

**Music, Dance, and Identity:
Deconstructing Popular Afrikaans Music
in Pretoria, South Africa**

by

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Abstract

While many have written on Afrikaans protest music during various periods, this dissertation is an attempt to add to the ongoing debate by exploring an area of Afrikaans music that has received scant attention. Pop Afrikaans music is varied, and while it seemingly offers little in terms of political or social content, I argue in this dissertation for the validity and importance of contextualisation, even when lyrical content might appear vapid at first glance. This becomes more pertinent when considering that pop Afrikaans music enjoys a far wider audience than many related musical movements, such as Voëlvry. Further, juxtaposing the social consumption of pop Afrikaans music in Presley's against similar phenomena at Aandklas allows for a deeply revealing picture of the different paths that self-ascribed Afrikaners are taking in the process of creating, changing, and reifying their own identity. Music has always played a complex role in this process, revealing a reciprocal process between performer and consumer to provide content from which people may draw inspiration and validation, in order to ultimately find new narratives assisting in navigating the lived experience of imagined communities.

Introduction

This dissertation provides an ethnography of music in the city, focusing on people who self-identify as Afrikaners¹. Exploring popular music and the manner in which my target group interacts and engage with these songs within their respective spaces. My focus is on the consumption of popular music, be it a live performance or background music, at certain locations throughout Pretoria that frequently play Afrikaans music and cater to Afrikaans speaking patrons. By focusing on the audience rather than specific musicians or producers, and through the collection of Musical Biographies², I hope to offer a new perspective on the topic of Afrikaner music and identity. This topic has received wide and piercing attention from various fields and authors, with the Afrikaner identity playing the role of the displaced and angst-ridden soul.

The concept of Afrikaner ‘identity’ is situated in a field of contesting meanings ... New patterns and relationships are yet to be established ... South Africa constitutes a ‘virtual battleground’ for the various actors who are trying to define *Afrikanerskap*... The democratic political dispensation has given rise to the ‘decolonization of colonial contact zones’ ... and ‘New South Africa-speak’ ... All are testing the depth of Afrikaners’ identification with cultural issues they once held dear. (Kennelly, 2005, p. 1)

Kennelly was not alone in speaking of a contestation or the so-called precarious position many believed Afrikaners to occupy in Post-Apartheid South Africa. There have been numerous responses from self-ascribed Afrikaner people to these perceptions. Some have looked to other countries in the decade following the end of Apartheid, making the decision to immigrate in search of a sense of security. Australia, Canada and New Zealand were

¹I am fully aware of the complex and abstract nature of identity. I am aware that it would be erroneous of me to attempt to define what it means to be an Afrikaner, or place people under a label they themselves do not identify with. Many people speak Afrikaans, but do not prescribe to the Afrikaner identity. With this in mind, I would like to simplify the reading and writing of this document by stating that when I speak of Afrikaner people it is with the idea that they themselves subscribe to the idea of being an Afrikaner, and I do not label them according to my own prejudices or imagination.

² Musical biographies are a chronological representation of the types of music that people have listened to during different periods of their lives. The goal of which is to facilitate a deeper more contextual understanding of my participants and their lived experiences. More details later on.

popular destinations for this 'white flight'³. Others, such as the inhabitants of Orania in the Northern Cape and Kleinfontein in Gauteng, have chosen to respond by way of self-segregation and consider themselves the keepers of Afrikaner culture (Van Wyk, 2014). In Chapter 2, I discuss the way that some writers have chosen to make sense of these events through music. In the 1980's, the 'Voëlvry'⁴ movement made an impact in society and academic circles. A decade ago, Fokofpolisiekar⁵ faced similar media and academic attention. Other contemporary musicians such as Kurt Darren, Bok van Blerk, Steve Hofmeyr, and more recently Bittereinder have all contributed to the conversation on identity as well and the aforementioned found ways to express their own ideas on the potential of Afrikaner identity in the new South Africa.

My dissertation focuses on two specific locations that I have isolated as spaces of social contention. These spaces are Pretoria bars, Aandklas in Hatfield and Presley's on Lynnwood road. I argue here that both Aandklas and Presley's have offered up new options to the continued process of identity formation for white, Afrikaans-speaking South Africans. Each site illuminates some of the identity choices my participants have made in these spaces in response to wider forces and phenomenon. I argue that Presley's itself could be likened to a gated community, as they offer a culture of exclusion to what they perceive as threats to their identity, language, and being. This has not been a new trend in self-ascribed Afrikaners history, but the space of Aandklas does offer a rather different vision of the imagined community. The patrons of Aandklas could potentially allude to the start of the post-post-apartheid era for South Africa that Max Du Preez (2016) recently suggested. Along with a rejection of old symbols and popular Afrikaans music, they also reject traditional terminology. These individuals find themselves in a seemingly welcome stage of liminality. These locations point towards the fact that Afrikaner identity was perhaps not especially lost

³ A term with its origins in the United States, that refers to the large-scale migration of people from European ancestries away from racially mixed spaces to more racially homogenous areas. This is regularly expressed as a movement from urban to suburban areas.

⁴ Voëlvry consisted of a number of Afrikaans musicians that toured South Africa and were known for their provocative lyrics and protest against Apartheid and Afrikaner Nationalism. Voëlvry is discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

⁵ Fokofpolisiekar is a band from Bellville in the Cape. Their anti-establishment lyrics, 'don't give a damn' attitude and rock-punk genre gained them a large following amongst young Afrikaner people across the country. They triggered a whirlwind of public debate around religion, the Afrikaans language, and what it means to be an Afrikaner, that flamed through the *Volk*.

following the end of apartheid, but rather fell into a cycle of renewal, reification, and exploration, that has been the fact for most of the history of self-identifying Afrikaners. This dissertation explores how the socialisation and celebration of space and music have enabled these patrons to explore and express their identity in various forms. Though identity proves to be a problematic subject, I believe the importance of identity in the everyday narrative of an individual plays a big role in how they navigate through their lives, interact with others and understand the world. Understanding identity, therefore, is paramount to understanding the lived experience of my participants.

Chapter Outline

In the first Chapter, I have a detailed explanation of the theoretical tools I believe prove useful in making sense of my ethnography. In particular I found that the work of Gupta and Ferguson (1992), Harvey (1979), Low (2008), and Manderson and Turner (2006) on space and place proved central to the socialisation experienced and took part in from both my locations of study and thus towards the conceptualisation of their behaviour. Further, and the theme of this dissertation, the theory around music and identity are widely written on and I was provided with a great array of theoretical lenses to apply to my observations. Here the work of David Coplan (1994), McNeil (2011), Blacking (1973), Laubscher (2005), and many others helped me through this convoluted and perplexing topic. Not only do I make use of several theoretical frameworks, but also I detail the methodology that I utilised in my research process, and in particular the reasoning behind using these methods.

In Chapter 2, I outline the manner in which scholars have discussed the issue of identity and music. I pay special attention to the Voëlvry movement and the generous amount of academic and media attention this group received in the 80's. This movement not only managed to challenge ideals of Afrikaner nationalism of the time but serves to exemplify how music can potentially start a dialogue that highlights other potential identity paths. While some argue that the movement had little impact on the struggle against the apartheid regime, authors such as Bezuidenhout (2007) and Laubscher (2005) argue that the true value in the Voëlvry movement was its ability to self-assess and reflect upon Afrikaner identity. The movement gave many self-ascribed Afrikaners a way to deal with the psychological guilt and pressures that they by virtue of their skin colour and being self-ascribed Afrikaners were complicit. Through challenging and changing the symbolism, Voëlvry offered a unique attack from the

inside, that the apartheid government did not expect nor for which they had an answer. Through the discussions of these various writers, I explore the influences that music had in the period and continues to have today. Further, in order to contextualise much of the following chapters. I seek to illuminate the pressures and influences that musicians have more recently, through interviews with two performers whose music receives a fair amount of play at both respective locations.

I aim to give a broad outline of the Afrikaans music industry, some of the old influences to music and identity, and new developments. Particularly I pay attention to how writers have been discussing the link between the aforementioned. Further, through looking at what these writers are identifying as moments of turmoil, or potentials for reshaping identity, we start to enter into the debate around the nature of identity change, either as moments of crisis or as a fluid process that is almost constantly in flux and change. This question only truly gets attention in the last Chapter. I argue that we can equate places such as Aandklas and Presley's to the concept of heterodox and orthodox. These locations offer distinct potential Afrikaner identities in the new South Africa and both are unique responses to the various forces working upon Afrikaner identity today. Lastly, I argue that places like Presley's represent the popular Afrikaans genres, an area of discussion that has seen scant academic attention, something this paper will attempt to rectify.

In chapter 3, I delve into the curious world of sokkie⁶ music and *langarm* dance. I argue here that sokkie dance and the sometimes generic love songs of popular-music form part of a larger strategy at Presley's to create and maintain the status quo of white dominance in the club. In particular, men are in control of the socialisation of the space. I define socialisation to mean the process through which people appropriate ideas and behaviours to function within a specific context. I argue that this act of exclusion is perpetuated by patrons based on perceptions of threats that they believe are being made or issued against them. Especially male homosexuality is seen as a threat to the narrative of white male dominance as it flies in the face of the hypermasculine persona and thus heavily regulated and shunned.

I argue then that the songs some of my informants call "meaningless cookie-cutter music", might not just be about love, drinking, and having a good time. This genre of music forms the

⁶ A style of both music and dance that is unique to South Africa and popular amongst some Afrikaans speaking people.

bulk of popular Afrikaans music. In the third chapter, I make the point that societal pressures have managed to curb the ability of a number of artists and audiences to express their sometimes-reprehensible ideals. Except for the likes of Steve Hofmeyr, who has the ability to bear the financial impact of expressing some of his controversial ideals? Some would argue his controversial status has afforded him a new source of revenue, opposed to a number of other artists who do not take that chance or cannot afford to. When discussing these issues with the audience, it becomes clear that many share those thoughts, but again due to social pressures find it hard to express. Aandklas then becomes a space in which certain underlying ideals and values find expression within the contexts of that seemingly innocuous music. I argue the fact that though lyrics might be entirely apolitical, in certain contexts that music can take on a particular political voice. More specifically with the use of sokkie dance as a subversive form of expression, to fly in the face of the perceived threats that these patrons believe they live under. It is a way of saying: Do you dislike, or threaten our culture and language? Well, here we are expressing both, with vigour! The prevailing narrative offered in Presley's, I argue, is one of exclusion and a great deal of masculine control. The latter I proffer is the potential Afrikaner identities expressed in this location. The exclusionary narrative speaks of a socialised space that in its many phases, events, and phenomenon engenders the exclusion of a particular people, or rather speaks of the sole inclusion of a select few based on traits that are deemed socially acceptable.

In chapter 4, I explore in depth the socialisation that takes place in the multi-cultural site of Aandklas. This space it seems is a direct response to the narrative of exclusion of Presley's. Through the mockery of both the artists and the music that they produce, patrons at Aandklas show their rejections of the exclusionary narrative prevalent in Presley's. While the patrons at Aandklas express the importance of inclusion, I do nonetheless point out that Aandklas is no space of reconciliation. While it is a space for all people, the patrons are expected to conform to certain standards that could be perceived as being distinctly white. Furthermore, the Afrikaans speaking people who frequent Aandklas illuminate a particular identity potential through the rejection of both the symbols and the existing terminology previously used as a collective pronoun such as Boer and Afrikaner. Aandklas better reflects another type of potential Afrikaner identities, one seeking and exploring different ways of finding a more inclusive solution to the problems facing the ambiguous self-ascribed Afrikaners in South Africa, a project perhaps capturing the spirit of Voëlvry more acutely.

Lastly, in Chapter 5 I argue that self-ascribed Afrikaners do not have a monopoly over their own identity creation, and fall prey to processes of external forces such as labelling much like any other group of people. The ability of this group to shape public perception becomes increasingly diminished for they are not a united cohesive force, and potentially never was. Outside political forces and some particularly problematic racist events persecuted by Afrikaans white students against black people have complicated attempts of self-ascribed Afrikaners to find new and adequate identifiers that are both applicable and widely socially acceptable. Through discussing some of the more large-scale forces that affect this process, I hope to contextualise the identity choices that my participants have made, and highlight some of the challenges that they still face in the attempt at being included in the larger narrative of South Africa, and Africa.

I argue that in the larger historical context it becomes clear that while the flux and change of identity might be influenced by certain events, but it is a continuous process contested even in the most controlled and stable of situations. Through these discussions, I emphasise the continued importance of identity theory and the role that it plays in the lives of my participants. In the end, identity forms part of our personal narrative, this allows us to find a way to navigate through our interaction with the people around us. Music has played a powerful role in this process, a force unto itself that has become a tool in shaping and expressing the imagined community while allowing for introspection. Through understanding spaces, such as Aandklas and Presley's, we are able to visualise and map out these imagined communities, and then begin to find nuances and contradictions within these spaces.

Chapter 1 - Methods, Theories and Tools

As theoretical lenses and tools towards illuminating the questions I ask, I make use of several concepts apparent throughout the following chapters. I make use of a dual-sited ethnography as I have mentioned, in hopes of providing a clear comparison between these imagined communities. Further, I make use of a theoretical tool called Musical biographies, in the hopes of providing more contextual information on my informants in chapters 2, 3, and 4. Lastly, I heavily lean on the theoretical tools of space and place, social music theory, and identity theory to aid in unpacking my ethnographic data. The following is a decryption of my use of these tools and lenses in more detail and their relevance in each location.

Dual-sited Ethnography

Because of the abstract nature of identity and the broad range of individuals that are included in self-ascribed Afrikaner *populous*, limiting myself to one single site or group of people within this spectrum would lead me to come to a too-narrow conclusion. Therefore, I opted for a dual-sited ethnography. I targeted locations where Afrikaans music have been known to be played in the Pretoria area (but you would be hard-pressed to find a bar or establishment that would play only Afrikaans music). I chose six different establishments to focus on and received permission from all of them to conduct my research, some proved more valuable as sources of data than others.

In this dissertation, I chose to focus on two establishments, which I hope would provide a wide view of the different groups of Afrikaans people. I do not exclude data from other establishments but would like to focus on Aandklas and Presley's as they have provided ample informants and ethnographic data. Aandklas (discussed in Chapter 4) is located in Hatfield, positioned very close to the University of Pretoria and the students who live in the area. Aandklas' slogan "old school rocks" is somewhat self-explanatory, but in essence, the music played here is mostly rock and metal, with a few notable exceptions of Afrikaans *Zef*⁷. Presley's (discussed in chapter 3) on Lynnwood Road is only open three nights of the week,

⁷ The word Zef is Afrikaans slang that refers to white working or lower-class society. It is derogatory and means gross, uncool, or trash. The meaning of the word more describes a genre of music that draws its imagery and narrative from the same lower class, white, and sometimes coloured cultures. The artists that fall under this genre are mostly satirical in their performances. Jack Parrow and Die Antwoord are probably the most known artists in this genre.

from Thursday to Saturday. This rather larger venue provides dance music and live events by numerous Afrikaans musicians. The music that plays there is a mixture of popular Afrikaans music such as those produced by Kurt Darren and Bobby van Jaarsveld, and more international dance music such as Pitbull. This club is also known for sokkie dance, a phenomenon rather specifically attributed to this club. In fact, many patrons come there just to sokkie dance.

Both of these establishments have a loyal and frequent client-base and both provide rather distinct musical genres. Both locations do not play Afrikaans music exclusively but mix it in with other local and international performers, showcasing not only live music but also through playlists. Both locations allowed me to gather a deep and intriguing ethnography. I decided to spend at least six weeks at each location. The first week I focused on the movements and interactions between clients, by observing rather than immediately interacting with patrons. I then marked frequent clients and established a baseline from which I then compared routines and trends. I identified the busiest days and determined if there was a change of music at different times and days. I then spent the next few weeks attending live events where I could spend time talking to those who frequented the establishment. From there I had numerous informal interviews. I had four formal interviews with patrons at Presley's and much the same at Aandklas. I also managed to have interviews with the owners of each establishment and two musicians whose music is played at these places respectively. I intended to have several more formal interviews but found it difficult to near impossible get people to agree to actually come to interviews after meeting them at the bars. Part of their inability or reluctance to commit to a formal interview might have something to do with the fact that it had been close, or during exam periods for the patrons at Aandklas. The bulk of my information then comes from informal interviews in which I practised dynamic informed consent, letting the people I talk to know what my intentions and purpose were whenever I spoke to them.

To what extent then, does the music that patrons of both these locations listen to, inform their personal narratives and ethnic identities? I answer some of these questions using various forms of interviews, including the collection of my participant's musical biographies.

Musical Biographies

Alongside my formal and informal interviews, I collected the participants' musical biographies. Musical biographies are a chronological representation of the types of music that people have listened to during different periods of their lives, much the same as the "connection between musical repertoire and an individual's life cycle" (McNeill, 2011, p. 158-159) that Blacking emphasised in his writings on the songs of children or the *tshikona* dance (1967). The aim of using this concept as a research tool is to situate the types of music that participants have been listening to throughout their lives, within a historical and political context, with the aim of better understanding the connection between music and identity. I enquired as to when they listened to particular music, and who might have influenced them to listen to it. I was also interested in why participants liked certain music, and what meaning the participants found from their specific music selections. My hope was to be able to find patterns within the establishment and the people who frequented them. I believe that I was relatively successful in that endeavour. While I would have liked to have more numerous formal interviews, I feel that I gathered enough data to come to confident conclusions and revelations.

What I found was that while the early development of my patrons' interests was influenced by parents and perhaps older siblings. The people that I interviewed came about their taste later on through friends and trends in their formative years. What was curious was to have two interviews at the same time, which had the benefit of generating discussions on certain music which revealed underlying opinions. For instance, when interviewing two Aandklas patrons, one revealed that he found a particular liking to one Kurt Darren song, that the persons' friend responded with shock, animosity, and mockery. The Phrase: "Dude I don't think we can be friends anymore!" jokingly followed. What this process also revealed was the influence of classic American and British Rock music in almost all my interviews. Patrons of both bars had some nostalgic connection to that music, with the real difference coming in the form of either animosity or acceptance of popular/dance Afrikaans music. Since my focus was on the consumption and not the production or analysis of music, I find that these musical biographies were key in delving into the nuances of experience in both locations. Lastly, having several music biographies from the same locations allowed me to establish patterns of consumption between patrons. It is clear that many patrons at each location have respectively

listened to the same types of core or popular music within their respective genres. For instance, while both groups might have universally loved the song Bad Moon Rising from the 1960s American rock band Creedence Clearwater Revival or CCR. Patrons from Presley's did not fundamentally include the music of Linkin Park or The Narrow into their musical biographies as I found that those from Aandklas did. I can say that the people from each location might have overlapping tastes from time to time, but their preferences remain distinct. This to me proves certain presupposed connections. It becomes important then to discuss the expansive ability of music to illuminate social structures, the ability of this public medium to congeal imagined communities and lastly the curious manner in which music can then influence it.

Music Theory and Identity

Music in South Africa has a rich and colourful history. Academic attention has given way to the numerous genres that have developed in the last century. From the importance of American soul music in helping black South Africans to collective action (Hamm, 1988) to the dual ability of gospel music as religious praise and as resistance music in early apartheid (Coplan and Jules-Rosette, 2008). The idea of music shaping and illuminating identity is not a new one.

John Blacking (1973) argues that when a group of people are making music together, they are made acutely aware of their social bonds with fellow human beings and their own personal responsibility towards each other. Blacking suggests that music has the ability to strengthen social bonds and thus create a more democratic, egalitarian, and peaceful society. Coplan (1994) suggests a similar idea but in a much less peaceful context. He agrees with Blacking that music (but in his case more specifically the language used in music) has the ability to create social cohesion, saying: “They make thought commensurate with common experience and action, exerting social gravitation. To paraphrase Bakhtin, they fill our mouths with the words of others.” (Coplan, 1994 p.11). Music has always been viewed as an intimate medium of expression, though still being able to maintain universal qualities. Music is able to provide us with a unique look into society because of the pervasive and numerous social strings involved in its production and consumption. This quality allows for the ability to reveal social issues, hierarchies, and other contextual data, which makes music a powerful research tool.

Music also has other curious qualities, McNeill (2011, p.158) notes that there exists an underlying theme in Blacking's work, that of the dual nature of music. Simply put, music has a great capacity for both change and for preservation. Coplan (1994, p.1) talks about this force of change as resulting from the social action that is inherent in the nature of language: “language as culture, its categories and the way they are used in the social process, shape the style of historical construction”. While for Blacking, this is more because of the revealing nature of music in exposing social hierarchies:

“Blacking’s work also stressed the connection between musical repertoire and an individual’s life cycle, such as the songs of children ... or female initiates ... or the *tshikona* dance in relation to traditional political power in the region ... In this way, he demonstrated that the performance of specific genres plays a central role in the designation of fixed social positions, and that musical recital is central to the way in which people in Venda recognise and maintain social differences and deference to the hierarchical order upon which political power and ritual authority is based. But Blacking's Venda material also revealed his view that music has the potential to radically alter the world in which it is part.” (McNeill, 2011, p.158-159)

James (2006, p.72) says much the same as McNeill on Blacking’s dualistic nature of music: “The tension is that between music as a designator of a fixed and unquestioned place in the social order, established through age, generation, gender and degree of royal connection, and music as an expression of alternative vision of social order, perhaps able to be used strategically in pursuit of such visions.” Whether music represents a need for change or hope for preservation, both are reflective of a larger social need. In this way, we can see that music is able to reflect social realities, Blacking states that “(music) can only confirm sentiments that exist but cannot create new ones...” (McNeill, 2011, p.29). This statement is problematic, however, coming down to a question of ontology. Blacking, however, does not account for the complex processes in the interaction between audience and performer in constructing meaning. The meaning a group might intend when performing a song can be very different to the meaning that audience members perceive from the song.

The creation of meaning then presents a challenge. To Coplan (1994, p. 12), the culturally patterned social production of meaning and sentiment is attached to language, referring to language's relationship with both agency and history. This enables him to make historical claims and statements about the views that people had at the time that a particular poem or

song was created in his study of Basotho word music. He continues by saying that it is important to be mindful of the interplay between the historical meanings of language and its present use, as meanings are often taken from the past and reused and reinterpreted to have different and sometimes ironic new meanings. He quotes from Faulkner that “the past is not dead, it is not even past”.

Thus, if music has a revealing quality, being able to illuminate social structures and prevailing opinions, it should be possible to discern certain contemporary social perceptions from artists who have achieved popularity. Coplan’s data focused outside of commercialised recording but I will equate the process of remembrance for the sake of important historical and cultural reasons for the popularity of certain groups that represent or present particular social realities. Certain groups gain popularity because they manage to represent the opinions and views of individuals that then choose to associate with those groups. All the same, there are many artists that are vastly popular and still manage to omit identity politics or anything of political value from their content. In this way, we account for the fact that not all music is meaningful or needs to become popular or successful. Even so, this lack of "meaningful" content does not excuse these genres/ artists/ songs from the discussion of music's influences on broader culture. Adorno (1990) for instance emphasises the banality and culturally repressive nature of what he calls the "culture industry" and its role in the production of popular music.

My participants from Aandklas would often accuse the musical taste of those of Presley's to be banal, but in Chapter 3, I place emphasis on the potentially meaningful nature of seemingly banal popular music. In particular, I attempt to place less emphasis on the interpretation of lyrics and more on the wholesale importance of special contextualisation in creating meaning for those consuming the Presley's lived experience. To Adorno musical progress is proportional to the artists' ability to deal with the potentials and limitations of what he calls the "musical material". "Musical materials in Adorno's sense are the sum of the historical generated properties and characteristics of sounds and the relationships between sounds" (Dahlhaus, 1987. p 41). As such, he found the culture industry anathema to progress as they seemingly stifle critical tendencies and potentials for the sake of easily reproduced and cost effective music/cultural products. Adorno's larger concern was that popular culture and music had the potential to manipulate consumers, making them docile and content with the products offered them. "Capitalist production so confines them, body and soul, that they

fall helpless victims to what is offered" (Laughy, 2007. p 123). His concern had less to do with the content but rather focused on the production thereof, his true concerns were that popular music in its banality is most political because it makes the consumer subservient to hegemonic process. Because this seemingly banal music potentially feeds into larger hegemonic narrative's themes, genres, songs, or artists are perhaps even more pertinent when discussing their influences on identity.

According to Coplan, then, it is when we juxtapose these genres (banal or meaningful) that we can come to reveal conflicting and hidden social visions, institutes, and underlying hierarchies within self-ascribed Afrikaner identities. I intend to do just that in order to reveal the multiple identities of Afrikaners through popular music at both my locations. Both offer seemingly opposing solution towards the same question of identity. Identity as a concept is by no means a clear and concise idea either. It is devilishly slippery, filled with contradictions and nameless presumptions. While this is a concept that many academics have found problematic, nonetheless many still choose to dabble in this, the alchemy of social theory. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) found 164 different definitions to the word identity, and this was six decades ago, one can only assume the definitions have proliferated. Stocking (1974) warns against of treating the concept of culture as a product of biological rather than historical and social forces, criticising the underlying racial determinism that is inherent in the evolutionary perspective. Others have called for the term to be scrapped entirely as it has become too muddy distinguish or gain any value from. As Cooper remarks, "Already in the mid-1970s, W. J. M. Mackenzie could characterise identity as a word 'driven out of its wits by over-use,' and Robert Coles could remark that the notions of identity and identity crisis had become 'the purest of clichés.'" (2005, p.61).

If identity is everywhere, it is nowhere. If it is fluid, how can we understand the ways in which self-understandings may harden, congeal, and crystallize? If it is constructed, how can we understand the sometimes coercive force of external identifications? If it is multiple, how do we understand the terrible singularity that is often striven for—and sometimes realized—by politicians seeking to transform mere categories into unitary and exclusive groups? How can we understand the power and pathos of identity politics? (Cooper, 2005, p.59)

The relationship between music and identity has been the topic of many papers in the context of South Africa. Truscott (2010), Laubscher (2005) and Bezuidenhout (2007) have all flirted with it in writing about Afrikaner culture and music. These and other authors still find the term useful and worth investigating. Many people still use it to make sense of the world that they imagine themselves to be a part of, through the process of self-identification. When used responsibly, the term may still assist us to understand the multiple potential Afrikaner identities and the manner in which the consumption of music can inform an introspective understanding of themselves in contemporary times. By proceeding from the premise that there is no basis to a singular understanding of what it is to be an Afrikaner, I can begin to deconstruct the term in the context of how Afrikaans music is consumed by different groups in Pretoria. There are two common but seemingly opposite ideas about what constitutes identity. The first emphasises a shared derivations such as ethnic, linguistic, religious, historical, cultural and political attributions between a people (Hall, 1994, 1996). The focus is on unity, belonging and familiarity. From this point of view, there exists a singular shared cultural identity within a group. This view is somewhat problematic but still not entirely irrelevant.

The problematic belief in this analysis is that there is some intrinsic and essential content to any identity which is characterized by either a common origin or a common structure of experience or both. One can be deemed to be born along with his or her identity that appears to act as the sign of an identical harmony. In this regard, identity is determined more likely as a naturalistic and static formation that could always be sustained. This conventional view sees individual as a unique, stable and whole entity. (Mustafa, 2006 p. 37).

This view is deterministic, and skirts Stockings (1974) warnings of treating identity as a biological fixture rather than that of one vulnerable to the ebb and flow of history and other social forces. As I mentioned earlier, however, history, language, church, and state have been central to the idea of what it means to be an Afrikaner (at least pre-Apartheid), and while I might not adhere to the theory, several of my informants very well might and do, particularly from the more conservative Presley's. The second understanding of identity then is the discursive approach (Hall 1996). This approach emphasises the fluid and changing nature of identity. Identity is a concept that is always *becoming* or *moving* but never *being* or *fixed*. Through developments such as technology and modernization, identity can change within both the socio-cultural and historical context.

It is not a something to have or to be, yet a resource to use and an action to do. According to this constructionists and discursive view, an individual is a socio-historical and socio-cultural product and identity is not biologically pre-given to a person, instead, he or she occupies it, and more importantly, this occupation may include different and multiple identities at different points of time and settings (Mustafa, 2006 p. 38).

I am more inclined towards this approach. Though this definition does avoid certain pitfalls, it also means that identity is significantly more vague, untenable and exceedingly difficult to write about. What is needed then is an in-depth look at the multiple identities people have over time, it requires an understanding of the historical and socio-economic place that people find themselves in. This will allow us at the very least to recognise trends and comment on the context that leads to this latest *becoming* of identity. While the role of music and identity proved inseparable in the course of my research, I find that a great deal of contextualisation from both locations came from a better and in-depth understanding of the relation that identity and music played with the socialisation of space.

Space and Place

Space and place play a large role in how I attempt to make sense of the patrons of both Aandklas and Presley's. Space and place have long since passed the simple understanding of the *where* but has been employed as a term to try and help understand the *how* and *why*. Space can be understood as a dimension, within which matter is contained thus referring to the physical location. Place refers to rank, temporal ordering and position in social order (Agnew, 2011). These two concepts are fundamentally tied into social theory, so much so that they can be considered to describe a particular school of its own. The concept has been used to understand a wide range of social issues from immigration and nationality (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992), urban planning (Harvey, 1979) and gated communities (Low, 2008) to the socialization of students at a coffee shop at a law school (Manderson and Turner, 2006).

The idea that space is made meaningful is of course a familiar one to anthropologists; indeed, there is hardly an older or better established anthropological truth. East or west, inside or outside, left or right, mound or floodplain - from at least the time of Durkheim, anthropology has known that the experience of space is always socially constructed. (Gupta, 1992. p.11)

Our experiences of a particular space can actively influence how we construct our ideas and desires. Butler (1990, p.30) goes so far as to suggest that such an experience could potentially lead the subject to *want* to be the kind of person that fulfils a particular role within that space. Space is socially constructed, but the ability of space to influence us, point to the fact that there is no static meaning within it. Gupta (1992, p 11) poses a few questions to try to understand this phenomenon: “With meaning understood as practice, how are spatial meanings established? Who has the power to make places of spaces? Who contests this? What is at stake?”

What this means is that I cannot make sense of the people within the establishments without understanding the meaning that could be found within that space and the role that the people who frequent that place have in constructing that meaning. What enables people to occupy such a role within the establishment is a type of informal socialisation, an acquired and learned resources in spaces that allow for the transfer of such information. “This is the bodily habitus, a system of structured, "structuring dispositions" and an "embodied history"... that we learn by living in it and never by thinking about it.” (Manderson and Turner, 2006 p. 664). By adding space and place as one of my theoretical lenses, I make sense of what I observed. This concept enabled me to discuss the lived experience of the people who consume music in these establishments. While it is my goal to understand this socialising process, it is also my duty to problematized a static understanding thereof. While this type of inspection allows me to have a closer look at the interaction of my participants, I believe it is important to contextualise the imagery and discourse, through revealing some of the historical, and then musical context in which these spaces have been placed in. Both locations that I studied here have distinct norms and socialised behaviours that permeate all social interactions. It is with observing and analysing these factors that I glean a great deal about the different ways in which participants actively shape their experiences and their identity statements.

Through the amalgamation of music theory, space and place, and identity theory I hope to bring forth a detailed and rich description of the lived experiences of patrons at both my research locations. While the music in itself often has a great deal of social and historical meaning embedded in its notes and lyrics that have the ability to represent, or repress, or proffer identity choices, when placed in the context of Aandklas, or Presley's, these cultural products can take on distinct new meanings. The mannerisms, norms, values, phenomena,

and various interactions between patrons and the social visions of their imagined communities, and those of others can cause any music to be "reinterpreted to have different and sometimes ironic new meanings" within pre-socialised spaces. My intentions than in combining these theoretical constructs are to illuminate prevailing perceptions amongst those who frequent these locations and to navigate these new meanings in revealing multiple potential Afrikaner identities.

Conclusion

The lyrical topics that popular Afrikaans music generally covers are issues of love, drinking and having a good time. For the greater part, this genre is devoid of any attempts at greater social or political meaning, and while as Adorno might argue this product to be rigid and invariable, unable to serve as social criticism, it is however exactly in that format that it illuminates greater meaning in Presley's. Within the context of Presley's and with the addition of sokkie dance, I believe there is something more subtle going on that politicises popular Afrikaans music. The phenomenon of sokkie dance has deep Afrikaner historical and cultural symbolism, and Presley's is one of the very few bars in which it is performed. The patrons at this bar practice a form of racial exclusion which I equate to the guarded and selective nature of gated communities. This exclusion is based on perceived economic and social pressures that threaten their language, culture, and the general status quo. I argue that the sokkie dance phenomenon could, in fact, be seen as part of a broader strategy of subversion toward these threatening forces.

Numerous factors have influenced and shaped each location. Even so, the social borders that separate these groups elucidate key distinctions that we can draw upon. Both of these locations offer us an idea about a potential Afrikaner identity in what could arguably be called the post-post-apartheid era. This allows us to discuss, in depth, the nature of identity and the forces that influence change. There have been various forces acting upon the image of white Afrikaans-speakers in South Africa the last two decades. Through understanding music, genres, and how my participants celebrate their space and culture, we can start to draw out how these people have reacted to these forces of change. Identity might be slippery and problematic but it is still an imperative facet of how people navigate through life and interact with others. It is important for these Afrikaans-speaking people to find a sense of belonging in a country of which they have been both included and separate. This then is an exploration

of change, influence, and the continuous processes of identity in the need (or privilege) of belonging.

Chapter 2 - History, Music, and Industry

Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the different approaches that have been taken to discuss Afrikaans music and identity and how self-ascribed Afrikaners have been depicted in post-Apartheid South Africa. I particularly pay attention to what has been written on the Voëlvry movement and how the authors attempted to make sense of current affairs through it. I will also be discussing more recent developments in the music industry and how my own study relates to all of this in an attempt to add to the ongoing discourse. I argue that music has the ability to illuminate or even guide the potential paths that certain Afrikaans-speakers have taken in dealing with their lived experiences and their perceived place in South Africa. The question then becomes one of whether to understand the changes self-ascribed Afrikaners are experiencing as distinct moments of crisis or as a fluent concept of identity experiencing constant change over a period of time? To answer that question, I would like to look at the role music has played in the past, and how it has changed along with the reflective perspective of various groups of self-ascribed Afrikaners. Music is both the subject and the tool to analyse such a conundrum, however, a cursory understanding of the history of self-ascribed Afrikaners is a necessary starting point towards the contextualisation of the role that music played in this process.

A Historical Context of the Afrikaner

It would be impossible to make sense of recent developments without an understanding of the historical context that frames it. In order to understand the influences of Voëlvry, Bok van Blerk and the imagery of Fokofpolisiekar and many other performers, we need to look back at the development of the imagined Afrikaner nation. Hermann Giliomee (2003) spent more than 700 pages writing about the history of Afrikaners in his book *The Afrikaners, a biography of a people*. The story of the Afrikaner volk (or people) begins in 1652 with the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck acting as leader of an expedition for the Dutch East India Company (*Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* or VOC) on the southernmost point of Africa, later known as the Cape of Good Hope. I might start with the words of Jan Smuts, the then head of the United Party (UP) having just lost the elections in 1949.

What young nation can boast a more romantic history, one of more far-reaching human interest? Colour, incident, tragedy and comedy, defeat and victory, joy and sorrow... our earlier history is full of the most gripping human interest. If only we had the pen of Greeks, what a literary contribution should we make to our future treasures! There is gold not only in our earth, but still more in our history. (Giliomee, 2009, p. i)

Jan Smuts said these words at the unveiling of a monument (The Voortrekker Monument) commemorating the *Groot Trek* (Great Trek) an event in the 1830's and 1850's. A number of *Boers* (a term meaning farmer that came to describe a small group of Dutch, French and German immigrants (Greeff, 2007)) vowed that they would not live under the yoke of British rule and by using "ossewa"(Ox wagons) drove themselves out of reach of the British stronghold in the Cape colonies. They established a number of Boer republics, the most prominent and noteworthy of these were the Natal, the Orange Free State (the longest lasting of these) and Transvaal. Their motivations to move from the Cape were multiple, the British laws abolishing slavery were prominent among these. It was then after gold had been discovered that the British regained interest in the Boer republics, the resulting conflicts set of the two Boer wars. The Boer managed to overpower the invading British in the first (1880-1881) and then lost the second (1899-1902). Arthur Conan Doyle, while volunteering for the British in the Boer War wrote about the Battles in 1899 – 1900 and later on the skirmishes of 1901-1902. I quote here at length:

Take a community of Dutchmen of the type of those who defended themselves for fifty years against all the power of Spain at a time when Spain was the greatest power in the world. Intermix with them a strain of those inflexible French Huguenots who gave up home and fortune and left their country forever at the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The product must obviously be one of the most rugged, virile, unconquerable races ever seen upon earth. Take this formidable people and train them for seven generations in constant warfare against savage men and ferocious beasts, in circumstances under which no weakling could survive, place them so that they acquire exceptional skill with weapons and in horsemanship, give them a country, which is eminently suited to the tactics of the huntsman, the marksman, and the rider. Then, finally, put a finer temper upon their military qualities by a dour fatalistic Old Testament religion and an ardent and consuming patriotism. Combine all these qualities and all these impulses in one individual, and you have the modern Boer—the most formidable antagonist who ever crossed the path of Imperial Britain. (Doyle 1900, pp. 1)

The "savage men" was a comment on the native black inhabitants that often found themselves in the middle of, if not in direct conflict with either one of these factions. Only recently has there been meaningful attempts made (Plaut, 2015) (McGreal 1999) to include black South African's and their experiences and influences into the narrative of these conflicts (Pretorius, 2000). We can conclude that Doyle wrote somewhat theatrically of the prowess of the Boer in order to enhance the glory of the British in a victory over these people, and while not fabricated, it is a romanticised view. Cornelius de Kiewiet does now share in this romanticised perspective and proffered a rather blunt statement on the stubbornness and racism of the Boer settlers:

Their life gave them a tenacity of purpose, a power of silent endurance, and the keenest self-respect. But this isolation sank into their character, causing their imagination to lie fallow and their intellect to become inert. Their tenacity could degenerate into obstinacy, their power of endurance into resistance to innovation, and their self-respect into suspicion of the foreigner and contempt for their inferiors....” (Giliomee, p. 35)

The isolation that de Kiewiet spoke of became a prominent theme in Giliomee's writing and takes on many forms after the Boer Wars. In the years following the second Boer war and with British rule, the rift between Afrikaans and English white people only widened, with Afrikaners harbouring resentment over the use of concentration camps and the scorched-earth tactics that saw the death of an estimated 27,000 Boer civilians (then 15 % of the Boer population) and many burnt down homes and farms. This rift was drawn along language lines, Afrikaners and English both fighting for power. The battle for white supremacy of South Africa became a matter of which whites ruled. It was in 1948, with a marginal victory over the United Party (UP) that D.F. Malan and the National Party (NP) came into power, D.F. Malan proclaimed that South Africa once again belonged to the Afrikaner, what followed was the birth of Apartheid and Afrikaner nationalism.

The historical trajectory of capitalist development in South Africa placed the Afrikaans-speaking petty bourgeoisie in a structurally different set of roles, alliances, pressures and struggles, from those of the English-speaking members of this class. These structural differences expressed the widely divergent historical processes which formed the English- and Afrikaans speaking sections of the petty bourgeoisie, and the differing class forces with which each was identified and allied. (O'Meara, 1983. p. 53)

The rise of the national party and the stringent attachment to Afrikaner culture and language that became the bedrock of the Afrikaner nationalist narrative was deeply rooted in the economic situation that the Afrikaans-speaking whites found themselves after the Boer war. By 1907, the British Empire had a strong hold on the material resources of South Africa, and the Afrikaans-speaking whites found themselves in the curious position of being little more than poor farmers in a country that were then exporting almost a third of the world's gold. By 1938/39 (O'Meara, 1983. p. 52) Afrikaans-speakers controlled an insignificant amount of the total production in most spheres of the economy with the sole exception of agriculture. The great majority of Afrikaans businesses were small one-man or family operations with their focus on small rural towns. As O'Meara points out "The overwhelming majority of these operations provided no real basis for the accumulation of capital. Their owners and operators were in no sense part of the capitalist class, but rather comprised a petty bourgeoisie pure and simple" (O'Meara, 1983. p. 53).

In 1910 South Africa moved from British colony to the South African Union, which meant that Afrikaans-speaking citizens were now able to vote but were still under the firm control of the British Empire. It was within these economic pressures on Afrikaans-speaking whites, along with cultural pressures from the British in an attempt to anglicise them that saw the rise of the G/NP (*Gesuiwerde Nasionale party*). The group was an amalgamation of four different nationalist parties with various goals that came together in hopes of fighting for the plight of Afrikaans speakers. The first G/NP program was a *programme* of Cape agricultural capital. The organisation wanted new potentials for export, especially Germany, and the stop to imperial preferences to which markets may be sought out. Several other unions, organisations, and open secret societies such as the Broederbond⁸ would all arise with the goal of alleviating the poverty of Afrikaans speakers, these efforts finally culminating in the *Ekenomiese Volskongres* (Economic People's Congress) in 1939. This meeting was an attempt by groups such as the financial institute Sanlam, the Volkskas Bank, and the secret society Broederbond, to "serve the economic interest of the Afrikaner" (O'Meara, 1983. p.

⁸ The Afrikaner Broederbond or Afrikaner Brotherhood was an exclusively white male organisation that was founded by H.J. Klopper, H.W. van der Merwe, D.H.C. du Plessis, and Rev. Jozua Naude in 1918. Sometimes compare to the Freemasons, the organisation was an open secret with substantial influences within the political and social sphere's of South Africa. While many political members of the organisation were political figures between 1948 and 1994, the exact goal of the organisation is rather vague except that they were interested in furthering white Afrikaans speaking interests.

107). The Ekenomiese Volkskongres in 1939 was seen as a pivotal moment for Afrikaner nationalism. "Here was crystallised a strategy to transform the position of the Afrikaner petty bourgeoisie within South African capitalism" (O'Meara, 1983. p. 115).

These organisations were fighting various forces, but amongst them was an apparent bias against Afrikaans-speaking whites. It was clear that during the 1930's skilled labour was predominantly occupied by English-speaking whites and (predominantly English speaking) craft unions were seriously attempting to hamper the rise of the growing pool of proletarianised Afrikaans speakers from lower skilled places they were assigned (O'Meara, 1983. p. 240). The first Ekenomiese Volkskongres seemingly had a great effect on the plight of poor Afrikaans whites and by the second Ekenomiese Volkskongres in 1950 a great deal has changed. While in 1939 but a few businesses and institutions were present "eleven years later, businessmen had now displaced the petty bourgeoisie as the delegates of the volk" (p. 248). It was declared that the poor white Afrikaners were no longer a problem. The NP was put in power through the collective ideal that Afrikaans speakers must unify against the various powers that seemingly wants to break down the collective language, culture, and economic freedoms of Afrikaans-speaking people. Perhaps the Broederbond summed their project up the best when in 1944 that they were formed with the conviction that "the Afrikaner volk has been planted in this country by the hand of God, destined to survive as a separate volk with its own calling" (Wilkins & Strydom, 1980 p 45).

When Smuts made his speech in 1949 it was clear that he felt that the past should not be an obstacle to the future. He warned "let us not be fascinated about our past and romanticize it", stating instead that only the things of beauty should be taken from the past, in hopes that this would allow them to mend the rifts between the English and Afrikaans-speaking people. However, fearing that immigrants would vote against the NP and for the UP again, the NP began a campaign severely stemming the flow of immigrants into the country. While Australia was receiving 200,000 immigrants a year, only 13,000 were allowed into South Africa by the year 1950. Fears for the survival of the Afrikaner volk on a genetic, economic, and cultural level were to be the justification of South Africa's self-isolation and forced segregation during the years of Apartheid.

Gilliomee makes it clear that one of the greatest driving forces of Afrikaner nationalism was fear. Fear of the outside, fear of influence and a deep need for social and genetic reproduction

that was to be the basis of the NP's policies (or rather its excuses for them). This led to the unstable, unjust and often brutal regime of Apartheid, that lasted for the next 40 years. Naturally, not all agreed with these policies, J.H. Du Pisani (1988) writes on the competing idealisms that were fighting it out within the NP itself. Du Pisani describes the climate that allowed for the two factions called the *verligtes* (liberals) and *verkramptes* (conservatives) to battle it out internally. To the outside, the NP seemed to be one voice, but internally a struggle for the direction of the party was to be fought, the height of which was in the 1960's (Du Pisani, P. 3). Because of the racial interest that politics had in the 1940's and 50's terms both, (Verligte and Verkrampte) attained certain connotations and meanings. To be a liberal or verligte was to be far-left, in favour of race integration and linked in some inexplicable manner with communism. Although this disagreement on the future of Afrikaners almost tore a wedge in the NP, there has always been a strong vision of what it is to be an Afrikaner in the NP, an identity enforced by strong ties to the church and the history of the volk. The strong ties to identity are largely due to a few organisations that under economic and social pressures actively promoted the idea of Afrikaner exceptionalism and unity through the fabrication of a collective culture. This later contributed to apartheid ideology and to the project of separate ethnic development, with music and other cultural products playing a pivotal role in this process.

Olwage (2008) makes the case that the recording industry, from as early as the 1920's, was instrumental in the ethnicising of South Africa. "Ethnicity interpolations, even more than race, spoke of and for capitalist interests, for ethnicity was crucial to the migrant labour system that characterised early industrial South Africa. In short, Columbia's 'Bantu Records' were a catalogue of music of ethnicity, lists of music arranged under the categories of Zulu, Xhosa, Sesuto" (Olwage, 2008. p 36)". There was a project beginning around 1900 to collect what was considered folk music, in order to protect those songs from what was seen as the "Anglophone Imperial" threat. This project took decades of collecting and editing and finally culminated in the *Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings Volksbundel*⁹ in 1939. This was a collection of what was considered *egte volksmusiek* or genuine folk music that was owned, in a collection of books that still exists today, being republished in 2012. It is with this standardisation and culture claim the Olwage declares, "In the creation of a

⁹ The Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Associations' Song collection.

specifically Afrikaans musical culture - and its reproduction on disc - Afrikaner ethnicity was born" (Olwage, 2008. p 38). Ethnic based music was paramount in the process of establishing the imagined community, and in the case of Afrikaans-speaking whites in the early 20th century, it was convenient to find a cultural basis for unity along with the social and economic threats that were thought to be perpetrated against the White Afrikaans-speaking people.

It was in the mid-1950 with questions of authenticity of traditional Afrikaans songs such as Sarie Marais (discovered to have Scottish origins (Olwage, 2008)) that doubt was placed in this idea of the Afrikaner volk. During the next few decades, the powerful emphasis that was placed on ethnicity, which was continuously challenged by various artists such as David Kramer, Koos Kombuis, and Johnny Clegg, also known as the White Zulu. The art covers of the group Juluka's albums, formed in 1969 by Johnny Clegg and Siphiso Mchunu (Drewett, 2008), is a great example of an artist attempting to transcend the Apartheid narrative of Ethnicity. On the album cover of African Litany (1981) for instance "Clegg and Mchunu are shown in a smiling, friendly co-operative pose. Mchunu helping to put a bangle on Clegg's arm. These images strongly dismissed the apartheid policy of racial separation and mistrust and accordingly disrupt the apartheid fiction" (Drewett, 2008. p 130). Still, a great many other album covers and music either actively played into or ignored government's attempts at emphasising ethnicity.

Dis 'n Land - Carike Keuzenkamp

Dis 'n land van kleure en klank
Dis 'n land van oorfloed en dank
Dis 'n land waar almal na strew
Dis 'n land sonder horison en
Dis 'n land wat weet hy kan
ook 'n blyplek neerlê vir my

It's a country of colour and sound
It's a country of plenty and thankfulness
It's a country to which everyone strives
It's a country without horizon and
It's a country that knows he can
put down a home for me as well

Daar's 'n land waar kerse brand
en vele mense tale
En ek weet die land is net vir my en jou bedoel
Dis 'n land vol drome en toekoms ideale
Laat die mooi van more oor jou spoel

There's a country where candles burn
and many people's languages
And I know this land is meant for me and you
It's a country filled with dream and future ideals
Let the beauty of tomorrow flow over you

(Carike Keuzenkamp, 1987)

During a tumultuous year and decade, these lyrics seem rather blissfully ignorant of the ongoing social moments fighting for the social justices and utopian society proffered in the

song. It is naturally also true that artists have no obligation to produce music that is seemingly always fighting for social justice or attempting to create awareness, the artists may in fact not have any interest or opinion on social or political happenings at all. A great deal of the music produced would fall under this category rather than the deliberately subversive undertones of Juluka. Still, others willingly feed into the apartheid narrative with artists such as Ge Korsten, Dennis East, and John Edmond (Drewett, 2008. P 120) openly glorifies or supporting the image of the South African military forces being the white soldiers protecting the interests of white South Africa. These pro-military artists would have illustrations or photos of themselves in military attire or otherwise showing the military in a positive and masculine manner.

It is argued that record covers promote apartheid hegemony in two ways: first, through the promotion of dominant ideas and second, through the omission of dissenting ideas... The prevalence of album cover images which either actively promoted or simply did not challenge the dominant apartheid discourse contributed towards a context in which South Africans were not encouraged to question the dominant order and were less likely to encounter alternatives (Drewett, 2008. p 115)

Adorno's critique of popular culture lies in close ties to the argument made by Drewett: "The culture industry encourages its consumers to see society as a positive and natural entity. The simplicity and rigid invariability of its products parallel the reified society and as such offer no alternative to or element of criticism of reification." (O'Connor, 2000. p. 230). Popular music becomes a commodity of the Music industry, made for profit, from existing formula that has proven to be effective rather than diverse or unique. During the apartheid period, censorship ensured or at least attempted to endorse and publish music that went along with the apartheid narrative of ethnic separation and Afrikaans white supremacy. Here, a culture industry formed not for commercial convenience but rather active government intrusion to ensure the simplicity and invariability of music in the hopes of promoting homogeneity. A pool of cultural images, songs, and ideals, were put forth to legitimise and support the apartheid nationalistic narrative. This critique, however, falls somewhat short of giving a nuanced account of the seemingly inevitable rise of counter cultures, in this case, Juluka, and as I will discuss in detail next, the music of Voëlvry. Many of the images and symbols from this history have been either appropriated or somehow warped by several artists in order to produce or construct a particular understanding of Afrikaner-ness. I discuss many of these

appropriations and what they reveal to us about the potential Afrikaner identities throughout this paper. The Voëlvry movement, Bittereinder, Bok van Blerk, Fokofpolisiekar and many other Afrikaans musicians have all drawn from this history in various ways. All of which has set forth an idea of the imagined community and all have been received and influences the larger community in various ways. Voelvry, in particular, is a well-documented and researched phenomenon that not only offers us an alternative image of Afrikaner identity but gives context to an era and that helped shape what was to come.

In the Time of Voëlvry

The Voëlvry movement was the name given to a tour group that consisted of a number of Afrikaans rock groups that openly criticised the apartheid government during the late 1980s. Bernoldus Niemand, Koos Kombuis, and spearheaded by Johannes Kerkorrel and his Gereformeerde Blues Band, each musician representing a distinct counter-culture to the values of the ruling National Party. The word Voëlvry can be translated as “free as a bird” and also serves as a double-entendre, referring to being naked, a term intended to vex some conservative sensibilities of the time. This movement was considered a direct attack on Afrikaner nationalism, being called the "Boer-Woodstock" (Hopkins, 2006 P. 6) by Max Du Preez in a foreword in the book, *Voëlvry: The movement that rocked South Africa*.

Vestergaard (2001) posits the importance of history, religion, and language as symbols of the nationalist Afrikaner identity, going so far as to equate these symbols with Emile Durkheim’s totem worship. It is exactly for this reason that some claim the Voëlvry musical movement had such a powerful impact on the apartheid order, or as Koos Kombuis put it, a system “preordained through Calvinism, sponsored by Sanlam, and protected, with God’s help, by the iron-fisted powers of the Police and the Defence Force” (2009, p. 35). This movement not only sang in the language of the “oppressor” but also appropriated symbols of Afrikaner historical consequence into their lyrics, then proceeded to transform these symbols of Afrikaner nationalism into something very different (Bezuidenhout, 2007). A good example of this is a song titled “Ossewa” (ox wagon) that takes the symbol for the great trek (an icon of freedom and independence from British rule) and metaphorically (or lyrically) places a V6 engine in its wooden fixtures, creating a sporting party wagon that blasts Elvis Presley tunes. “We did not discard or write off the ox waggon, we gave it a facelift, repainted it and filled it

with a V6 engine, it was the kind of attack which the Botha apartheid government did not expect” (Grundlingh, 2004, p.14). Grundlingh goes on to say:

“Despite the apparent rejection then of what has gone before, cultural redefinitions are informed as much by the past as the present; their efficacy depends on an adroit use of an intelligible and known past and adapting it in such a way that it speaks anew in a changed context. Through a process of connecting a selected or usable past with ongoing contemporary life, the potential critical impact is heightened as the familiar is recognizable but in a defamiliarised shape” (2004, p.13)

It was the performance of such a metaphorical production that was to be Coplan’s focus; it was not just the performer but the audience and how they received it that was of importance: “...performative metaphors attain social authority precisely because they transport the salience of their previous applications into new contexts each time they are reapplied. The past gives meaning to the present as much as the present reconstitutes the nature of the past” (1994, p.14). Voëlvry was an attack on Afrikaner values, but from the inside, and by reusing Afrikaner symbols. This had been an active attempt to reshape Afrikaner identity, proffering new ways to potentially think about themselves, and to take away from those who laid claim to it, from "the clammy paws of the *broeders* and the other grey-shoed *ooms* of Afrikaner nationalism, the *kultuur koeke*, the *dominees* and Bles Bridges" (Hopkins, 2006 P. 6).

While others only skirted the issue of identity while writing about Afrikaans music, Laubscher (2005) delved bravely into that difficult subject. Through discussing the rise of Voëlvry and with a particular interest in Johannes Kerkorrel and to some degree Koos Kombuis, Laubscher manages to illustrate the ability of music to illuminate identity, and more importantly, music as an influential voice in the continuous discourse of identity. To begin Laubscher establishes that when we consider identity, we should emphasise routes over roots, meaning that there were a number of ideological and behavioural options made available at certain times through history, and some won over others. Even this identity is in flux, never quite fixed and sure as "re-telling, re-writing and re-membling privileges and authorises certain (dis-membered) aspects over others so that a search for an essential truth in the event, or the response, is highly questionable"(2005, p. 310). Laubscher concludes:

"the figure of the Afrikaner is not intrinsic to the commonality of history, or "authentic" in some prior, platonic manner, but a consequence of articulatory practices which coalesced as identity unity around the *volkseie* (the nation or people's own; that which is particular to the Afrikaner), and 'began to act as a general principle for the organisation of all social relations' ..." (2005, P 311).

The importance of this is that Laubscher treats the Voëlvry movement as just such a crossroads or event that enabled Afrikaner identity to move into a new direction, to reorganise social relations. Laubscher though does not mention how effective this movement was or to what degree it was influential, which as we have read, some consider moderate. Still, this then to Laubscher is what happened in 1980. An "organic crisis of hegemony" (2005, P. 311) came into being, what seemed fixed became dislodged and ready for re-interpretation. With satire, irony, and nostalgia Voëlvry became a driving force that would allow people the platform to do just that.

Laubscher points out that "a central task of the *volkseie* was to surveil its inside for what "authentically" belonged to its being", drawing the line between what is *volksvreemd* (that which is anathema to the people or nation) and *volksvriendelik* (that which is positive and friendly to the people or nation). What was considered *volksvriendelike* music were traditional and ritualised music that celebrated the volks' history, emphasising historical places, events, and fauna and flora, "Allied to the Afrikaner nationalist project, these musical forms were almost entirely without dissent, controversy, or criticism for that project" (Laubscher, p. 313). For Laubscher, it is important to understand that the Voëlvry movement could not entirely be disregarded as *volksvreemd*. Through the appropriation of historical and cultural icons, the movement cut to the heart of nationalism, a movement that was "openly critical of the apartheid regime, shockingly scornful of sacred identity iconography, tauntingly transgressive of *suiwer* (pure) language usage, and flauntingly dismissive of seemingly entrenched moral and religious prescriptions", this being a challenge to what is *volkseie* (Laubscher, p. 313).



Sit dit af! - Johannes Kerkorrel

Die ander dag toe voel ek lam
Ek wou 'n kleinbietjie ontspan
En 'n boermaak 'n plan
Ek sit my tv-set toe aan
Jy sal nie glo wat ek sien
Daar op my tv screen

The other day when I felt numb
I wanted to relax a little bit
And a farmer makes a plan
I put on my TV set
You will not believe what I saw
There on my TV screen

Dit was 'n naregesig
Dit het my heeltemal ontwrig
Dit was 'n moerseklug
Dit was P.W. se gesig
En langs hom staan ou oom Pik, ja
Ooo, ek dog ek gaan verstik

It was a nauseating image (Face)
It completely disrupted me
It was a huge farce
It was P. W.'s face
And beside him stood Uncle Pik, yes
Ohh, I thought I was going to choke

Sit ditaf, sit ditaf (sit ditaf, sit ditaf)
Sit ditaf, sit ditaf (sit ditaf, sit ditaf)
Sit ditaf, sit ditaf (sit ditaf, sit ditaf)
Want dis 'n helse straf

Put it off, put it off (put it off, put it off)
Put it off, put it off (put it off, put it off)
Put it off, put it off (put it off, put it off)
Because it's a hell of a punishment

Ek stap kombuis toe kry 'n bier
En skakel oor na TV4
O my God wat het ons hier?
Wat my tv screen ontsier
Is daar nêrens om tevlug
Van daai man se mooi gesig

I went to the kitchen to get a beer
And switched to TV4
Oh my God, what have we here?
That defaces my TV-screen
Is there anywhere to flee
From that man's pretty face?

(Hopkins, 2006 p. 156-157)

This song 'Sit Dit af ' by Johannes Kerkorrel is an example of the type of open critique and scorn that was to be the attack on Afrikaner nationalism and the volkseie. Beyond simple criticism for the nationalist leaders of the time, Kerkorrel also criticised the policing of language. The use of the phrase "TV screen" is a type of Creole Afrikaans that was heavily criticised as language mixing and against volk's values of only using suiwer (pure) Afrikaans. Further, the blasphemous exclamation of "O my God wat het ons hier/ Oh my God what do we have here", was intended to irk religious institutions. While Laubscher shows many such examples of lyrical analysis to capture the zeitgeist of the movement, he cautions in his conclusions that the broader narrative is dangerously exclusionary, being a "particularly masculine story" (Laubscher, P. 325). Further, each generation might, and probably do, have differing opinions and varying experiences around the Voëlvry movement and that period in general. Concepts of what is of one's own, or volkseie still have relevance to self-ascribed Afrikaners and are expressed in different manners today.

Pienaar (2012) tries to understand the Voëlvry tour through its historical context and the influence that it seemed to have. She justifies calling Voëlvry a movement by pointing out that the definition of a movement is a group of individuals who work together towards promoting a shared political, social and cultural ideas. Voëlvry, however, appeared to have no specific agenda and refused to associate with any political party or movement of the time. She agrees with Grundlingh then that Voëlvry should be understood as a social movement, "albeit a weak one" (Pienaar, 2012 P. 7).

The embryonic but palpable sense of imminent change and the appeal to new Afrikaner culture and political sensibilities as well as the enthusiastic following it attracted certainly gave the Voëlvry the appearance of a social movement. But the case should not be overstated. It failed to evolve beyond protest music, lacked wider connections, and did not inspire their followers to express themselves in unambiguous and meaningful political terms. At best it can be described as a moderate to weak social movement. (Grundlingh, 2004, P. 498)

Interestingly Koos Kombuis commented that he thought it was the '*doodskoot*' (death shot) that killed Apartheid. If this were true, it would probably be more accurate to say Voëlvry had been the straw that broke the camel's back. Pienaar points out that there were several other social movements, events, and circumstances that were the death of apartheid. Movements such as *die Sestigers* that appeared before Voëlvry in the sixties. *Die Sestigers* was a loose association of poets, writers, and performers that encourage self-ascribed Afrikaners to question the status quo. Jan Rabie, Etienne LeRoux, Andre P. Brink and Breytenbach all added a voice in the dissent. Further, from within the Afrikaner political camp, came the rise of the *verligte's/ verkrapte's* that I mentioned in the first chapter that further depicted stresses from inside.

Events such as the 1976 Soweto uprising created great pressure along with, as Pienaar points out, numerous other forces from outside the country such as the crumbling economy in the 1970's and the exposure of the *Broederbond* and their hold on the country's politics. All these (and other) events had a profound impact not only on the apartheid regime but also on the cultural identity of the self-ascribed Afrikaners people. In the 1980s just as the Voëlvry tour came into swing, there were numerous young people and students yearning to associate with the movement. The influence of the Voëlvry tour was mainly on the white-middle class, all the same, the effect the movement had on the people at the time cannot be underestimated.

Further, the Voëlvry music managed to depict a voice outside of traditional political spheres, showing the frustration of both performer and audience with the Apartheid regime.

Grundlingh (2004) reminds us that the true wealth in the Voëlvry movement was to help self-ascribed Afrikaners deal with the guilt of apartheid and later to provide a platform "sixteen years later to help manufacture an anti-apartheid past for a younger generation of self-ascribed Afrikaners grappling with a sense of identity in quite a different context" (Grundlingh, p. 22). More than a decade after Grundlingh published this, nonetheless, it still has relevance for Afrikaans music.

"The Voëlvryers undeniably refreshed the stagnant Afrikaner cultural terrain and whether or not they shook the foundations of South Africa or single-handedly felled the beast, their work represented an illuminating struggle with the powerful effects that Afrikaner nationalism and Calvinism had on the subjective and collective identities of Afrikaners in the last years of apartheid." (Pienaar, 2012 P. 71)

Pienaar concludes by pointing out that the importance of the Voëlvry movement cannot be dismissed as historically insignificant. Voëlvry was a direct attack on a repressive homogeneity through the medium of rock n' roll. This movement illuminated the effects that this regime had on the young white Afrikaans people that grew up under it. Voëlvry had been an active attempt to distance themselves from the sins of their fathers and the guilt that followed it. It was a cultural rebellion against the values of a repressive system:

Johannes Kerkorrel - Energie (Energy)

Jy moet staan in jou ry	You must stand in line
Jy moet jou hare kort sny	You must cut your hair short
Jy moet altyd netjies bly	You must always be neat
Jy moet al die pryse kry	You must win all the prizes
Jy moet in 'n huisie bly	You must live in a little house
Trou en kinders kry	Marry and have children
In jou karretjie ry	Drive in your little car
En stem vir die party	And vote for the [National] Party

(Hopkins, 2006 p. 76 -77)

Here Kerkorrel voices his need to strain against the social expectations of his time. However, as much as he, and those that associated with his music, was attempting to sway the conservative minds of self-ascribed Afrikaners of that era, there were many within Afrikaans popular culture that were creating music void of such attempts (Olwage, 2008). Bles Bridges,

a then popular balladeer at that time known for sporting a Vegas styled get-up and showering woman with roses at his shows, were openly ridiculed by members of the Voëlvry movement. The songs that Bles performed were “safe, easy, antiseptic Afrikaans” (Grundlingh, 2004: pp. 10) which at the time was criticised by the Voëlvry movement as the antithesis of what Voëlvry stood for. Bles Bridges purposefully avoided discussing politics, stating that singing about politics never helped anyone. While it was the mission of Voëlvry to disrupt the establishment, the majority of musicians were merely interested in producing new albums that the audiences find salience with, neither, of course, is it the lone or specific responsibility of musicians to constantly question, push, or otherwise engage in larger societal problems. As previously discussed, while many artists avoided political and social issues, others at the time offered tacit agreement and subtle support to the Apartheid government and their endeavours, like this song by Rina Hugo showing her support of the South African border war (1966-1989), commonly referred to as the Angolan Bush War.

Troepie Doep - Rina Hugo

As die eerste Jarkaranda in Pretoria
Lente na die winter bring
Kom daar weer in my hart
Die somer drome
Van lank gelede,
Maar bring jou nie terug
Troepie doepie
Wanneer kom jy huis toe
Uit die vreemde
Hoor jy hoe ek roep
Stap deur die bos en veld
En doen jou plig teenoor jou land
Maar kom terg na my,
My troepie doep

When the first Jacaranda in Pretoria
Brings spring after winter
Comes again, in my heart
The summer dreams
Of long ago,
But does not bring you back
Little soldier,
When are you coming home
Out of the unknown
I hear you calling
Step through the bush and field
Do your duty to your country
But come back to me,
My little soldier

(Hugo, 1984)

Pretoria was still the very heart of Afrikaner power, and while the song might call for the return of the son or lover at war, it also speaks of pride, and duty towards the Apartheid government, something that was a regular theme of scorn and tongue in cheek frustration in Voëlvry lyrics. Vestergaard (2001) might be inclined to equate this dividing phenomenon with Pierre Bourdieu’s notions of orthodoxy and heterodoxy “Heterodox Afrikaners welcome the new challenges and champion the opening of the social field, while the orthodox resist change and cling to established values” (p. 19). If we could consider the music of Bles

Bridges to be orthodox, ignoring his personal opinions and instead only focusing on the consumption thereof, and Voëlvry as Heterodox, we could juxtapose these two potential societal views, meaning that even the sterility of Bles Bridges' lyrics speaks volumes about societal views. This would suggest that music that deliberately takes a step back from politics could potentially be making a meaningful statement or proffering a societal view, in their 'silence'. I argue that the research sites I have chosen to delve into have similar symptoms of Orthodox and Heterodox such as shown between the likes of Bles and Hugo, and Voëlvry. I believe that these locations depict distinct visions of what it means to be Afrikaans within the New South Africa. In chapter 3, I discuss the seemingly meaningless popular Afrikaans music that forms part of the identity of Presley's, and the underlying meanings and motivations that surround them. In chapter 4 I discuss the seemingly meaningful and political music of Aandklas, that can be seen in the popularity of Fokofpolisiekar and how people from that site looks at places such as Presley's and their own changing Afrikaner Identity.

Voëlvry remains relevant even today, while some authors choose to analyse its impact at the time, others have pointed out how the influences of that movement have gone into the post-apartheid mark. It might have been a short-lived movement but authors such as Bezuidenhout and Truscott have made interesting observations towards the movements continues influences. Bezuidenhout (2007) discusses the influences of Voëlvry on post-apartheid music, through tracing the symbolic lineage in popular music from Voëlvry to De la Rey and the tours of Bok van Blerk. Particularly he asks whether the surge of support for Bok van Blerk and the controversial and inflaming song De la Rey is a sign of resurgent right-wing nationalism. Some going so far as to suggest: "The song succeeded because it was an assertion of white Afrikaner identity in a muted way - by emphasising the heroic past and thereby commenting on a present that had increasingly come to be seen as a problematic place" (Kees, CJ, and Robins, S, 2011. p778). An argument could be made that the momentum of this song later found a home in Steve Hofmeyr, a discussion that I continue in more detail in Chapter 3.

The problem with apartheid was what it was doing to "us" - alternative (but middle class) Afrikaners. The symbols and institutions of Afrikaner nationalism became objects of irony. Afrikaner nationalism was turned on its head, and in the elite circles, it became fashionable to be an "alternative" Afrikaner. In a sense, the

Voëlvry movement provided for an ethnic project without the ethnic politics. (Bezuidenhout, 2007. p. 10)

Bezuidenhout points to the fact, that the focus of the Voëlvry movement had been introspective, considering the effects of apartheid on 'us' rather than the 'other'. Taking nationalist symbolism and turning it on its head as a form of protest and as an attempt to free them from the morally reprehensible and culturally suffocating system. The attack on the system had been under the guise of irony. What Bezuidenhout points out is that Bok van Blerk's song had been a nostalgic look at historical and potentially right wing symbolism. He argues that in post-apartheid South Africa, three strands of Afrikaans music have emerged at that time (2007). "These strands are constructed around nostalgia (a longing for an innocent past), romanticism (escapism constructed around a denial of the negative aspect of life in South Africa) and cynicism (a critique of the direction of post-apartheid society, but without plausible programs of action)" (Bezuidenhout, 2007. p. 11)

Nostalgic music according to Bezuidenhout was consumed by coming together in bars and celebrated the resurgent Afrikaans protest music such as Bok van Blerk. They wore shirts with the words "*Praat Afrikaans of hou jou bek*" (speak Afrikaans or hold your tongue) printed on them, and other such phrases that speak of the attempt to maintain older Afrikaner values and terminology such as Boer. The key word would be a traditionalist. This group is often too young to remember the presumed carefree time that they long after. The irony is that they are romanticising something they have never experienced. The romantic strand of music plays rock music, but the lyrics are devoid of politics, choosing to sing about parties, love and getting drunk. This strand emphasises the need to disassociate and not be reminded of pressing social issues, but rather enjoy and relax away from certain realities. Lastly, the cynics keep crime, poverty and a corrupt government as a topic in their music. They feel they have had no part in the crimes of apartheid, and as such attempted to circumvent white guilt. They complain about how things have gone wrong but post little on how to change things for the better. These strands, Bezuidenhout claims, came into being in relation to the protest tradition of the past.



Koos Kombuis - Boer in Beton

Ek is 'n Afrikaner in die stad
Ek dra my masker soos 'n kat
Deur donker stegies en geboue
Vat vyf, my broer, vat vyf

Eniewers in my onderbewussyn
Sien ek nog die karoosonskyn
Hoor ek die grens drade se gesing
voer ek die kabouters in my tuin

Ek rook in gevoerde fags
Ek lees engel sprekende mags
Ek gaan nooit kerk toe nie
Want dis 'n drag

Want ek's n boer in beton
Soos oom Paul op ou Kerkplein
Niemand weet van my pyn
Want ek is goed vermom
Ek is 'n boer in beton

I'm an Afrikaner in the city
I wear my mask like a cat
Through dark alleys and buildings
Take five, my brother, take five

And somewhere in my subconscious
I still see the Karoo sun shining
I hear the song of the border fences
I feed the gnomes in my garden

I smoke imported fags
I read English mags
I never attend church
Because it's a drag

Because I'm a Boer in concrete
Like Paul Kruger on old Church Street
Nobody knows about my pain
Because I'm well disguised
I'm a Boer in concrete

(Hopkins, 2006, p. 22-23)

It is made clear that the irony of the Voëlvry movement has become somewhat lost in the new wave of Afrikaans music. Nowhere is this more obvious when juxtaposing Koos Kombuis's song Boer in Beton (Boer in concrete) and Bok van Blerk's De La Rey created and played in the 1980's and 2000's respectively. Bezuidenhout places emphasis on the use of the term "Boer" in both songs and what they were supposedly symbolising at the time. The term is used in irony in Boer in Beton, to display just how out of place old symbolisms have become in the context of the city, and therefore the alternative Afrikaner at the time. Names such as Paul Kruger and HF Verwoerd come up, but in jest "since they do not represent the condition of urban *Afrikanerdom* any longer" (Bezuidenhout, 2006, p. 6). Bok van Blerk, however, brought this term back as something of a war cry or call for solidarity in opposition to unspecified new enemies. Bezuidenhout argues that this labours to change the definitions of Boer by the former allowed the latter to again bring new meaning to this term.

The word 'Boer' redraws a stark line around identity, inextricably linked to whiteness. The irony of being a 'Boer in Beton' fades into the past. Nevertheless, it is because the Voëlvry movement has rehabilitated those symbols that their successors can now present their new identity project as legitimate in the realm of popular culture. But this re-appropriation of the symbols of Afrikaner nationalism, it

seems, has lost all its irony. It is nostalgic, romantic, and deeply cynical at the same time. (Bezuidenhout, 2006 p. 16)

There are terms such as Boer, Afrikaner, or even South African, that had a continuous change in meaning and perspective throughout recent history. In Chapter 4 and 5, I endeavour to evaluate and assess these fluxing terminologies, and the meanings that they both take on within the songs, and the spaces in which they are listened to. The music and the interactions of people within these spaces manage to reveal some of that underlying meaning, and further helps us to illuminate the different potential Afrikaner identities that have arisen in recent times. What Voëlvry does then, is to provide a consciousness to juxtapose against the prevailing understanding of what it means to be a self-ascribed Afrikaners during Apartheid. These identities continued to experience change and influences from various forces, and while Voëlvry surely continued to form part of these forces, it is well worth exploring the music following the end of apartheid. The post-apartheid era saw the rise of different groups, offering various faces to the imagined community of the self-ascribed Afrikaner, and while I do not describe all these faces, I hope to offer some description to the phenomena I find relevant to this paper.

Afrikaans Music in the Post-Apartheid Era

One musical group directly attacked the narrative of Afrikaner conservatism. Through attacking the institutions of Church and state a band called Fokofpolisiekar made waves amongst Afrikaans people. These institutions are intimately linked with Afrikaner hegemony, language, and identity. In 2006 the band caught headlines as their offstage antics caused offence amongst Christian and conservative groups in South Africa. After a show in Nelspruit, one of the band members wrote the words "*fok God*" (Fuck God), on a fan's wallet. Incidentally, this fan was another popular Afrikaans musician called Bobby van Jaarsveld. This had not been the first time the group found themselves in the headlines or as a target for scorn, even so, it could be considered one of the most threatening to the band. Church groups attempted to force the government to disband them, KKNK¹⁰ nearly banned them from their festival and they received several death threats that prompted the festival organisers to let the band play

¹⁰ KKNK or Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees is an Afrikaans language arts festival held annually in Oudtshoorn.

with heavy police security. While Fokofpolisiekar were stirring up conservatives, performer Andreas Pepler, or as he is known by his stage name Bok van Blerk was rallying them.

Over the past nine months, a seemingly innocuous song about a Boer War general named Koos de la Rey went from the esoteric fringes of Afrikaans rock music to being cited on the front page of the New York Times, the London Guardian, Le Monde in Paris, and by every newspaper, radio and TV station in South Africa. On July 21, the Financial Times of London devoted 3,300 words to the song. (Roodt, 2008).

In 2006, Bok Van Blerk started performing a song titled De La Rey, a song about a general who served in the second Boer war. Born in October 1847, Jacobus Herculaas De la Rey was considered to be one of the greatest of the Boer generals to fight against British colonialism. After opposing the war against Britain, the then President Paul Kruger famously called him a coward, De la Rey responded by saying that when the time for fighting came he would keep fighting long after Paul Kruger had given up and fled for safety. This proved to be the case. The song's lyrics and translation follow:

Bok van Blerk - De La Rey

En my huis en my plaas
Tot kole verbrand sodat hulle ons kan vang
Maar daai vlamme en vuur
Brand nou diep, diep binne my
De La Rey, De La Rey
Sal jy die Boere kom lei?
De La Rey, De La Rey
Generaal, generaal soos een man
Sal ons om jou val

And my house and my farm
Are burned to coals so they can catch us
But the flames and fire burn
Deep, deep inside of me
De La Rey, De la Rey
Would you come lead the Boers?
De La Rey De La Rey
General, General like one man,
We shall fall with you

(Bok van Blerk, 2006)

It would be apt to call this song controversial. In a time where many self-ascribed Afrikaners were unsure about their place in the new South Africa, this song provided a banner, a call to stand together and reclaim something of the past that would enable self-ascribed Afrikaners to be proud of their heritage. Many used the song as a chance to analyse the rise of Afrikaner nostalgia and a growing sense of alienation amongst some self-ascribed Afrikaners, claiming: "given the tendency of certain Afrikaners who regard themselves as being marginalised and disempowered in the new dispensation to embrace victimhood, the 'De la Rey' song spoke to

their sense of alienation from the 'new ' South Africa" (Baines, G. 2013). Baines goes on to allude to the probability of this song being a passing fad. Pallo Jordan, former Minister of Culture cautioned against "the hijacking of the popular song by a minority of right-wingers who do not simply see De la Rey as a war hero, but who want to mislead parts of Afrikaans society with the idea that it is a struggle song, a call to arms". It was not long however before this momentum around the song was hijacked by other political forces. The DA made the point that if the government was looking for subversion within a song, they need not look further than Jacob Zuma and his singing of "Bring me my machine gun", which became a sort of personal anthem particularly outside the court where he faced corruption charges. Figures within the self-ascribed Afrikaners community also spoke against the song, Max du Preez then described what he believed the song meant:

“When they sing about how nasty the British were to the Boer women in the concentration camps and "general come and lead us because we will fall around you", they're not thinking about the British, they're thinking about blacks. Their enemy is now black." (McGreal, 2007)

Per contra, Bok van Blerk describes it as a symbol of pride, likening it to the *Flower of Scotland*¹¹. He claims that there was no political motivation for writing the song besides wanting to create something to which Afrikaans-speaking people could feel pride. Nevertheless, notably, the song was received in a very different manner at live performances. Old apartheid flags were displayed and the Apartheid national anthem (*Die Stem*) usually followed the performance of *De La Rey*. (Bezuidenhout, 2007)

Thus, we have a call for national pride from Bok Van Blerk, and an attack on state and church from Fokopolisiekar; one calling for historic institutions and the other reprimanding them. These two groups seem to produce keenly separate cultural products, however, the genres are not wholly distinct each claiming to be a form of Afrikaans rock music. This alludes to a later discussion that while genres are in fact more fluid, clear distinctions do exist for consumers of the cultural product. In particular, in chapter 4 I discuss the seemingly

¹¹ Scotland has no official national anthem, however *Flower of Scotland* and *Scotland the Brave* often serve as such at official gatherings such as international sport events. Flower of Scotland is about the victory of the Scots, led by Robert the Bruce, over England's Edward II in 1314 at the Battle of Bannockburn.

badly defined borders between Rock and Afrikaans popular music. Both are seemingly distinct genres, however, they both draw from similar sources of inspiration. To this, the context of each genre becomes important to properly define and categorise their influence on identity. To understand the packaged image that groups like Fokofpolisiekar and Bok van Blerk offer, I would treat them and other groups as *aural genres*. If we understand aural genres to be “distinct, codified, culturally recognised modes of aesthetic expression [that] exist through performance in time, not timeless tradition” (Coplan 1994, p.48), then these genres are subject to the same change and interaction as other social institutions. There is nothing to compel aural genres to keep to standard patterns of production such as specific verification or prosody, and there is no force that genres need to adhere to in order to consistently use previously performed content or topics. Coplan remarks that “Such ideally defining qualities do of course characterise aural genres, both in specific periods and places of performance and in the aesthetic expectations and discourse of performance and participants in the ‘theory’ of generic realisation distributed in local knowledge”(1994, p.49). A genre is then identified through the process of performance, a complex interaction between audience and performer placed within a historical context in certain locales.

Furthermore, to understand the relationship between genres it is imperative to understand the performance, the historical and the ethno-aesthetic relationship that exists between them. This relationship is partially revealed through intertextuality or the “realization of one code in terms of or in reference to another through the socially patterned interpretation of performances” (Coplan, 1994, p.49), and then further elucidated through what Julia Kristeva calls *productivité*: “the transformation of experience into verbal art for social purposes through the incorporative capabilities of genres”(Coplan, 1994, p.49). The latter Coplan claims allow the performer to impose a certain vision of social reality onto aspects of contestation, or into existing, or historical social structures. Genres are socially constructed and aid in defining the social borders between my chosen locations. If this is true, what do different genres and different performers try to convey about their social visions of what it means to be an Afrikaner in post-apartheid South Africa? This is a question I try and answer through this paper. Much like Fokofpolisiekar and Bok van Blerk, I utilise the following discussion between two musicians to aid in contextualising the Afrikaans post-apartheid music industry and to shine some light on the experiences in the distinct spaces of their respective genres.

Industry, Influence, and Genres in South Africa

As earlier, with the juxtaposition of Voëlvry and Bles Bridges the following two musicians represent distinct genres and markets of Afrikaans music in South Africa. I use both artists in subsequent chapters, because of their ability to encapsulate some of the values and norms of the participants from both my research locations. The first of which, Pieter Smith, has a large following and enjoys ample play on radio and T.V. while doing many live shows, such as at Presley's. The second, Jaco van der Merwe forms part of a group called Bittereinder that can be heard blaring over the stained speakers of Aandklas regularly. This group helps to illuminate some of the difficulties and challenges that shape the products produced by various artists within the context of South Africa. Lastly, through the discussions of both musicians, I am able to discuss the sometimes-convoluted topic of genres amongst Afrikaans music in South Africa.

Born in 1975 in Potchefstroom, Pieter Smith has been in the industry for about 20 years, having started in earnest around age 18 while studying and later teaching music. He had to put an end to his teaching career in 2001 when his music career truly took off, he published the first (*Alles wat gejaagd*) of six albums. He is often performing at Afrikaans art festivals and forms part of, to my mind, the mainstream Afrikaans music industry in South Africa. Arguably, his most acclaimed songs are *Stukkie van der Merwe*, *Man op die Maan* (Man on the Moon) and *Blomme* (Flowers). The second musician has not had as much experience as Pieter Smith in the music industry and forms part of an alternative emerging scene. Lead singer, Jaco van der Merwe has been one of the few musicians to attempt hip/hop and rap in Afrikaans, and by his own words, the only one to try so in the northern reaches of South Africa. Jaco was born in January 1983, he grew up in Pretoria and went to school at Pretoria Boys High. Labelling himself the rapper/lyricist of a three-man group called Bittereinder, Jaco, Louis Minnaar and Peach van Pletzen produced the first of three albums in 2010. The album (*n' Ware Verhaal*) won a SAMA (South African Music Award) for best alternative Afrikaans album in 2011, as well as being nominated for two Tempo awards and three MK Awards. Some of this group's most popular songs include *Kwaad Naas*, *Die Dinkdansmasjien* (The Think-Dance-machine) and *Kulkuns* (Deceptive Arts or magic – as in the tricks done by TV magicians).

Bittereinder (translated as bitter-ender) got their name from a group of Afrikaner guerrilla fighters in the second Boer war. In 1900 Milner, a British statesman and colonial administrator at the time declared that he had "knocked the bottom out of the great Afrikaner nation forever and ever" (Giliomee, 2003. p 252). He did not foresee the group of Boers that declared they would fight on to the bitter end for their independence, they would keep Milner and the British General Lord Kitchener busy for another two years before yielding after a devastating British campaign. While this band does draw from the same historical period as Bok van Blerk does in his infamous song, it would be a mistake to look at Bittereinder as a form of return to nationalism. In his own words, "I grew up in an English school, and I grew up in a time that it was embarrassing to be Afrikaans. Afrikaans music did not form a big part of my formative years. In fact, basically nothing...already from primary school, it was made clear to me that being Afrikaans was not cool."¹² He talks of how he rebelled against being Afrikaans, and it was only after school that he began a process to reacquire and reconciliation with "*my taal*" (my language). This process is clearly visible in several of his songs, and this hip/hop medium provided a tantalising vision of a new potential Afrikaner identity. He was by no means to be the first to rap in Afrikaans. As early as 1993, Cape Town based, group Prophets of the City were one of the first hip/hop groups to mix Afrikaans in the form of *gamaal* ("a non-standard Afrikaans dialect" (Haupt p, 33)) in with English and other African languages. Jaco is likely to be the first and probably only person to utilise the hip/hop genre this far north in the country and more importantly one of the first white musicians that take the genre seriously and does not just produce hip/hop music as some type of parody. To Jaco his first album represents this reconciliation with his identity as an Afrikaans speaking person, he discusses his trepidation and struggle in an attempt to rap in a language he was initially only vaguely comfortable with after years of neglecting it. "*stilletjies bekruij ek hierdie onbekende grond, met my woordeskat en ritme soos 'n geweer en 'n waghond*" / "softly I sneak upon this unknown ground, with my vocabulary and rhythm like a gun and guard dog" (*'n Ware Verhaal, 2010*). The importance to Jaco is for his music to be artistic and to have depth.

¹² Both the interview was translated from Afrikaans by myself. An interesting point that would not reflect then is that Jaco would sometimes switch halfway through a sentence to English and back, While Pieter would generally keep to Afrikaans except for the odd word here and there.

I would argue that Pieter's music falls into the arena of mainstream Afrikaans music, his contributions have always been about entertainment as well as his primary source of income. The lyrics that Pieter employs cover topics of love and partying, and does not attempt to discuss the exceedingly heavy topic but rather fall in with Bezuidenhout's "Romantic" strand of music that chooses to sing about parties, love and getting drunk while avoiding political issues. International Rock bands had influenced Pieter heavily in his life. Early in his career he and fellow musician Ray Dylan would cover Black Sabbath and Judas Priest at live performances way before he started writing his own songs that would fall comfortably within mainstream Afrikaans popular rock music. He argues that while many of the performers he knows love and listens to heavy and classic rock, it is not the music that sells in the Afrikaans music industry.

Who really is making money in the South African music industry? This question was posed in an article on Grocott's (Karrim, 2013) where it is argued that while one would think that major labels are the prime recipients, this does not prove to be the full truth. While major labels do help establish bands internationally there have been but a few, and for local musicians, it seems that it is small independent labels that do most of the work to develop and distribute the music of home-grown talent in South Africa. This clearly reflected what both of my interview participants revealed. Pieter points out that his first two albums had been with the influential EMI before their downfall in 2012, after that he used different local independent labels to help produce his music. When asked, do they have any particular influences to produce certain music, Pieter answers, "Yes there is, there is no pressure from the industry, though, the pressure is from the crowd". For Jaco, they kept independence through signing for distribution deals that allow them to keep autonomy on creative decisions. A distribution deals require the band to produce their own music but support them through getting their music electronically on iTunes and Spotify, while getting hard copy CDs onto shop floors. He points out, "I never really found myself in a situation that anyone told me what to do, and when they did I would walk away".

Traditional mass media was, and to some degree is, primarily responsible for exposure and airplay on radio or T.V's in South Africa. During apartheid, censorship played a big role in what could and could not be played, enforced through the SABC, politically critical music faced the possibility of gaining no airtime or being banned entirely. For instance, "reggae music was treated with suspicion by the intelligence forces in the former homeland, and it

existed on the fringes of legality... State broadcasters during apartheid did play reggae, but their repertoire was limited to songs deemed to be 'safe', with no political content" (McNeill, 2012, p 96). Naturally many artists chose to play into these limitations, and through that managed to get public exposure of their music. This did mean that performers tended to keep to a rather limited formula to achieve the success that conversely caused other genres, and the general diversity of music, to suffer in their lack of representation from T.V. and radio. There was a relaxation of official attitudes towards such potentially subversive music after the unbanning of the ANC in 1990 (McNeill, 2012. p 97), and the eventual abolishment of censorship laws with the end of apartheid in 1994. This, nevertheless, should not be seen as a renaissance for the diversity and freedom of music production, as McNeill reveals, there were still those who struggled to profit from their more risky productions.

Although it is perhaps an unintended consequence of the process by which government shows are funded, bidding for tenders is inseparable from the erosion of artistic integrity. Perhaps ironically, for the musicians involved, this is reminiscent of apartheid-era politics in which a culture of self-censorship prevailed amongst purveyors of popular culture. During both of these recent periods in South African history, musicians and producers have been encouraged to mind what they say. (McNeill, 2012, p 108)

McNeill was referring to the limitation that governmental tenders were inclined to force on the artistic freedom of creation and performance of artists that wished to profit from their endeavours. While governmental tenders did provide a source of income to artists, it was clear that performers had to sanitise their products into something devoid of criticism or challenge. This self-censorship extends into many other facets of the music industry. I would argue that the culture industry in South Africa replaced apartheid governmental restrictions, and continues to stifle a number of genres in lieu of more profitable and safer ventures that then suppress diversity. While there are certain platforms to express an alternative or non-mainstream music, they are very limited. As I have mentioned, South African hip-hop had a show on UCT Radio and Tuks FM, South Africa's biggest Campus radio station, often bragged about being the only alternative/Rock radio station in South Africa. I hold that the lack of broader representation is actively stifling the potential for broader innovation in music, an insufficiency that has its roots in apartheid. I discuss this particular phenomenon in Chapter 4 in more detail. I do, on the other hand, not blame radio stations and other outlets

exclusively for their lack of diversity, for as I will argue there is still a large amount of control exerted from the demands of the audience as Pieter Smith reminds us.

To Pieter Smith, the music industry has changed a great deal. Before the new wave of Afrikaans music in and around 2000 hit South Africa, Pieter echoes the call that Afrikaans mainstream music followed a very narrow recipe, "allot of the old Afrikaans music was translated music". There were some, like Anton Goosen¹³, that made somewhat original music, but for the most part light country and folk music was the genre of choice. Pieter depicts two major changes that managed to revitalise the diversity of Afrikaans music. The first would be the Voëlvry movement that to his mind changed the way in which people consumed and celebrated Afrikaans music. Pieter argues that music was presented as too serious and formal to be enjoyed, "the way Afrikaans has been presented in the past was the problem, and you would sit in a school hall with folded arms". Although the Voëlvry changed this somewhat Pieter points out that, the movement only consisted of a small group of the students, which limited its potential. Secondly, the coming of Fokofpolisiekar heralded a more diverse and "worldly sound" that started seeing exports to the Netherlands and other parts of the world. There had been other exports of South African music long before this naturally, however, Fokofpolisiekar has been heralded by many as a turning point in the Afrikaans music industry (Klopper, 2011). Further, a large influence on Afrikaans music came with the NP's loss of state power in 1994, and subsequently their loss of guardianship over the Afrikaans language, "resulting in a decline in Afrikaans's privileged public position ever since" (Steyn, A.S, 2016. p. 483).

Interestingly Jaco van der Merwe does not agree with Pieter Smith that Fokofpolisiekar created a more diverse Afrikaans sound. He admits that because of his 'non-Afrikaans' influences that "even the Fokof-wave went over my head... I thought 'oh cool a Rock band', but musically it was not anything that amazing for me". He argues that the problem was that after the band made their hit on the industry, there were just a number of bands that sounded like Fokofpolisiekar. He points out that for some reason that the Afrikaans audience has always been a few years behind, "even now rap is a niche and it's 2015, that's ridiculous... people are still impressed by 'how do you remember the words' more than asking what are the

¹³Born in 1946, Anton Goosen is a South African singer and songwriter with great influence in the early rock genre.

words about ". Many people to whom I spoke had similar reservations about being Afrikaans, a shame shadow that followed the word Afrikaner and their mother tongue, particularly amongst young Afrikaans speaking people in the alternative and rock scene. Too many of these people, the real achievement of Fokofpolisiekar was to make Afrikaans cool again, or at least more socially acceptable. While Jaco might not have felt the influences of the band, it could be argued that they paved the way for there to be a place for Bittereinder in the South African market. While for Jaco, he had to reacquaint himself with his home language through his favourite medium of hip/hop, for the young people at places such as Aandklas Fokofpolisiekar was paramount in their own process of reconciliation. Pieter might be able to see the effects of this group more readily than Jaco, as Pieter has many more years spent in the music industry. However, the truth is that it is more than a decade and a half after the Fokof-wave hit South Africa and the scene has seen many changes since. While there was certain definite events and phenomenon that influenced the South African music industry, such as Voëlvry, Fokofpolisiekar, and Bok van Blerk, we must look at what has changed, and potentially were these new trends seem to be taking us.

Conclusion

The history and culture prescribed to the so-called Afrikaners have been deeply influential in the ongoing process of identity formation to the patrons at both Aandklas and Presley's. The influences of which could be perceived as claiming or rejecting an identity socially prescribed to them. The post-apartheid era has seen the active renegotiation of the social place and meaning of the so-called Afrikaner, and the Afrikaans-speaking people that are readily associated with that term. These individuals were both a part of and at the mercy of that process. No longer in the grip of the NP, the Afrikaans identity fell into the hands of capitalism and consumerism, there to sprout many shoots, and arguably flourish (Sonnekus, T 2016). More than twenty years after the end of apartheid, new reactionary identities have formed and the people at both bars offer a tantalising new view into the potential identities that have emerged. This paper looks into those potential identities and the influences (both current and historical) that have been actively shaping, coalescing, and reifying these two imagined communities.

In Aandklas, Rock and Roll reign supreme. A great variety of local and international groups receives ample airplay, from genres such as Punk to almost every variant of Metal. The music

at Aandklas consists of a list of songs, more often old than new. Old classic rock songs from the era of the Beatles, Grease, and Queen are revered alongside the likes of local bands, such as Fokofpolisiekar. It is here I argue that the legacy of anti-establishment and liberal ideals of Voëlvry find a home, however tentatively. Within Aandklas I argue, is a sense of broader inclusivity to the diversity of people, and a rejection of nationalistic and hegemonic ideals. Through the rejection of terminology and Afrikaans popular music, the Afrikaans-speaking people at Aandklas express a need to move on from a troubling and seemingly irredeemable identity in an attempt at finding a place at the table in the new South Africa.

While the patrons of Aandklas seek to move away from so-called Afrikaner ideals and symbols, the patrons at Presley's seem determined to cling to these concepts in hopes of keeping their existing positions and values. The music celebrated at Presley's is sometimes international dance music, but shares equal playtime with Afrikaans popular music. While popular Afrikaans music might sometimes tease with the genres of rock, the music produced more accurately belongs in the realm of sokkie dance music.

The juxtaposition of musicians such as Pieter and Jaco and the spaces that their music occupies allows us to tap into this process of socialisation. In my research, I found that people from both my locations have had distinct ways in which they deal with challenges and aspects of the new South Africa. In understanding the relationship between the music they listen to, and the opinions they form of each other, I believe I can reveal much about the identity of Afrikaner culture today. Both are powerfully reactionary, and the music they listen to and the values and norms that we see around the consumption of music reveal the views and opinions of those individuals. While the music that is popular in both spaces can be different, many overlapping qualities nevertheless bear investigation and clarification to root out cultural nuances and potential challenges. These socialised spaces are both influenced and influencable in the process of creating and consuming music. Audiences actively shape the music that they want to listen to, but larger institutions also have the power to influence the broader narrative presented to people through endorsing and hampering certain styles and genres of music.

When looking at the product that Bittereinder is creating, I think that this group represents the spirit of the Voëlvry movement in their creativity and diversity of sound. This group challenges the traditional strands of music that Bezuidenhout claims to be the core of modern

Afrikaans music. However, Pieter's music has a greater following. And while it would be difficult or impossible to attempt to analyse or discuss Pieter's lyrics in terms of some political, historical or contextual idea of the culture of Afrikaans, it would be a mistake to disregard his music as he plays a part in the story of Afrikaner language and culture. Jaco provides an incredibly interesting story, lyrics with the depth of meaning to be analysed. However, Pieter still forms part of the mainstream and popular Afrikaans music industry. Pieter has been in the industry much longer, and Jaco forms part of a niche alternative scene. Still, somehow, popular Afrikaans music has received very little academic attention over the last twenty years. This means that a large portion of Afrikaner narratives has gone unexplored in post-apartheid South Africa. The next chapter then is the beginnings of an attempt at redressing this disparity.

Chapter 3 - Sokkie, Seclusion, and Sexuality in Presley's

Introduction

Magdalene and her friends move to the dance floor as the band finished setting up on stage, we chose a spot in the back of the gathering crowd. The stage itself is made of reflective surfaces and disco lights from above, two thick stainless steel pillars and a wall of dancing lights in the back able to make rudimentary images and patterns. After setting up, the four-man band of DJ Ossewa makes their way to the front of the stage with Pieter Smith in the middle. The DJ Ossewa group is dressed in increasingly and deliberately, ridiculous attire for a show. A shirtless man wearing prison-suit-orange pants and a bowler hat. A man with black and yellow stockings and an afro wig, wearing what could be a pink woman's shirt or dress, the answer hidden behind the keytar¹⁴ he wields. Another member has a white undershirt, a wool sleeveless jersey and normal looking pants with a (fake) leg brace on his left leg that he tends to swing with the rhythm of the beat. He too wore an afro and added a fake moustache to his ensemble while pulling on a concertina¹⁵. The lead singer is wearing short khaki pants and a sleeveless khaki shirt with a leather hat, an outfit synonymous with the Afrikaner farmers or Boer (minus the sleeveless part). Pieter Smith looks strangely out of place amongst them, wearing normal jeans and a shirt. Though only a few have instruments in their hands, everyone has a microphone.

The crowd greets them excitedly. What sounds like polka-folk music with a keytar starts up a beat after some light banter and yelling between crowd and performer. The crowd clearly knowing which song is about to play, whooping enthusiastically. A steady base beat keeps the tempo while snippets of guitar, keytar, and concertina riffs interplay in a confusing but catchy popping body-bobbing beat. The performing group breaks into a jumping choreographed display, acting out imagery of their lyrics. The crowd either following their movements or just jumping around, most are singing along to the easy-to-catch-on-to lyrics

¹⁴A lightweight electric keyboard that can be strapped around the neck and shoulders, similar to how a guitar is fastened.

¹⁵ It is a free-reed instrument, like various accordions and the harmonica. Like a hand held accordion that is pulled and pressed to produce sounds, some buttons to alter the sounds produces in various ways.

and rhythm. The whole atmosphere permeated with energy, dark, and a slight bit of abandon, one cannot help but smile. While Pieter Smith seems to lead certain parts of the song, the whole group sings together for the chorus.

Pieter Smith and DJ Ossewa - Stukkie van der Merwe

Hoor die donder om die draai
Vreesaanjaend soos 'n haai
Dra geen helmet of 'n hoed
Want sy mullet pas hom goed
Silwer buckle op sy belt
Bakkies Botha is sy held
Vir sy breakfast drink hy bier
Hy't haar foto teen sy muur

Hear the thunder around the corner,
Terrifying like a shark
Wears no helmet or a hat
Because his mullet fits him well
Silver buckle on his belt
Bakkies Botha is his hero
For breakfast he drink a beer
He has her photo on his wall

Hy vry na Stukkie van der Merwe
Sy bly daar anderkant die Blouberge
Cane en Cola by die braai
Al haar poedels is getie
En haar toonnaels ook geveerwe
Hy vry na Stukkie van der Merwe
Sy bly daar anderkant die Blouberge
Met haar menthol siggaret, opgesoekde Hemelbed
Bly sy alles wat hy het
Bly sy alles wat hy het!

He's pursuing Stukkie van der Merwe
She stays other side the Blue Mountains
Cane and Cola at the braai
All her poodles are tied
And her toe nails also painted
He peruses Stukkie van der Merwe
She stays other side the Blue Mountains
With her menthol cigarette
Upraised four poster bed
She is everything he has
She is everything he has!

Hy's die brand in brandewyn
Die geraas in Stilfontein
Hy's die blaf in elke brak
Hy's die slym in elke slak
Braai sy wors onder die brug
Iron Maiden op sy rug
Rugby reffe maak hom suur
Tune sy enjin met plesier

He is the burn in every brandy
The noise in "Quiet" fountain.
He is the bark of every dog
He is the slime in every snail
Braai his wors under the bridge
Iron Maiden on his back
Rugby referees make him sour
Tune his engine with pleasure

(Smith, 2012)

As a company, Presley's has existed for 22 years. The first of its kind opened in Boksburg, the Pretoria (Lynnwood) branch, in which I did my research, has been operating for 17 years. The building had first been the location for a restaurant called Pirate's Cove and then a nightclub called Lime-Lite before becoming Presley's. They have a strict dress code that the owner says maintains a higher class of patron. These rules included: no vests, no sandals, no shorts, and while it was later phased out, men were once required to wear a buttoned shirt and a tie. These rules became a little more flexible on days that the Blue Bulls played on Loftus as, the owner points out, people coming from the stadium and wanting to come to Presley's,

are most probably wearing more comfortable clothes. The nightclub is only open three nights a week (Thursday to Saturday). It was on a Friday night that I found myself watching the antics of DJ Ossewa. Before this, however, I had to find my informant that agreed to bring a few of her friends along, and who watched this performance with me.

Finding a parking spot open, I parked behind the big blue single-story building, having to walk around to find the entrance. I noticed the sports bar attached to the main Presley's building looks full. The smaller sports bar has a few pool tables and a neon sign announcing they offer karaoke. The bar is only somewhat separated from the main building's entrance by a small brick wall that makes up a courtyard. The words "Home of the Blue Bulls" written in bold and large letters on the front of the building. If the Pretoria-based rugby franchise frequents this establishment, or the owner is just a bold and large fan of them, I cannot be sure, I suspect the latter.

Two rather burly brick shaped white bouncers awaited me at the main entrance to Presley's. After being searched, I moved through the open steel bar gate and into a short line of people awaiting their chance to pay for entrance. I finding two rather "*nors*" (grumpy) looking old women behind a counter as it is my turn to pay. A3 sized posters of artists line the corridor, dates and times of their performances on each. DJ Ossewa (DJ Ox waggon) with Pieter Smith listed as performing tonight¹⁶. At the end of the corridor, a wall impairs my vision to the rest of the club and splits the corridor into two paths. A picture of a Georges-Seurat-like scene of internationally famous popular musicians from the 60's and 70's frolicking in a grand ballroom, framed on that wall.

Moving around the wall I look around for my contact, spotting her and a few people around a table close by, she waves me over. While I walk along, I have a look around at the busy nightclub. There are three main tiers or spaces in the establishment. The highest tier consists of two bars on the far right and left of the area, high chairs and tables in between, surrounding the second tier. The lower second tier is reached by two small sets of stairs close to each bar. It is another seating area, chairs and larger tables for bigger groups of people. Both these areas look down and encircle the third tier, a dance floor, and stage, in a half moon. Small T.V. screens hang from the ceiling promoting drinks specials, live events and celebrating the

¹⁶ July 31st, 2015 Friday night.

21 years of Presley's existence. "It's just about having a bit of fun. I don't try to pick up guys here, and in the end, there is nowhere else where we can dance like that. Nowhere else where we can sokkie dance."¹⁷ This my informant Magdalene¹⁸ would later say of Presley's, at an interview. She had been a semi-regular patron at Presley's for years now. In the interview, we discussed her views and opinions of Presley's and other establishments, as well as gathered her musical biography. When asked, 'why does she come here' she simply answered: "I like to dance sokkie, and there is nowhere else that you can do that in Pretoria."

"I've been there twice and had bad experiences on both occasions" her boyfriend chimed in, having come along for the interview. He seemed to have been in violent altercations on two occasions, in 2012 and 2014. The first was a biker who accused Marco of hitting on his wife, which ended up with him hiding underneath a bakkie¹⁹ in the parking lot. The second occurrence Marco admits to a little guilt as he talked to a lone girl at a table. "Her boyfriend arrived and asked me what I was doing talking to his girlfriend, try as I might, to explain I did not know she had one, the burly boyfriend and his friends were not particularly interested and I ended up running out the bar and leaving in my car." This had not been the first time I had heard such tales, but Magdalene claims she had never witnessed or experienced anything like that in her time there, she later contradicted herself on this point. The image of Presley's as a violent or unwelcoming place seemed cemented in the minds of many other people I interviewed at other establishments.

The negative image that has become synonymous with Presley's is not one shared by the people who populate its dance floors. In my observations, Presley's exerts a great deal of effort (both active and passive) towards the control of the people who enter through its gates, and the social roles those individuals subsume within this culturally loaded space. In an attempt to understand the spatial meanings that have been created and maintained at Presley's I endeavour to answer the following questions that Gupta suggests may be salient when undertaking such a project. "With meaning making understood as a practice, how are spatial meanings established? Who has the power to make places of spaces? Who contests this? What is at stake?" (1992. p 11). I believe Presley's could be likened to the existing social theories on gated communities, specifically the attempts to safeguard their spaces from

¹⁷ All translations from Afrikaans to English are made by myself.

¹⁸ All contacts or participants are provided with a pseudonym to protect their identities.

¹⁹ Bakkie - n S Afr small truck

potential or imagined outside threats. These efforts take various forms and are exercised and illuminated through the seemingly sterile Afrikaner popular music and sokkie dance that is so uniquely expressed at Presley's. Through discussing these elements, I hope to answer Gupta's questions and illuminate a part of the Afrikaner culture that has received scant academic attention and the exclusionary manner in which they chose to react to the New South Africa.

Meaningful Music

Kurt Darren - Kaptein (Span die Seile)

Kaptein, span die seile
kaptein, sy is myne
Daar waar die son opkom
Daar oor die horison wag sy vir my

Captain, set the sails
Captain, she is mine
There, where the sun comes up
There over the horizon she waits for me

Kaptein, span die seile
Kaptein, sy is myne
Daar waar die son gaan lê
Het sy gesê sy wag
Oh oh oh oh oh oh oh
Sy wag vir my

Captain, set the sails
Captain, she is mine
There were the sunsets
She said she would wait
Oh oh oh oh oh oh oh
She waits for me

Eendag lankgelede in my drome
Was daar 'n girl soos jy
En sy was ver te mooi vir my
Daar was 'n eiland
Vol meisies in bikinis en almal
Lyk soos jy en dit was ver te veel vir my

One day a long time ago in my dreams
There was a girl like you
She was way too beautiful for me
There was an island
Filled with girls in bikinis and all of them
Looked like you & it was way too much for me

(Darren, 2008)

Few people would be able to breathe life into any deeper political or social meaning to the lyrics of the above song. This is popular Afrikaans music, the type of music that typically gets airtime within Presley's. It is music for the sake of entertainment, which fixates on romance, good times, and other such non-offensive topics. I argue, conversely, that within the context of Presley's (and potentially outside of it), it is exactly this type of music that forms part of a culture industry (Adorno, 1990), and through simply adding to the existing hegemony, in that this music becomes loaded with meaning and social context. To reiterate his argument, popular music forms part of a culture industry driven by profit rather than any need for creative expression. The need for profit fosters the adoption of a narrow formula of success that to Adorno, produces banal music that by virtue of its nature stifles any attempts at critical tendencies and rather feeds into hegemony.

As discussed in Chapter 2, musicians are under no obligation to produce anti-establishment content, or constantly attempt to circumvent an existing hegemony, and many choose to outright avoid the larger social issue and produce music that is purely for entertainment. While this is true, this does not somehow disqualify this genre of music from politics, and as Adorno argues, it is exactly because this music encourages consumers to see the existing society or status quo as a natural entity that need not be criticised that this product becomes politicised. Rina Hugo, Anton Goosen, and others all offered certain perspectives on what it means to live in South Africa, and to what it means to be an Afrikaner during the height of Apartheid. These perspectives were criticised heavily by members of Voëlvry because they deliberately ignore or omit serious issues in the larger society. The members of Voëlvry criticised the sunshine and roses outlook that popular artists exuded through their music, and I would argue that this continues to this day. Real life economic and racial issues that we face today are similarly omitted or ignored in Popular Afrikaans music today for various reasons, and indeed offers a particular haven for listeners from which to escape these seemingly overwhelming and uncomfortable problems. I believe this reflects a wider social trend amongst these Afrikaans speaking people.

While a great many artists choose to make apolitical music, some such as Pieter van der Merwe argues that while he would like to be more political, his income could potentially be in jeopardy if he expressed his views as the like of Steve Hofmeyr does. Steve Hofmeyr²⁰ might be a popular entertainer and performer, yet he has become the imagined political figurehead of the Afrikaans political right. I hold that he has occupied this space in the absence of adequate Afrikaner leadership, even in the face of more established political positions held by the FF+²¹. In the first chapter, I spoke of the perceived loss of identity (or self) that has plagued the Afrikaner identity after Apartheid. The perception is of an embattled people needing to fight for the survival of their culture, language, and place in South Africa. Issues such as political correctness and particularly policies around BEE and quota systems in sports have managed to raise the ire in a number of my participants. Fears

²⁰ Born Aug 1964 in Pretoria, Hofmeyr is a popular actor, presenter, songwriter and musician in South Africa. He has been part of several films, T.V. series, produced a number of books and albums, an argument can be made that he is a successful entertainer and prominent public figure.

²¹ The Freedom Front plus (FF+) was established in 1994 under Constand Viljoen and is currently led by Pieter Mulder. The group is known for several ideologies including: Afrikaner nationalism, Christian democracy, economic liberalism and social conservatism. They are seen as a right-wing party and currently hold 4 out of 400 National Assembly seats.

for the loss of prominence of Afrikaans have again come forth in 2016 with the University of Pretoria, and other universities, revisiting its language policies (Gqirana, 2016). Certainly, Steve Hofmeyr has managed to tap into this perception and fear and victimhood (Broodryk, 2016), he is amongst the vanguard championing this view. While at a local festival, Hofmeyr infamously made headlines by singing "Die stem". Although a section of this poem by CJ Langenhoven forms part of the current national anthem, Steve decided to omit the rest and sang Die Stem in its entirety to an unsuspecting crowd (and concert managers) of 45 000 at the InniBos²² music festival in 2014. While Hofmeyr lauds the crowd for singing enthusiastically with him, he was heavily reprimanded in the media, with some calls from the EFF²³ and the likes of Max Du Preez (Du Preez, 2013) to take out Die stem from the national anthem entirely. As I mentioned in chapter 2, Bezuidenhout discussed the influences that Bok van Blerk could have on the political landscape, specifically whether his inflammatory song could lead to a rise in Afrikaner nationalism. I would suggest that this nationalist agenda found a home in Steve Hofmeyr (Cronje, 2011).

As my interview with Pieter Smith revealed, he does not disagree with many of the provocative statements or actions that Steve Hofmeyr has expressed. He reveals that between 1999 and 2004, he was actively singing "Die stem" along with numerous students in Hatfield, Potchefstroom and other locations. He was forced to desist when local radio stations and music festivals started boycotting him and it actively affected his income. The reason then, that Pieter Smith, does not express his political opinions as widely is because of the financial ramifications that it could cause him. As Pieter put it: "If I lose 10 000 fans that would hurt me immensely, If Steve loses that much, it would hurt, but in no way affect him as much as it would me". The public backlash on the expression of controversial political opinions has been severe enough to control certain public spheres in society, such as the music industry, at numerous scales. While it is clear that some musicians now actively avoid such public turmoil on expressing political views, a question that we could ask, is how much revenue and advertisement musicians such as Bok van Blerk, Steve Hofmeyr and even Fokopolisiekar have received based on their very public opinions and expressions on social and political issues in South Africa? Being a public political figure and musician does not mean that you

²² InniBos is an Afrikaans national Arts festival; it takes place in Nelspruit once a year in June. It was first established in 2012

²³ Julius Malema established the Economic Freedom Fighters (or EFF) in 2013. They are known for several ideologies such as Anti-Capitalism, Anti-Imperialism, Pan-Africanism and Marxist-Leninism. They are viewed as far leftist and enjoy 25 out of 400 seats in the National assembly.

just lose money. While Steve Hofmeyr experienced losses from sponsors, and might even pick up some troubles from festival organisers, he still sells out venues, merchandise, and very often plays overseas. It could very well be a powerful tool for the sale of concerts and CDs.

While this type of political expression has found Hofmeyr as its mouthpiece, none of the songs that Hofmeyr has written has been of a political nature, nor would he claim it to be so. None of my participants or Pieter Smith, the writer of *Stukkie* van der Merwe, would claim his popular Afrikaans music, or any other songs that are played at this establishment to be political. The usual topics of girls, partying and finding or keeping a loved one usually does not try and dissect social issues or illuminate injustices. As Pieter Smith said in his interview, "People don't always want to be reminded of social issues or the many things wrong with the country, they try and escape it by listening to my song, or other non-political music". I would fully agree, such issues usually do not often bring up ruckus laughter and joy, and artists must cater to the needs and wants of their audiences. I hold, conversely, that Presley's is held as a place of escapism from those issues and problems that are avoided in popular Afrikaans music, it serves as a bastion away from the "other", where the "natural order" can be maintained and preserved (Gupta, 1992). The wishes of Pieter and the actions of Steve clearly show that there is a nationalistic undertone present in some of the popular Afrikaans music. The lyrics and songs are predominantly apolitical, nonetheless, there still exists politics of a sort. The form and function that this politics takes become further illuminated within the context of Presley's and the unique expression of sokkie dance here.

Politics of Dancing in Presley's

Our group moves to the left side corner of the establishment, into the VIP section, which is just a smoking area with a pool table and some spots to sit at. This space has two doorways, one leading to the bar and the other directly onto the dance floor. High seats and benches built along hunting hut style window frames that look over the dance floor with the door placed squarely in between them. Magdalene chooses a spot for us here, a few of us are assigned to guard duty over handbags and drinks while the rest find their way to the dance floor. The song *Mengelmoeskardoes* starts to play after Lucenzo - *Vem Dancar Kuduro*. Juanita du Plessis' strong mature voice leads in Afrikaans, accompanied by a few basic

electric guitar chords backed up by a simple repetitive toe-tapping bass beat. This is a rather typical Afrikaans popular music formula, but one that seems to work.

Juanita du Plessis - Mengelmoeskardoes

Meer as die vrot in 'n vrot pampoen
Groter as Hentiesbaai se wengaljoen
Meer as die woes in 'n Mengelmoeskardoes

More than the rot in a rotten pumpkin
Greater than Hentiesbay's win galleon
More than the formless mengelmoeskardoes

Meer as al die tieners wat op mixt chat
Verder as die sesse van Gibbs se bat
Meer as die gees by Klein Karoo
Kunstefees

More than all the teenagers on Mixt
Further than the sixes off Gibb's bat
More than the spirit at the Klein Karoo
National festival

Jy dink jy's lief vir my
Maar ek lief jou meer
Jy dink jou hart klop vir my
Maar ek kan myne nie keer
As jy my wil druk hou ek jou stywer vas
Soen my gou, en ek sal jou verras
Se dit vir my en dan wys ek jou weer en Weer
Ek lief jou meer

You think you love me
But I love you more
You think your heart beats for me
But you can't stop mine
If you want to hold me, I hold harder
Kiss me quick, and I'll surprise you
Say it to me, and I'll show you over and Over
I love you more

(Du Plessis, 2007)

With the change of the song, small groups come and go from the dance floor. It does not take too long for the shift change to happen and quickly enough partners find each other. In a waltz-like display, couples start to twist and turn on the dance floor. Magdalene and her boyfriend Marco find a spot to start from, he leads her with his left hand to the front, and she from her right, her hand in his in a windsurfing stance. Magdalene's free hand then finds its way to his shoulder, and his, placed on her hip or back (to occasionally slide down to a more supportive position a bystander commented jokingly). Magdalene and Marco fall in step with the beat. They blend in quickly with the crowd that seemed to twist and turns like flowers in a pond. Some couples rush and speed in the hop/slide manner of sokkie dance, making long strides that carry them far and rapidly so. Their speed appears like a reckless headlong rush to an imminent collision, but every time I wince at the inevitable couples bumper bash, they manage to twist away to safety and on with their path. Every now and then couples would shake it up. After dashing about on the floor for a bit, the man would do something like pushing her away, holding tight to her hand he would pull her towards him, generating momentum, to be twirled under his arm and back before gravitating her to his self once more. His hand again on her hip they continuing the twirling circular wandering on the dance floor.

A few satirical paragraphs manage to capture the spirit and energy that one succumbs to in such a crowd.

"In fact, the only dancing they (Afrikaners) do is called langarm Sokkie (long arm socky)... The man leads the woman in a series of shuffles, spins, twists and other elaborate dance moves as they work their way around the dance floor in a strictly anti-clockwise direction. Sometimes English Whites will try langarm Sokkie but they won't move at the correct pace or in the strictly anti-clockwise direction and the Afrikaners will purposefully bump them off the dance floor with their elbows. Afrikaners hate English Whites messing up the order of the dance floor. I know an English White who this happened to, and he said he was more scared on that dance floor than when he ran with the bulls in Spain. While they're dancing, the Afrikaner's lips will be pushed out by his clasped jaw and he'll be frowning and he'll appear to be concentrating really hard. The woman will have her head held high with her nose in the air and she'll exude an aura of sophistication. Together, they will look pompous and unhappy, but trust me: they're having the time of their lives" (Kilpatrick, 2010. p. 76)

While I failed to observe much shoving and bumping, and even saw a few people moving in a clockwise manner, there is no doubt that it is a bunch of fun. While there can be increasingly complicated moves and twists added to the dance (recommended for more advanced dancers) it is not hard to pick up on the basics and bar a few toe stepping incidents, can quickly become an energetic and gleeful operation. Participants need not only dance with a significant other, in fact since many of the woman there come in gender only groups, most of the men have to come over and ask for a dance. A prospecting man would offer his hand to a potential dance partner, accompanied with the question "*will jy daans?*" (Would you like to dance?). If denied, this man could repeat this question and gesture a few time until he found a willing dance partner. A good dancer is a prized find and often a good male dancer is passed amongst friends in a group of woman, encouraging each to have a go at the young man, and in the end, he most probably had at least one dance with each member. There is also a danger of asking the wrong girl to dance. Asking a girl to dance that has a significant other within earshot could potentially be a catalyst to confrontation. While it is not uncommon for women to dance together, in my experiences at Presley's so far, I have not observed any two men dancing sokkie together. I have likewise not observed people of colour dancing together or with other white patrons. Considering the overbearing nature of the white men who occupy this space, I do not believe it to be a stretch of the imagination when I say that I highly doubt

any man of colour would be allowed to dance with a white woman within the walls of Presley's.

After a few Afrikaans popular songs, the DJ changes his genres. While still strictly playing dance music, (such as Timbaland²⁴ and other international performers), the change is palpable and instantaneous. The couples slow to a stop and break up. Like a shift change, people drift off and onto the dance floor as the new song plays. It is clear that while the music can still be danced to, it is no longer Afrikaans. Instead, small circular groups start to form, solo dancing takes the place of the *langarm sokkie* and suddenly freed arms wave in the air while bodies shift and bend almost entirely in a fixed position. Presley's is one of the handful of establishments nationwide (except for weddings and private affairs) where sokkie dance is the norm or expectation. In addition, while sokkie dance is clearly not limited to Afrikaans music itself, for it is a very flexible style of dance, the patrons at Presley's make a definite point of dancing *langarm* on Afrikaans songs only. I maintain that many of the Afrikaans songs are not particularly different in structure from other popular international dance music, it is the sheer fact that a local act performs the song in Afrikaans as a language that is of significance to the style of dance utilised.

What then, is the significance of patrons only dancing sokkie on Afrikaans music? I hold that sokkie dance forms part of the central Afrikaner culture within Presley's. This phenomenon or music and dance could reveal to us a little about how these patrons have decided to react as self-ascribed Afrikaners towards the new South Africa, post-apartheid. Sokkie dance has a historical significance to the Afrikaans people and is held up as a piece of their past which starts much earlier in the Afrikaner biography. It can be referred to as *langarm*, *sakkie-sakkie*, "water-pomp" (water pump) or "*die boere Waltz*" (the farmer waltz). The sock (*sokkie*) terminology refers to the old act of dancing in one's socks or even barefoot which made it easier, and quicker to move around on the dance floor. The dance style evolved informal farm gatherings of the Boer people and evolved to the contemporary dance styles and fusion of dances we see today. It had further influences from American Sock-Hop, barn dance, and the waltz. Sokkie dance is undeniably unique within South Africa. For it to be thought of as a

²⁴ Timothy Zachery Mosley is an American record producer, singer, songwriter, rapper and DJ. His career took off in the early 1990's and has since worked with various other international popular musicians. He is mostly defined as a hip/hop and R&B performer.

unique dance, it must have structure and can be recognisable as a specific and definite style with rules on how movements can be fit together and how they may change and vary. To understand the meaning within this dance style then takes on a specific social-historical context. While it is true that sokkie dance had its influences from many sources, it is still a uniquely Afrikaner form of expression within the context of South Africa. It is recognised, mocked, or celebrated according to the social views of my participants, being lauded as fun and energetic by my contacts at Presley's while being repulsive, backwards and common by those that more readily associate themselves with Aandklas, which has a predominantly Rock fan base. Whatever the case may be, *sokkie* forms part of the core of what is perceived to be Afrikaner culture.

I argue that we could elucidate some of the socio-historical contexts that *sokkie* dance represents within the context of Presley's when viewed with the perceived threats to culture and language that these self-ascribed Afrikaners believe they face. Sokkie dance has become a powerful symbol and centre of what it means to be Afrikaans within this space. This is effectively illustrated and emphasised by the patron's insistence on only dancing in this style with assistance to another unique and recognisable Afrikaner cultural symbol, in the form of popular Afrikaans music. This insistence to only practice sokkie dance while Afrikaans music is being played, has much to do with participants attempts at preserving and maintaining their brand of Afrikaans identity that is perceived to be rooted in history. While many of my participants would argue that it is just for fun, I would suggest that this symbiotic insistence of dance and music more accurately should be seen as an attempt to root oneself in traditions in hopes of weathering the perceived threats and chaos of the "outside". McNeill (McNeill, 2011. p. 75) makes the argument that more and more traditional leadership in Venda have encouraged and endorse "Venda culture" in their areas through the increased frequency of traditional ceremonies in hopes of preserving and saving the culture.

In the context of rising unemployment, declining domestic income, rampant crime, and daily deaths, ritual elders and initiates have experienced an 'intergenerational disarticulation'... The clash of values between young and old obscures, however, a common desire: to restore knowledge and techniques which have the power to re-establish an equilibrium in social relations." (McNeill, 2011. p 75)

The phenomena of sokkie dance can also be seen as a similar attempt to grab onto some measure of social order that enables the practitioner to regain a sense of control under various

perceived threats. Furthermore, while the perception of an Afrikaner identity crisis persists, it is clear that attempts to maintain tradition are a way to make their presence in society more easily defined. The music and dance cannot then be divorced from identity politics. This phenomenon receives a great deal of protection through seclusion, exclusion and a heavy amount of social screening. As I have mentioned earlier, there is a complex form of selection and screening when considering who is able to dance with each other. This goes deeper into revealing the nature of who holds the power to change place into space within Presley's as the regulation or protection of women seems to be the main theme for white men. This selectiveness forms part of what I believe is a screening process that reveals those who are deemed to be part of the 'volk' or the people that are deemed appropriate or part of the existing hierarchy within Presley's. What this means is that the people of Presley's have made the historically significant sokkie dance and popular music part of the socialisation processes of Presley's.

"Cultural forms that result from the creative use of human bodies in time and space are often glossed as 'dance', but the word itself carries with it preconceptions that mask the importance and usefulness of analyzing the movement dimensions of human action and interaction. Dance is a multi-faceted phenomenon that includes, in addition to what we see and hear, the "invisible" underlying system, the process that produce both the system and the product, and the socio-political context "(Kaeppler 2000, P 117)

To understand how dance style could potentially be such a powerful tool in understanding culture, Kaeppler asks us to understand dance as a structured movement system. Dance then is the "result from creative processes that manipulate (i.e., handle with skill) human bodies in time and space. Some categories of structured movement may be further marked or elaborated, for example, by being integrally related to 'music', (a specially marked or elaborated category of 'structured sound' and text"(2000 P. 117). A structured movement system is a system of knowledge, the product of action and interaction that form part of layers of activity within a group. A structured movement system is socially constructed, it is created and agreed upon by people, and mainly preserve through memory. Kaeppler further explains that while dance is transient in nature, a movement system still has structured content that can be representative of social relations, this then allows for dance to be a gateway to understanding and analyse cultural values and structures of the related society.

Sokkie not only functions as a means to exclude the unwanted from activities within the bar but has also become part of a form of subversion in the face of the imagined threats from outside establishments and the individuals that represent those groups. It is used as a tool for subverting the potential threats from establishments and organisations through excluding those who might threaten the nature of things and by secluding self-ascribed Afrikaners themselves from others by using such powerful cultural tools and symbols as deterrents. This is perhaps most starkly illuminated by that fact that all people of colour in the bar are employed cleaners, picking up empty glasses, cleaning spills and such. To the question who these threatening organisations and establishments might be, that usually elicits a vague answer from participants, but in general represents anything or anyone that poses a potential threat to culture, language, and the status quo. This could include anyone from political figures such as the ANC and other black lead political parties. It forms part of those who threaten language policies at universities, street names, other symbols and signs such as the Rugby Springbok emblem, and lastly what my participants would consider as deviant sexuality finds staunch resistance within the walls of Presley's. These are threats to the very status quo and nature of the values of these self-ascribed Afrikaners and their hierarchy of authority. A great example of this is the fact that men do not dance with each other men in the sokkie fashion, for fear of being labelled as "*Moffies*" (derogatory term towards gay men). As we will see, there are very particular norms and values around what is deemed as deviant sexuality.

Magdalene recalls an incident in early 2015: "One evening... it's actually such an embarrassing story. A girl came in one night, she could dance like you have never seen anyone dance, she was so beautiful. All the men were looking at her. She ended up kissing my male friend, shortly after that we all discovered that she was really a man. She ended up being *bliksemed* (hit/assaulted with fists) that night. People are still very against the gay thing here". This type of generalisation of terminology for a transvestite to be labelled as gay reflects Pieterse's (2013) observations regarding the perceived threats non-conformist male sexuality posed to the pillars on which Afrikaner culture rested. As Pieterse notes, on male homosexuality in particular - notably from the 1960's onward.

"The policing of nonconformist sexuality, in turn, evaded historical scrutiny largely because homosexuality posed a threat to the patriarchal gendered order on which Afrikaner power rested and did

not fit into the prevailing meta-narratives of Afrikaners as heroic *volk*" (Pieterse, 2013)

While homosexuality had its existence ignored, been shunned or otherwise marginalised through the latter half of the twentieth century (and clearly into the early twenty-first), arguments have been made that heterosexual masculine identity had been formed as a counter-culture or in response to perceptions of homosexuality. "For in its policing of the gay subculture, the dominant culture sought above all to police its own boundaries'. As elsewhere in the world, stereotypes of the 'other' served to construct ideas about the 'self'"(Pieterse p 619). It is made clear then that idea of the "other" still pervade heavily within the space that is Presley's. Efforts are made to maintain the existing status quo and ideals through certain key aspects controlled by white males that could be argued to be attempts at re-establishing so-called traditional gender order. In this case, people of colour and perceived deviant sexuality are marginalised and unwelcome within this space, enforced heavily by white males. Male sexuality was more intensely regulated than female sexuality, for as Pieterse claims, it is seen to threaten the narrative of white male authority within the confines of Presley's. Or as Magdalene claims, "Why would men care if women are kissing? What is more beautiful to a man than two women kissing?" Doing the same thing as two men, however, would get them beaten up in the parking lot. While it is meant in jest, it only serves to further the notion that men control the acceptable boundaries of sexual behaviour within this space. I argue that this attempt at controlling sexuality and the control of the people who occupy the spaces in Presley's visa-vi race, both form part of the broader attempt that is made at Presley's to seclude themselves and exclude imagined exterior threats. It becomes apparent then, that as with the policing of sexuality and the various other factors that coalesce to exude control of the narrative of Presley's, I would argue that this establishment is a strictly regulated community that I am able to liken to the theories on gated communities.

Conclusion

Gated communities are residential areas that emphasise security. In an attempt to keep criminal elements out and the residence safe, high walls and boom gates have been erected to control the movement of traffic and people within these areas. Electric fencing and 24-hour a day private security, all form part of this process as middle and high-class citizens try and distance themselves from the violence and crime perceived to be "out there". The reasons for

the rise in popularity of gated communities (Low and Lawrence-Zuniga, 2004), such as in the USA, Mexico, South Africa and many other countries, are much the same. These suburban residential areas seem to represent an anti-urban sentiment expressed through fear of the perceived crime in those areas. Only the middle to higher income classes are able to afford such accommodation, and through the relationship with the inner-city and urban spaces, some have argued that this only serves to illuminate and exasperate inequality and class differences in society (Harvey, 2009).

This segregation would then possibly suggest other societal motivations for this chosen seclusion from the fear that most residents report being the reasoning for living in security based communities (Low, 2011). The perception of cultural diversity, racial tensions, and loss of a sense of place in a rapidly globalising environment are contributing factors to the allure of gated communities and the sense of control it affords residence. The result of such communities proves to be spaces that further exasperate class differences and become platforms that enforce very specific class interactions that engender and calcifies racial and class stereotypes and roles. "Adding walls, gates, and guards produces a landscape that encodes class relations and residential (race/class/ethnic/gender) segregation more permanently in the built environment" (Low, 2011, p. 387). I believe that Presley's resembles many of these symptoms, as we have seen.

To start more directly answering the questions that Gupta poses, I have illustrated that *sokkie* dance and music are at the heart of establishing spatial meaning and a sense of order where the world 'outside' may be perceived as beyond the dancers' control. Dance seems to be the fulcrum, the social centre and attraction. Through it, regulations are expressed and enforced over who comes to Presley's and how they act within that space. The norms around *sokkie* dance control the sexuality of both woman and men, mostly by the enforcement of the potential for violence and social shunning with the deviation of these norms and cultural barriers. This *sokkie* dance is expressed within the content of Afrikaans popular music that some like Jaco van der Merwe describes as meaningless, "cookie cutter nonsense". While in the end, participants would argue that people just want to have a good time and forget about outside influences, we have nonetheless established that Afrikaans popular music is deliberately made so as to stay non-political or non-contemplative to avoid loss of revenue and pressures from media. In Presley's, as is clear from their insistence on segregation, their threat comes from people of different sexual behaviour, belief, and mainly from race

especially (but not exclusively) black Africans. These are the forces participants believe are actively contesting the spaces they occupy, and that actively threaten their Afrikaner culture.

Fear induced by mass media's emphasis on crime and the anti-urban sentiment was a motivation that drew people to gated communities to protect them from perceived threats. I believe that this same fear, fear of a loss of self and culture, a perceived direct assault on language and potential bodily harm that figures such as Hofmeyr permeate through social media have led to the type of culturally exclusive gated community that exists at Presley's. While not directly excluding a particular social class, the boundaries here are based on race, gender, and language, enforced through a violent reputation, violence actual, and rather specific taste in music. I struggle not to recognise the similarities between the social setup of Presley's, and the ideals of the gated community (Low and Lawrence-Zuniga, 2003). These, however, are not the only factors that promote this active segregation.

The exclusionary characteristic that is expressed through sokkie dance, I argue, has become a subversive act of deviance to the perceived threats to a specific form of conservative Afrikaner culture and language. As illustrated by the large support base that we see following the Afrikaner nationalist agenda brought forth by Steve Hofmeyr, it would appear that a number of self-ascribed Afrikaners people still struggle to overcome the fear of a cultural death that Herman Giliomee depicted as the original motivation for Afrikaner nationalism, the apartheid regime, and their policies. In deviance, *sokkie*-dance and Afrikaans music are both kept/ protected from these perceived threats, and actively expressed despite (perhaps in spite of) the malevolent forces of the 'other'. Baines points out that: "The devices employed in creating and sustaining white hegemony are for the most part devices of exclusion. They articulate not necessarily who or what is white but rather who or what is not white"(2008, p. 101). The devices of language, dance, and sexuality, seek to overemphasise a narrow definition of whiteness in this space, and thereby exclude all those who cannot fit that imagined definition.

"The enduring tragedy of the Afrikaner... is that he is a white African who refuses to come to terms with his own content and its people [wishing] to be here but apart, and after more than three centuries the sadness of the Afrikaner is that he still has not come home" (Brink, 1998 . P 124). I suppose even now, many years after Frederick van Zyl Slabbert was quoted saying this, it rings true to the created culture of Presley's and the people that inhabit this space. That

then is what is at stake for the people who frequent this establishment, cultural reproduction, and some measure of control over perceived threats that assail this gated community from the imagined "other", the outsiders, those who threaten the established order. It is a measure of what is owned, and although this term is no longer used, it is a measure of what is volkseie.

The image of the suburban gated community that is propagated at Presley's through pop Afrikaans music and *langarm sokkie*, falls in stark contrast to the image upheld at my next location, Aandklas. While Presley's emphasises preservation of culture and so-called Afrikaner norms, Aandklas becomes a deliberate attempt at subverting this narrative. Through their own modes of expression, we can come to understand a broader spectrum of Afrikaans speaking South Africans, and the continued steps at renegotiating identity, and belonging.

Chapter 4 - Anathema Afrikaners in Aandklas

Introduction

The button on the ticket machine reads 'Press'. Spitting out a card the boom lifts and I let my car slide down the steep path into the bare concrete underground parking structure.

Navigating between the people walking through the underground parking lot I manage to find a spot relatively close to the exit. As I get out the car, I can already hear the muffled bass and noises floating down from the bar above, as I walk the steep incline back the way I came.

Cars trickle down as I walk up and round the corner to my right. Steel fencing lining the concrete wall that looks down onto the path I took. The words "Aandklas: Old school Rocks" scrolled under an artistically rendered fist with an extended pinkie and index finger in that classic and timeless symbol for Rock and Metal. Klipdrift and Coke advertising boards line the wall on the way to the entrance. The short steep steps lead to wooden doors and the familiar face of the bouncer. Starting to look around for the people I came to meet, I walk through the doors.

A cacophony of noises hits me, loud laughter and more boisterous clamour somehow combining with the sounds of The Narrow²⁵ blaring over the speakers. As I move inside the discordant sounds becoming suddenly clearer as if emerging from the water. A partition splits my path in two and I automatically veer to the left, the direction of the bar. The partition and others that would later come were all an attempt to lessen the noises that escape to the woman's residence across that road, the reason why the university threatened to close to bar numerous times. Against the wall in the entrance, a large statue of Captain Morgan²⁶ looks over the revelry in his classic stance and a great big smile, his missing right hand pointing to nothing, having been broke off and stolen long ago. The main room stretches out in front of me, to my right a rather small stage for the chance live performance, right now occupied by a few dancing patrons. Laid out ahead are numerous sturdy (they need to be) wooden benches, able to hold six or so people comfortably, lined up. To my left, the wide bar stands aside from the seating area by a few weight bearing brick columns, also bearing the weight of a few

²⁵ A popular South African Hard Rock group, they formed up in 2002.

²⁶ Captain Morgan is a brand of rum named for a Welsh privateer, Sir Henry Morgan. The statue is both a representation of this person and the mascot of this brand.

patrons as they lean against it waiting for their friends to return with drinks. T.V. screens line the top of the room (and others) next to some industrial fans, constantly on channel 323 on DSTV, VH1 Classic. Though the volume of the channel is always off, popular music videos from the 70s, 80s and 90s disjointedly accompany the sounds blaring from the speakers, Aandklas playing its own choice of music. It is quite a seemingly contradictory sight, having the performers from a cheery ABBA group rasp out with the voice and lyrics from the Metal band, System of a Down.

System of a Down - Toxicity

Conversation, software 7.0
Looking at life through the eyes of a tire hub
Eating seeds as a pastime activity
The toxicity of our city, of our city
New, what do you own the world?

How do you own disorder, disorder
Now, somewhere between the sacred silence,
Sacred silence and disorder
Somewhere between the sacred silence and sleep
Disorder, disorder, disorder.

(System of a down, 2001)

Dodging through the crowd, my feet already start to stick to the messy floor, finding my way to the back. Choosing the left passage that leads past the bathrooms and deeper into the Rock pub. The right-hand passage leads directly into a gaming area, and an always-occupied pool table and a foosball game, some fellow slapping the stained glass as he celebrates a goal scored. Within the building proper, steep old wooden steps to my left lead to the manager's office, looking to my right I can see the fevered concentration of players in the games area through a doorway and window frame. A few steps further on, another bar with a thatch roof looks out onto a seating area with a great big fireplace that stands unused in summer. I walk down a single step into another seating area with two glass sliding doors that lead out and to the back. Outside a narrow corridor with a single line of tables that lead back to Captain Morgan and his jovial people. The corner consists of a newly built wooden deck and a much quieter space for people to converse. It is here that I find who I am looking for.

My informants are regulars at Aandklas, frequenting the place for as long as they have been students at the University of Pretoria, for Neil that has been 5 years more than Sunè. The spot

we chose overlooks much of the seating outside, we sit right in the corner. Overlooking the groups outside that are conversing, rather than the screaming needed to talk over the overwhelming music inside. The deck is packed full of people, leading to an almost seamless feel between groups, people move from group to group seemingly at random, greeting others while they move to their final destination. While the population is still predominantly white, a large number of black and Indian clients also frequent the bar, again, most are students. The repressive control on sexuality and race prevalent in Presley's is absent in Aandklas, mixed groups of race and sexual orientation can be seen all over. A lone pair sits just down the outside corridor, an Indian man and white woman clearly in the first stages of infatuation. Later that night and at a different table, a man laughingly recounts when he came out as gay after an undesirable female friend tried to hit on him. People making out in the corner, lesbian couples holding hands and people of different races greeting and conversing as if they have been long time friends. All the while Rock and Metal blare from the speakers, small groups singing loudly along to favourites. This space cannot be more different from that of the monotone population of Presley's.

Aandklas is situated in Hatfield, within walking distance of the University of Pretoria main campus. It is just outside of the historical student party zone that used to be the Hatfield Square²⁷. According to a 2011 census²⁸, the 1.97 km² area has a population of 9274 people and 4403 households, a great deal of which would be students due to the proximity to the university. The population groups that live here are 50.81% black African, 39.94% White, 5.32% Indian or Asian, 2.53% coloured and 1.40% other. Further top first language speakers are 33.12% English, 28.90% Afrikaans, 6.96% Setswana and 6.00% isiZulu. The name Aandklas can be translated from Afrikaans as "evening class" or "night school", as in "I'll be late from University today mom, I'm at night school". While most of the Hatfield Square played predominantly dance/party music (Or what some patrons here describe as "boom-boom music"), Aandklas has always been a Rock and Metal bar, and as such has developed a rather specific, often highly loyal, regular client base. Aandklas had first been a cottage, built

²⁷ In the months to follow, Hatfield Square was closed, the many bars and clubs were closed to make space for redevelopment. The area was earmarked for student accommodation, and while Aandklas was spared the initial closing of the square, the future of the bar is uncertain. During the writing of this dissertation, that area was still under construction.

²⁸ <http://census2011.adrianfrith.com/place/799035080>

in October 1943 for a Mr F. Jacobz. It served as a residence until 1996 when it was converted into student housing. The area was rezoned and the municipality granted business rights to the area in 2002. A year later, Up The Creek Bar converted the cottage into an entertainment area which was then purchased in 2005 by the current owner. He made the once little Cottage-Jacobz, into Aandklas, which is still going strong. The building has seen many incremental changes and add-ons to the original structure since the conversion, including security fencing, outside wooden decks, extended roof, and many other features. During research, I heard the phrase, "Aandklas is like a second home to me" quite often. A great number of students frequent the bar, and a number of people populating the bar at one time is directly proportional to exams periods and assignment deadlines issued by the university. The bar has seen several different manager/owners and the current owner, Rudy, is the drummer in a band (the Barbosa Experience) that often opens for the bands that play there. The band mostly covers classic rock party anthems such as Living next door to Alice (Smokie) and Sex on Fire (Kings of Leon). Happy hour is on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and Wednesdays are quiz nights that closely resemble the image one gets when the phrase "Viking feast" comes up. Indeed, rows of closely packed people sit on sturdy wooden tables with numerous drinks, laughing and cheering at candle light (and some artificial lighting naturally) as the quizmaster barely holds the attention of people during the questions and answer sessions. The quizmaster can even be seen to sport a great bushy beard and a Viking styled plastic helmet from time to time.

The Good, the Bad, and the Zef

In their own version of Bezuidenhout's classifications of what kinds of Afrikaans music is generally produced (Nostalgia, romance and cynicism) my Informants, Sunè and Neil, broke Afrikaans music in three categories of their own while I was collecting their music biographies. "Firstly you get common Afrikaans music, sokkie hits volume 30 or whatever." Neil explains, "Then you get the Zef rap bands". "Naturally then, you get your poets, Heuwels Fantasties and Bitter Einder" Sunè adds lastly. In the interview with Sunè and Neil, we discussed their opinions on other bars, their taste in music, Afrikaans music in particular, as well as recording their musical biographies. Their dislike of popular Afrikaans was rather evident in their tone and impression of the particular sphere of music, and their interests and taste in music throughout the larger part of their lives. From a young age, both were

seemingly raised by the sounds of Neil Diamond, Bon Jovi, and other such International Classic Rock groups. Later in primary school, the popular music of their respective generations, became the flavour of the week. For Sunè this meant Avril Lavigne, Blink 182 and other such punk popular music. To Neil, he leant more towards the even older Vega boys and the numerous international popular compilations CDs such as Now 34 and Bump, he admits with a guilty laugh of his own. "*In Gr. 7 was Fokofpolisiekar die stoutste ding wat jy kon luister*" (In Gr.7 Fokofpolisiekar was the naughtiest/coolest thing you could listen to) Neil described with much more enthusiasm. During high school, Sunè admits to listening to nothing specific, "I was listening to whatever my friends brought me. It was clubbing music, and the latest popular music. It was only after high school that I really discovered my taste for artists such as Jeremy Loops, Van Coke Kartel and Red Hot Chilli Peppers.". For Neil metal music, specifically melodic metal began to feature more on his personal playlists, along with harder music such as Slipknot.

Both might have had different experiences later on through their lives, but both readily agree to have a great love for numerous performers, both international and local. Classic rock music, South African punk rock and even an old generation of South African performers such as Koos Kombuis and Laurika Rauch are still firm favourites amongst a number of young students I talked with at Aandklas. Many of these preferences are not dissimilar from the tastes expressed by my participants at Presley's. While Death Metal and Black Metal are still on the fringes, even in an alternative crowd of people, certain music was more universally accepted than others. As I mentioned there are several international and local performers that are widely liked amongst my Afrikaans patrons, and while not played regularly at both my research sites, the people who occupy both spaces would not switch off the radio when it comes on. The decisive line in the sand for the patrons of Aandklas came in the form of animosity towards popular Afrikaans music. During several interviews and discussions, it became apparent that certain music choices and tastes were heavily frowned upon. The phrase, "What? You listen to that? Are you serious? I don't think I can take you seriously anymore!" or "I don't think we can be friends anymore!" came up half-jokingly from time to time in the interviews with people from Aandklas. Most often that phrase was in response to someone admitting to like, listen or otherwise admire the efforts of popular Afrikaans musicians such as Kurt Darren or Bobby van Jaarsveld.

Bittereinder - Slegte mense (Bad people)

Hier's die ding: ek hou van sing,
As ek iets anders sê's ek oneerlik
As my tong longe nooit kon sing
Sou ek wees soos 'n wolk sonder weerlig
Vrees niet waar weerklinkt het lied
Slechte mensen zingen niet
Vrees niet waar weerklinkt het lied
Slechte mensen zingen niet

Slegte mense sing nie,
Hulle grom in hulle baarde in
Maar goeie mense laat waai
Met die deuntjie waarom die aarde spin
Ek vind waarde in die harmoenie
Van hoe ons almal saamklink
Plus 'n stem wat altyd alleen sing
Is eintlik nogal gevaarlik

Here's the thing: I like to sing
If I say something else, I'm dishonest
If my tongue lungs could never sing
I'd be a cloud without lightning
Fear not where resounds the song
Bad people do not sing
Fear not where resounds the song
Bad people do not sing

Bad people don't sing
They growl in their beards
Where good people let loose
With the melody, the world spins around
I find value in the harmony
Of how we all sound together
Plus a voice that always sings alone
Is actually pretty dangerous

(Bittereinder, 2010)²⁹

"There is good Afrikaans music, and then there is bad Afrikaans music, bad such as Kurt Darren and the like. You are almost made to feel ashamed of your language as they sing about crap that makes no sense. Then there is great Afrikaans music, for us, like van-fokken-tasties." Sunè is talking about a trio of bands that sometimes go on tour together as one group, parts of the band names were used in an amalgam to phonetically resemble the word fantastic. The three bands are Van Coke Cartel, Die Heuwels Fantasties and lastly Fokofpolisiekar. Members of Fokofpolisiekar split from the original group to form the other two bands, and have gained success of their own. These groups are heard often on the Aandklas playlist, and most probably (at least to my experience) have yet to be seen on a playlist at Presley's, even though Fokofpolisiekar did have a live show there³⁰. "Popular Afrikaans music is just as shallow as music all around the world I guess, but you do get people who think deeper about the music they create, such as Bittereinder. But you can't beat it, there is nothing more fun than to sokkie on common Afrikaans popular music." Neil chimed in jokingly. Amongst the people of Aandklas, popular Afrikaans music is clearly looked down upon as common, or lower class, this then would bring some confusion into the

²⁹ Parts of this song are in Dutch. There are other versions of this song (Slechte Mensen: available on YouTube) and popular Dutch hip/hop artist Tim Beumers cover the Dutch lyrics.

³⁰ Fokofpolisiekar did have a live event at Presley's in 2012. Eliciting statements such as "Fokofpolisiekar might be my favourite band, but you will never get me to go to that place" from social media.

popularity of Zef Afrikaans musicians such as Jack Parrow amongst Aandklas patrons. Zef music can be described as Afrikaans rap that draws its influences from poor white Afrikaans and Cape Coloured culture in a satirical manner. It has been criticised as blackface and potentially insulting to an otherwise disadvantaged people, specifically in reference to a party anthem song Doos Dronk, sang with Die Antwoord, Francois van Coke and Jack Parrow. The song, first performed in 2009 at Ramfest (available on YouTube) mocks alcohol abuse and domestic violence while singing in an Afrikaans Cape Coloured dialect (Haupt, 2012, p. 146). While people might have mixed feelings about Zef Afrikaans, the continued playing of a certain song from Jack Parrow at Aandklas could potentially reveal more about the relationship between Aandklas, Presley's, and the cultural differences of both.

Jack Parrow ft Fracious van Coke - Hard Partytjie Hou

Jack Parrow bra
Ek fokken rap skylectrics
Los the jol natter
As my kaal fokken tet flieks
So yo

Jack Parrow bra
I fucking rap skylectrics
Leave the party wetter then
My naked fucking tit flicks
So yo

As jy van die liedjie hou
Poes vir Nicholis Louw

If you like this song
Slap Nicholis Louw

Yo Jack Parrow bra
Fokken fresher then zef
Rap so kak nice
I fokken freshen your breath

Yo Jack Parrow bra
Fucking fresher then Zef
Rap so shit nice
I fucking freshen your breath

Yo fokken parrow bra
Die fokken rofste is hier
So stop vir plisier
Ons skop stof op in jou skuur
Jack parrow bra
Die fokken Bear Grills van braai
So baby jy kan ma jou fokken stakes
Op die grill laai

Yo fucking Parrow bra
The fucking roughest is here
So stop for pleasure
We kick up dust in your shed
Jack Parrow bra
The fucking Bear Grills of braai
So baby you can load your
Fucking stakes onto the grill

(Jack Parrow, 2011)

The animosity that Jack Parrow has against Nicholis Louw is by no means a personal vendetta of some kind. For the people at Aandklas and the supporters of Jack Parrow, the song is more of a comment against the larger popular Afrikaans genre. The reason that this Zef rap song is popular at Aandklas, traditionally a rock and metal bar, is because of these few lines trashing a popular Afrikaans music artist. While it does help that Francois van Coke is featured in the song, this song finds salience with this rock crowd precisely because it eco's

certain values held by those who occupy that space. The patrons of Aandklas vehemently reject the likes of Nicholis Louw precisely because he forms part of a type of Afrikaner identity that seems repugnant to many of the patrons with which I discussed the topic. This is by no means a new phenomenon as Alternative music crowds have always mocked popular music and their fans all over the world. Curiously I believe that the line between the genres being played at both locations are not as clear as participants from both sites would admit too. Except for punk rock and heavy metal, local performers that are popular at both locations readily draw from international rock and country music for inspiration. A number of participants from both sides of the party have similar tastes such as Bad Moon Rising (Creedence Clearwater Revival) which is some of the rare songs that gets played at both Aandklas and Presley's. The distinction between what is Afrikaans mainstream popular and alternative cannot be boiled down to the use of specific instruments, such as eclectic guitar, bass guitar, and drums. Steve Hofmeyr performs with a live band behind him and in fact created a tribute album to Neil Diamond (2000). A group such as Die Cambells can often be seen performing with guitars and a live band, with their cowboy country themed get-up, but are known for their sokkie hits. To just say that Afrikaans popular music is not Rock, and alternative music is almost exclusively Rock, would be a heinously fallacious and short sighted, as there is a clear overlapping, or drawing from similar sources. There is nevertheless a distinction in the minds of patrons from both locations. What is considered the so-called good and bad Afrikaans music in Aandklas has a very particular flavour. As my participants said above, they were almost made to feel ashamed by some of the "nonsense" topics they perceive popular Afrikaans to often focus on, which leaves their alternative bands as the "poets". I hold that the distinction between these ambiguous groups is a social cleft rather than any specific division between creative processes such as musical style. What this would mean is that the divide is a cultural one, based on perspectives, views, and perhaps lyrical content.

To my participants from Aandklas, names such as Kurt Darren and Nicholis Louw have become synonymous with what they, as participants, see as the whole of popular Afrikaans and Presley's culture. When my participants at Aandklas talk about Kurt Darren, I hold that they see the face of popular Afrikaans, rather than any one individual. Views expressed about Kurt Darren, or Bobby van Jaarsveld, encase the values, norms, and symbols that are attributed to popular Afrikaans culture. By insulting, mocking, or otherwise belittling theses

names, my participants are effectively criticising the entire popular Afrikaans culture. Their animosity extends further, to reject many of the symbols, values, and norms held dear to those who do associate with popular Afrikaans culture. This includes rejecting the music that is played at Presley's by depicting it as "bad" or "meaningless" Afrikaans music, the act of sokkie dance is mocked and rejected, and Presley's as a bar itself is avoided and ridiculed.

So Presley's might not be the best place to draw a Fokofpolisiekar crowd but you can kick yourself if you didn't go. Whether it be at Oppikoppi or Presley's a Fokof show is still a Fokof show. It (is) just that this time round you would have actually been able to see them. And with an open bar for only R170, who wouldn't want to go? With a big stage, decent sound and enough space I urge you to go check out the next gig they have (i.e. rock show, no Kurt Darren). Just ignore the middle aged Blue Bulls anxiously peering over the railings, waiting for the devil's music to end so they can skoffel the night away. And when the music ends, run down the street to Arcade Empire as fast as you can! (Pieterse, 2012)

This attempt at disassociation with Presley's and the perceived Afrikaans speaking populace that fills it alludes towards a larger trend by many of my participants from Aandklas to distance themselves from terminology associated with what they perceive to be Afrikaner culture. When asked how Neil and Sunè identified as a people or a nationality, Neil answered that he was open minded, and would not like to conform to any norm. When pressed and asked whether they would consider themselves as Afrikaners because they spoke Afrikaans, the response was a resounding, "No, I don't think so". Instead, they offered that the only people that still potentially thought of themselves as Afrikaners, were Boer or Farmers. "We're just South African, and while I speak Afrikaans, it's just the language I use" Sunè declared. Indeed many other people that I spoke to at Aandklas seemed averse to the idea of being called Afrikaners and chose the term South African instead. When asking the same thing at Presley's the answers were often more mixed, and a number of people still used the term Afrikaner to self-identify. What this shows us is that there is a movement away from certain cultural identifiers, terms, and symbols. The people at Aandklas have created a space in which they can express a new potential and discard old and irrevocably negatively associated symbolism that has become synonymous with Presley's as keepers of Afrikaner culture.

“In social theory and identity theory, the self is reflexive in that it can take itself as an object and can categorize, classify, or name itself in particular ways in relation to other social categories or classifications” (Stets & Burke 2000, pp. 224).

By this definition identity is a process, this process is called identification in identity theory, and self-categorization in social identity theory. A social identity or group identity forms part of self or lone identity, and as such, the group or self is more likely to associate with what is considered positive characteristics, and negative characteristics would be more likely to be downplayed, ignored or isolated.

Social comparison theory assumes that people see themselves and their group in a positive rather than a negative light. Positive characteristics are more likely than negative characteristics to be perceived as in-group attributes. This occurs because we are motivated to win and preserve a positive self-esteem. People will join other groups if self-esteem is not preserved. If people cannot leave a group, they will deny the negative characteristics of the group, or reinterpret them as positive self-concepts (Hauge 2007, pp. 6-7)

I hold that the space at Aandklas has come to represent a distinct counter-culture to that of the popular Afrikaans of Presley's. While we saw that sokkie dance and popular Afrikaans music formed part of a strategy to maintain and strengthen ties to Afrikaans tradition, the mockery and rejection of the dance and music become a rejection of Afrikaner traditions and values within Aandklas. While the patrons at Presley's might see the various perceived pressures discussed earlier, as a threat to their identity and their place in South Africa, the Afrikaans speaking patrons at Aandklas omit this threat by not belonging to the group seemingly under pressure. To be associated with the term Afrikaner has become too problematic to maintain. Becoming "South African" rather than "Afrikaner" is an attempt at the inclusion of both the self and the various other people that now share the spaces that my participants occupy. The link between this criticism to "Afrikaners" could be made between the criticism displayed at Aandklas and that of the Voëlvry movement. And while there was a definite attempt to reinterpret, question, or otherwise problematize the nationalistic narrative of Afrikaner identity, the members of Voëlvry never rejected being Afrikaners. While Koos Kombuis perhaps alluded to the irony of being a modern Afrikaans speaking South African in a city instead of the farm, he still called himself a Boer in Beton. The essential difference here

comes in the form of total rejection of the values, symbols, and now the very terminology that that could be associated with the term Afrikaner.

To who exactly might occupy this group, I suspect it was easier to define this group during the Voëlvry movement. Baines (Baines, 2008) argues that during the 1980's "white middle-class artists (were) likely to conceive of their whiteness in rather less binary terms than their working-class counterparts"(Baines, 2008. p. 109). The success of these artists would suggest that they resonated with the experience other predominantly white audiences, and as with our discussion on Voëlvry, we know that support for the movement came predominantly from middle-class white students. It is true that the great majority of patrons at Aandklas are students, still, that alone does not give us a clear picture or description of the people that occupy the two camps of Afrikaans speakers that I describe in my dissertation. Many young students find themselves at Presley's on a regular basis and suggesting (as I do) that the patrons of Presley's conceive of their whiteness in rather less binary terms by no means enable me to assume their economic class. Rather I would argue as Baines does on the same page, that:

"...owing to the loosening of social controls such as religious institutions and family, and because of increased communication with those geographically distant from oneself, a sense of identity is not necessarily bounded by space nor by one's association with a local community. Indeed, identity formation has becomes increasingly a matter of personal choice." (Baines, 2008. p. 109)

It is curious that the apolitical nature of Apartheid popular Afrikaans music share that particular quality with the apolitical Afrikaans music associated with Presley's and the seemingly nationalistic and ethnocentric values personified there. Further, I would argue that while the patrons at Aandklas would more readily associate with the music and movement of Voëlvry, they have moved beyond the initial social goals of Voëlvry as a critique of the social position of the imagined Afrikaner, and into the rejection thereof. Nonetheless, the rock music associated with this era does not necessarily translate into the notion that Rock is somehow the natural home for progressive, protest, or 'alternative' music.

Rock and the Culture Industry

When sitting in Aandklas it is not unusual for the bar to suddenly burst into a choir to sing along with their favourite Fokofpolisiekar song. For a great many people in Aandklas, the band will always be a symbol of their emancipation from the conservative Afrikaans establishments and the oomies³¹ that controlled it. Fokofpolisiekar was the source of venting social anxiety and frustration for a generation of young white Afrikaans speakers, and as my informant said, it was pretty "stout" (naughty). Their genre, in particular, was alternative and punk rock. Since then, as Jaco van der Merwe reminds us, little else has really changed musically, and what we got was a number of groups sounding like Fokofpolisiekar. Further, it might have come as a shock to a number of their supporters 10 years before, to see this band performing on the stage of the *Huisgenoot-Skouspel* in 2013. *Skouspel*³² is an annual Afrikaans music event that is hosted by the Afrikaans magazine *Huisgenoot*³³. This event sees some of the top Afrikaans musicians in the country performing in one evening, but predominantly the Popular Afrikaans music. Many of these musicians would comfortably be heard being played in Presley's, the event even has a gospel counterpart. It would seem somewhat hypocritical for Fokofpolisiekar that actively attacked the religious institutes of South Africa and stands as an icon of defiance against the Popular Afrikaans genre to the people of Aandklas. In an e-mail debate between David Kramer³⁴ and Koos Kombuis, Kramer points out that:

"Alternative", in my opinion, is just a term used to try and differentiate new artists' work from mainstream commercial success. The "alternative" label is usually applied in the early stages of the artist's work, but if that person has any broad impact it quickly falls away. Time and popularity being the enemy of the "alternative". (LitNet, 2004)

He shares his disappointment with the lack of diversity of Afrikaans music and early on proclaims, "*Ek dink Afrikaanse musiek is diep in die kak*/I think Afrikaans music is deep in

³¹ An Afrikaans term meaning Uncle but that can be in reference to any older male. Used in a few cases to represent the typical male authoritarian figure such as PW Botha and other Apartheid era leaders. The term is used then, in mocking jest by artists such as Koos Kombuis and other anti-apartheid performers

³² Meaning spectacle.

³³ Meaning house companion

³⁴ David Kramer is a South African singer, song writer and playwright that was known for his early opposition to apartheid and for his musicals about the Cape coloured communities.

the shit". This he argues, as he believes that Rock/alternative Afrikaans music has lost its ability to think about the issues of the day, instead of being stuck following in the footsteps of American influences of Rock and Blues instead of reinventing and challenging current norms and genres, particularly after the freedom of expressions available post-apartheid.

"If we look at a genre like rock, then I'd say that what was once fresh, exciting and alternative (within the Western context, particularly America) became stale and clichéd a long time ago. That the so-called alternatives use rock (in a broad sense) as the musical vehicle for their lyrical expression is what I find particularly boring. Particularly in the light of our recent emancipation and the current state of American politics". (LitNet, 2004)

This deeply echoes with the fundamental issues that Adorno expressed as his problem with the popular music industry and the larger culture industry. To Adorno, music progress is proportional to the conductor's ability to creatively and constructively handle the possibilities and limitations of what he called "musical material"³⁵. In essence, this was to be able to explore and challenge existing boundaries of the creative process. Kramer's concerns about South Africa, and the limitations, if not cliché of Afrikaans rock music in South Africa falls well short of Adorno's ideal. It is through cross influences, integration, and collaboration between the various South African styles, Kramer argues, that we can once again come back to the origins of original and challenging music.

While it is clear that Fokofpolisiekar did challenge existing societal norm and values, criticising or annoying the conservative white Afrikaans establishments, but it could be argued that they have long lost their critical edge, and instead through time and popularity now situate well within the culture industry they once challenged. I would argue that even within Aandklas this band has moved into the realm of nostalgia, much like the golden oldies that get airplay there. It becomes difficult then to only include Popular Afrikaans music into Adorno's culture industry, and not add Rock. Similarly, while I do argue that the music being played and revered at Aandklas, might have occupied some sphere of the alternative, or outside of popularity, most have found their way into the mainstream to feed Adorno's cultural beast. Similarly, while Aandklas holds itself up as the alternative Afrikaans, this is not the whole truth. I hold fast that Aandklas is a much more racially, and sexually, inclusive space than that of Presley's. However, I argue that space should not be seen as some type of

³⁵ Refer back to the discussion on Adorno in chapter 1

space of reconciliation between white Afrikaans patrons and the various groups that were alienated and disadvantaged by apartheid. Aandklas finds itself in the precarious position of having the acceptance and tolerance lacking in Presley's but falling short of true integration. This point I make clearer through the understanding of implied space within Aandklas.

Implied-Space, Denied Place

As the clock moves closer to midnight, we decide to move into the main room. Managing to grab a seat with some other friends we squeeze ourselves into a seating space and join the festivity. Sunè comments to me: "I just love coming here, it doesn't matter that no one knows you, people are always just happy to draw you in and have a great time with you". Suddenly the noise level rises and people cheer enthusiastically as they hear the first words from a favourite song, and a bar of people start to sing together:

Fokofpolisiekar - Antibiotika

Die goddelose het geen heenkome
Ruik soos tienergees
'n Bleeksiel tussen die spoke

The godless have no accommodation.
Smells like teen spirit,
A white soul between the ghosts.

Donker afrika is net donker
Vir die met oogklappe aan
Hy wat nie kan dink
Wie se harsings hard en stowwerig is

Dark Africa is only dark
For those who wear blinkers
He who can't think,
Whose brains are hard and dusty

Mik vir my hart
Dit pomp wildernis hier binnekant
Ek's net 'n toeris
In my geboorteland
'n Gekwesde dier in 'n hok
Op antibiotika

Aim for my heart!
That pumps wilderness here inside.
I'm merely a tourist
In the country of my birth,
A wounded animal in a cage,
On antibiotics.

(Fokofpolisiekar 2008)

Songs from Jack Parrow, Bittereinder and Springbok Nude Girls flow in between international artists, every song has been played a hundred times, the crowd knows each word, timing and emphasis. Finally, minutes to midnight the music goes down, the DJ's voice rises over the microphone: "Ladies and gentleman! Can we please all get up for the Aandklas anthem, and pay tribute to the greatest song in the world!" All the people start to get up, standing on their seats, then on their tables. An unsure few are only halfway on top, one foot

staying on the bench as the notes start playing and a chorus of people sing along with Jack Black:

Tenacious D - Tribute

This is the greatest and best song in the world...
Tribute.

Long time ago me and my brother Kyle here,
We was hitchhiking' down a long and lonesome road.
All of a sudden, there shined a shiny demon
In the middle... of the road.
And he said:

"Play the best song in the world
Or I'll eat your soul." (soul)
Well me and Kyle,
We looked at each other,
And we each said... "Okay."

And we played
The first thing that came to our heads,
Just so happened to be,
The Best Song in the World
It was The Best Song in the World

(Tenacious D, 2002)

All semblances of the tables being used for seating have dissipated. Everyone is on their feet, on the tables dancing in abandon and revelry to the anthem of Aandklas, well known and well worn like a favourite shirt. An entire bar of people with hands in the air and voices set on loud, singing and dancing in celebration of one song. What follows is a number of classic rock anthems, each adored, each line familiar, and each note anticipated. A whoop of enthusiasm as each new songs starts and the patrons loose themselves in a nostalgia buffet.

While it is easy to get lost within this overwhelmingly festive revelry, it becomes apparent that not everyone is enjoying this phenomenon with equal abandon. Aandklas has a mixed group of clients, yet there are noticeably fewer black and coloured patrons within the main room. It becomes rather clear that some of the people who might also enjoy joining the affair are somewhat more reserved as they are not so familiar with the music of Aandklas. People that do not know the songs by heart are slightly mocked and chided for their ignorance. This reflects Sunè's comment on her being able to easily socialise herself into the space. As her Musical biography revealed, what is played at Aandklas is music that she grew up with (through her parents), music that she knows like the back of her hand. The importance of

knowing and following the lyrics of these songs are part of the socialising process, and cannot be underestimated. Part of socialisation is reprimanding participants that do not adhere to the norm or standards set within a space or action, in this case, people who are less familiar with this type of music cannot form part of this phenomenon. What this means is that in order to function within this social setting, to be a proper patron of Aandklas, there is certain presupposed knowledge that is paramount to achieving social integration. In the case of Aandklas, the knowledge required is not only a taste for golden oldies but also a near cultural-marrow amount of integration of a particularly Western cultural narrative, as many of these songs are hits from the 70's and 80's North American and British music charts. What this leads us to the concept of Implied-space.

While Aandklas can be viewed as a contact zone of multiple cultures (van Meijl, 2008) that is exposed and influenced by numerous patrons of all ethnicities, instead of attempting to stay a culturally homogenous group such as Presley's this place still faces many challenges. I hold, this place should not be held up as some kind of example of a multi-racial or cosmopolitan phenomenon. There are spaces in which black people are "typically absent, not expected or marginalized when present" (Anderson, 2015 P. 10). Often referred to colloquially as "white space", black people generally approach these spaces with care. "While white people usually avoid black space, black people are required to navigate the white space as a condition of their existence"(Anderson, 2015 p.10). Places such as businesses, restaurants, neighbourhoods, schools and other public environments. Black people might consider these spaces unofficially off-limits, experiencing discomfort, discrimination, and accusation of occupying spaces that white people do not believe that they should be. White people might see the same setting and regard it as unremarkable and normal, taking the spaces they occupy for granted. These interactions according to Anderson and in the context of the United States of America are the result of perceptions and stereotypes born of the iconic ghetto, which Black American individuals must constantly battle even when they have transcended the economic classes that are generally associated with the ghetto. "The city's public spaces, workplace, and neighbourhoods may now be conceptualized essentially as a mosaic of white spaces, black spaces, and cosmopolitan spaces (racially diverse island of civility) that may be in various stages of flux, from white to black or from black to white"(Anderson, 2015 p. 11). While operating within white space black individuals live under threat of social or even

physical jeopardy and are forced to appropriate a certain performance in order to successfully navigate this space.

"A black person's deficit of credibility may be minimized or tentatively overcome by a performance, a negotiation, or what some blacks derisively refer to as a 'dance', through which individual blacks are required to show that the ghetto stereotypes do not apply to them: in effect, they perform to be accepted". (Anderson, 2015 p 13)

While talking with a semi-frequent black patron at Aandklas, he expressed some of his trepidations at the idea of Aandklas as a place for everyone. "I felt not as if I was included but that I need to assimilate somehow in order to gain a modicum of acceptance. It didn't feel like the space was designed to be inclusive for me as well, but only a specific kind of inclusion." Black or coloured patrons experience narratives of white space within Aandklas, experiencing a form of (if mild) social jeopardy when they appear to be unable to reproduce the type of social celebration that is expected within the main room of Aandklas. Those who successfully navigate this space are those that have attained the necessary familiarity with the music of Aandklas. This might be challenging as these golden oldies occupy a special form of nostalgic meaning for many of the white Afrikaans participants that I have interviewed. In Aandklas, black individuals may very well "gain provisional acceptance from the immediate audience"(Anderson, 2015 p. 13) if he or she "passes inspection", but while Anderson looks at white space as a physical location that becomes socialized through racial interaction, I came to understand Aandklas as having a more subtle form of forced socialization. To Anderson, white spaces are locations in which white people scrutinise the behaviour, and at times very presence, of black people based on class and economic stereotypes. What I argue is that the music at Aandklas, creates a presupposed social environment, a passive social behavioural influencer that presupposes social interaction between participants.

With implied-space, I mean that there is a cultural presupposition, a set of presupposed values that are evident even before interaction between participants have initiated, participants have to function and interact within this particular presumed narrative. The elements of this phenomenon and the relevant pre-existing narratives are created through a process of longstanding socialisation, sometimes right back to childhood, and then enforced and preserved socially within a particular space through the continued adherence to its sanctity. In this case, the narrative is distinctly sourced from a white Afrikaans speaking background, as

illustrated through the importance of old school rock to the wider Afrikaans culture. A cultural presupposition is created, and the people in the space are expected to perform within that paradigm even before they occupy that space, those who do not, are socially shunned and punished or marginalised. Like laying down a chessboard and then criticising those that play checkers instead of chess. When people enter this space that celebrates rock and metal in various manners, there is already a distinct cultural paradigm under which these interactions must take place. Enforced by the people within the bar, through the importance of lyrical knowledge, base experiences of culturally white music, this environment is stacked before the players arrive.

Conclusion

Low (2011) concludes that the cultural diversity and racial tensions of the "centre" reflect in the segregation and social homogeneity of the "suburbs". I have thought of Presley's as a gated community or suburb, I would argue that Aandklas then could potentially represent the reflecting "urban", or the edge. While Presley's has made a point of exclusion, Aandklas has offered a very different response to the perceived changes that self-ascribed Afrikaners have had to deal with. Aandklas offers another solution to what could perhaps be thought of as a new emerging Afrikaner identity potential, this establishment calls into question new and old terminology and the idea of the "other". It further illuminates and calls into question the strange and ambiguous borders of genres in South Africa.

Through vilifying popular Afrikaans music, the symbols, and the ambassadors that encapsulate the mainstream white Afrikaans culture, Afrikaans people in Aandklas have distanced themselves through this subculture. By disassociating themselves, and directly negating the mainstream narrative and values, this Afrikaans group tries to ascend from the negative social standing associated with being called Afrikaner. Through mocking or otherwise disassociating with the symbols and phenomena that characterise mainstream "Afrikaner" culture, these participants are actively reshaping and reclassifying their own position within South Africa. An inclusive bar culture that directly flies in the face of the homogenous and heterosexual values of those in Presley's. Even an emphasis on not just speaking or producing music in pure Afrikaans, and the importance of being properly bilingual is a reaction towards this goal. We have seen how through langarm, the patrons of Presley's have expressed their need for policing and preserving the culture they see as being

threatened. It is quite symbolical then, that the particularly unique dance at Aandklas emphasises a form of inclusivity and free expression with few real rules. Both of these telegraph a rather specific message to the "outside" and the relationship that the people at both locations have with it.

It is rather clear nonetheless that even this process of disassociating with the baggage of the Afrikaner terminology, and through restructuring their position within South Africa, the space of Aandklas should not be seen as a project of reconciliation. Rather I hold that this multi-cultural contact zone is a space for white people to reconstruct their own image through the borrowed gravitas of a multi-racial and open sexual space. The people who enter this space, have to interact within a subsumed western and white cultural paradigm. An Implied-space, which presupposes certain narratives in which the people that occupy the space must adhere to in order to function within a perceived normative behavioural spectrum. In this case, the narrative is based on the nostalgia patrons experience through golden oldies, British and North American classic rock that has been the staple music for many of my patrons since the day they were born. This classic music has been widely drawn upon by numerous Afrikaans artists and various genres of Afrikaans music, which has made identifying the genres tricky. Even the perception of the alternative or protest music image that rock usually occupies is unreliable. Rather we have to add these performers and group into the category of popular music that does not end up criticising or further adding meaning to the consumer, but feeding into the culture industry and the hegemonic narrative.

The patrons of Aandklas can then be argued to borrow the image of Rock as a protest and alternative culture music in order to foster their need to reject the type of culture and terminology held dear in Presley's. Curiously, this potentially limits the true potential for meaningful integration with the larger South Africa. This makes Afrikaans speakers in Aandklas part of a counter culture attempting to break away from the abused and heavily loaded term, Afrikaner and all that falls under its imagined image. As much as the hyper-masculine image of a man in Presley's has been informed, and a reaction to, the perception on homosexuality, the patrons at Aandklas have become a reaction towards the perception they have on people of Presley's. To comment in favour of popular Afrikaans artists is to court disfavour, to sokkie is to be mocked, and to go to Presley's is to venture into Mordor. Still, as with Adorno and Kramer's ideals of music that truly push the boundaries of musical potential, with music that offers critique to the larger hegemony, Rock falls somewhat short. While

groups such as Fokofpolisiekar lent the gravitas of Rock and Punk as protest music, in Aandklas this has not proffered strategies of further social progress and racial integration. While the image of Aandklas might be that all are welcome, that image requires an addendum stating, "non-rockers need not apply".

The people at Aandklas have found a way to celebrate and enjoy themselves in a unique and joyous manner, there is a deep sense of comradely and acceptance that pervades the atmosphere. Still, this is by no means a racially neutral space and white and black individuals are still in a state of disparity, with black individuals more regularly navigating white space than the other way around. Afrikaans patrons at Aandklas have done a great deal in order to disassociate from the seemingly incurable image of the term Afrikaner. "Even though he (Bok van Blerk) is still young, he carries the heavy burden that all thinking Afrikaans speaking people and the rest of South African carries: very heavy and painful baggage of the past 40 years" (Oelofse, 2007). This Koos Kombuis said in an interview discussing the infamous De La Ray song. The people at Aandklas have not chosen to directly deal with this issue anymore, I believe that the Afrikaans speaking people here at Aandklas have chosen to leave the name, Afrikaner, and its baggage behind.

Chapter 5 - Conclusion

It is curious perhaps, that the greatest signifier to the similarities and differences within the two places of my research is dance. Through the shuffling of feet is the structure of their interactions revealed and the manner in which culture is celebrated and renewed. It is both a tool for introspection and the image projected to the "outsider" or the 'other'. It is through dance and the music that accompanies it, that we start to perceive these groups, and how they choose to perceive themselves. Perhaps more importantly, it is how they want to be perceived. Both these locations are reactions toward other groups or perceived and potential threats. Dance becomes a measure of control over the various uncertainties and variables from the outside experienced by those who participate. Within the concept of implied space, the act of dancing takes on a larger symbolic meaning.

In the case of Aandklas, we have the curious and again rather unique manner in which the people at Aandklas have ritualised dancing on the tables of the bar. One important facet of this phenomenon is the dancing itself is fundamentally communal or group orientated where Presley's langarm is partner based. On the tables, groups would stay together while singing, but very often individuals will move around, people who have never met, or who merely recognise each other would interact, dancing and laughing whilst exaggeratingly singing the lyrics. Again, lyrical and tempo familiarity is important to illustrate knowledge of the songs being played. Unlike the rules of langarm, no specific gender roles are issued, and while white patrons are in the majority, a number of people of other ethnicities enjoy joining the revelry. The inclusive nature of this act of dancing could be said to symbolise the larger overarching ideology presented at the bar. Non-selectiveness, non-biased, and all-inclusive. Again the fact that lyrical and tempo familiarity is so important does potentially and often alienate people who do not know the songs or grew up with them.

While black and coloured individuals might have trouble adhering to the prescribed social presuppositions, it behoves us to note that this phenomenon extends to the social marginalisation of other white individuals who also do not conform to the required norms. So-called "*joks en poppies*" (jocks and dolls) are a type of people that are considered anathema to the larger Aandklas culture. This would be people that are perceived to be superficial, interested only in their own aesthetics, going to the gym and other such stereotypes. Their attire usually identifies them, specifically by their lack of band shirts and

abundant use of *help-my-sterk-lyk-hempies* (help-me-look-strong-shirts, better known as a ‘wife beater’). As such this concept of implied space should not be viewed as a racial concept, but rather as a tool for selective cultural regulation. Aandklas then should not be perceived as a place or example of multi-cultural interaction, as its narrative is distinctively white base. Further, it is guided into a multi-cultural site by its proximity to the university and diverse student housing, though it does allow for relationships that would otherwise be unavailable in other situations. I do not believe it was meant or tries to be a space of reconciliation, such a space of multi-cultural interaction would have to be a neutral cultural site, not already endowed by an expectant cultural narrative. Afrikaans speaking students have none the less used the opportunity presented from the multiple factors that affect Aandklas, to create a space to change group- and self-identity as well as larger perceptions in the face of a multi-cultural environment.

I hold that Aandklas does purport itself as a space for inclusion, as a direct response to the exclusionary nature of Presley's. Again, Aandklas mocks conservative Presley's and in particular, sokkie dance. I illustrated how Presley's through sokkie dance and other phenomenon form part of a process that could equate to the club being seen as a gated community. This space I argued, has become a ritualised space of control. The phenomena serve to put forth a vision of the world in strict defiance to the perception of the outside, a world in which there is less or no control. The gated community forms part of a strategy of maintaining the status quo, culture, language, and terminology of Afrikaner-ness through keeping the rest of South Africa at arm's length symbolically through langarm. This I argue is in response to the perception of the patrons at Presley's at real or imagined slights and threats from wider economic and political pressures.

In an informal discussion with a patron at Presley's a man commented: "I would have gotten the job, if it wasn't for this" swiping over his skin, indicating his whiteness. Arguments about affirmative action, such as these, are commonplace and see numerous reiterations and variations when discussed. These ideas are not restricted to the workplace but often extend as criticism towards athletes in various sports. "Quota players" or "BEE babies" are derogatory terms often used to describe players of colour, and are easily made scapegoats for losses and mediocre performances from national teams, in particular, the Springboks. "Players aren't chosen for their talent, but rather for the colour of their skin". Comments made often without proper consideration or proof, have become easy bite-sized sentences to elucidate and depict

so-called shortcomings and failures. Policies such as these are perceived by the people of Presley's and beyond as direct threats to white spaces and opportunities. A further perceived attack on Afrikaner culture comes in the form of new language policies, in particular, the exclusion of Afrikaans as the language of instruction at the University of Pretoria in mid-2016 (Malingo, 2016). Presley's exists as an embodiment of the fear instilled by the continued perception of isolation and vilifying of white South Africans in the wider political, and economic sphere. The perceptions amongst some of my participants are that these types of policies and practices alienated and target them. "Many white people, especially those who supported apartheid to the end, protest that affirmative action and black economic empowerment go against the grain of non-racialism" (Du Preez, 2013, p. 247). These people do not see, as Du Preez continues that: "If correctly applied, if not abused for reasons other than *regstellende aksie*, or corrective action, these policies are not against the principle of non-racialism, but rather essential to reaching its goals" (Du Preez, 2013, p. 248).

These phenomenon has become the fuel of motivation that has kept places like Presley's, and other Afrikaans organisations, of the mind, that they and their way of life are under threat. This makes them withdraw, isolate, consolidate, in an attempt to preserve the old and known. As I have mentioned, Presley's came into existence 22 years ago as a whole, and the Pretoria branch, 17 years ago. Their culture of exclusion (Baines, 2008, p. 103) falls squarely in a time of great transition in South Africa and sees that continued until today, quite popularly.

This isolation is by no means only the fault of the ANC, public outrage over events that have highlighted, and at times exasperated white South Africans and their inability or unwillingness to "get with the times". The University of the Free State (UFS) received worldwide attention when white students tricked black employees into bizarre games and into drinking urine (Mail & Guardian, 2008). Later the Institute was the site of a what became known as the UFS rugby field attack, as white spectators attacked black students protesting over university fees in early 2016 (eNCA, 2016). Die Stem being sung by Steve Hofmeyr, the De La Ray song and many other events have painted a bleak picture for a non-racial society. Many black citizens still feel that there has been little change in South Africa and political parties such as the EEF capitalised on this frustration. This leads Du Preez, at the time, to declare that the ideal of a non-racial society as a guiding force within the ruling party to be "as dead as Monty python's parrot" (2012, p. 248).

Those white South Africans that do include themselves into the narrative of Africa have to be careful of the terms that they use. Du Preez speaks of the heated attacks that he was the recipient of when he as a white male attempted to claim that he was an African. When he claimed he was a full blooded African, he received numerous messages telling him to lay off what is not his. Professor Thobeka Mda even wrote to him about why white people could not have the characteristics to be an African.

Europeans and their descendants have been deciding for centuries on what people of the world should be called, in the process taking and giving nationalities and identities. It is called 'culture of power'. In South Africa immigrant Europeans called us kaffirs, then Natives, then non-Europeans, then Bantus, then plurals and then blacks. White people who are unhappy when we call ourselves Africans without including them, are not saying 'We are like you, we share your experiences, your traditions, your language'. They are not insisting on being Africans to claim closeness or Nationality with us. They are saying so to claim a piece (huge pieces in fact) of land in this country, and therefore this continent. (Du Preez, 2012, p. 249)

Perhaps Mda has a point, as with many of the words around identity today they are contextually heavily loaded. Colonialism and apartheid have effectively left the idea of the white African out in the dark, forever outside oppressors. In South Africa, this narrative is somewhat more complicated than just that (Baines, 2008, p. 102). For one, unlike other narratives of the global master such as those in the United States, white people are by far in the minority in South Africa and as we have seen, a great deal of South African whiteness is constructed around the idea of resistance. Further, two major factions of European decent exists, Afrikaans and English speaking people that are not a cohesive white people (Steyn, 2001, p. 25-26). Several distinctions, both historically and ideologically, helped define these groups separately, including the concept of home. "On the one hand, English-speaking white South Africans adopted an identity by which they regarded themselves as part of an imagined global community with ties to Anglophone culture... White Afrikaans speakers, on the other hand, emphasised their identification with the African continent - but with the land and the soil rather than the people... But while these differences manifested themselves in party politics, white supremacy, for most, was not negotiable" (Baines, 2008, p. 102). Much further into the future, this distinction is perhaps more indistinct, but the importance of the soil of Africa, of the farm, and farmhouse, has always been a staple imagery in Afrikaans music and

art. Perhaps the sad irony is that Afrikaner directly translates to African. Claiming to be African then forms part of being Afrikaans, and could feel that they are unable to identify with anything European (Verwey and Quayle, 2012). Breytenbach says much the same in that he both belongs and does not belong to Africa, and Max Du Preez calls himself the pale native (Du Preez, 2003). Even in academia, white South Africans seldom if ever are named Africans, as Nyamnjoy notes: "If white, I could be in Africa, but not of Africa, even if I have not known any other reality all my life. Somehow, anthropologists who study Africa seldom bother to "know " white Africans, almost as if being white and African were a contradiction in terms" (2012, p, 68).

Gazelle - Verlore Seun/Prodigal son

Sorrie Pappa
Ek moes die plaas verlaat
Want ek mis die disco ligte
Te veel
Die robote het groen geword
Dis tyd om te gaan
Soos n droogte
Kom bedonner jy my plan
Bladdy ligte van die stad
Het my lewe verwoes
Ek moet terugkeer na my wortels
Want dis tyd om te oes.

Sorry daddy
I had to leave the farm
Because I miss the disco lights
Too much
The robots (traffic light) turned green
It's time to go
Like a drought
you came to ruin my plan
Bloody lights of the city
Ruined my life
I have to return to my roots
Because it's time to harvest

(Gazelle, 2011)

Koos Kombuis's Boer in Beton song might be more nuanced, but this song by primarily English band Gazelle still manages to capture some of the Calvinistic and Afrikaner imagery while somehow hinting to the ambiguous gender identity of the character in the song. Nevertheless, as Koos Kombuis struggles to come to terms with the dichotomy of being a modern Afrikaner, and somehow still a Boer, this song struggles between the ties of city and farm. This is a theme in earlier Fokofpolisiekar songs and many other musicians before and after. There is a clear ambiguity amongst my participants as well, it is clear to me that there is a distinct lack of terminology today that could adequately serve to identify my participants. It seems impossible to find a term that they would use to self-identify with, and that would somehow be socially acceptable. Koos Kombuis begrudgingly accepts the term Boer, while few to none of my participants would do so today. The word Boer perhaps has come to represent many things that my participants cannot assimilate into their identities beyond a rather distant link to a shared history. The term Afrikaner too has become too loaded for my

participants at Aandklas, choosing rather, when pushed for an answer, to opt for South African. African as an identifier as we have seen, is still very much beyond the socially acceptable. In the case of Aandklas, I find that the people I have interviewed find themselves in a state of identity liminality that more closely resemble the concept of hybridity (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992).

Hybridity as a term has multiple possible definitions. It has seen many changes and been used in different forms from its original conceptions. Hybridity has seen many iterations to illuminate ambiguous identity from discussions on the postcolonial (Bhabha, 1989), on the displaced and refugees (Ghosh, 1989), and more specific to this topic, those who find themselves on national and cultural borders (Anzaldúa, 1987). The term attempts to by-pass binaries that researchers found when discussing the colonised and the resulting ambiguous identity they formed, this liminality phase seemingly resulting from colonial anxiety. "The 'syncretic, adaptive politics and culture' of hybridity, Bhabha points out: questions 'the imperialist and colonialist notions of purity as much as it question[s] the nationalist notions'"(Gupta and Ferguson, 1992). Hybridity explained how the individual could through the process of assimilation, subvert and make colonial powers ambivalent through problematizing notions of purity and essentialism. Later, however, the term changed in order to problematize notions of borders, nationality, culture, and community, in discussions on displacement (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992).

I would argue that my participants at Aandklas, as I have argued in Chapter 4, form part of Low's (2011) border, the urban to Presley's suburban. This is a space, perhaps not of reconciliation but a multi-cultural site, if tempered in an implied space. What I have observed from my participants has been an attempt to renegotiate and navigate their place in South Africa. They have done this through their rejection of Afrikaner symbols and notions of nationality, their attempts at broader inclusivity of race and sexuality, and further, the tentative appropriation of the broader and less defined or socially heavy term 'South African' rather than 'Afrikaner' or 'African' as an identifier. This has left many I have spoken to in this space in a state of liminality in their identities. Voëlvry was a rejection of the norms and values of Afrikaner-ness during apartheid, the Fokof-generation and their music expressed their frustration at their collective parents at leaving them with 'die gebakte pere' (the baked pears, or left with the consequences) of apartheid. Just so the rise of nationality through the likes of Bok van Blerk and Steve Hofmeyr was a response to fears of exclusion and threats to

their culture and language. I believe that these hybridised Afrikaans speaking people at Aandklas are left in a state of ambiguity in response to the rise of that nationality, and distancing themselves from another seemingly reprehensible social movement, in an attempt to realise a collective identity that could potentially adhere to the social and cultural needs in the new South Africa.

I realise that the term hybridised was intended to make sense of the colonised and disenfranchised individuals' attempts to regain control over their ability to control their culture and identity. Still, I am not entirely convinced that many of these Afrikaans speaking people have total control over the production of their own identity, but naturally do not suffer nearly as much as many black people did in colonial and apartheid conditions, or potentially continue to post 1994, South Africa. Again, in South Africa, the idea of utter white supremacy is not as clear as that, and while it is clear that white South Africans must be reminded that they live a privileged life by virtue of their historically correct skin type, it should perhaps fall to academia to start finding nuances in this narrative. We can only truly address the social issue with a broad understanding of all factors, and as such we must be honest and inclusive of white South Africans. As Nyamnjoy points out:

There are very few ethnographies to substantiate or contest what sociologist Melissa Steyn and psychologist Don Foster (2008) – both South African academics – argue are white discursive practices circulated in the mainstream press that aim to enact, establish, entrench and promote “the dominant white ideology” in post-Apartheid South Africa. What little anthropological research does exist is largely unpublished and mostly on non-English-speaking whites (cf. van der Waal and Robins 2011) or on “poor whites” (cf. Teppo 2004). Neighbouring Zimbabwe – where “the political disenfranchising of whites has failed to render them symbolically unthreatening” (Fox 2012) – boasts more published anthropological studies of whites than does South Africa. Such ethnographies of whites – their limitations notwithstanding (Hartnack 2012) – argues author of *Whiteness in Zimbabwe* (2010), David McDermott Hughes,⁴ “address a significant gap in scholarship” given that “we study ‘down’ to marginal and disempowered people but rarely study ‘up’ to the privileged”. The overwhelming tendency in South Africa is to study down, but hardly ever horizontally or upwards. (Nyamnjoy, 2012, p. 70)

The truth remains that white South Africans have all but lost their political power, due to their limited numbers and historical context. This has left spaces open, as I have argued, for

the likes of Steve Hofmeyr to become a political figurehead and self-proclaimed Afrikaner spokesman through his status as a performer rather than other politicians. Economically Du Preez (2013) points out, while white South African definitely has a great monopoly, which disparity is slowly fading (perhaps not fast enough). Even socially, while during apartheid institutions such as the SABC (Baines, 2008, p. 103) heavily controlled the consumption of music, art, and news, (readily banning songs that did not conform to their social vision) that reality is long past and the free market has once again taken hold of the production and consumption of various media. Even historically, Afrikaners had a curious place of being both oppressors, oppressed, both coloniser, and colonised, through the events of the Boer War, and the subsequent rise of nationality and apartheid that followed. While it is clear that there had to be a direct attack on the idea of white supremacy during the oppressive regime under the National Party, and while there is still legitimacy and necessity to that argument today, academia and the larger media should perhaps move towards a more nuanced discussion of this topic and the ideas of power relations.

Whiteness is not an immutable essence but is historically produced, and if its production requires something more than the physical characteristics of skin colour, then whiteness as a form of political identification, if not racial identity, can be abolished... Thus whiteness studies is not merely of academic interest (in both meanings of the phrase), but also a political project to dismantle the structures of power and privilege accorded whites. (Baines, 2008, p. 99)

As I have discussed in Chapter 1, Identity theory is incredibly slippery. With the existence of multiple definitions, amongst multiple social disciplines, and the need for reliance on sometimes subjective and politically motivated descriptions and borders to what could potentially be a multitude of identities from the same group or even person. The reality is that people have multiple identities at any given time with a person's race, sexual orientation, communal affiliations, and bridging loyalties (Josselson & Harway, 2012) all playing a role in that person's narrative. Still, identity is an issue that has had attention on the national, communal, and personal level of understanding. As we have seen, there is an ongoing discussion that is being taken seriously by multiple authors, academics, and politicians for various reasons. To my participants, however, it can be distilled to the necessity of identity in the narrative. "Narrative is not specifically a literary form but an epistemological category. Narratives are historical social constructions that provide a framework of interpretation

through which we make sense of the world and our place in it, and thus constitute our sense of identity..."(Baines, 2008, p.103). Music plays a curious role in this process as it has the ability to both illuminate and to provide a platform to engage with narrative and identity.

Music does not simply appear to be popular one day but had to build a relationship and find salience of meaning with an audience. During the early stages of apartheid, Hamm emphasises the part that American soul music played for black South Africans at the time. "Soul music was accepted and imitated with even more enthusiasm than earlier genres of afro-American music, its message of black identity and pride understood and emulated" (Hamm, 1988, p. 36). This genre of music played a part in unifying black South Africans in mass action as they could associate with the struggles many black Americans faced through their own civil movements (Hamm, 1988). This popularity did not last, and as the 1970's dawned, many black South Africans lost hope in achieving the same type of social change that was occurring in the United States. "A frustrated black South Africa, no longer believed that the American dream represented a solution to its problems, was turning to other models"(Hamm, 1988 p. 37). In a process of interaction and engagement, music was tested, discarded, and adopted in order to assimilate music that was "widely accepted as reflective of the spirit of a new black South Africa"(Hamm, 1988, p. 37). Similarly, groups of artistic expression such as Die Sestigers, Voëlvry, and Fokofpolisiekar managed to find popularity to various degrees by finding salience with their audience. Fokofpolisiekar offered a new potential narrative, and people latched on. Audiences, however, did not just swallow the particular social perspectives offered to them, but rather entered into a process of absorption and reworking the product "to create their own meaning of self, of social identity and group cohesion (Teer-Tomaselli, 1997, p vi)".

"Music, unlike the visual and literary arts, has particular powers of connotation and therefore a capacity to evoke a wide range of meanings. Whilst this understates the connotative power of non-musical cultural forms, there can be little doubt that music's lack of denotative meanings makes for a particularly flexible text that allows for an open-ended reading. This is true of both the music and lyrics, which are equally open to interpretation." (Baines, 2008, p 111)

The importance of music and places like Aandklas and Presley's then becomes a little clearer. These two spaces have offered us a more tangible, if incomplete, vision of white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans and the very different routes their potential identities have taken. We

could witness the particular responses that these individuals have taken in order to navigate the new South Africa through the music they choose to associate. I would argue further, that the relevance of the identity narratives that existed just 10 years ago is questionable today. It would be absurd to claim that the circumstances that my participants are facing today are the same as those faced more than a decade ago with the rise of Fokofpolisiekar and Bok van Blerk. Recently in an article about the South African 2016 general elections, Du Preez (2016) declared the beginning of the political post-post-apartheid, and through what I have observed I can only declare that culturally this might be true as well. Fokofpolisiekar has not been in the foreground of discussions on race identity, politics, religion, and politics for a very long time now, more permanently finding themselves in the realm of Adorno's culture industry, falling closer to nostalgia rather than social action. Groups such as Bittereinder, Die Antwoord, and Van Coke Cartel could be argued, attempts to personify Adorno's ideal progressive conductor in that they press the limits of the "musical material" of Afrikaans cultural production. Still, as David Kramer argued, cross-genre and cultural production is perhaps the only real way of challenging the musical materials in a robust manner. The fact that this is not happening amongst most Afrikaans music alludes to a larger societal isolation and weak national social cohesion.

As we have seen, terminology has changed and people are continuing to navigate and alter their constructed identities in efforts to adjust to changing times. Changing times are naturally, nothing new. As Laubscher (2005) points out, it has been common to associate the post-apartheid Afrikaner's identity in terms of "flux and change" due to the "supposed dislodging of old identity moorings"(Laubscher, 2005, p 308), but these moorings were reconstructions themselves based on an imagined past. Aandklas perhaps more pertinently has shown that there are those who have moved beyond these moorings or attempts to redefine Afrikaner-ness in the new South Africa.

"It is less as identity per se that is in flux, than the discursive horizon of intelligibility, the hegemonic imagery, imploding into a mythic space ready for re-articulation - one within which various options circulate and vie for dominance" (Laubscher, 2005, p. 311)

Again, we must stress the creation of identity, and very similarly of music, as an expression of routes rather than roots (Laubscher, 2005). These patrons actively adopt and shape the music that they best feel represent their needs as individuals and as a community, it allows

them to actively construct meaning within their respective spaces and explore identity and narrative. Through the potent ability of music, audiences are able to make meaningful connections to other experiences (Meintjes, 1990), these individuals can feel part of an imagined community (Baines, 2008). The images of these communities are expressed in rituals of dance, music, and in their particular avoidances and biases. Through the deconstruction of the way in which people celebrate their identity and the process of reification that solidify meaning within these rituals, researchers can visualise and map out the spaces of the imagined community and the place that those that occupy it have, in the larger South African context.

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