a conservative Afrikaner point of view was promoted and maintained as the norm by the SABC and most of the Afrikaans press (Wigston 2007). In *Song* this conservative point of view is highlighted as a socially constructed point of view, which is no longer the only acceptable point of view in the Afrikaans community. The conservative point of view is made visible; it is not represented as normal or neutral. *Ballade* in a sense also challenges, in a less explicit way, the conservative Afrikaner context of the 1960s to 1980s, which was characterised by controlling parental and authority figures, a strict school system and a conservative Christian upbringing. Jacques's struggle and resistance within his family and community represent a key element within the *Ballade* narrative.<sup>89</sup> *Song* looks critically at the Afrikaans community within the 2000s context and sketches an Afrikaans identity that challenges conservatism and traditional values and norms. This identity construction speaks of the time. In *Song* resistance towards class superiority is emphasised.

The opposition between social groups is made visible through characters such as John, Katryn and Verster. *Song* exposes traditional conceptions that higher social class or standing implies more power, respect and importance, while lower social standing or class implies less power, respect and importance. These perceptions and class positions are explored through the Katryn and John versus Verster opposition. Verster attempts to enforce her perceived authority, status and power over John and Katryn. They, however, resist her assumed superiority through their humour. John and Katryn are the conventional underdogs, but they, like Jinx, eventually get the better of those who consider themselves superior to others. *Song* encourages viewers to identify with everyday, flawed, complex and different Afrikaans individuals. The 'perfect' or 'correct' Afrikaner or Afrikaans construction is not promoted; instead unconventional Afrikaans identity constructions are endorsed. An image of the Afrikaans working class is also constructed.

The working class are distinguished from the upper–middle-class characters through their language use, appearance and setting or objective correlatives. Their language use in particular highlights a resistance to and reinterpretation of traditional rules, values and

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<sup>89</sup> These issues of resistance within the *Ballade* narrative will be discussed further in the values section of this chapter.



norms concerning standardised or ‘proper’ Afrikaans.<sup>90</sup> *Song* disrupts pre-conceived ideas about being Afrikaans, for example how Afrikaans should be used and what types of relationships are considered acceptable or unacceptable in society. The approach in *Song* reflects a trend of the 2000s. Within the post-apartheid context South Africans are re-exploring identity constructions, whether in terms of class, race, ethnicity, gender or language. According to Barnard (2006) these new identities are explored in local fictional television programmes, including sitcoms and soap operas. As such, *Song* contributes to this process by exploring the complexities and possibilities of Afrikaans identity. *Song* tells the story of often marginalised or stereotyped groups such as the working class. The text suggests that aspects such as sexuality or class do not fix one’s identity; they are merely part of the on-going process of identity formation. Characters such as Jinx and Slab, who are from Danville which is considered a working-class community, are shown taking ownership of their background. Instead of accepting society’s value descriptions of Danville, they give their own meanings to their background and acknowledge that a good education is vital in rising above stigmas of class. The notion of success is emphasised and in *Song* it is argued that no matter what one’s background, one can achieve success in life. In all three texts, Afrikaans identity is associated with success or potential for success. A similar approach to the topic of success is expressed in *Ballade* and *Wenners*. One aspect that is associated with both the upper–middle-class and the working-class Afrikaans characters in *Song* is Christianity. It is especially associated with characters from an older generation, such as Hanna. In *Ballade* Christianity is also stressed as a key element in Afrikaans identity. When comparing these texts it is thus suggested that Christianity still plays an important role in the Afrikaans community of the 2000s. Both *Ballade* and *Song* critically engage with the issue of Christianity within their different contexts.

#### **8.2.4 The representation of values in the selected Afrikaans television dramas**

Media texts communicate numerous messages that echo and promote certain values regarding different aspects of life, such as family and relationships. Values can be expressed through actions, dialogue and appearance. Values can also change over time and reflect notions of right and wrong or acceptable and unacceptable from a specific perspective within a particular context. In this section the remaining themes (as identified

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<sup>90</sup> The use of Afrikaans in *Song* is discussed in detail in the language section of this chapter.

during the analyses) are all categorised under the (umbrella) theme of values.<sup>91</sup> *Ballade* explores the themes of family and individuality in the 1980s, while *Wenners* looks at the role of authority figures and the children's home and the opposition of good and bad in the early 1990s. Finally, *Song* examines the theme of abuse in the 2000s. Values play an important part in identity formation. The discussion begins with the theme of family.

A number of issues are addressed under the theme of family. In *Ballade* family comes across as a central theme. The nuclear family was considered to be a key aspect of traditional Afrikaner identity constructions (Maingard 2007; Vestergaard 2001). *Ballade* offers a critique of the traditional Afrikaner nuclear family. It shows the family unit as unstable, disrupted and complex and thus breaks with conventional and idealised depictions of a harmonious (Afrikaner) nuclear family. The influences of domineering and passive parents are explored and it reveals that the family construct has weaknesses and faults. It cannot be pinned down and it can take on different forms. The Aucamp and Rynhard families could be described as nuclear families, but an insider's look reveals that both of these families are disrupted: the Rynhard family as a result of a loveless marriage, passive husband/father and domineering wife/mother and the Aucamp family by an aggressive husband/father and a suppressed wife/mother. Jacques and Trudie's relationship or 'family unit' represents an alternative family construction. Trudie is not married and she is not Jacques's biological mother, but they still come to represent the notion of family. Jacques also returns to his mother and reaches out to her on a number of occasions. This stresses his longing for family, love and acceptance. Therefore, the value and importance of family and the longing for family or a familial connection (in one's life) are maintained as fundamental characteristics of Afrikaner or Afrikaans identity. This idea is also accentuated in the other texts. In *Wenners* and *Song* the representation of families continues.

*Wenners* takes a more conservative approach to family and holds the happy nuclear family construct as the ideal. It depicts family as something to be longed for and cherished, but it also highlights the disruption of families through abuse, death and crime (as is also the case in *Ballade* and *Song*). *Wenners* shows that the disruption leads to unhappiness, disharmony and rebellion and thus warrants attention. This text suggests that when faced with disruptions in the family unit, the community, including support structures such as the

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<sup>91</sup> The notion of values can be associated with each of the other themes or categories (including language, gender and class) addressed in this chapter, for example the values communicated about gender, sexuality or class. This section, however, has as its main focus the topics or themes from the analyses that have as yet not been discussed, such as family, individuality and abuse.

police, school and children's home, must stand together to protect and support the children and each other. In *Wenners* the focus remains on the white Afrikaans community and disruptions are limited to those experienced by the children within the specific community. Other political and social disruptions that were present during the early 1990s in South Africa are ignored. *Wenners* concludes with a happy ending. Jackie and Carl reunite with their mother, and although they are now part of a single parent family (considered an unconventional family unit) this situation is not depicted as a problem because the support structures within the community provide the necessary help. The importance of family and support structures in the community is emphasised. A message is communicated through the ending stressing that family, friends and good behaviour lead to success, happiness and contentment. *Wenners* constructs Afrikaans or Afrikaner identity in a more conservative way. The happy, stable family is viewed as the ideal and it is depicted as a key part of Afrikaans identity, but *Wenners* also shows that disruption in the family is possible through for example, abuse. Factors such as child abuse must therefore be addressed (and ideally, as is shown in *Wenners*, it should be resolved). In *Song* disruptions in the family unit are explored in the 2000s context.

*Song* demonstrates that families can be disrupted for many reasons. The ideal Afrikaans nuclear family with a loving and caring mother and a strong and moral father is not depicted. Instead the family construct is shown as flawed, complex and disrupted. Katryn's family is initially disrupted by the death of her father. The second familial disruption takes the form of an abusive stepfather and a further disruption is experienced when Katryn and Marelie's mother is sent to prison. Jinx and Mossie's family is also disrupted by the death of their mother, their father's illness and Mossie's drug and alcohol addiction. *Song* suggests that these are possibly the kinds of families that can be found in the broader Afrikaans communities of the 2000s. This supports the ideas expressed by Albada (cited in Alexandrin 2009:150-151), who after investigating the representation of American families on television found that television images influenced "viewers' beliefs about what exists, what is normal, what is right" in terms of family. *Song* depicts modern, unconventional Afrikaans families dealing with contemporary social issues. The contemporary South African context has brought new challenges for the family unit. The importance of family is, however, still emphasised as a core value in the Afrikaans community. This can be seen through Jinx and Mossie's relationship, as well as Katryn, Marelie and Hanna's relationship. In *Song* a longing for traditional family values is expressed. Hanna and

Marelie urge Katryn to get married and to have children. Jinx also wishes that he had a good and supportive wife. These traditional values are, however, explored within a contemporary South African context. Jinx, for example, not only wants a good wife, he also longs for a wife who will understand his family background and will support not only himself but also his brother. *Song* thus represents a tension between traditional Afrikaner values, contemporary social issues (such as AIDS, homosexuality and addiction) and liberal Afrikaans or Afrikaner sensibilities. Traditional and contemporary conceptions of being an Afrikaans family, of being Afrikaans, are intertwined.

*Song* constructs 'family' as an intricate part of Afrikaans identity within the new millennium. It highlights certain traditional values, but as re-interpreted or moulded within a contemporary Afrikaans/South African framework and it stresses the longing for family, a notion that is expressed in all three texts. According to the selected texts, even when the family is challenged or when there is strife, its role and importance remains a key part of being Afrikaans. The longing for family or the importance of family is not an issue or value associated with Afrikaans communities alone. It can be considered a universal phenomenon, often expressed in different types of fictional media, from diverse origins. Under the theme of family *Ballade* also examines the notion of patriarchy.

In the Rynhard household *Ballade* turns the traditional roles within the family upside down. The patriarchal system was considered a key value of conservative Afrikaner identity. Fathers, husbands, principals and ministers played a central role within the Afrikaans community. In the family unit, the husband/father was viewed as the head of the household (and a leader in the community), while the wife/mother was mostly limited to a submissive domestic and maternal position (Maingard 2007). As far as *Ballade* is concerned, Klaus must project the role of leader and provider to the outside world or Afrikaner community, and Liebet that of caring and loving mother and wife, but the insider perspective reveals conflict and confusion within the family. Klaus is a passive father/husband and is merely the financial provider. Liebet is cold and manipulative and dominates Klaus and Jacques. The unconventional family dynamic draws attention to the family construct. Instead of just accepting it as normal, one now notices its constructed nature, its complexity and its weaknesses. All three texts are, to differing degrees, critical of the traditional family construct and the roles played by parents. Just like Jacques, Mossie and the boys in *Wenners* long for positive male role models or father figures. The traditional central role of

the father in the family unit is emphasised, but it is critically explored. Jacques's father remains a passive figure, Mossie's father neglects him and Frans's father abuses him. All three texts suggest that a male role model is not necessarily found in the father figure: a principal, teacher or brother can also fulfil such a role. *Ballade* examines a particular view of children within the family and community.

*Ballade* explores a conservative view of children from the 1960s to 1980s which demanded that children should be seen and not heard. Children held subordinate positions within the family unit and strict parenting or a strict upbringing was considered the norm. *Ballade* critiques this conservative norm by showing Jacques's struggle within this suffocating and repressive family environment. The control, power and influence of parents are emphasised through a character like Liebet. As one sees through Jacques's character, resistance to this conservative and strict way of life is not tolerated. Jacques is labelled as rebellious and difficult because of his resistance. In the 1960s and 1970s strict parenting and discipline were considered the norm, not only in the home environment, but also in schools and the church. A recent Afrikaans film, *Roepman* (2011), depicts an Afrikaner (nuclear) family in the 1960s. In this film the conservative mind-set of an Afrikaner father (and the Afrikaner community) and the strict discipline that he enforces as the head of the household are emphasised. In *Ballade* this repressive system is also explored. Like the political system at the time, this approach to parenting and the upbringing or education of children was suppressive and worked to keep people in their assigned and acceptable positions. In the 1970s and 1980s (narrative time) depictions of Jacques's resistance against the control of his parent(s) and the conservative Afrikaner community become more visible.

In *Ballade* the rebellion or resistance represented through Jacques's character does not imply destructiveness or recklessness, but rather promotes critical thinking. This suggests thinking in a different way or making sense of the world in one's own way and not allowing others to prescribe what or who one should be. During apartheid particular ideas about being a white Afrikaner were communicated and promoted. These ideas were mostly viewed as fixed descriptions propagated by Afrikaners in positions of power. In the late 1970s and 1980s many white Afrikaners, however, began to question the apartheid system, as well as the norms and values of Afrikanerness or Afrikaner identity (Giliomee 1979; Vestergaard 2001; Marx & Milton 2011). Therefore a steady movement of change and

resistance arose among white Afrikaners,<sup>92</sup> which was met with opposition from the conservative Afrikaner community. *Ballade* grapples with the issue of resistance to the conservative status quo and represents Jacques as a critical thinker who faces opposition from authority figures who aim to stifle such manifestations of resistance or rebellion.

*Wenners* takes a less critical approach to authority figures in the early 1990s. In a sense the 'ideal' Afrikaans or Afrikaner community is depicted. The children's home functions as it should and the school is depicted as a positive environment. All the staff and teachers provide love, support and guidance to the children and show an active interest in their lives. Anet is also depicted as a loving parent. Furthermore, the police are shown as willing and able to help the community. A pro-authority view is communicated stressing that (in the Afrikaans community) everyone stands together against the problems in society, such as child abuse or crime. In *Ballade* Jacques is critical of authority figures such as his parents and the school principal. *Wenners* does not exhibit the same critical approach; rather it suggests that (good) authority figures (such as the police, teachers or social workers) unite against typically bad people, such as criminals or abusers. A rather conservative approach is taken to education, parenting, values and the community. There is an emphasis on support, encouragement and guidance in the children's home and the school. In comparison to the strict and formal representations in *Ballade*, this early 1990s text shows a less strict approach to parenting and schooling, but it still remains within set limits. No extreme cases of rebellion or resistance are included: for example, issues such as sex and drugs are completely ignored. Not even outbursts or confrontations between authority figures and children are included. Control is always maintained. *Wenners* does not challenge the status quo. The SABC's conservative position during the early 1990s is reflected in *Wenners*. At that stage it was still run by mostly conservative Afrikaners and as the genre is aimed at a juvenile audience a conservative approach was most probably considered the most appropriate choice. *Wenners* constructs an Afrikaans identity that embodies a pro-authority and pro-community view. The community and authority figures stand together against unsavoury elements in society. *Wenners* aims to show a positive approach to the conceptualisation of Afrikaans identity in the early 1990s. Christianity often plays a major role in constructions of Afrikaner identity.

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<sup>92</sup> Elements of change and resistance within the Afrikaans/Afrikaner community were explored in a number of Afrikaans films during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s.

*Ballade* comments on the hypocrisy within the conservative Christian Afrikaner community where Christian values are merely presented as an ‘appropriate Afrikaner’ front or image. Christianity is traditionally considered to be a key element of the Afrikaans or Afrikaner family, community and identity (Giliomee 1979; 2011). Consequently, *Ballade* shows that a Christian upbringing is part of the traditional Afrikaans community, but it also expresses critical views on Christianity as experienced within the community. Liebet and Klaus are represented as Christians, they pray and are churchgoers, but Liebet intimidates and rejects her son and manipulates her husband. She and other churchgoing community members are also quick to judge and condemn Jacques as a rebellious teenager. *Ballade* reveals the emptiness of the Christian front or image for many Afrikaners. Christianity is particularly associated with characters belonging to the older generation, such as Liebet, Trudie and Mambie, and through these characters different ways of being Afrikaner Christians are explored. Liebet and Mambie are judgemental and conservative, while Trudie is more liberal, empathetic and accepting. As in *Ballade*, *Song* also deals with hypocrisy within the conservative Christian Afrikaans community, but within the context of the new millennium. It exposes the pretentious and hypocritical way that many Afrikaans-speaking Christians only act like Christians when it suits their needs and when it involves people that are like them. As Liebet, the woman from church and the Helderfontein principal did with Jacques, so Cleo also judges and condemns Jinx before she knows all the facts or hears Jinx’s side of the story. In *Song* Christianity is again mostly associated with the older generation characters and it is shown as part of life for Afrikaans-speaking people from different walks of life. Both *Ballade* and *Song* show that Christianity is intricately associated with the Afrikaner or Afrikaans identity. As in the case of family, even when it is criticised and questioned, Christianity is still considered to be an important part of being Afrikaans.

In summary it can be said that *Ballade* conceptualises Afrikaner identity within the conservative socio-political context of the 1960s to 1980s. It reveals that Afrikaner identity is still informed by conservative Afrikaner values and norms, but it is showing signs of resistance and subversion. It questions traditional values and norms, such as the nuclear family, patriarchy and Christianity. In the 1980s this type of Afrikaner identity, as is seen in *Ballade*, was opposed and labelled as outsider or “enkeling” as was the case with the *Voëlvrý* movement. The artists involved were also seen as being subversive or as swimming against the tide. *Ballade*, however, encourages this type of independent and questioning identity. Within its conservative context (SABC production, broadcast during apartheid),

*Ballade* can be described as being subversive. It explores the struggle of an Afrikaner individual who challenges and resists dominant norms and values within the conservative socio-political context of the 1980s. *Ballade* takes a critical look at various aspects of the Afrikaner community, family and Afrikaner identity, including the relationship between the group and the individual.

*Ballade* examines the theme of individuality. Through characters such as Jacques and Carina an image of the young Afrikaner in the 1980s is constructed. The construction highlights qualities such as being strong, independent, creative, intelligent and successful. These characters also use standardised Afrikaans and are depicted as spirited achievers or workers. Jacques, Carina, JP and Lena achieve success in their chosen careers. The notion of individual success and the drive to achieve it have become important values in many different cultures and countries. Although *Wenners* and *Song* do not examine individuality as a separate theme all three texts emphasise the importance of achieving success and stress that no matter what one's background, class or financial position, success is possible and attainable. Success is thus highlighted as an important part of life and of one's identity. Viewers are encouraged to identify with these strong and individual characters.

Individualism is explored in *Ballade*, stressing that one should walk one's own path, not allowing others to abuse or control one. In *Ballade* it is also emphasised that one should not abuse or control others. The text suggests that being independent implies resisting or questioning socially accepted or prescribed roles and positions within society. Jacques resists and questions the positions and roles that the Helderfontein principal, his mother and the conservative Afrikaner community try to impose on him. The traditional patriarchal system, the domination and influence of parents and the conservatism of the Afrikaner community are examined. Jacques's independence is stressed through his critical thoughts and opinions and *Ballade* examines and challenges a number of conservative Afrikaner values. During the 1980s some Afrikaners questioned the apartheid system and its ideologies as well as the repressive ideas, values and norms that had shaped Afrikaner identity.<sup>93</sup> *Ballade* in a sense expresses some of these subversive qualities. Apartheid politics are not addressed explicitly in *Ballade*, but questions regarding Afrikaner identity or Afrikanerness are explored. The 1980s was a time of instability in South Africa in terms of politics and identity. It is possible that during this time many Afrikaners wished to exert

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<sup>93</sup> An example of such a movement would be the *Voëlvy* movement of alternative Afrikaans musicians in the late 1980s.



their individuality in opposition to the conformity of the conservative Afrikaner nationalist identity. *Ballade* highlights a focus on the individual within the Afrikaner community, not a focus on the Afrikaner “volk” or nation as was often the theme within older Afrikaans films.<sup>94</sup> Jacques portrays the role of the individual who goes against the grain, who challenges the status quo and who is labelled as an outsider because of this. When one stands firm as an individual one often faces rejection or exclusion from the group or community. According to Vestergaard (2001), many Afrikaners or Afrikaans speakers who questioned the traditional values and norms of being Afrikaans or being an Afrikaner (particularly before 1994) were often shunned or rejected by the conservative Afrikaner or Afrikaans community because they did not fit into the accepted mould of being Afrikaans or an Afrikaner. *Ballade* grapples with this complex relationship between the group and the individual.

The individual always has some connection to the group, be it family, the community or a particular cultural group. Jacques’s story stresses both positive and negative experiences of this give and take relationship. Notions of inclusion and exclusion are always present when a group is involved and when one challenges the rules or status quo of the group one is often excluded. Through Jacques’s experiences the link between groups and authority figures is emphasised. Groups usually include authority figures who ‘rule’ over the group. In order to be included in the group, one must accept the authority figures and their rules. Jacques is cautious of the control and power inscribed into the authority figure-group-setup. On the other hand, JP’s life is controlled by his desire to be part of and to remain part of the (‘in’) group or crowd. *Ballade* suggests that the individual is still part of the Afrikaner or Afrikaans community and other groups, but the relations vary. Hence, it is suggested that one can be an individual and an Afrikaner without necessarily conforming to the conservative standards of Afrikanerness. It is suggested that there are different ways of being an Afrikaner. *Ballade* represents the relationship between the individual and the group as a struggle and a complex developing process. It is seen as a multifaceted part of Afrikanerness or Afrikaans identity in the 1980s. The significance of this issue is also highlighted in the value themes that come to the fore in *Ballade*. The tension between family (group) and individuality is embedded in the story. *Wenners* addresses the opposition between what is good and what is bad.

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<sup>94</sup> Topics such as the conflict between liberal and conservative Afrikaners or the history of the Afrikaner nation or ‘volk’ were investigated in a number of early films, such as *'n Beeld van Jeannie* (1976) and *Die Square* (1975).

*Wenners* represents the opposition between the police and criminals. The police are represented in a positive way. Values associated with the police and characters such as Snyman stress that they are dedicated, trustworthy, capable, driven and necessary leaders and protectors in society. A conservative pro-police view is projected which aims to reinforce the positive image of the white South African police force and to reaffirm the viewers' trust in them. This is an interesting representation to note during the early 1990s, because during this time South Africa attempted a large-scale phase of social and political transformation. Later in the 1990s various incidents of police misconduct perpetrated during apartheid were exposed (e.g. during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings). These political issues are, however, excluded from the *Wenners* narrative. In *Wenners* the focus is on the micro-cosmos of a white Afrikaans community. As emphasised by Alexandrin (2009), television acts as an educator, shaping people's attitudes, values, beliefs and perceptions. In this case, viewers are motivated to identify with positive values and characters, like Snyman, and to then also identify with positive or acceptable roles and positions in society. In *Wenners* white Afrikaans people are basically depicted as law-abiding and law-enforcing citizens.<sup>95</sup> In opposition to the police (and the law-abiding citizens), the criminal is typified as aggressive, greedy, and manipulative. Heinrich and George represent the criminals and they are depicted in a negative way. They are shown as the unwanted or undesirable elements within the (Afrikaner or Afrikaans) community. The text suggests that the Afrikaner or Afrikaans people should not be like them. In *Wenners* the focus is on the good-bad dichotomy within the micro-cosmos of a white Afrikaans community.

*Wenners* depicts a longing for an ordered, structured and good society. The politics of the day are ignored and it appears as if nothing has changed in the 1990s. A stable white South African society is depicted. Different levels of structure and authority, including the police, teachers/school and parents, are highlighted. All three levels are portrayed as being caring, trustworthy, good and helpful (with the exception of Carl and Jackie's stepfather and Frans's father). An idealistic community is represented in *Wenners* and two universal messages are communicated: 1) Good always overcomes evil, and 2) One must help one's fellow man. These universal values are associated here with the white Afrikaans community. *Wenners* constructs an Afrikaans identity in favour of order, structure and

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<sup>95</sup> This approach supports the other value theme addressed in *Wenners* that expresses a pro-authority view (theme: The role of the children's home and authority figures).

‘goodness’. The clear categorisation of good and bad continues in the representation of the children at the children’s home.

Among the children good characteristics are highlighted as being caring and selfless and bad characteristics include being mean and a bully. *Wenners* does not show an overly strict or formal view of children but the text does suggest a model of how white Afrikaans children should and should not act. These representations are in line with the conservative position of the SABC at that time and its approach to youth television. No extreme issues, such as sex or drugs, are included and the troublesome topics that are addressed, such as stealing, are dealt with swiftly and surely. Frans and his friends, for example, reveal the truth about the break-in and they take responsibility for their wrongful or criminal actions. A positive approach and influence on children is highlighted. *Wenners* suggests that children who display bad behaviour can change their ways with the right help and guidance. Frans, Willemien and Carl are prime examples. *Wenners*, therefore, communicates a message of hope, suggesting that change for the better is possible, particularly for children. Furthermore, the contexts of troubled children, such as Willemien and Frans, are explored. The text asks: Why do they behave badly and why do they bully others? The backgrounds of the troubled children are examined and they reveal an unhappy childhood or a dysfunctional family. The text shows that this issue is indeed experienced in society, but *Wenners* argues that it can be addressed, for example with the help of a positive and supporting school and/or children’s home environment. As a youth drama the lesson element comes across clearly. ‘Good’ deeds are praised and acceptable while ‘bad’ deeds are punished and unacceptable. The programme shows how a ‘good’ white Afrikaans community should function, where particular norms and values regarding right and wrong and acceptable and unacceptable are promoted.

Overall, the value themes addressed in *Wenners*<sup>96</sup> show that the text acknowledges that families are disrupted for a number of reasons, such as death, crime or abuse. It is, however, suggested that the (new or unconventional) family unit can rise above these disruptions with the help of certain support structures within the Afrikaans community, such as the children’s home and other authority figures like the police, teachers and social workers. These support structures are represented in a positive way. As a youth drama directed at children (and their parents), *Wenners* works to construct an Afrikaner or

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<sup>96</sup> Themes: Role of the children’s home and authority figures; Opposition of good and bad.

Afrikaans identity that is positive and supportive. Universal values, such as helping one's fellow man, good overcoming evil, and never giving up, are emphasised. These positive values are associated with (white) Afrikaans identity and are communicated to the children-viewers. The final value theme to be discussed is abuse.

*Song* addresses the value theme of abuse. While it is only touched on in the other texts, this is a central theme in *Song*. Many film and television texts in the new South Africa aim to explore controversial and taboo topics. As an independent broadcaster, kykNET is part of this movement and it aims to explore the diversity of the Afrikaans community and to experiment with relevant actuality issues and themes. Abuse is considered an evil of society and *Song* explores different aspects of this controversial issue in the context of the early 2000s. In a time of gender equality and women's rights, patriarchy and the abuse of women remain relevant issues. *Song* includes many examples of abuse against women and children. This is a very topical issue in South Africa. *Song* suggests that it is often authority figures (including men and women) who verbally, physically or emotionally abuse others and thereby abuse their position of power. This point is also stressed in *Ballade* and *Wenners*. Although the abusers of women and children in *Song* are primarily depicted as men, all men are not labelled as abusive monsters. *Song* includes 'good' men in the form of characters such as Jinx, Slab and Inspector Vosloo, but it also critically comments on the behaviour of (Afrikaans) men in the 2000s through characters such as Gouws (and Venter). It reveals that many Afrikaner or Afrikaans men are not leaders or protectors in society, as was once proclaimed as the norm in traditional conceptions of Afrikaner identity. Alcohol and drug abuse are also addressed in *Song*. In relation to alcohol and drug addiction *Song* emphasises that an unsupportive family background and peer pressure are key ingredients in the development and continuation of addictions. Addicts such as Mossie and Faantjie need help and support from positive role models. *Song*, however, shows that even when help and support are offered, overcoming addiction is an on-going process with no 'easy fix'. Topics such as abuse and addiction are relevant in the 2000s context and thus need to be tackled.

*Song* looks at different types of abuse – including the problems and difficulties faced by those involved as well as possible solutions or ways of dealing with the situation. Abuse is still a sensitive issue in contemporary Afrikaans communities. Many refrain from talking openly about abuse because they fear the rejection and criticism of their community. *Song*

argues that all types of abuse should be brought into the open and it suggests that the best solution is to encourage open discussion. When Katryn reveals the truth about her abusive background she finally begins the important process of recovery and she frees herself, her mother and Marelie from the prison of abuse. *Song* suggests a change in the conservative mind-set of the Afrikaans community regarding abuse (and other social issues). Instead of hiding or ignoring these issues, one should confront them. *Song* further suggests that when faced with difficult or unfamiliar issues, one should not judge, condemn or reject; one should rather show compassion and support. *Song* represents an Afrikaans identity that is in the process of negotiating these social issues. In addition, elements such as family, trustworthiness and integrity are stressed as important attributes of Afrikaans identity. *Song* also depicts an alternative lifestyle to the conservative Afrikaans or Afrikaner way of life and so comments on the construction of Afrikaans identity in the new millennium.

The more easy-going and unrestricted lifestyle depicted in *Song* represents an alternative to the traditional Afrikaner way of life that was promoted during apartheid. This alternative lifestyle is, however, not represented as a 'simple' or uncomplicated alternative. Parties, drugs and alcohol form part of this alternative lifestyle and hence, it has its own weaknesses and pitfalls, just like an overly conservative and rigid lifestyle. In *Song* the alternative lifestyle is associated with biker culture and the Afrikaans rock music scene, which often express resistance against Afrikaner or Afrikaans conservatism (Marx & Milton 2011). *Song* shows that the new millennium is characterised by a critique and reinterpretation of old Afrikaner values and norms and a renegotiation of Afrikaans identity.

To conclude, *Song's* value-theme, abuse, stresses that contemporary social issues, even when sensitive or controversial, must be addressed within the modern Afrikaans community. Political issues are still of importance, but within the new millennium social issues are calling for attention. *Song* represents an Afrikaans identity involved in an on-going process of renegotiation and development. It is open to exploring and understanding controversial issues and works at reinterpreting and challenging conservative norms and values.

### **8.3 Conclusion**

This study explored the construction of Afrikaans identity in Afrikaans television dramas each produced in a different decade, namely the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s. Each text

investigated a selection of themes in a particular way and so revealed various aspects of its conceptualisation of Afrikaans identity within that particular time and context. Aspects such as language, gender, class and values all play a role in identity formation. Subsequently, the above-mentioned aspects were used as categories to structure the discussion of the findings.

To begin, language was examined. The findings show that standardised Afrikaans was considered the norm for Afrikaans or Afrikaner identity during the 1980s and early 1990s, but the drama from the 2000s shows a major shift in its approach to Afrikaans. The drama produced in the 2000s reveals a construction of Afrikaans identity, which shows openness towards the diversity of Afrikaans and its user base. Standardised Afrikaans is no longer depicted as the only acceptable norm. The use of Afrikaans in *Song* suggests that Afrikaans identity and the Afrikaans language are not fixed or completely homogeneous (e.g. only white), they are multidimensional.

In terms of gender, *Ballade* and *Wenners* both maintain traditional gender roles as part of Afrikaans identity, as was the norm on SABC-TV during apartheid. Not much change is noticeable between representations in the 1980s text and that of the 1990s. Conservative norms regarding gender, sex and sexuality are maintained. Heterosexuality is promoted as the norm and a traditional patriarchal system is presented where men take the top positions in the work environment and community. Of the two, only *Ballade* critiques the power inscribed into patriarchal figures. *Song* also acknowledges the male-dominated work environment, but it includes independent and professional women who challenge the system. The Afrikaans identity constructed in *Song* shows openness towards traditional and modern conceptualisations of gender. Regarding sexuality and sex, *Song* reveals a dramatic change in its approach. The 2000s text acknowledges heterosexuality and homosexuality and suggests an open but responsible approach to issues of sex. It promotes an Afrikaans identity that is more tolerant and aware of different sexual orientations and HIV/AIDS. This identity construction reflects the renegotiation and reinterpretation of Afrikaans identity in the new millennium.

The theme of class did not emerge as a significant topic in the *Ballade* and *Wenners* analyses. *Song*, however, explores this theme and reveals the class awareness and hypocrisy of the conservative Afrikaans Christian community. *Song* constructs, in characters such as Jinx, an Afrikaans identity that challenges Afrikaner conservatism and notions of class

superiority. Christianity is critically explored, but it is still highlighted as part of Afrikaans identity in *Ballade* and *Song*. In addition, Afrikaans identity is associated with success (in spite of challenges such as social class and background) in all three texts. This universal value of success or the importance of attaining success remained relevant during all three decades.

To conclude, in terms of values or value themes, the findings indicate that all three texts explore the disruption(s) of the family unit, but still emphasise the longing for and importance of family as a key part of Afrikaans identity. *Ballade* shows that Afrikaner or Afrikaans identity is firmly embedded within a conservative Afrikaner culture, but that resistance to this conservatism was emerging among some Afrikaners in the 1980s. *Ballade* is supportive of the critical, questioning and independent Afrikaner identity construction. Individualism is explored and the 1980s text shows that in terms of identity, the Afrikaner was still grappling with the complex relation between group and individual. *Wenners* is more conservative in its approach and highlights a (white) Afrikaans identity that expresses a pro-authority structures and pro-community perspective. It does not resist the status quo and aims to present a positive Afrikaans identity construction, where good and bad behaviour are clearly defined and good always overcomes bad or evil. In contrast to *Wenners*, *Song* takes a more gritty approach. It shows Afrikaans people dealing with serious social issues, such as substance and sexual abuse. Afrikaans identity is represented as complex and in the process of renegotiation. The 2000s text explores an Afrikaans identity that is less rigid and conservative.

In brief, the discussion on value themes suggests that feelings regarding family have remained constant to some degree over the three decades. Whereas both *Ballade* and *Song* highlight notions of resistance to or the challenging of the status quo, the focus has in a sense shifted from an 'inner battle' (relation between being an individual and belonging to a group) in the 1980s to an 'outer battle' (dealing with controversial social issues such as abuse) in the 2000s. The 1990s text, *Wenners*, comes across as the most conservative of all the texts. It also acknowledges good and bad elements in society, as is done in *Song* when dealing with the theme of abuse, but *Wenners* expresses no element of resistance or challenge or reinterpretation of the conservative Afrikaans status quo. The positions taken by each text regarding language, gender, class and values thus show some similarities but differences are also noticeable. The selected texts from the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s do not

construct or represent Afrikaans identity in the same way. Similarities can be identified, but each text also highlights its own unique nuances. The development or mutation of themes can be described as moving from subversive (*Ballade*, late 1980s) to conservative (*Wenners*, early 1990s) and finally to controversial (*Song*, early 2000s). A number of universal values or messages are also communicated in all three texts. These are that love triumphs over all, good prevails over bad or evil, success is attainable, and family is important.



## CHAPTER 9

# CONCLUSION

### 9.1 Introduction

This study explored the construction of Afrikaans identity in selected Afrikaans television dramas produced in three different decades, namely the 1980s, the 1990s and the 2000s. The Afrikaans television industry has been in existence for almost 40 years and provides fertile ground for academic research. As Afrikaans television continues to grow, more research opportunities and interests come to the fore. The study at hand contributes to the investigation of this multi-layered field of interest and sets the stage for further research. This chapter provides an overview of the research aims and findings, as well as a review of the research process. Suggestions for further research are also stipulated.

### 9.2 Research aims and findings

The aim of the study was to investigate the representation of Afrikaans identity in selected Afrikaans television dramas from different original contexts of production, including the 1980s, the 1990s and the 2000s. Three television dramas, namely *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling* (1987), *Wenners* (1992/1993) and *Song vir Katryn* (2003), were examined in detail with the goal of comparing their representations of Afrikaans identity. The study intended to identify relevant themes and to explore how values, gender, language and class were dealt with in the selected texts. Through the analysis the study sought to explore what was being communicated about Afrikaans identity in these selected texts. Furthermore, the study aimed to contribute to the growing investigation of Afrikaans television by focusing on content from the SABC and kykNET. The findings provided relevant insight into the questions posed by the study.

The study concludes that the selected Afrikaans television dramas show a significant change in the approach to and use of the Afrikaans language from the 1980s and early 1990s (on the SABC) to the 2000s (on kykNET). In *Ballade* and *Wenners* standardised Afrikaans is promoted as the norm for white Afrikaans or Afrikaner identity. This approach adheres to the conservative content guidelines of the SABC and the political climate during

the 1980s and early 1990s that endorsed standardised Afrikaans as the norm. In *Song* a dramatic change was identified in the use of Afrikaans – standardised Afrikaans is no longer the norm. Multiracial Afrikaans speakers are represented, and language use is characterised by code switching. The non-standardised use of Afrikaans in the 2000s text signals values of flexibility, diversity and fluidity. The renegotiation of Afrikaans identity and the Afrikaans language is emphasised in the kykNET text. kykNET and *Song* tap into the context of the 2000s, highlighting a time when the multiplicity of Afrikaans identity is explored.

In terms of gender the study found that both *Ballade* and *Wenners* apply a similar approach to gender roles, relationships and sex. Traditional gender roles are represented, highlighting a patriarchal system and white masculine authority. White men take the top positions within the work environment and the community. In both *Ballade* and *Wenners* young Afrikaans women are also depicted as part of the work environment. They are professional, modern and career-driven, but they do not challenge the male-dominated status quo. Conservative norms regarding sexuality and sex are furthermore maintained. As part of Afrikaans identity in the 1980s and early 1990s, heterosexual relationships are represented as the norm. Sex and related issues are also avoided. The representations in *Ballade* and *Wenners* reflect the conservative climate within the SABC and the Afrikaans community of that time regarding gender, sex and sexuality. The text from the 2000s, on the other hand, shows a dramatic change in its approach to issues of sex and sexuality. In *Song* characters talk openly about sex (particularly pre-marital sex), and both homosexual and heterosexual relationships are acknowledged. The programme promotes an Afrikaans identity that is open-minded and more aware of different sexual orientations and issues relating to sex, such as sexual abuse, sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS. *Song* explores both traditional and modern conceptualisations of gender. Although a mostly patriarchal work environment is represented, feminine, professional and independent women are also shown challenging this male-dominated system. Furthermore, multiracial Afrikaans femininities and masculinities are represented. The approach to gender, sexuality and sex in *Song* reflects the renegotiation and reinterpretation of Afrikaans identity in the new millennium. It also highlights kykNET's willingness to address previously taboo and controversial issues within the post-apartheid context.

Class did not emerge as a significant theme during the analysis of *Ballade* or *Wenners*. Different social groups are depicted; for example, working-class and middle class-characters, but class issues are not explored. *Song*, however, emphasises the class awareness of the conservative Christian Afrikaans community. Through characters such as Jinx, *Song* constructs an Afrikaans identity that challenges Afrikaner conservatism, traditional norms and values, and notions of class superiority. The new millennium is characterised by the reconfiguration of Afrikaans identity in the media, be it film, television, music or the Internet. *Song* and kykNET take part in this reconfiguration process by critically exploring traditional Afrikaans or Afrikaner ideas and values. The study furthermore found that all three texts highlight success or the potential for success as an important part of Afrikaans identity, no matter what one's class or background.

The value themes provided insight into each text's particular area(s) of focus within a certain historical context. In *Ballade* individuality is explored and the complex relationship between the individual and group is highlighted. Within the strict and conservative political context of the 1980s the relationship between individual and group (or nation or "volk") was a sensitive issue in the Afrikaner community. In *Ballade* a strict upbringing is emphasised as the norm within the home or family, school and church – all group constructions. Jacques rebels against the repression he experiences within these groups or environments. Criticism is raised against the conservative Christian nuclear family and community of the 1980s. *Ballade* reveals that Afrikaner or Afrikaans identity is firmly embedded within a conservative Afrikaner culture, but that signs of resistance against the conservative Afrikaner mould are coming to the fore among some Afrikaners. *Ballade* is supportive of an Afrikaans or Afrikaner identity that encourages critical thinking and independence. *Ballade* is critical of the traditional nuclear family and Christianity within the Afrikaner community, but it still stresses that even when challenged or criticised, Christianity and the family remain important elements in Afrikaner or Afrikaans identity. All three texts explore the disruption(s) of the nuclear family, within different historical contexts. The results reveal that Afrikaans families are not perfect units; instead they are flawed and complex. The longing for and importance of family or familial connection are, however, stressed as key characteristics of Afrikaans identity in all three texts. *Wenners* suggests that community support structures such as the police, school and the children's home must help and support (disrupted) families. This early 1990s text constructs a relatively conservative Afrikaans identity that favours order, structure and goodness. The

roles of the children's home and authority figures are explored, and a pro-community and pro-authority perspective is emphasised as part of Afrikaans identity. Set within the still conservative Afrikaans context of the early 1990s, *Wenners* does not challenge the status quo. A positive message of hope is communicated, emphasising that good will always prevail over evil. *Wenners* sets forth a positive (and mostly conservative) construction of Afrikaans identity in light of its selected value themes. Set within the 2000s context, *Song* deals with the controversial issue of abuse. It shows contemporary Afrikaans characters grappling with serious social issues and suggests possible ways of dealing with these issues. The study concludes that *Song* constructs an Afrikaans identity that is willing to confront and address serious social issues such as sexual abuse, addiction and paedophilia. The text does not shy away from these controversial issues and promotes a less rigid and less conservative Afrikaans identity. Through their selected value themes each text highlights particular issues of relevance within its historical time frame.

The findings outlined above provide valuable insight into the construction of Afrikaans identity in selected Afrikaans television dramas from specific historical periods. Similarities as well as differences or distinctions were identified. In comparison to *Ballade* and *Wenners*, *Song*, a kykNET text, shows significant deviations in its approach to and representation of Afrikaans identity, particularly in terms of language, gender and sexuality. It reveals a willingness to address previously taboo issues within a modern and more liberal Afrikaans context. While *Ballade* and *Wenners*, both SABC texts set within the pre-1994 time frame, sketch conservative Afrikaans communities and identities, *Ballade* positions itself as the more critical of the two texts. In an indirect or subversive way it challenges certain conservative Afrikaner values and ideas such as Christianity and the nuclear family. The findings show that while similarities can be identified among the selected texts, differences in their approach to and representation of Afrikaans identity is evident.

This study contributes to the growing investigation of Afrikaans television in South Africa by exploring productions from both the SABC and kykNET, and including texts produced before and after 1994. It furthermore sheds light on different Afrikaans identity constructions that have appeared on South African television screens over a period of 20 years (1985-2005) and that have returned to South African television screens over the last several years. The trend of shared broadcasting and rebroadcasting Afrikaans television

programmes continues in 2014, exposing viewers to older and newer representations of Afrikaans identity and Afrikaans stories.

### **9.3 Review of the research process**

During the early stages of the research project relevant literature was explored to gain greater insight into trends and areas of interest in Afrikaans and South African television. Relevant concepts and issues such as identity and representation were also investigated. It was during the initial reviewing of literature that a gap was identified. Although some academic investigation of Afrikaans television had been done, none of these studies had (at the time of writing) explored Afrikaans television dramas from both before and after the 1994 mark. The main focus was rather on contemporary, new South African productions, particularly SABC productions. This study thus aimed to address the identified gap by exploring the construction of Afrikaans identity in Afrikaans television dramas produced before and after 1994, and originating from two different broadcasters – SABC and kykNET. A sample of Afrikaans television dramas was selected based on relevant criteria and broadcasting trends in the SABC and kykNET. The sample consisted of *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling* (1987 – SABC), *Wenners* (1992/1993 – SABC) and *Song vir Katryn* (2003 – kykNET).

Employing a cultural studies approach a qualitative study was conducted. A comparative visual textual analysis was done, using semiotic and narrative analysis methods. The research design and data analysis approach proved to be very useful, and meaningful, detailed and interesting data were produced. The acquired data suitably addressed the outlined research questions. The research design does, however, exhibit some limitations due to its interpretative nature. Interpretations are subjective and are influenced by the reader's own context. This study sought to provide, through analysis, a greater understanding of the selected texts and their construction of Afrikaans identity, but it does not claim to be the only interpretation or understanding possible. Other researchers may obtain different results depending on, for example, their selected approach and viewing position or context. The study at hand thus forms part of the discourse concerning Afrikaans television in South Africa and contributes to the field of knowledge.

Some challenges were experienced during the analysis phase of the research project. During the analysis of the selected television programmes, a very large amount of detailed data was

generated. All the data were sifted through and thoroughly investigated, which resulted in a very labour-intensive and time-consuming task. It is recommended that in future research – particularly when working with television texts that are organised into episodes – a small sample be tested in order to gauge the amount of data that are produced by each episode. If necessary the scope of the study or sample size can then be reconsidered during the early stages of the project. This will possibly rule out unnecessary delays further on in the research process. Nevertheless, the completed study still provided multi-layered and insightful data and relevant findings. It offers a thorough look at the construction of Afrikaans identity in the selected Afrikaans television dramas.

#### **9.4 Suggestions for further research**

I once watched an interview on television in which a Spanish filmmaker said that the restoration of old films is very important, because these old films can tell (and show) viewers something of another time, another era. These films can show what people and places looked like, and they can highlight relevant themes and issues during a particular time in history. The films are a source of information. The same can be said of television. Afrikaans television has been active for more than 30 years and it too is a source of information for viewers and researchers.

This study's scope of investigation was limited to one selected television text from each decade– the 1980s, the 1990s and the 2000s. It is suggested that the investigation could be expanded to include a variety of Afrikaans television dramas produced during each specific time period and even include further time periods, such as the late 1970s. An exploration of other television genres, such as Afrikaans soap operas, situation comedies, game shows or reality programmes, could also produce interesting findings. One could ask: How is Afrikaans identity constructed in these different television genres? Another research possibility entails the comparison of Afrikaans television and Afrikaans films. Both industries have noteworthy histories and have shown prominent growth over the last 10 years. The study at hand sets the stage for further research on Afrikaans television and contributes to existing research in the field of Afrikaans and South African media.

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## APPENDIX 1

### *BALLADE VIR 'N ENKELING*

#### 1.1 Extracts or examples from the programme

##### 1.1.1 Extract 1 (Episode 8):

While working at Engelbrecht's farm, Jacques goes to visit Lena at the The Plaza Hotel in town. At the restaurant-bar Jacques is drawn into a fight by two of Gavin's troublemaking friends. Gavin planned the whole affair and wanted to get Jacques into trouble. The plan works and the police go to question Jacques on the farm. This infuriates Engelbrecht and she confronts Jacques while he is feeding the cows.

<p>Mambie: "Trap van my grond af!"</p> <p>Jacques: "My goed is reeds gepak mevrou."</p> <p>Jacques walks away.</p> <p>M: (Yells after him.) "Jy sal nog gestraf word vir elke gebod wat jy oortree het!"</p> <p>J: (Medium shot of Jacques as he turns to face her) "Jy mevrou, oortree net een gebod. Dis ongelukkig die belangrikste. Ek dink hulle praat iets van jy moet jou naaste liefhê soos jousef. (A close-up shows Mambie's shocked expression.) Ek dink nie jy kan enigeen liefhê soos jousef nie, mevrou."<sup>97</sup></p> <p>(Jacques then walks away.</p> <p>Mambie is furious and when she tries to follow Jacques she trips and lands face first in the mud. A close-up shows her dirty face as she yells in frustration.)</p>	<p>Get off my property!</p> <p>My things are already packed, madam.</p> <p>You will be punished for every commandment you disobeyed!</p> <p>Madam, you are violating only one commandment. Unfortunately it's the most important one. I recall something of loving your neighbour as you love yourself. I don't think you can love anyone the way you love yourself, madam.</p>
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<sup>97</sup> The Primary Commandments: Matthew 22:37-39, "He [Jesus] said to him [Pharisee], 'Love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your soul, and with all your mind. This is the greatest and most important commandment. The second is like it: Love your neighbour as yourself'."

### 1.1.2 Extract 2 (Episode 3):

Jacques shows signs of resistance as a teenager. The first example depicts Jacques as he arrives home from school one afternoon to find his parents eating lunch and drinking tea at the dining-room table. Klaus begins the conversation.

<p>Klaus (K): “Jou ma ... jou ma en ek wil graag met jou praat.”</p> <p>Jacques (J): “Wat is dit, Pa?”</p> <p>Liebet (L): “Moenie jou parmantig hou met Pappa nie.”</p> <p>J: “Ek hou my nie parmantig nie, Ma. Ek wil net weet wat aangaan.”</p> <p>K: “Uhm ...”</p> <p>L: “Ons voel jy spandeer te veel tyd saam met Lena. Sy kom uit ’n slegte huis. Ons is bekommerd oor jou.”<sup>98</sup></p> <p>J: “Maar ek hou van Lena, Ma!”</p> <p>L: “Praat met jou pa. Hy’t die ding begin.”</p> <p>(A medium shot quickly moves from Liebet to Klaus as she says this. For the first time Klaus shows a reaction. He looks shocked. From his expression it becomes clear that he did not start this ‘thing’, it was Liebet as usual.)</p> <p>J: “Dink Pa regtig Lena is die verkeerde meisie vir my?”</p> <p>L: “Jy’s te jonk vir sulke dinge.”</p> <p>J: “Ek vra wat dink Pa daarvan! Toe sê vir my Pa, sê my!” (Jacques hits the door frame with his hand. He then storms out.)</p>	<p>Your mother ... your mother and I want to talk to you.</p> <p>What is it, Dad?</p> <p>Don’t be cheeky with your father.</p> <p>I’m not being cheeky, Mom. I just want to know what’s going on.</p> <p>Uhm ...</p> <p>We feel you’re spending too much time with Lena. She’s from a bad home. We are worried about you.</p> <p>But I like Lena, Mom!</p> <p>Speak to your father. He started this thing.</p> <p>Dad, do you really think Lena is the wrong girl for me?</p> <p>You’re too young for such things.</p> <p>I’m asking you what you think! Tell me Dad, tell me!</p>
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<sup>98</sup> An awareness of class difference is hinted at when Liebet mentions that Lena is from a “bad home”. The issue is, however, not delved into much further. The statement could also refer to Lena’s aggressive father.

As he storms out of the room a woman walks in. She appears to be about the same age as Liebet. She has come to talk to Liebet about the “biduur” (prayer meeting) at church. We hear the front door closing as Jacques goes outside with his bicycle and the woman then sits down at the table and says, “Julle beter hierdie seunskind van julle vasvat. Hy raak ook deesdae baie opstropeliss by die skool hoor ek. Luister nie altyd na die onderwysers nie” (You had better discipline that son of yours. I hear he’s been getting into trouble at school. Does not always listen to the teachers). The woman speaks with clear disapproval.

### **1.1.3 Extract 3 (Episode 3):**

The flashback depicts a visit from the school principal to the Rynhards’ home when Jacques is a teenager, in Standard 9 (Grade 11 ). The first part of this scene is discussed in the section on individuality. It is the second part of this scene, which shows Jacques taking action, that is of interest at this point. Just as the principal is about to depart from the Rynhards, Klaus returns home from work. He looks defeated and unhappy. Jacques immediately notices this and when the principal is gone he goes to Klaus’s side. When Liebet returns after walking the principal to the door she immediately tells Jacques to leave his father alone. Jacques becomes upset and says that Klaus is his father and he can talk to him. Liebet then yells that Jacques should not talk to her in that way. A long shot shows the principal outside the Rynhard home. He hears the argument inside the house. Back inside, Jacques asks Klaus if he has lost his job. Klaus does not answer, but it becomes clear that is exactly what happened. Jacques stays at his father’s side, “Het Pa met die baas gaan praat? Hoekom nie, Pa? Hoekom baklei Pa nie terug nie?” (Did you speak to the boss? Why not? Why didn’t you fight back, Dad?). Liebet tries to intervene, “Jacques, los hom uit!” (Jacques, leave him alone!) Outside the principal walks back towards the house. Klaus sits down on the couch. A close up shows Jacques and Klaus’s faces together. Jacques says, “Dis omdat jy gaan lê dat ander op jou trap. Dis omdat jy toelaat dat ander jou gebruik, dis hoekom, Pa! Pa moes opgestaan en baklei het” (It’s because you lie down that others step on you. It’s because you allow others to use you, that’s why, Dad! You should have stood up and fought, Dad). Jacques loosens his school tie and says that his father should fight, even if it is with him, but he has to fight. Jacques pulls his father up from the couch and says that he should go back to work to speak to the people in charge. He should go back and fight. As he does this Liebet yells and the principal storms in and pulls Jacques away

from his father. The principal makes his own interpretation of the events and says that Jacques was trying to hit his father.

#### **1.1.4 Extract 4 (Episode 5):**

While visiting Lena, JP describes Gavin as Jacques's greatest enemy. The scene dissolves into a flashback of Jacques at the reformatory school. A long shot shows Jacques as he walks into the bathroom. He appears to be in a good mood. He takes a shower, but is startled by a noise. He quickly finishes and wraps a towel around his waist. He hears another loud noise and a medium shot shows one of Gavin's friends appearing from behind a toilet stall door (wearing only shorts, no shirt). All the others appear in the same way behind the rest of the stall doors. It is an ambush. A close-up shows that Jacques is anxious, and a medium shot shows Gavin as he stands at the door. He is not as muscular and physically well-defined as Jacques. All the bullies, except one, appear flabby in comparison to Jacques. The camera zooms in to a close-up of Gavin, signalling him as the leader. He instructs one of the boys to keep a look-out at the bathroom entrance and then makes his way towards Jacques. This is how Gavin operates; behind closed doors or behind people's backs or in the dark, where his cruel deeds go unseen. He also acts in a group, where others can help him do the dirty work and cover for him when necessary. The viewer sees what Jacques sees as Gavin and the rest of his gang take their position in front of Jacques. They glare at Jacques and begin to taunt him: "Jou ou toppie het jou seker baie geslaan, is dit hoekom jy hom geskiet het?", "Of het jy hom net nie gesmaak nie?", "Het hy jou met dagga gevang my ou?", "Het jy van die huis af weggeloop?" (Your dad probably hit you, is that why you shot him? Or did you just not like him? Did he catch you with marijuana? Did you run away from home?). Jacques, however, remains silent and refuses to react. The boys' taunting words suggest that they too come from unhappy families or backgrounds, perhaps providing some of their own reasons for being at the reformatory school.

Gavin aims to humiliate Jacques. When they get no reaction from Jacques, Gavin pulls off Jacques's towel, thus exposing him. Jacques still remains calm. The camera zooms in to an extreme close-up of his eyes, stressing that the viewer is experiencing this event from Jacques's perspective. A voice-over begins. It is JP saying: "Moenie dink nie, doen net" (Don't think, just do it). A flashback within this flashback follows. A brownish tinted image depicts Jacques and JP at the swimming hole, the day they both dived from the highest ledge. Before the two of them took the plunge, Jacques stood thinking about

whether he should or should not jump. Seeing this JP said to Jacques that he thinks too much, and rather suggested another motto: Don't think, just do. After their discussion they dived into the water. The scene dissolves back to the previous flashback and opens with a profile close-up of Jacques. Gavin's face enters the screen and he snaps his fingers to get Jacques's attention. Jacques asks for his towel and then tries to get it back, but the boys keep it out of his reach. He then pulls on his shorts and makes his way to the door. The boys overpower Jacques and drag him to a large washbasin filled with water and dirty rugby clothing. One quickly removes the clothing and the others force Jacques's head into the water. Gavin stands to the side (while the others are doing the dirty work) and an extreme close-up shows him smiling. This stresses Gavin's cruelty and meanness. The look-out suddenly runs into the bathroom, warning them that one of the teachers is on his way in. Gavin acts quickly, he instructs the others to help him switch places with Jacques. A medium shot shows Gavin as he plunges his head into the water. Jacques is exhausted and lies limply on Gavin's back. The teacher then storms into the bathroom and pulls Jacques off Gavin. Gavin plays the victim, saying that Jacques had attacked him for no reason and almost drowned him. The teacher believes his story. A close-up then shows Jacques looking at Gavin with a look of hatred on his face.

### 1.1.5 Extract 5 (Episode 4):

On the night of Klaus's death Trudie and Liebet are shown sitting at the dining-room table in the Rynhard home. They have a heated discussion about Jacques and his involvement in Klaus's death.

Trudie: "Dit was 'n ongeluk!"	It was an accident!
Liebet: "Hy't daai geweer opgetel en vir Klaus doodgeskiet."	He picked up that gun and shot Klaus dead.
T: "Hy gaan hierheen kom, dan moet jy met hom praat Liebet. Jy't nog nooit met hom gepraat nie. Dis dalk jou laaste kans."	He's going to come here, and then you must speak to him, Liebet. You've never spoken to him before. This may be your last chance.
L: "Ek wil nie 'n moordenaar in my huis hê nie. Hy moet nie waag hier kom wegkruip nie."	I don't want a murderer in my house. He musn't dare to hide here.



T: “So jy gaan jou seun net so wegstuur?”	So you’ll send your son away?
L: “Ja.”	Yes.
T: “Maar jy’s sy ma.”	But you’re his mother.
L: (Medium shot shows both of them; Liebet gets up from the table.) “Hy’t my man doodgeskiet!”	He shot dead my husband!
T: (Trudie also gets up, clearly upset.) “Hy’s jou seun!”	He’s your son!
L: “Ek wil nie moordenaars in my huis hê nie!” (Trudie then storms out of the room.)	I don’t want murderers in my house.

## APPENDIX 2

### *WENNERS*

#### 2.1 Extracts or examples from the text

##### 2.1.1 Extract 1 (Episode 7):

A close-up shows Frans as he stands in the shower, his eyes closed. The sound of people cheering and rejoicing can be heard. The shower image cuts to a shot of students cheering on the school pavilion. A change of colour (a blue tint) signals that this is a dream. Throughout this scene the editing switches between Frans in the shower and his dream. In the dream Frans and Carl are running in a race and Frans takes the lead with ease. Carl seems to be struggling to keep up. As Frans breaks the ribbon at the finish line a male figure is visible in the background. Frans notices the male figure. The man reaches out to Frans with his hands. The camera moves around Frans and the music and other cheering sounds fade away suggesting that this is the highlight of Frans's dream. Frans jogs to the male figure and we now see it is an old man with a white moustache, wearing a white shirt and dark sweater and a checked hat. Frans and the old man hug. The camera circles them, focusing all attention on these two figures. The old man then takes Frans's hand and shakes it.

Old man: "Veels geluk. Dis 'n voorreg om 'n seun soos jy te hê."	Well done. It's a privilege to have a son like you.
Frans: "Dankie dat pa gekom het."	Thank you for being here, Dad.
Pa: "Ek sou dit vir niks ter wêreld gemis het nie. Frans, ek wil hê jy moet terugkom huis toe, my seun."	I wouldn't miss this for the world. Frans, I want you to come back home, son.
Frans: "Kan ek regtig, Pa? Bedoel Pa dit?"	Can I really, Dad? Do you mean it, Dad?

An extreme close-up of Frans's eye (as he stands in the shower) follows after the dialogue provided above. A voice-over repeats the last two exchanges ("Frans, ek wil hê jy moet

terugkom huis toe, my seun ... Kan ek regtig, Pa? Bedoel Pa dit?"). Once again the hug between Frans and his father is shown. The words then start to jumble together and an extreme close-up of Frans's eye is shown again. The scene abruptly cuts to a close-up of someone dropping a bag onto a wooden bench in the bathroom. The sound jolts Frans back from his daydream.

### 2.1.2 Extract 2 (Episode 7):

Tannie Vis is an old white woman in her sixties. She has lines and wrinkles on her face and fine, curly, grey-blond hair usually taken up in a bun. She is often depicted wearing an apron around her waist and her glasses on a string around her neck. She is a caregiver and her character comes across as an aunt- or grandmother-like figure. She offers Carl a cup of hot chocolate. Carl is at first very reluctant, but in the end he accepts the cup of hot chocolate and sits down at a table with Tannie Vis. A high-angle shot shows the two of them sitting at a table in the dark dining-room with the only light coming from the open door leading to the kitchen. The camera moves closer and the shot cuts to a medium shot of the two of them. This signals that the discussion to follow is private and personal. In the dark room, shadows partially cover their faces. At this stage both of them are still in the dark regarding certain issues: Carl about Heinrich and his real reasons for the jewel theft and Tannie Vis about Karel's alleged suicide. Tannie Vis initiates the conversation.

Tannie Vis: "So het ek en jou pa ook dikwels gesit. Hoe onthou jy jou pa, Carl?"	Your father and I often also used to sit like this. How do you remember your father, Carl?
Carl: "My pa ... hy was seker 'n goeie man gewees. Saggeaard, stillerig ... nie 'n bakleier nie."	My father ... he was a good man. Kind, quiet ... not a fighter.
T: "Maar hy het goed vir julle gesorg?"	But he took good care of you?
C: (Suddenly upset) "Tot hy besluit het dis te veel moeite."	Until he decided it was too much effort.
T: (Shocked, serious) "Nee Carl, dit moet jy nooit weer sê nie."	No Carl, you must never say that again.
C: "Dis tog waar, is dit nie?"	It's the truth, isn't it?
T: "Jou pa het net vir julle drie gelewe en	Your father worked and lived only for the

<p>gewerk. Vir jou ma, vir jou en vir Jackie. Niks wat hy ooit vir julle kon doen of gee was te veel moeite nie. Ek weet nie wat hom in sy laaste oomblikke gedryf het nie, maar dit was net nie in Karel se aard om moed op te gee nie. Hy was juis 'n vegter. Iemand wat hom deur niks en niemand sal laat onderkry kry nie. Ek weet waarvan ek praat, Carl; hy't voor my oë grootgeword.”</p> <p>C: “Al wat ek weet is dat hy nie daar was toe ons hom nodig gehad het nie. Oom Heinrich was.”</p> <p>T: “Vertel my van dié oom Heinrich. Lyk my jy't 'n groot bewondering vir hom.”</p> <p>C: “Ek kan hom enigiets vra en hy sal dit onmiddellik vir my doen. Hy behandel my soos sy eie seun.”</p> <p>T: “En die juwele-diefstal? Is die man dan nie 'n misdadiger nie?”</p> <p>C: “Nee, hy't 'n goeie rede gehad. Hy wou net 'n klomp dagga-smokkelaars vastrek.”</p> <p>T: “Glo jy dit werklik, Carl?”</p> <p>C: (Unsure) “Ja.”</p> <p>T: “Moenie jouself bluf nie Carl. Dis nie in jou pa se klas nie. Jou pa was 'n man uit een stuk. Dié man is 'n nikswerd wat julle almal wil gebruik. Word wakker voor dit te laat is. Wees die man wat jou pa was.”</p>	<p>three of you. For your mother, for you and for Jackie. Nothing he could do for you was ever too much effort. I don't know what drove him in his last moments, but it just wasn't like Karel to give up. He was a fighter. Someone who would not be put down easily by anything or anyone. I know what I'm talking about, Carl; your father grew up in front of me.</p> <p>All I know is that he wasn't there for us when we needed him. Uncle Heinrich was.</p> <p>Tell me about Uncle Heinrich. It seems as if you really look up to him.</p> <p>I can ask him anything and he'll do it for me immediately. He treats me as if I'm his own son.</p> <p>And the jewel theft? Is this man not a criminal?</p> <p>No, he had a good reason. He wanted to catch a bunch of drug smugglers.</p> <p>Do you really believe that, Carl?</p> <p>Yes.</p> <p>Don't kid yourself, Carl. Your father was a good man. This man is a good-for-nothing who just wants to use you. Wake up, before it's too late. Be the man your father was.</p>
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Carl quickly finishes the last of his hot chocolate. As he gets up he thanks Tannie Vis for the hot chocolate and then excuses himself from the table. Tannie Vis also says good night and adds that she is there for Carl if he needs her.

### 2.1.3 Extract 3 (Episode 9):

Frans approaches McKeggy in his classroom during break time. It is only the two of them in the classroom. Frans walks up to McKeggy where he is sitting at his desk.

McKeggy: “Yes Frans, wat kan ek vir jou doen?”	Yes Frans, what can I do for you?
Frans: “Dink Meneer Lindeman gaan hardloop?” (Frans is referring to the big upcoming athletics meeting.)	Sir, do you think Lindeman will run?
M: “Ek hoop so.”	I hope so.
F: “Wel Meneer het nie gedink ek kan hom wen nie, nè?”	Well Sir, you didn’t think that I would win?
M: “Nee-nee, ek het nie.”	No-no, I didn’t.
F: “En nou Meneer, wat sê Meneer nou?”	And now Sir, what do you say now?
M: “Jy moet nou nie op jou louere rus asof die stryd klaar gewen is nie.”	Don’t rest on your laurels just yet.
F: “Wat bedoel Meneer?”	What do you mean, Sir?
M: “Ek bedoel jy moenie te vroeg met jou kop in die wolke loop nie.”	I mean, you should not be walking with your head in the clouds too early on.
F: “Maar ek het hom gewen, Meneer.”	But I beat him, Sir?
M: “Ek weet en ek kraak dit nie af nie, maar dit is bietjie vroeg om selftevrede te raak.”	In know, and I’m not detracting that, but it’s a bit too early for you to be self-satisfied.
F: “Ek verstaan nie wat probeer Meneer nou eintlik vir my sê nie.”	I don’t understand what you’re trying to say, Sir.
M: “Wat ek vir jou probeer sê is ek dink nie Lindeman het sy beste uitgehaal nie. Wat ek nog vir jou probeer sê is ek dink jy en Lindeman moet mekaar opkeil en	What I’m trying to say is that I don’t think Lindeman gave of his best. What I also want to say is that you and Lindeman should urge each other on to even greater achievements.

<p>mekaar tot groot hoogtes aanspoor.”</p> <p>F: “Dink Meneer hy kan my wen?”</p> <p>M: “Ek is julle afrigter. Ek wil sien dat elkeen van julle sy beste lewer.”</p> <p>F: “En syne is beter as myne?”</p> <p>M: “Nee-nee, ek het dit nie gesê nie. Ek het nog nie sy beste gesien nie.”</p> <p>F: “Maar Meneer dink dit?”</p> <p>M: “Ek dink niks. Ek’s hier om julle talente op die sportveld te ontwikkel. Vir my is julle almal atlete. Dis my werk om die beste in jul elkeen uit te bring. En dit is presies wat ek beplan om te doen.”</p> <p>F: “Al wat ek weet, Meneer, is ek het hom gewen. As dit nie goed genoeg is nie, dan weet ek nie.”</p> <p>M: “Hei-hei-hei. Moet nou nie kom staan negatief raak hierso nie. Ek het groot planne vir die seisoen. Ek gaan nie toelaat dat jou ego tussenbeide tree nie. Loop skeep vars lug, man. Ons het ’n belangrike oefening vanmiddag. Jy’s nog lank nie so goed soos wat jy kan wees nie. Dis hoekom ons hier is, om te werk sodat ons beter kan word.”</p>	<p>Sir, do you think he can beat me?</p> <p>I’m your coach. I want to see that each of you delivers his best.</p> <p>And his is better than mine?</p> <p>No, no, I did not say that. I have not seen his best yet.</p> <p>But that is what you’re thinking, Sir?</p> <p>I’m thinking no such thing. I’m here to develop your talents on the sports field. To me, you’re all athletes. It’s my job to bring out the best in everyone. And this is exactly what I plan to do.</p> <p>All I know Sir, is that I beat him. But if that isn’t good enough, then I don’t know.</p> <p>Hey-hey-hey. Don’t be negative. I have big plans for the season. I won’t allow your ego to get in the way. Go on, get some fresh air. We have an important practice this afternoon. You’re not nearly as good as you can be. That’s why we’re here, to work so that we can become better.</p>
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#### 2.1.4 Extract 4 (Episode 9):

A medium shot shows the three girls walking out of a classroom. The sounds and free movement of children indicate it is recess. One of the girls asks whether they are going to join the other Standard 9 and 10 girls in Miss Viljoen’s class. Willemien stops and turns to face her two friends. She clearly disapproves of the idea.

<p>Willemien: “Vir ou Millie-skillie, vergeet dit!”</p> <p>Girl 1: “Dis vir die skool ook Willemien en buitendien ek dink dis hoogtyd dat daar iets vir Millie gedoen word, sy sukkel so.”</p> <p>Girl 2: “Ja, ek kry haar ook jammer.”</p> <p>W: “Van wanneer af en van waar die skielike liefde? Ag kom ons gaan oefen doel. (Willemien turns her back to them and continues walking. The other two do not follow. She turns back to face them; the camera shows a close-up of her face.)</p> <p>Nou toe, waarvoor wag julle? Het julle lood in julle voete?”</p> <p>G1: (Close-up of G1) “Dis die een kans in die jaar wat ons het om almal iets saam te doen. Ek gaan nie eenkant staan en kyk hoe die ander help nie.”</p> <p>W: “Wel draf dan man, voor die pad vol dubbeltjies word. Ek wag net hier.”</p> <p>G1: “Ek is moeg daarvoor om altyd teen alles en almal te wees, Willemien. Ek gaan help.”</p> <p>G2: “Ek ook.”</p> <p>W: (Close-up of Willemien. For the first time during this discussion you see a hint of fear and sadness in Willemien’s eyes.) “Nou toe, waarvoor wag jy? Loop man!”</p> <p>G1: “Ek wag om vir jou te sê ons is moeg om altyd te doen wat jy wil hê. Jy probeer ons lewens reël net soos wat dit jou pas.”</p> <p>W: (Willemien looks momentarily</p>	<p>For old Millie-skillie, forget it!</p> <p>It’s for the school as well, Willemien, and anyway, it’s about time that something is done for Millie, she is struggling a lot.</p> <p>Yes, I also feel sorry for her.</p> <p>Since when, and from where this sudden love? Let’s go practise goals.</p> <p>Well then, what are you waiting for? Do you have lead in your feet?</p> <p>This is the one chance in the year that all of us have to do something together. I’m not going to stand around watching, while the others help.</p> <p>Well, get on with it then. I’ll wait here.</p> <p>I’m tired of always being against everything and everyone, Willemien. I’m going to help.</p> <p>Me too.</p> <p>Well, what are you waiting for? Go!</p> <p>I’m waiting to tell you that I’m tired of always doing what you want. You try to control our lives as it suits you.</p>
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<p>shocked, but then quickly regains her cold and mean expression.) “Ag spaar my die preek, toe.”</p> <p>G1: “Die ander kinders behandel ons of ons melaats is, net omdat jy altyd so katterig is. Ons het nou genoeg gehad. Van nou af doen ons wat ons wil.”</p> <p>W: “Vervelig.”</p> <p>G1: “Ek kry jou skielik jammer, weet jy.” (The two girls turn around and walk away.)</p> <p>W: (She calls after them.) “Asof ek omgee, man. Toe vlieg in jou verstand in man!”</p>	<p>Spare me the lecture.</p> <p>The other children treat us as if we’ve got the plague, just because you’re always so mean. We’ve had enough. From now on we do what we want.</p> <p>Boring.</p> <p>I suddenly feel sorry for you.</p> <p>As if I care.</p>
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### 2.1.5 Extract 5 (Episode 13):

On the night before the athletics meeting, McKeggy pulls up to the main school building in his car. A long shot shows the main entrance in the dark of the night. Only a few lights are still on. McKeggy walks into the shot and Kate is then seen running out of the building and up the stairs in McKeggy’s direction. She is carrying a large box and her one hand is rummaging through her handbag (probably looking for her car keys). When she reaches the top of the stairs she is surprised to find McKeggy standing there.

<p>McKeggy: “Ek wou jou nou net kom soek!” (His tone is serious.)</p> <p>Kate: “Mac, wat doen jy hier?”</p> <p>M: “Ek kan dieselfde vir jou vra. Genugtig Kate, dis amper pikdonker. Wat soek jy nog alleen by die skool?”</p> <p>K: “Ek het nog ’n paar dinge gehad om te doen voor môre en ek moet vroeg op die atletiekveld wees.”</p> <p>M: “Besef jy nie dis gevaarlik nie?”</p>	<p>I just wanted to go looking for you!</p> <p>Mac, what are you doing here?</p> <p>I can ask you the same question. Kate, it’s almost pitch dark. Why are you still at school at this hour, alone?</p> <p>I still had a few things to do before tomorrow and I have to be on the athletics field early in the morning.</p> <p>Don’t you realise how dangerous it is?</p>
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<p>K: “Ek het hard gewerk aan hierdie atletiekdag, Mac; ek wil nie hê dinge moet skeefloop nie. Verstaan jy dit nie?”</p> <p>(Kate walks to her car. McKeggy follows. Beside the car he takes her by the shoulders and turns her to look at him. A medium shot shows the two of them in profile.)</p> <p>M: “En ek wil nie hê dat jy iets moet oorkom nie. Verstaan jy dit nie?”</p> <p>K: “Mac? Wat is dit?” (McKeggy takes the box from Kate and puts it down. Kate also puts down her handbag. A close-up of McKeggy reveals that he now seems slightly nervous.)</p> <p>M: (Extreme close-up of McKeggy) “As jy nou weer in die donker iets by die skool wil kom haal dan bel jy vir my. Het jy mooi gehoor?”</p> <p>K: (Extreme close-up of Kate) “Ja, Meester.” (Kate answers, sounding annoyed, almost like a schoolgirl.)</p> <p>M: “Ek’s ernstig, Kate.”</p> <p>K: “Ek het mos niks oorgekom nie.”</p> <p>M: “Ek’s nie bereid om ‘n kans te vat nie, want ek het so pas besef dat ...</p> <p>(McKeggy reaches for Kate’s face with his hand, but then pulls his hand back.)</p> <p>Deksels Kate, ek’s nie goed met sulke dinge nie.” (He shoves his hands into his pockets.)</p>	<p>I’ve worked hard on this athletics meeting, Mac; I don’t want things to go wrong. Don’t you understand that?</p> <p>And I don’t want something to happen to you. Don’t you understand that?</p> <p>Mac? What is it?</p> <p>Next time you need something at school at night, give me a call. Did you hear me?</p> <p>Yes, Master.</p> <p>I’m serious, Kate.</p> <p>Nothing has happened to me.</p> <p>I’m not willing to take that chance, because I’ve just realised ...</p> <p>Shucks Kate, I’m no good at these things.</p>
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A medium shot depicts them in profile. Kate then reaches out to McKeggy. She moves her hand from his arm to his neck. They kiss, at first tentatively, then more passionately. Saxophone music plays. A close-up shows them smiling at each other and then they hug.

### 2.1.6 Extract 6 (Episode 10):

A medium shot shows Jackie and Bongo as they walk on the school grounds. Bongo informs Jackie that he suspects Carl is planning to run away from the children's home.

Jackie: "Wegloop!"	Run away!
Bongo: "Nie so hard nie."	Not so loud.
J: (Worried) "Wat gaan ons doen?"	What are we going to do?
B: (Calm) "Ek het gedink om met Carl te praat, maar dit gaan nie help nie. Ek't gedink jy kan ook met hom praat."	I have thought about talking to Carl, but that's not going to help. I thought you could also talk to him.
J: "Hy wil nie met my praat nie, wat nog luister ... Carl ... Hoe gaan dit ooit weer regkom? Wat moet ek doen?" Jackie holds onto Bongo's arm with both hands as if begging him for answers.	He doesn't want to talk to me, not even to say listen ... Carl ... How will things ever get sorted out again? What must I do?
B: (Firm, yet caring) "Jackie, jy't my hulp gevra en jy het dit."	Jackie, you asked for my help and you've got it.
J: "Ek het al byna vergeet ek het jou oor iets anders vir hulp gevra."	I've almost forgotten that I asked your help for something else.
B: "Wel ek het nie."	Well, I haven't.
J: (Discouraged) "Dis in elk geval nie meer belangrik nie."	In any case, it's not important any longer.
B: (Firm, almost angry) "Natuurlik is dit. Jackie, ek het gesê ek sal jou help. Hou op om jousef so te bekommer!"	Of course it is. Jackie, I said I would help you. Stop worrying.

## APPENDIX 3

### *SONG VIR KATRYN*

#### 3.1 Extracts or examples from the text

##### 3.1.1 Extract 1 (Episode 1):

The morning after Jinx's performance at Santini's, Mossie returns to the bar to pick up a microphone he left behind after the concert. At the bar he asks Max for a double cane and coke. Max shakes his head.

Max: "Dis nege-uur in die oggend."	It's nine o'clock in the morning.
Mossie: " <i>What a good time to start the day.</i> "	What a good time to start the day.
Max: "Jy moet 'n dokter gaan sien."	You need to see a doctor.
Mos: "Ek sien hom elke dag." (Mossie asks for the cane and coke again. Max points to a sign behind the bar.)	I see him everyday.
"Geen alkohol aan onder 21's".	No alcohol for under 21's
Mos: "Okay Max, dan gaan speel ons net in 'n ander <i>pub</i> ." (Max pours Mossie the drink.)	Okay Max, then we'll just go and play in another pub.
Max: "Jy moet jou lewenswyse verander, boetie."	You need to change your lifestyle, brother.
Mos: "Jy's verkeerd. Ek moet my vriendekring verander."	You're wrong. I need to change my circle of friends.

##### 3.1.2 Extract 2 (Episode 2):

Mossie walks out of the house still wearing his nightclothes. He looks slightly under the weather and is still upset with Faantjie (because Faantjie spent the night drinking with Gouws at Santini's). Faantjie tries to make peace.

<p>Faantjie: “Wat lyk jy so suur?”</p> <p>Mos: “Gaan terug na jou pel toe, Robbie wie nou weer?”</p> <p>F: “Jy’t net ’n <i>hangover</i>. Het jy vir ons ’n dop?”</p> <p>M: “Dié tyd van die môre?”</p> <p>F: “Jy’t nog nooit vir ’n dop geskrik nie.”</p> <p>M: “Hier’s niks nie. Jinx hou nie drank by die huis aan nie.”</p> <p>F: “Kom ons gaan soek by Max.”</p> <p>M: “Ek het nie geld nie, onthou. Jy’t als by my geleen.”</p> <p>F: “Wat van jou broer? Jinx is ’n dokter, man.”</p> <p>M: “Vergeet dit.”</p> <p>F: “Toe man, doen dit. Ek sal jou nie <i>drop</i> nie. Dis ’n belofte.”</p> <p>M: “Nee.”</p> <p>F: “Jy’s in ’n helse toestand. Jy’t ’n regmaker nodig. Toe man, asseblief.”</p> <p>Mossie finally decides to call Jinx and asks if he can borrow some money but he does not say what it is for.)</p>	<p>Why do you look so grumpy?</p> <p>Go back to your pal, Robbie what’s-his-name?</p> <p>You’ve got a hangover. Do you have something for us to drink?</p> <p>At this time of the day?</p> <p>You’ve never been scared of a drink?</p> <p>There’s nothing here. Jinx doesn’t keep alcohol at home.</p> <p>Let’s go get some from Max.</p> <p>I don’t have any money, remember. You borrowed everything from me.</p> <p>What about your brother? Jinx is a doctor, man.</p> <p>Forget it.</p> <p>Come on man, do it. I won’t drop you.</p> <p>That’s a promise.</p> <p>No.</p> <p>You’re in a hellish state. You need a fixer.</p> <p>Come on man, please.</p>
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### 3.1.3 Extract 3 (Episode 2):

Jinx and Slab are shown playing pool at a pub. Afterwards they sit down at a table, each with a beer, and talk. They talk about Danville and Slab asks about Jinx’s father. Jinx informs him that his father is not doing well (his father suffers from Alzheimer’s disease).

<p>Slab: “Hoe lyk dit deesdae in Danville?”</p> <p>Jinx: “Min verander van ons tyd af. Mense lyk omtrent nog net dieselfde. Ek’s amper lus en <i>move</i> terug soontoe.”</p>	<p>How are things in Danville nowadays?</p> <p>Not much has changed since our time.</p> <p>People basically still look the same. I almost feel like moving back.</p>
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<p>S: "Dit was lekker dae."</p> <p>J: "Dit was nè?"</p> <p>S: "Hoe gaan dit met jou dad?"</p> <p>J: "Hy's weg, Slab."</p> <p>S: "Dis <i>sad</i>, hy was altyd so skerp. Hy was ons huisdokter gewees."</p> <p>J: "Ek weet ja. Dis <i>sad</i> vir Mos ook. Nooit 'n ma geken nie and nou is Pa ook weg ... Ek <i>worry</i> oor hom, weet jy. Hy moes my vanmiddag hier gekry het. Daar's 'n skroef los met daai laaitie. Ek's al familie wat hy nou nog het en ek's ook die heelyd weg. Ek moet my gat in rat kry. Ophou om so bleddie te <i>drift</i>."</p> <p>S: "Jou pa was die rede dat ek dokter geword het."</p> <p>J: "Ja, ek weet."</p> <p>S: "Hy't vir my <i>varsity</i> betaal."</p> <p>J: "Wat, <i>genuine</i>?"</p> <p>S: "Hy wou nie gehad het ek moet iemand sê nie, maar nou ... En ek was maar net nog 'n <i>dude</i> van Danville. En weet jy hoekom? Oor ek jou pel was, jy my saam opgetel het om te kom rugby speel en krieket. Ou <i>Dad</i> het dit <i>ge-like</i>. Hy't <i>ge-like</i> wat jy doen en toe doen hy dit ook. <i>Shit</i>, ek's <i>sad</i> oor ou <i>Dad</i>."</p> <p>J: "Ek's <i>genuine</i> worried oor Mos."</p> <p>M: "Wat is sy probleem?"</p> <p>J: "Jy weet mos, Ma is dood toe hy gebore is. Huismoeder hier, dagmoeder daar en kort voor lank waai hulle. Ou <i>dad</i> het hulle almal bygekom."</p>	<p>Those were good days.</p> <p>Yes, those were good times.</p> <p>How is your dad?</p> <p>He's gone, Slab.</p> <p>That's sad, he was always so sharp. He was our family doctor.</p> <p>I know. It's sad for Mos as well. Never knew a mother and now Dad is gone as well ... I worry about him. He was supposed to meet me here this afternoon. There's something not quite right with that young man. I'm all family he's got left, and I'm also gone most of the time. I have to get myself sorted out. Stop drifting.</p> <p>Your dad was the reason why I became a doctor.</p> <p>Yes, I know.</p> <p>He paid for my varsity.</p> <p>What, genuine?</p> <p>He didn't want me to tell anyone, but now ... And I was just another dude from Danville. And do you know why? Because I was your friend, because you picked me up to play rugby and cricket with you. Old Dad liked it. He liked what you were doing, so he did it as well. <i>Shit</i>, I'm sad about old Dad.</p> <p>I'm genuinely worried about Mos.</p> <p>What's his problem?</p> <p>You know, mother died when he was born. Matron here, nanny there, and before you know it their gone. Old dad had a fling with all of them.</p>
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<p>S: “<i>Shit Jinx</i>, wat ’n <i>bad</i> ding om van jou <i>dad</i> te sê.”</p> <p>J: “Dis waar ... Hy [Mossie] het hier en daar nogal geheg geraak aan party van hulle. Dan kom <i>dad</i> in die prentjie, kort voor lank sneuwel die <i>affair</i> en dan vat hulle pad. Ek het my eie ding gedoen, gaan swot, rondgedonner. Ek moes daar gewees het. Dis nou te laat om daaroor te tob. Slab, Mos is <i>gay</i>. Dit maak hom mal, want hy wil dit van my geheim hou. Pleks hy praat net met my daaroor.”</p> <p>S: “Pleks jy met hom praat.”</p> <p>J: “Hoe? Dis sy private lewe. Hoe kan ek nou met hom daaroor praat? Ek weet nie of hy seksueel aktief is nie, maar ek’s nie seker nie. Ek dink nie so nie.”</p> <p>S: “Jy moet probeer.”</p> <p>J: “Mos is soos ’n opwenpop. Hy’s hiperaktief, bang die lewe gaan by hom verby en hy mis iets. Hy is ’n kompulsiewe joller. Hy jol homself binne in sy moer in. Hy gaan jol tot hy vrek neerslaan.”</p> <p>S: “Ek ken ’n goeie sielkundige.”</p> <p>J: “Mos sal nie instem nie.” (Jinx gets up and says he needs to go look for his brother.)</p>	<p>Shit Jinx, what a terrible thing to say about your dad.</p> <p>It’s true... He [Mossie] got pretty attached to some of them. Then dad appears on the scene, sooner or later the affair ends and then they leave. I did my own thing, studied, fell around. I should’ve been there. It’s now to late to worry about it. Slab, Mos is gay. It’s driving him crazy, because he’s trying to hide it from me. He should just talk to me about it.</p> <p>You should talk to him.</p> <p>How? It’s his private life. How can I talk to him about it? I don’t know if he’s sexually active. I don’t think so.</p> <p>You have to try.</p> <p>Mos is like a wind-up doll. He’s hyperactive, afraid that life will pass him by and he’ll miss something. He is a compulsive partygoer. He’ll party till he falls down dead.</p> <p>I know a good psychologist.</p> <p>Mos wouldn’t agree to that.</p>
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### 3.1.4 Extract 4 (Episode 4):

A medium shot shows Jinx and Mossie sitting on the bed in the guest bedroom of Jinx's cottage.

<p>Mossie: "Ek het jou <i>ge-drop</i> Jinx, ek's jammer."</p> <p>Jinx: "Jy't my g'n <i>ge-drop</i> nie, man. Daar's baie laaities wat gevang word deur <i>speed</i> en <i>ecstasy</i> en daai goeters. Ek weet hoekom jy dit gedoen het. Ma's vroeg dood ... jy't alleen grootgeword. Dit laat letsels, mens besef dit nie altyd nie. Nou is <i>Dad</i> ook weg vir alle praktiese doeleindes. Jy moet hier by my kom intrek."</p> <p>M: "Ek wil nie 'n oorlas wees nie."</p> <p>J: "Jy sal nie vir my 'n oorlas wees nie. Ek raak ook maar <i>lonely</i> so op my eie by die <i>cottage</i>."</p> <p>M: "Jy sê dit net om my te laat goed voel."</p> <p>J: "Mos, ek het ook 'n aandeel in hierdie besigheid. Ek was ook nie altyd daar toe jy my nodig gehad het nie. Van nou af gaan ek jou oppas en opkikker."</p> <p>M: "Ek's nie jou verantwoordelikheid nie." (Tears can be seen in Mossie's eyes.)</p> <p>J: "Nee, ma' jy's my boet. Ons is al familie wat mekaar nog het. Dit is belangrik vir ons al twee. Vir jou en vir my."</p>	<p>I dropped you Jinx, I'm sorry.</p> <p>You didn't drop me, man. A lot of young guys fall for ecstasy and speed and stuff like that. I know why you did it. Mom died ... you grew up alone. It leaves scars, we don't always realise that. Now Dad's also gone for all practical purposes. You should move in here with me.</p> <p>I don't want to be a burden.</p> <p>You're not a burden. I also get lonely here on my own in the cottage.</p> <p>You're just saying that to make me feel better.</p> <p>Mos, I also have a part to play in all of this. I wasn't there when you needed me. From now on I'm going to take care of you.</p> <p>I'm not your responsibility.</p> <p>No, but you're my brother. We're the only family we have left. It's important for both of us. For you and for me.</p>
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### 3.1.5 Extract 5 (Episode 7):

When Jinx returns home he finds Mossie watching television. He sternly confronts Mossie about the pills he found in Mossie's bag. Jinx talks openly and directly with Mossie about his drug abuse and his sexuality.

<p>Jinx: “Wat gaan aan met jou? Is jy <i>hooked</i> op die goed?” (Jinx stands in front of Mossie, who is seated in an armchair.)</p> <p>Mossie: “Nee man, jy weet mos.”</p> <p>J: “Nou vir wat gebruik jy dit?”</p> <p>M: “Ek’s <i>lonely</i>, okay!”</p> <p>J: “Jy weet die goed help net aan die begin. Agterna is alles veel erger.”</p> <p>M: “Nou wat moet ek maak? Sê my!”</p> <p>J: (Jinx sits down on the armrest of the chair next to Mossie. This gesture makes the discussion more personal; Jinx is not lecturing or preaching to Mossie. A medium shot shows Jinx and Mossie.) “Hoekom praat jy nie met my nie?”</p> <p>M: (Laughs sarcastically.) “Wat help dit? Jy verstaan nie.”</p> <p>J: (Concerned, caring) “<i>Try</i> my, Boet ... Ek weet van jou, Mossie, ek weet al vandat jy 12 is. Jy’s <i>gay</i>. Jy hoef dit nie vir my weg te steek nie. Ek weet dit. Jy hoef nie skuldig te voel daaroor nie. Dis nie ’n sonde nie.”</p> <p>M: (Close-up of face.) “Ek’s nie <i>gay</i> nie!”</p> <p>J: “Boet, jy baklei daarteen, maar jy is. Jy’t vir Faantjie gehad en toe’s jy in die sewende hemel. En toe breek julle op en sedertdien is jy <i>lonely</i>, soos jy sê. Dink jy rêrig ek verstaan dit nie? Dink jy ek het nie gesien</p>	<p>What’s going on with you? Are you hooked on this stuff?</p> <p>No man, you know that.</p> <p>Why then are you using it?</p> <p>I’m lonely, okay!</p> <p>You know this stuff only helps in the beginning. Afterwards things just get worse. Now what should I do? Tell me!</p> <p>Why don’t you talk to me?</p> <p>What good will that do? You don’t understand.</p> <p>Try me, brother ... I know about you Mossie, I’ve known since you were 12. You’re gay. You don’t have to hide it. I know. You don’t have to feel guilty about it. It’s not a sin.</p> <p>I’m not gay!</p> <p>Brother, you’re fighting against it, but it’s the truth. When you and Faantjie were together you were in seventh heaven, but since you broke up you’ve been lonely, like you said. Do you really think I don’t</p>
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wat dit aan jou doen nie?”

M: “Ek kan dit nie help nie.”

J: “Ek weet dit, Mos. Ek’s jou ouboet en ek’s lief vir jou. Ek sien jou swaarkry en ek voel skuldig. Ek moes al lankal met jou hieroor gepraat het en vir jou gesê het ek verstaan en ek’s nie kwaad vir jou nie en ek blameer jou nie. Jy is wie jy is en dis *okay* met my. Almal is lief vir jou, Mos, almal hou van jou. Jy dink dis jou eie donker geheim, maar almal weet hoe jy is. Almal aanvaar dit so. Jy gaan deur ’n moeilike tyd. Miskien moet jy met Faantjie probeer vrede maak?”

M: “Gouws het gesê as ek naby Faantjie kom, maak hy my dood.”

J: “Jy sien, dis hoe dit is met ouens soos hy. Faantjie is bang vir hom en nou loop hy rond en dreig julle en intimideer julle. Mense soos hy moet toegesluit word. En wat hy een keer gedoen het gaan hy weer doen. Waar kry jy die pille?”

M: “Sommer by ’n *rave*. Jy kan dit by enige *rave* koop.”

J: “Is Robert Gouws ’n groot *pusher*?”

M: “Ja, ek dink so.”

J: “Nou sien jy wat kom van *drugs*. Dit beland in die hande van skurke.”

M: “Ek’s jammer, Boet.”

J: “Mos, daar’s nog iets. Daar’s iemand wat ek wil hê jy moet gaan sien. Jy moet saam met my na haar toe gaan. Dokter Du Plessis,

understand? Do you think that I did not see what it did to you?

I can’t help it.

I know Mos. I’m your big brother and I love you. I can see how you’re suffering and I feel guilty. I should have spoken to you a long time ago, told you that I understand and that I’m not mad at you and I don’t blame you. You are who you are and that’s okay with me. Everyone loves you, Mos, everyone likes you. You think it’s your own dark secret, but everyone knows who you are. Everyone accepts it. You’re going through a difficult time. Maybe you should try to patch things up with Faantjie?

Gouws said he would kill me if I came near Faantjie.

That’s the way guys like him operate.

Faantjie is scared of him and now he’s going around threatening and intimidating you.

People like him should be locked up. And what he did once, he’ll do again. Where did you get the pills?

At a rave. You can buy them at any rave.

Is Robert Gouws a big pusher?

Yes, I think so.

Now you see what happens with drugs.

They end up in the hands of thugs.

I’m sorry brother.

Mos, there’s one more thing. I want you to go and see someone. We can go together.

Doctor Du Plessis, she’s a psychologist.

<p>sy's 'n sielkundige.”</p> <p>M: (Upset) “Ek het g'n sielkundige nodig nie!”</p> <p>J: “Nee jy het nie, maar partykeer help dit om te praat met iemand wat dinge in perspektief sien, wat jou situasie verstaan, wat te doen kry met ander ouens soos jy.”</p> <p>M: “Nee.”</p> <p>J: “Ons moet kyk na jou gesondheid, Mos. Jy't <i>drugs</i> gebruik, dit kan jou immuniteitsstelsel vernietig. Daar's 'n klompie bloedtoetse wat ek op jou wil laat doen, maar ek wil eers hê jy moet met haar praat.”</p> <p>M: (Angry) “Jy dink ek het AIDS!”</p> <p>J: “Nee, ek dink dit nie. Maar daar is altyd 'n risiko, so kom ons maak net seker, dan weet jy ook.”</p> <p>M: “Ek het nie AIDS nie!”</p> <p>J: “Mos, AIDS is net die uiteinde. Dit begin by infeksies. Enige een kan dit kry, wit of swart, oud of jonk, ryk of arm, <i>straight</i> of <i>gay</i>. Kom ons maak net seker. Ek hou nie van daai hoesie van jou nie. Dit wil net nie ophou nie.”</p> <p>M: (Close-up; tears visible) “Is dit wat jy van my dink, huh? Dat ek met 'n spul gemors meng?”</p> <p>J: “Jy val my aan asof ek jou 'n moerse onreg aandoen. Ek vra jou omdat ek omgee. Ek's bekommerd oor jou, Mos.”</p> <p>M: “<i>Okay</i>, maar ek sê jou daar's niks</p>	<p>I don't need a psychologist!</p> <p>No you don't, but sometimes it helps to speak to someone who can see things in perspective, someone who understands your situation, someone who has worked with other guys like you.</p> <p>No.</p> <p>We need to have a look at your health, Mos. You've used drugs that can destroy your immune system. There are a couple of blood tests that I would like to have done on you, but I want you to talk to her first.</p> <p>You think I have AIDS!</p> <p>No, I don't think so, but there is always a risk, so let's just make sure, then you know as well.</p> <p>I don't have AIDS!</p> <p>Mos, AIDS is only the result. It starts with infections. Anyone can get it, white or black, old or young, rich or poor, straight or gay. Let's just be sure. I don't like that cough of yours. It just won't go away.</p> <p>Is that what you think of me, huh? That I'm mixed up with a bunch of trash?</p> <p>You're attacking me as if I'm doing you a disservice. I'm asking you because I care. I'm worried about you Mos.</p> <p>Okay, but I'm telling you, there's nothing</p>
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verkeerd met my nie.” J: “ <i>Okay</i> . So kom ons doen dit dan net. <i>Okay?</i> ” M: “Okay.”	wrong with me. Okay. So let’s just do it. Okay?  Okay.
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### 3.1.6 Extract 6 (Episode 2):

A medium profile shot shows the Jinx and Katryn in Katryn’s car. As they drive along she informs Jinx that she will give him the money he needs to fix his bicycle. Jinx is not worried.

Jinx: “Vergeet die bleddie <i>bike</i> . Ek sal die ding self regmaak. <i>Relax</i> jy net, toe.” Katryn: “Man, ek het nie ’n saak nie.” J: “O ja, jy het. Jy hou nie van mans nie. Is jy <i>gay?</i> ” K: “Dit het niks met jou te maak nie.” J: “Dis die nuwe millennium; dis al lankal nie meer ’n bloedsonde nie.” K: “Nee.” J: “Nee wat? Nee, dis nie ’n bloedsonde nie of nee ek is nie <i>gay</i> nie?” K: “Ek’s niks.” J: “Niks? Niks wat?” K: “Los my net uit, okay!”	Forget about the bloody bike. I’ll fix the thing myself. You just relax. Man, I don’t give a damn. Oh yes, you do. You don’t like men. Are you <i>gay?</i> That has nothing to do with you. It’s the new millennium; it’s no longer a sin.  No. No what? No, it’s not a sin, or no, you’re not <i>gay?</i> I’m nothing. Nothing? Nothing what? Just leave me alone, okay!
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### 3.1.7 Extract 7 (Episode 5):

Jinx informs Slab that Mossie is HIV positive.

Slab: “ <i>Shit. Shit</i> . Weet hy?” Jinx: “Nee, ek moet hom nog vertel. Ek het hom <i>ge-drop</i> , Slab.” S: “Moenie nou staan en skuld toeken nie.” J: “Partykeer moet ’n mens.”	Shit. Shit. Does he know? No, I still need to tell him. I dropped him, Slab. Don’t label yourself as the guilty party. Sometimes you have to.
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S: “Ons kan hom saam vertel.”	We can tell him together.
J: “Nee, hier’s waar ek met Mossie moet <i>bond</i> en as ek dit nie regkry nie is hy in sy moer in. As ek nou ’n goeie huis gehad het met ’n goeie vrou wat sal help, wat sal verstaan ...” (Jinx sighs.)	No, this is where I have to bond with Mossie and if I don’t get it right this time, then he’s gone. If only I had a good home, with a good wife who could help and understand ...

### 3.1.8 Extract 8 (Episode 7):

A medium shot shows Katryn as she stands before a mirror, while Jackie holds a number of different dresses in front of Katryn to see how they look.

Katryn: “Dis alles te <i>grand</i> . Dis net ’n restaurant.”	It’s all too grand. It’s just a restaurant.
Jackie: “Maar jy moet <i>smart</i> aantrek want dit is ’n moerse restaurant en Ernst is ’n ernstige <i>dresser</i> . Pak klere, das, goue <i>studs</i> , <i>cufflinks</i> , <i>you name it</i> . Riebeecks is een van daai <i>restaurants</i> .” (Jackie holds a black cocktail dress in front of Katryn.)	But you have to dress smartly because this is a hell of a restaurant and Ernst is a serious dresser. Suit, tie, golden studs, cufflinks, you name it. Riebeecks is one of those restaurants.
K: “Hoor hie’ Jac, wat’s die <i>set-up</i> hierso, huh? Hulbrand vat die lelike eendjie na sy paleis toe en hy kry ’n <i>chaperone</i> om te sorg dat sy darem ordentlik daar uitkom? Is die rok in die <i>range</i> wat Ernst Hulbrand aanvaarbaar vind?”	Listen Jac, what’s the set-up, huh? Hulbrand takes the ugly ducking to his palace and he gets a chaperone to make sure she’s at least decently dressed? Is this dress in the range that Ernst Hulbrand finds acceptable?
J: (Laughs) “Weet jy, jy’t regtig ’n Danville-kompleks. Ek het die rokke op <i>appro</i> gevat sodat jy kan skitter. En dit gaan nie oor Ernst Hulbrand nie. Dit gaan oor my pel wat moet <i>shine</i> .” (Jackie hugs Katryn.)	You know what, you really have a Danville complex. I took the dresses on <i>appro</i> so that you can sparkle. And it’s not about Ernst Hulbrand. It’s about my pal that must shine.

### 3.1.9 Extract 9 (Episode 1):

The minister’s wife begins the conversation at the Vlok dinner party.

<p>Minister's wife: "Annelien, jou kos is verruklik. (A medium two shot shows Annelien and Cleo smiling. A close-up then follows, revealing that Jinx is unimpressed.) Of hoe dink u, dokter Bruwer?"</p> <p>Jinx: (Nods his head while chewing.) "Dis gaaf ja." (Cleo and Annelien are surprised and unimpressed by his answer.)</p> <p>Minister's wife: "Wat is jou gunsteling gereg, Dokter?"</p> <p>J: "Skaapharsings ... op <i>toast</i>." (A medium shot depicts the shocked expressions of the minister and his wife. Annelien appears displeased and Cleo is shocked by Jinx's behaviour.)</p> <p>Cleo: "Johan is so snaaks, so humoristies." (She smiles at the other guests and then gives Jinx a stern look. A close-up shows Jinx smiling as he continues eating. He appears to be enjoying himself.)</p> <p>Minister: "Ek verstaan u is ook 'n kunstenaar van formaat, Dokter?"</p> <p>J: "Ja, ek maak so bietjie musiek, Dominee. Vir die jong ouens en so aan." (Cleo now smiles and appears proud of Jinx.)</p> <p>Minister: "Miskien moet ek u voorstel aan die leier van ons jeugbediening. Dalk kan u vir ons jongmense konsert hou?"</p> <p>J: "Nee, ek dink nie dit sal werk nie, Dominee. Ek tree eintlik in <i>pubs</i> op, kroeë." The others appear shocked again.</p> <p>Annelien (Cleo's mother): "Kroeë?"</p> <p>Minister's wife: "Vind u dit nie, hoe kan ek</p>	<p>Annelien, you're food is exquisite.</p> <p>Or what do you say, Doctor Bruwer? It's fine.</p> <p>What is your favourite dish, Doctor?</p> <p>Sheep's brains ... on toast.</p> <p>Johan is so funny, so humorous.</p> <p>I hear that you're a good artist, Doctor?</p> <p>Yes, I make a bit of music, Reverend. For the young people and so on.</p> <p>Maybe I should introduce you to the leader of our youth ministry. Maybe you can have a concert for our young people?</p> <p>No, I don't think that will work, Reverend. I actually perform in pubs.</p> <p>Pubs?</p> <p>Don't you find it, how can I put it, a bit</p>
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sê, 'n bietjie rof nie? Ek bedoel met al die drank- en dwelmgebruik wat daarmee gepaard gaan.”

J: “Dis rof ja, maar dis lekker.” (The minister’s wife is surprised by Jinx’s answer.)

Annelien: “Ek verstaan nie hoe drank en dwelmmisbruik lekker kan wees nie. U is ’n dokter. U het die eed van Hippokrates afgelê.” (Her voice is stern, cold and disapproving.)

Minister’s wife: “Annelien, die dokter terg seker net so bietjie met ons. Cleo sê mos hoe humoristies hy is.”

J: “O ja, veral as ek my *show* afskop met daai *song* van Koos Kombuis, daai *drug song*. (A close-up shows Cleo’s shocked expression.) Daar’s niks wat ’n *party* so lekker aan die gang kry soos daai *song* nie. Hy gaan so: Ek is verslaaf, ek is verslaaf ...” (Jinx pounds his fist on the table to make a beat. Everyone else looks on in shocked amazement.)

Cleo: “Het jou ma jou nie geleer mens sing nie aan tafel nie?”

J: “Ek het mos sonder ’n ma grootgeword. So by my pa, ek en my boetie, Mossie, net hier anderkant in Danville. (Shocked, Annelien looks at the minister’s wife.) Het ek jou nie gesê nie?” (The others look around in amazement and then stare down at their plates. Jinx goes on to tell a silly joke that the other guests find completely

rough? I mean, with all the alcohol and drug abuse that goes along with it.

It’s rough, but it’s fun.

I cannot understand how alcohol and drug abuse can be fun. You are a doctor. You took the Hippocratic Oath.

Annelien, the doctor’s just teasing us a bit. Cleo said he’s humorous.

O yes, especially when I start a show with that song by Koos Kombuis, that drug song.

Nothing gets a party started like that song. It goes like this: I am addicted, I am addicted ...

Did your mom not teach you not to sing at the dinner table?

I grew up without a mother. It was just me, my dad and my brother, Mossie. Here in Danville.

Didn’t I tell you?

inappropriate. He then gets up to leave.)

J: “Dit was ’n verruklike aand. Julle sal my verskoon, ek moet nog ’n draai by die hospitaal gaan gooi. Nag almal.” (Jinx walks out. Cleo looks at the others and then follows Jinx without saying a word.)

(A low-angle long shot depicts the double-storey house from the outside. Jinx walks out of the front door, followed shortly after by Cleo. A medium shot shows the two of them talking outside. Cleo is clearly upset.)

Cleo: “Is jy nou tevrede?”

J: “Tevrede met wat?”

C: “Jy was onbeskof en aaklig en dit voor my ouers en hul beste vriende.”

J: “Ek dink nie ek was onbeskof of aaklig nie. Hulle het my uitgevra en ek het hulle in ’n goeie gesindheid eerlike antwoorde gegee soos dit ’n Afrikanerseun betaam.”

C: “Afrikanerseun? Om vir hulle te vertel jy sing van *drugs* en sonde?”

J: “Die dominee sal verstaan. Ek en hy is in dieselfde lyn jy sien, *drugs* en sonde.”

C: “Jou sin vir humor maak my siek.”

J: “Nag Cleo ... Hoe kon jou ma-hulle jou so ’n donnerse aaklige naam gegee het, huh? Cleopatra. Cleopatra Vlok. (Jinx rolls his eyes.) Kon hulle jou nie eerder *Barbie Doll* genoem het nie? *Barbie Doll* Vlok.”

C: “Jy’t te veel wyn gedrink, jy’s dronk!”

J: “Ja, maar soos die groot Winston

It was an exquisite evening. But you’ll have to excuse me; I still need to swing by the hospital.

Are you satisfied?

Satisfied with what?

You were rude and horrible and that in front of my parents and their best friends.

I don’t think I was rude or horrible. They asked me questions and I answered in good spirit as is expected of an Afrikaner boy.

Afrikaner boy? To tell them that you sing about drugs and sins?

The minister will understand. We’re in the same line of business, you see, drugs and sins.

Your sense of humour makes me sick.

Good night, Cleo ... How could your parents have given you such a horrible name, huh? Cleopatra. Cleopatra Vlok. They should have called you Barbie Doll. Barbie Doll Vlok.

You’ve had too much wine, you’re drunk!

Yes, but as the great Winston Churchill once

Churchill eendag tereg opgemerk het: M <sup>ô</sup> re is ek nugter en dan is jy nogsteeds 'n <i>Barbie Doll</i> . Koebaai.” (Cleo appears hurt. Jinx walks away.)	said: Tomorrow I'll be sober and then you'll still be a Barbie Doll.
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### 3.1.10 Extract 10 (Episode 6):

Katryn and John are talking in the kitchen when Verster walks in.

<p>Verster: “Het julle nie werk nie? Beaker, ek het 'n hele dag se werk vir jou om te doen.”</p> <p>Katryn: “Jammer Mevrouw, maar meneer Hulbrand wil hê ek moet saam met hom gaan teedrink.”</p> <p>V: “Hoekom trek jy nie sommer by meneer Hulbrand in nie?”</p> <p>K: “Ek sal vir hom sê jy wil weet.”</p> <p>V: (Appears uncomfortable and startled by Katryn's response.) “Moenie simpel wees nie, dis net 'n grap.”</p> <p>John: “O Verster, hoe ouer jy word hoe meer humoristies word jy. Jy is so snaaks.”</p> <p>V: “Ja toemaar, <i>flattery will get you nowhere</i>. Wat is op vandag se <i>menu</i>?”</p> <p>J: (Katryn hands John a piece of paper.) “<i>Sheep testicles</i> en pap.” (Katryn smiles to herself, while John keeps a straight face. He is being sarcastic, but Verster tries to maintain her composure.)</p> <p>V: “O.” (She walks out of the kitchen. Katryn then laughs and John pulls a funny face.)</p>	<p>Don't you have work to do? Beaker, I've got a whole day's worth of work for you. Sorry madam, but Mr Hulbrand wants me to have tea with him.</p> <p>Why don't you just move in with Mr Hulbrand?</p> <p>I'll tell him you want to know. Don't be silly, it's just a joke.</p> <p>Oh Verster, the older you get, the more humorous you become. You're so funny. Yes okay, flattery will get you nowhere. What's on today's menu?</p> <p>Sheep's testicles and pap.</p> <p>Oh.</p>
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## APPENDIX 4

# COPYRIGHT AUTHORISATION LETTER



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Course    LCC 898  
Student Writing Dissertation                Carli Bester  
Supervisor                                        Dr Viola Milton  
Theses/Dissertation Title                    Afrikaans Speaking South Africans On Screen : A Comparative Visual Textual Analysis of Afrikaans  
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Television Drama Title	Producer	\		ISBN/ISSN	Producer	Episodes
1) Ballade vir 'n enkeling	Richard van der Westhuizen				SABC	Selected Programmes
2) Weners					SABC	Selected Programmes
3) Song vir Katryn	Jan Scholtz				KykNET	Selected Programmes

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