

**THE REPRESENTATION OF ASPECTS OF AFRIKANER AND BRITISH
MASCULINITY IN THE FIRST SEASON OF *ARENDE* (1989) BY PAUL C
VENTER AND DIRK DE VILLIERS:
A critical analysis**

BY

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DECLARATION

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I declare that *The representation of aspects of Afrikaner and British masculinity in the first season of Arende (1989) by Paul C Venter and Dirk de Villiers: a critical analysis* is my own work and that all sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Arthur L Hall

13 May 2013

SUMMARY AND KEY TERMS

This study performs a critical analysis of the representation of Afrikaner and British masculinity in the first season of the South African War (1899-1902) television series *Arende* (1989-1993). The study first identifies key concepts in both western identity and masculinity and then moves on to build an historical theoretical base from which season one is analysed. This theoretical base is created through the assimilation of historical sources dealing with masculinity and masculine events from both the Afrikaners and the British.

In order to provide a suitable foundation for the investigation into masculinity, the study first briefly explores the concept of identity and how it manifests in both the Afrikaner and British society represented in the first season of *Arende*. This was done by using a psychological model designed by Roy F Baumeister (1986) which involves both individual and societal identity. Identity as a social construct is also investigated, and the question why identity matters in society is discussed. Arguments for a structuralist semiotic approach to identity in a particular society are presented.

In dealing with the overview of dominant western masculinity a number of key terms were identified and discussed. These include patriarchy, the female body and masculine control, social labelling, gender order and 'women watching,' the family unit, division of labour and public and private space, hegemonic masculinity and the male hero. After this overview, the study conducted an assimilation exercise into historic Afrikaner and British masculinity during the time before and after the South African War. This discussion centres on a number of points dealing with both societies, namely the model male, male military tradition, masculine rebels/outcasts and other masculine issues, and male relations with women.

The final part of this study involves the analysis of the masculine theory, generated in the previous chapter, on the *Arende* text. This was done by selecting

six characters from each of the two societies in season one and describing how they represent themselves in a masculine manner (or not).

Key terms: Afrikaner; *Arende*; Baumeister, Roy F; British; De Villiers, Dirk; gender; identity; rebellion; St. Helena; social tradition; South African War (1899-1902); *volksmoeder*; Venter, Paul C; Visual Culture; Western masculinity.

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Ek wil graag hierdie dissertasie aan die volgende mense opdra:

- *Oupagrootjie Tjaart van der Walt—die oorspronklike Kaapse Rebel van die distrik Colesberg.*
- *Oom Dirk de Villiers, wat my nie net met Arende bygestaan het nie, maar my ontsaglik baie van die lewe geleer het in 'n paar kort gesprekke.*

Soli Deo Gloria!

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CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION

Man for the field and woman for the heart:

Man for the sword and for the needle she:

Man with the head and woman with heart:

Man to command and woman to obey;

All else confusion.

-“The Princess,” Alfred, Lord Tennyson

1.1 Background and aims of the study

It may be argued that South Africa is a country born out of the bringing together of opposites. Arguably the pinnacle of the struggle between these various opposites was the South African War (1899-1902); without the War, South Africa might never have been born. As a result of the War, opposites were thrust together and eventually conjoined, albeit often in an uneasy manner, leading to later social and even physical conflict.

This conjoining also led to the changing of societies and at root level the changing of groups in societies, and individuals in groups. Out of this interaction ‘South Africans’ were born, neither Boer nor Brit, but individuals originating from the cauldron of conflict and cast into the resulting stew of peace. I am one of those individuals. Of my four great-grandfathers, three were Boer and one British. One of the Boers was a Cape Rebel, and another took part in the 1914 Rebellion. The Briton, of whom I am the namesake, immigrated to South Africa shortly after the end of the War. As a geologist he played a large part in giving the two Boer Republics and eventually South Africa a British overlay, by amongst other things choosing the sandstone used for the Union Buildings. This identity of opposites, born out of historical conflict, has been the lifeblood of South African society for many decades and one may argue it has changed only in context in the

103 years of South Africa's existence. In the first twenty years of statehood it was still Boer against Brit, followed by men against women, brought about by the suffragette movement. From here on in followed white against black and its associated partners of nationalist against conservative, capitalist against communist, *verligte* against *verkrampte* and many more. History will still determine the opposing sides of today. However, in commencing this study in the nature of the above mentioned background and rhetoric I inadvertently construct polarised binaries in that I focus in particular on white identity excluding, many nuances narratives and identities which fall outside these binaries, including that of race and to a lesser extent class. This is done purely to attempt to consider the effect which *Arende* had on white South African identity in the 1980's through its portrayal of the circumstances surrounding one of the major clashes of white identity, roughly 90 years earlier. By doing this I ignore other equally plausible arguments giving light to other positions, contradictions to my own reading and other academic tensions.

Arende, an Afrikaans and English language television series written by Paul C Venter and produced by Dirk de Villiers was screened on South African television from 1989 to 1993. The two main protagonists in the series are the Cape rebel Sloet Steenkamp (played by Ian Roberts) and the British military commanding officer, Captain James Kirwan (played by Gavin van den Bergh). Steenkamp is a prisoner of war on St Helena Island during the South African War (1899-1902) and Kirwan is the officer commanding the camp. They are portrayed in constant competition with each other, mainly because Steenkamp is trying to escape. By the second season Steenkamp has escaped and not taken the oath of allegiance to Britain at the end of the war. Kirwan pursues him through the Karoo. In the third season, both characters trek away from British rule to what is today Namibia. A film, also called *Arende* (1991), was produced from scenes from the first season. A few years ago, Paul C Venter published a fourth season in book form, called *Die rebellie van Sloet Steenkamp* (2009).

The main aim of the study is to investigate the cultural representation (including, but not limited to clothing, geographical location and social customs) of Afrikaner and British males in the first season of *Arende*, as well as the way in which their respective masculinities are represented in the first season. This will be done by critical analysis to determine how the two ideologies of the time is visual represented and to establish whether dominant Afrikaner and British gender ideologies of the time are upheld. In order to provide a theoretical framework to apply to *Arende*, and achieve the above-mentioned aim, a brief description of both Afrikaner and British masculinity before, during and after the South African War is presented to provide an overview of the established dominant identity of males of both groups.

The story of the Afrikaner as ethno-cultural group in South Africa is a fascinating one. From the small band of Dutch East India Company (DEIC) soldiers that started the replenishing station at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652, the arrival of the French Huguenots in 1688, and the influence of various other Europeans and Africans alike, the Afrikaners have in a little more than 350 years become a unique white 'tribe' in southern Africa. They feel no definite affinity with the Western world in the sense that they do not consider Europe their home. As a group the Afrikaners have invariably been linked to the land in various ways—whether it relates to the agricultural links with their other name, the *Boere*—or to their many battles for a right to ownership of this precious resource (Delmont 1993:76-101; Giliomee 2004:ix-xii). More directly, and relevant to the social-historical context of this study, is the British annexation in 1877 of *the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek* (ZAR), the decisive victory over the British in the First Anglo-Boer War in 1881 at Majuba to regain ZAR-independence, the failed Jameson-raid of 1895-1896 and the outbreak of the Second Anglo-Boer War or South African War of 1899-1902 (Giliomee 2004:ix-xii).

The basis for this Afrikaner settler society was its deep-rooted patriarchal system, which specifically centred on the family and the military (albeit

more a militia type system than a formal, national armed force). Perhaps the most expressive form of patriarchy and Afrikaner masculinity of the time was over land—both the control and the use of the land. Sandra Swart (1998:737) reasons that much of Afrikaner masculine identity of the time roughly before and after the South African War is rooted in the Boer Republican commando system. The events before and after the South African War, and the War itself, did much to advance the sense of self-conception of the Republican Afrikaner—in both a positive and negative sense. This ‘War orientated’ self-conception is possibly evident until at least 1961 when South Africa became a republic outside the British Commonwealth—if you were not an Afrikaner, you were an enemy of the Afrikaner, in the worst case scenario an Englishman. It could be suggested that this same pre-1961 ‘spirit’ is evident in the production of *Arende* as well as its popularity amongst Afrikaners to this day. According to Swart (1998:738), elements of Afrikaner masculine self-conception are largely based on Boer Republican ideals, which served as symbolic and practical modes of Afrikaner masculinity. The commando system and its masculine nature extended into politics, culture and social mythology. The commando served as a rite of passage for Afrikaner boys to become men—“a man unwilling to serve in the defence of the land and the people would hardly be regarded as a man” (Swart 1998:738). The commando was the early Afrikaner community’s sense of identity, representing defence and authority based on normally acceptable customs of the family (Swart 1998:738). In the same vein, the open countryside of South Africa was the exclusive space wherein the commando functioned. Much of this idea of Afrikaner masculinity manifests amongst the prisoners of war who feature in the first season of *Arende*, discussed in this study.

Britain ruled more than half of the world for most of the nineteenth and half of the twentieth century. The British Empire had a profound impact on the shaping of the world as we know it today—through the fixing of boundaries—both by conquest and partition treaties. This also involved the movement of large numbers of people, which determined the composition

of many countries. Through the operation of Empire, Britain disseminated its institutions, culture and language, usually in a very deliberate and systematic way, and often at the expense of existing populations, whether settler or indigenous. In many cases Britons who originated from the British Isles, turned their back on the homeland and became immersed in the new settler communities of the Empire states, often even in rebellion against the Empire. However, for the majority of British people at the time, the Empire was also an essential part of their Britishness and their pride. This pride includes ideals of manliness, courage, and discipline, but also self-sacrifice and a disinterested service to others (Marshall 1996:7-13).

The Empire way of thinking about the world was often one which the conquered or colonised European and African subjects did not agree with, as was the case with Afrikaners in the Cape Colony from 1806. Yet the British also allowed forms of self-government, which pitted, as in the case of the Cape Colony, Afrikaners against British settlers (Marshall 1996:40-42). With the outbreak of the South African War, a considerable number of the Cape Afrikaners rebelled against Britain and joined the Republican forces in the various theatres of battle. It is this context which sets the scene for the storyline of *Arende* and the character of Sloet Steenkamp. It also allows for the masculine battle between the Afrikaner character of Sloet Steenkamp and the British character of Captain James Kirwan.

Masculinity as an element in gender ideology construction is also a feature of society linked to identity. Nowhere is this more evident than in the histories of both the Afrikaners and the British, especially in the period at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century when Afrikaner Republicanism and British Imperialism confronted each other. In this study, identity is used as a theoretical tool to sketch a contextual background of the Afrikaners and British at the time of the South African War. Furthermore, the representational agents of Afrikaner and British are identified and explained in *Arende* as a text in popular culture.

1.2 Literature review

In this study, one seminal field of literature is not enough to provide a strong and steady argumentative basis for application to *Arende*. The very nature of visual studies as an interdisciplinary field requires the consultation of a wide variety of appropriate literature. This includes the fields of history, gender studies, art history, sociology, cultural studies and even psychology. Finding literature of the specific nature of the disciplines mentioned above is relatively simple. The search for literature that deals specifically with a combination of these fields in the way in which visual studies often does is, however, not so simple. The problem is not impossible to overcome because masculinity is currently a rather popular subject in the field of humanities. The challenge lies, however, in describing masculinity in specific societies like that of the Afrikaner and the British. It is here where the other fields of literature are most useful in the effort to understand the masculinity of specific groups like the British and Afrikaners.

The main aim of the study therefore is to investigate the depiction of aspects of Afrikaner and British masculinity such as clothing, geographical location and social customs, and to consider how ideologies of the two masculinities of the time are visually represented in *Arende* despite them changing over time. In helping to provide a theoretical framework to achieve the main aim of the study, a brief discussion on identity is followed by a more extensive discussion on masculinity as a component of identity. The aim is to provide a generally accepted definition and explanation of western identity (being the overarching cultural denomination to which both the Afrikaners and the British belong), followed by focusing specifically on British and Afrikaner masculinity of the time, bearing in mind that all masculinities are not static. This will be achieved by consulting, amongst others, the works of John Berger ([1972]2008), Judith Butler (1990), Jack Khan (2009), Robert Morrell (1998, 2001), Michael Kimmel (2004) and RW Connell (1987, 2009). The importance of a theoretician such as Stuart Hall (1990, 1991, 1992, 1996; 1997), who discusses post-modern questions on

identity, is applied in this study, especially because of the fact that *Arende* is a text on the South African War produced in a post-modern era.

Identity narratives, of which *Arende* is an example, are one of the most complete narratives for the expression of identity. The context of the narrative often provides the main characters with an identity (Erasmus 2005:255 quoting Martin 1995). Attempts at defining and creating identity are often unfulfilling and lacking in substance, so much so that Phillip Gleason (1983) writes an entire article just on investigating what identity is. According to Roy Baumeister (1986:4), "identity is a definition, an interpretation, of the self." Baumeister (1986:4-5) continues by adding that identity consists of three features, namely self-knowledge, personal potentiality and fulfilment, and the relationship of the individual to society. These three features connect well with the five levels of identity which Bornman (2003) discusses. Baumeister suggests a model specifically for analysing identity in several parts. The first part consists of two defining criteria for identity. The second part consists of three functional aspects of identity. Thirdly there are the components of identity, which serve as basic units for self-definition. Lastly, there is the definition of five basic types of self-definition processes. Although Baumeister's work is somewhat dated, more current works from Bert Olivier (2007), PA Erasmus (2005), and Stuart Hall (1990,1991,1992, 1996, 1997) are used to substantiate Baumeister's model in a more contemporary context.

Traditional anthropological and sociological folklore dictates that identity is a fixed function of a traditional system of myths, defining the individual's place in the world. Although identity was considered to be fixed within modernism, its boundaries later became more fluid (Kellner 1995:220-231). Baumeister (1986:1) reasons that identity and the search therefore is a persistent theme in society, especially in forms of popular culture such as magazines and films. Gleason (1983:910) agrees with Baumeister's basic argument when he asks if the average person can define identity despite the fact that he/she claims to understand it. What does it mean in terms of

this study, for example, to be a Republican Afrikaner or a Victorian gentleman/soldier or a Cape Colonist or a Cape rebel? In an attempt to answer this question, the works of Fransjohan Pretorius (1985, 1991, 1999, 2009), Hermann Giliommee (2004), Albert Grundlingh (1999a, 1999b, 2006), Sandra Swart (1998), John Tosh (2007), Donald McCracken (1989, 1999) and Ian van der Waag (2003, 2005) are widely consulted.

The production of *Arende* as popular culture text in the last decade of the twentieth century, forces one to consider the effects of globalisation in the visual performance (and therefore visual representation of masculinity) of a nineteenth century text in the 1990s. Stuart Hall (1996:4), in reasoning that identities have never been fixed, also holds globalisation as a factor that influences modern day thinking about identity. No longer is identity defined by 'who we are,' or 'where we come from' but rather 'what we might become,' and 'how are we represented.' Identities are therefore, according to Hall (1996:4), constituted in representation and not outside of it. Representation implies the use of historical and institutional sites of construction. To this end, Eliree Bornman (2003:24) and Bert Olivier (2007:36) discuss the struggles of identity in minority or marginalised groups, such as the Afrikaners—as the losers of the War in *Arende*. Debbie Epstein (1998:49-59) puts an additional slant on the discussion in the context of globalisation, with her work on whiteness and masculine identity, while PA Erasmus (2005) specifically looks at Afrikaner identity at the time that *Arende* was produced.

Furthermore identity as a social feature can only exist within societies, meaning that identity can only be defined according to the individual's relationship to the whole society, which affects social practices such as politics, the family-unit and land (Baumeister 1986:6-10). The fact that society is made up of many unique individuals, forces identity to take up both a constructivist and multiple stance, which is ambiguous and contradictory at the same time (Brubaker & Cooper 2000:1; Olivier 2009:407; Hall 1996:4), and provides a platform for the discussion of

various masculine rebels within Afrikaner and British societies at the time that *Arende* portrays.

Identity also involves itself in various aspects of society, such as gender roles (or in this case masculinity). Uma Bhowon and Caroline NG Tseung-Wong (2004:86) highlight the fact that identity is not just a concept of self, but also involves familial, occupational, religious and national and ethnic categories. Gleason (1983:910) reminds his readers of the irrevocable relationship between immigration (which includes geography) and ethnicity (which includes society, masculinity and nationalism), as factors of identity. According to Mike Crang (1998:162-163), a prominent way in which identity manifests itself in society is through nationality. The society also carries the trait of 'blood and soil'—where cultural identity is passed from generation to generation as fixed object, and also as territorial notion—where the space of the society becomes imbued with ethnic or national ideas and terms like 'motherland' and 'fatherland.'

In helping to achieve the main aims of the study, and as part of the theoretical framework, aspects of masculinity that are particularly appropriate and similar in ideological nature to those found in *Arende* are discussed in the general introduction on masculinity. This general introduction is based on the so-called traditional masculine ideology of toughness, emotional invulnerability, heterosexual dominance and success. Furthermore, considering that this study has a very strong culture dimension, a historical perspective on the anthropology of masculinity as discussed by Guttman (1997:385-409) is considered.

Specific themes unpacked in this dissertation include a discussion on how boys/young men look up to other men to evaluate their masculine identity, as discussed by Adams and Govender (2008:551). In the first season, particular attention is given to the role of the *penkoppe* (literally referring to adolescent antelope; figuratively to young Afrikaner boys) in helping the grown men.

The 'male gaze' or "girl watching" as Beth Quin (2002:386-402) puts it, is also an aspect of masculine ideology that is discussed. This is one of the activities in which both the protagonists, Steenkamp and Kirwan, take part. This 'participation' affects the state of masculinity which is upheld by their various cultural and ethnic identities. This ties in with John Berger's ([1972]2008) work on women as "watched" objects.

Colonialism, race and class and their effect on new and existing masculinities, as discussed by Robert Morrell (1998:605-630), is also of great importance in investigating the portrayal of aspects of Afrikaner and British masculinity in *Arende*.

A minor but by no means insignificant source within the context of this study is *Aspects of the masculine* (1989) by Carl Jung. Of particular relevance to the identification and discussion of Afrikaner masculinity in *Arende* is Jung's theory on the Hero, and specifically the Hero as wanderer and runner in a quest to find or defend the mother [land]. With regard to the hero in popular culture, John Lash (1995) explains the origins of the hero and his journey from hunter to warrior (which is highly pertinent to Sloet Steenkamp and *Arende*).

Gender studies. Terms and debates by Anne Cranny-Francis, Wendy Waring, Pam Stavropoulos and Joan Kirkby (2003) is a useful guide for giving brief exploratory definitions for gender terms such as patriarchy, masculinity and identity. The guide also provides definitions for gender issues such as ways of reading, ways of seeing and ways of being, which are appropriate for the study in general.

In *Questions of gender* (1998), compiled by Dina L Anselmi and Anne L Law, a good introductory text for the discussion of gender and specifically masculinity is provided. The publication specifically investigates gender difference by looking at the views of various schools of thought such as

essentialism and constructionism. The publication also provides a definition of identity by looking at the intersection between race, class, ethnicity and gender.

In *Gender and power* (1987) by RW Connell, gender relations and specifically the effect of hegemonic masculinity are explored. The military setting of *Arende* is particularly appropriate for the exploration of hegemonic masculinity, especially as the series often shows a conflict of two different masculinities. Connell also explores the structure of gender relations by dividing it into a main structure consisting of labour power and cathexis, gender regimes and the Gender Order and historical dynamics. These issues are of particular use in exploring the relations between Afrikaner and British men and women in their respective societies and how this is portrayed in *Arende*. Of particular interest in *Arende* is the question of gender relations in exile, particularly between members of the same and different cultural groups.

Hegemony is undeniable in both masculinities, and Mike Donaldson (1993:643-657) and RW Connell and James W Messerschmidt (2005:829-859) are useful sources used to elaborate on the specific hegemonic culture which serves as a subtle undertone in *Arende*. Jack Khan (2009) also delivers some insightful views on hegemony and how it features in patriarchy.

Die Afrikaners. 'n Biografie (2004) by Hermann Giliomee, is regarded as the groundbreaking source on the history of the Afrikaner. Giliomee does not simply give a chronological relation of the history of the Afrikaners, but goes further and investigates the underlying factors that resulted in the playing out of the history in the way it did. Underlying factors like patriarchy, the attachment to land, and a settler background have made a significant contribution to the understanding of Afrikaner masculinity. Giliomee's publication also gives an indication of the way in which Afrikaner and British masculinities have clashed from 1806 (when Britain

took permanent control of the Cape), until the culmination of masculine conflict in the South African War of 1899-1902, which is of particular relevance to *Arende*.

Fransjohan Pretorius' *Kommandolewe tydens die Anglo-Boereoorlog 1899-1902* (1999) is a vast reference to the centre stage of Afrikaner masculinity, the commando. It not only gives insight into the commando as social system, but also on the individual Afrikaner burgher and how he experienced the War. This source also serves to extend on the work of Sandra Swart (1998), delving a little bit deeper into the commando system.

Albert Grundlingh's *The dynamics of treason* (2006) provides an insightful investigation of Afrikaner traitors during the South African War. This is a critical element to follow to understand dissidents of Afrikaner masculinity, which is relevant to the historical context of *Arende*.

Writing a wider war, edited by Cuthbertson, Grundlingh and Suttie (2002), brings together a range of essays on themes of the South African War that have previously not received much attention. This includes themes such as how Afrikaner family life was affected during the War—giving insight into gender relations, issues of conduct within the commando—providing a glimpse into masculine social structures, which links well with Sandra Swart's (1998) work.

Bridge and Federowich's (2003) *British world: Diaspora, culture, and identity* provides the ideal platform by which to discuss Britain and its people during the time of Empire. Of specific interest in this work is the contribution of Chilton (2003) with 'A new class of women for the colonies: *The Imperial Colonist* and the construction of Empire.' Joseph Bristow (1991) focuses more on the development of the young British boy with *Empire boys: Adventures in a man's world*. Concerning the Pro-Boers and the Irish resistance to the War, the work of Donald McCracken (1989, 1999), Arthur Davey (1978) and Koss (1973) makes a significant

contribution to building a theoretical framework to apply to *Arende*. Krebs' (1999) *Gender, race and the writing of Empire: Public discourse and the Boer War* is a useful work in bringing together issues associated with the War, with those of gender and propaganda in the Victorian times. Haggis' 'White women and colonialism: towards a non-recuperative history' (1998) gives perspective on the role played by women in the maintenance of Empire. In *Victorian values: Personalities and perspectives in nineteenth-century* (1998) Marsden gives a perspective on the Victorian social attitude, while Nead (1989) focuses on women within the Victorian social sphere with *Myths of sexuality. Representations of women in Victorian Britain*. Spiers brings the Victorian male closer to *Arende* with *The Victorian soldier in Africa* (2004) and *The Scottish soldier and Empire 1854-1902* (2006).

1.3 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework of Afrikaner and British dominant masculinity at the mentioned time aims to show the deviations from standardised identities of both Afrikaner and British males. Examples include the *hensopper* (handsupper) amongst Afrikaners and the 'Pro-Boers' in British masculinity who were active during the time of the South African War. Preceding this part of the theoretical framework, the roots of masculinity as social phenomenon are highlighted within an identity construct.

The theoretical framework will support the main aims of the study as follows. Firstly, aspects of masculinity that are particularly appropriate and similar in ideological nature to those found in *Arende* are discussed in the general introduction on masculinity. These include a discussion on how boys/young men look up to other men to evaluate their masculine identity (Adams & Govender 2008:551), the 'male gaze' (Quin 2002:386-402), the effect that colonialism and class have on existing and new masculinities (Morrell 1998:605-630), and the historical anthropological state of masculinity (Gutmann 1997:385-409).

From there the main aim of the study is carried forth by an exploratory investigation into the representation of certain elements of Afrikaner and British masculinity and how masculinity appears in *Arende*. These elements include the 'model male' found in both masculinities of the time, military traditions, outcasts, as well as relations towards women and 'politics' in the two masculinities. As with most contemporary research, this entails that the social and historical context of the time in which *Arende* takes place, has to be explored in order to understand the state and traits of Afrikaner and British masculinity of the time. In this regard the intricacies of both Afrikaner and British society are explored, where appropriate. This includes elements that feature in Afrikaner nationalism such as the attachment to land and the role of the female in the guise of the *volksmoeder* (Hall 2008). The study includes an investigation of British Imperialism pertaining specifically to imperial aims, the social representation of the other non-Briton, and the nature of colonial gender relations (Bridge & Federowich 2003; Marshall 1996).

Important to the study is the identification of the contemporary 'model male' in both Afrikaner and British masculinity. Having identified what would be regarded as a standardised conception (but not static) of the typical Afrikaner and British male in contemporary literature, it is necessary to also identify what these males were not. That is, the masculine outcasts or rebels in the two societies are identified. The simple method is to identify male characters in *Arende* that differ from the standardised 'model male' of the two societies at the time. This could, however, result in a very shallow masculine analysis. There is a great deal of literature which deals with specific masculine outcasts/rebels in the two separate societies. Topics in literature include those dealing with the appearance of deserters, *hensoppers* (handsuppers) and joiners (British collaborators amongst the Afrikaners during the South-African War).

As is the typical nature of visual culture research, a number of theories are employed in conducting this study. The study mainly makes use of theories of masculinity (as an offshoot of gender studies) in conjunction with semiotics (using both its older structural and newer post-structural characteristics). By investigating the representation of Afrikaner and British masculinity in *Arende*, selected theories of psychology, history, sociology and cultural studies are also consulted in order to cover as many facets of masculinity as possible.

Structuralism, and therefore to some extent semiotics (as the study of signs and sign systems) too, “is indifferent to the cultural value of its object,” with its “method being analytical not evaluative” (Storey 2001:58, quoting Terry Eagleton 1983) This ties in with Christian Metz’s (1974) proposition that films are all fictional, since they all represent something by means of signs (Bignell 1997:180) This study, as one of its many theoretical approaches, certainly moves away from the solely analytical nature of semiotics, and tries to be more hermeneutical . This does not, however, mean that the work and methods of Claude Lévi-Strauss (1978) and Roland Barthes (1973) are not used in this study; rather the two masters’ theories are applied while trying to keep in mind the relevant critiques of their work.

The anthropologic work of Lévi-Strauss (1978) and the structuralist methods used prove particularly useful in trying to find visual examples of theories on Afrikaner and British masculinity. Lévi-Strauss analysed cultural practices such as cooking, dressing and aesthetic activity and tied them as analogous to systems of language and various forms of communication within the culture (Storey 2001:61). This study shows Afrikaner and British cultural practices’ analogous link to masculinity, and uses this to establish the portrayal thereof in *Arende* as representative of the portrayal of masculinity in the series. Lévi-Strauss’ analysis of myth, which plays an important role in the construction of masculinity in society, is also highly relevant in the study. In using De Saussure’s terms *langue*

and *parole*, Lévi-Strauss argues that individual myths (or cultural traits in the study) are examples of *parole* (in many cases presented as binary opposites), or underlying structures in the *langue* of the cultural (in this case, specifically the cultural trait of masculinity) (Storey 2001:61). One of Lévi-Strauss' individual myths which is remarkably similarly portrayed in *Arende*, is that of the hero in the typical Hollywood Western film.

John Storey (2001:64) states that Roland Barthes' *Mythologies* (1957) "represents the most significant attempt to bring the methodology of semiology to bear on popular culture." With the last essay in this series, namely *Myth Today*, Barthes took De Saussure's notion of the sign comprising the signifier and the signified, and added to it the second level of signification, completing the semiotic method of denotation (the primary level of signification, of signifier/signified, often literal meaning) and connotation (where the primary level signified becomes a secondary level signifier, which leads to a new signified, therefore the non-literal meaning) (Barnard 2001:149-150). Barthes' argument is based on the polysemic nature of signs, that is, that they can have more than one meaning. With regard to visual narrative and underlying ideologies and myths that films may carry, the process of denotation/connotation is a useful mode of analysis applied to the investigation of Afrikaner and British masculinity in *Arende* discussed in this study.

However, this study is conducted in post-modern times and therefore perhaps may require some post-modern theoretical influence. This forces the researcher to think of the text in both a post-modern sense (and therefore the time in which it was produced) and a pre-modern sense (the time during which its plot is situated). In a sense, post-structuralism calls structuralism to order, by questioning its 'definite' nature. By rejecting the secure and guaranteed basis that structuralism attaches to meaning, post-structuralism argues that meaning is not fixed, but always a process in motion. This could perhaps mean that a sign has many meanings and that various meanings can lead to various interpretations of the sign. Jacques Derrida (1970), as prominent post-structuralist argued that the meaning of

the sign is always deferred; never quite present in its location of social differences. This critique on the semiotic methods of analysis proves very useful in investigating specifically the outcasts of Afrikaner and British masculinity as portrayed in *Arende*. Jacques Lacan's (1953-1954) rereading of Sigmund Freud is useful in showing how both masculinities search for the familiar of the mother(land), when both of them are forced to coexist in the alien arena of St Helena island, the setting of the first season of *Arende*.

1.4 Methodological framework

With the strong theoretical background discussed above, the study leans towards being qualitative in nature, with the identification, interpretation and exploration of various visual phenomena, often in a speculative manner. For the investigation into the depiction and representation of Afrikaner and British masculinity in *Arende*, a thorough exploration in the literature is very important. Therefore a workable theoretical framework for the study is established. It entails firstly, the exploration of literature on identity and masculinity. Following on, literature on Afrikaner and British masculinity at the time before and after the South African War is explored. This then sets the relevant context from which to build a theoretical framework. This theoretical framework is then applied in a visual analysis of *Arende*, in order to unpack the topics referred to.

1.5 Overview of chapters

Chapter Two focuses on a brief exploration of identity. The question of what identity is and what its fundamental characteristics comprise is briefly explored. In adding to this, the question of why understanding identity is important to *Arende* and the social context of its setting and its audience is explored. Then the focus is shifted to a specific model of identity developed by Baumeister (1986). Implementation of the model in *Arende* commences in Chapter Four, to form a basis from which to explore and apply masculine theory. This includes identifying scenes, characters and *mise-en-scène* in the episodes of the first season from which one can construct an idea of the socio-cultural identity portrayed in *Arende*. Finally a comparison to

existing theory on the social and cultural contexts of the Afrikaners and British at the time depicted in *Arende* is integrated alongside social contextual features.

Chapter Three attempts to highlight certain issues involved with masculinity and explore both Afrikaner and British masculinity. Firstly, the chapter looks at broader issues of masculinity, namely patriarchy, the female body and masculine control, social labelling, gender order and 'woman watching,' the family unit, division of labour and public and private space, hegemonic masculinity and finally the male hero. From here on, the chapter looks specifically at Afrikaner and British masculinity focusing on the model male, military tradition, masculine rebels/outcasts and other masculine social issues and male relations with women.

Chapter Four is the most comprehensive chapter in the study and is aimed at applying the theory from Chapter Three to the first season of *Arende*. Various scenes are selected (see Appendix A) and the discussion follows mostly according to specific characters. A large array of still shots from *Arende* is included in the chapter aiding the theoretical discussion.

Chapter Five offers a summary of the entire study. Chapter Five also suggests as to the contributions the study has made as well as the limitations of the study and makes suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER TWO:

EXPLORING IDENTITY AS A BASIS FOR THE STUDY OF MASCULINITY

2.1 Introduction

The discussion in the chapter which follows is six-fold. Firstly, the question of what identity is and what its fundamental characteristics comprise is briefly explored, focusing mostly on the work of Roy F Baumeister (1986). Secondly, in adding to this, the question of why understanding identity is important to *Arende* and the social context of its setting and its audience is explored. Moving on, a specific model of identity developed by Baumeister (1986) is discussed, while at the same time implementing the social contextual features associated with the television series *Arende* in the Baumeister model. This includes identifying scenes, characters and *mise-en-scène* in the episodes of the first season from which one can construct an idea of the socio-cultural identity portrayed in *Arende*. Finally a comparison with existing theory on the social and cultural contexts of the Afrikaners and British at the time depicted in *Arende* is integrated alongside social contextual features.

The concept of identity in academic theoretical discourse is an elusive one. Roger Brubaker and Frederick Cooper (2000:1, 8) relate the dilemma as follows: “‘Identity’ [...] tends to mean too much (when understood in strong sense), too little (when understood in a weak sense), or nothing at all (because of its sheer ambiguity).” Bhowon and Tseung-Wong (2004:86) reason that the term identity is overused, yet is not understood clearly.

However, in the social sciences the ‘problem’ known as identity remains an important one. Grodin and Lindlof (1996:3) remind us that identity is critical in explaining human behaviour. It is not the aim of this study to dwell too long on identity or even the unfixed notion of identity. Rather, this study uses identity as foundation for a discussion on masculinity as well as

masculinity's role in any society as a functioning characteristic of identity. The study narrows down to the male identities of the Afrikaners and the British during the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries and situates both masculinities in their respective identities. The investigation and exploration of identity, although not explicitly mentioned later on, runs through most aspects of this study. The basis of the underlying identity thread lies in the socio-cultural context of *Arende*—which is predominately war and exile, but also involves civilian issues around the families and communities of the main characters. Identity in this study thus includes ethnic, social, cultural and self-identity (Erasmus 2005:242).

The main question that is likely to arise from choosing Baumeister's (1986) model for application is probably, why a structuralist approach is applied in a post-structuralist, post-modern world? One of the reasons for using structuralism and specifically semiotic structuralism in determining identity in the first season of *Arende* lies in the historical nature of the text and the time in South African history during which *Arende* was screened (1989). Concurrently one has to consider aspects of both essentialism and constructionism which the approach generates, and also explain why both are adhered to selectively in the study. But let us first consider Umberto Eco's (1976:12) discussion of cultural codes:

Semiotic research finally shifts its attention to phenomena which it would be difficult to term sign systems in a strict sense, nor even communicative systems, but which are rather behaviour and value systems. I refer to systems of etiquette, hierarchies, [...] and finally the typology of cultures, which study the codes which define a given cultural model; finally models of social organisation such as family systems or the organised communicative network of more advanced groups and societies.

Eco's argument perhaps supports the joint use of both essentialism, in the form of semiotic structuralism and constructionism, by pointing to the non-

semiotic nature of cultural codes (which is the basis of investigation in a large part of the *Arende* text), and in this case the 'constructionistic' opposite. Eco's text as a whole has a dual purpose because it will act as a cautionary principle should the study dwell off from its original stated intention. However, Eco (1976:22) warns of the risk of idealism in researching culture, so that culture should only "... be studied as a semiotic phenomenon "... [and] ... that all aspects of culture can be studied as contents of semiotic activity." Eco (1976:22) suggests that rather culture should be studied as a communicative characteristic of signification systems. Therefore, it could be said that while the underlying analysis of *Arende* is based on semiotic analysis, the theories followed in achieving this are not necessarily semiotic or even essentialist in nature. Eco (1976:27) appears to support this when he states: "... to reduce the whole of culture to semiotics does not mean that one has to reduce the whole of the material life to pure mental events." This moves to the epistemological boundary of semiotics suggested by Eco (1976:28) when he says that a semiotic approach should always question the text under analysis and the category under which it falls. One must be able to discern between the abstract nature of one text and that of another, while also realising the social phenomena of both that are subject to change and restructuring.

Arende is a historical text, which plays off long before structuralism was conceived. This on its own does not mean, however, that a structuralist approach has to be used in a textual analysis of the television series. Nonetheless, a structuralist approach, especially with a historical text like *Arende* provides a platform for speculative constructionist analysis. One reason why a structuralist approach to identity in *Arende* is used is the consideration of the time during which it was produced and broadcast. Although the late 1980s saw apartheid drawing its last breaths, Afrikaner Nationalism and its various manifestations in South African society was still very active. It could be said the various original Afrikaner Nationalistic myths are characterised by an essentialist basis, which allows structuralism to be actively applied. However, in the time that *Arende* was screened, the validity of many of these original myths were being

challenged and reinterpreted, which allows for a constructionist approach. One has to consider both essentialist and constructionist theories because *Arende* is a text dominated by Afrikaner textual undertones (as the study will later show), or at least a text dealing with Afrikaner struggle amidst overwhelming odds. This struggle is initiated both in the plot of the text and perhaps in the society of the audience of the text. The study will hopefully provide plausible arguments for both. Terence Hawkes (1997:125), in his discussion on the work of Julia Kristeva, and specifically her comment that social practice is characterised by the major constraint of signification, mentions that through transmission of messages various acts of gesture, posture, clothing, hairstyle, accent and social context are performed too. This can still be considered structuralist theory. However, in this study a constructivist dimension is added to pure structuralism in the form of semiotics, by trying to consider various explanations in theory of acts of gesture, posture, clothing, hairstyle, accent and social context.

It could be said that the maintenance of Afrikaner Nationalism during apartheid was carried out in ways that would agree with Roland Barthes' original arguments on myth, ideology and social meanings (Bignell 1997:21-28), especially with regard to original Afrikaner Nationalistic myths.¹ This may be seen as the first instance of structuralism and the argument for its partial use in the study.

Yet in the same fold of argument, *Arende* could perhaps also be seen as a reflective text, particularly if one considers the time during which it was screened. This time in South Africa was characterised by change—the end of hostilities in the Border War, the unbanning of the liberation organisations (ANC, PAC and South African Communist Party), a

1 It is a difficult task to determine exactly what can be considered Afrikaner Nationalistic myths. According to Andre du Toit (1983:920) any of the racist ideologies associated with apartheid is based on the Afrikaner Nationalist myth of being a 'chosen people' who brought Calvinism to South Africa. Sam Nolutshunga (1971:24) reasons that these myths include republicanism, the Afrikaans language and severance from British influence and/or control.

referendum leading to negotiations between white (Afrikaner) South Africa and the liberation organisations, and unrest in black townships. In this context, *Arende* as possible reflective text takes form. One may presume that change in a particular society brings about various reactions within the society, including resistance and in the case of this argument, reflection. This allows for constructionist examination, considering a range of arguments and interpretations.

It could be said that reflection not only considers the causes of the current situation brought about by change, but also relies on a historical recollection on the past of the socio-cultural community. One may accept that in a society as rigid as the one that was dominated by Afrikaner Nationalism the arguments of Barthes, mentioned above, on myth, ideology and social meanings come into play again. Recollection would therefore, in the mainstream socio-cultural society at least, be based on entrenched myth, ideology and social meanings. Therefore reflection will include looking back at a 'glorious' interpretation of history. This may be regarded as the second instance of structuralism and the argument for its partial use in the study. *Arende* may be historically interpreted as a form of recollection of socio-cultural perseverance during 'hard times' (in this case the South African War).

Rautenbach (2009:18) relates how Dirk de Villiers, director of *Arende*, made a brief comment to Paul C Venter, author of *Arende*, asking whether the story of Boer prisoners of war on St Helena had ever been screened on television. Little did they know that what would become *Arende*, would be screened during a time of reflection amongst new socio-cultural 'hard times.' *Arende* may have provided a visual example to aid the recollection on a glorious history, even in 'hard times.'

A more current similarity of the recollection of the same socio-cultural historical past may be seen when Paul C Venter recounts to Nel (2009:7) how many pirated copies of the entire series are found in countries that many Afrikaners emigrated to since 1994. One must keep in mind that *Arende* has never been commercially available to the general public. A

post-1994 audience provides an audience with differing social climates, allowing for various interpretations, and allowing interpretation suited to constructionism.

In conclusion, although the dominant ideology in South Africa today is different to the dominant ideology of the 1980s and the dominant ideology at the start of the twentieth century, mainly because of economic and political changes (Bignell 1997:26), one should possibly not consider older texts in terms of more modern schools of thought. Many of these texts are based on essentialist principles but manifested in societies that were socially characterised as constructionist.

Considering the above argument, let us briefly explore the structural tradition. Malcolm Barnard (2001:33) quotes Frederic Jameson (1971) as describing structuralism as the “... unconscious value system or system of representation which orders social life at any of its levels” The context of both the time during which *Arende* plays off and the time during which it was broadcast were times of societal chaos and the challenging of the value system and system of representation that Jameson mentions. Furthermore, Barnard (2001:152) reasons that structuralism is central to semiotics, specifically because of Barthes’ notion of denotation and connotation—which manifest strongly in Afrikaner Nationalism and perhaps in *Arende* as text too. The sign is after all, meaningful and understandable only within structures of difference (Barnard 2001:153), of which *Arende* as text and Afrikaner Nationalism under apartheid are both examples.

Importantly, the study of *Arende* follows a semiotic approach because the structuralist tradition lends itself well to investigating a socio-cultural text like *Arende* in an ordered way, although many disciplines are used to guide the ‘ordered way.’ Perhaps the argument is clinched when Barnard (2001:160) quotes Eagleton (1983) that “structuralism and semiology [semiotics] study systems or structures of signs ... [work] ... ‘synchronically,’ as those structures exist at the particular moment that they are being studied.” However, Eagleton (1983) warns that semiology [semiotics] has at times “... a ‘monolithic structure’ which has little room for

specificities of “concrete social individual.” Semiology is interested ‘not in what people actually said, but in the structure which allowed them to say it.’ This also supports Barthes criticism of fixed interpretations of texts, and demands constructionist consideration. This critique by Barthes is exactly why structuralism is not strictly adhered to in the entirety of this study.

The use of structuralism to conceive of identity in *Arende* can further be explained with the use of identity narratives. Identity narratives, according to Erasmus (2005:235), contain three factors made up of social relationships—the relationship with history, relationship with space and the relationship with culture. This is also similar to De Vos (1975:8-9) regarding ethnicity and social stratification. All these factors are contained in *Arende* and can be explained as follows:

The first identity narrative is the relationship with history, which refers to both a structural definition as well as serving as a social existence parameter. The danger in this lies in the overuse and resulting historical misrepresentation because identity relies on the interpretation of history, rather than on an specific historical record. The study tries to consider possible different portrayals of and reactions to the historical record within *Arende*.

The spatial relationship refers to the site where the survival of the group is constituted. Here sustenance is generated and procreation practiced. Land is kept in possession owing to lineal connection. Certain rules of sociality are practised, and power is enforced in set ways. Spatial relationships also involve the identification with a fixed place as ‘home’ for the individual (and probably the group too), as well as nostalgia for this place when (far) away. This also allows for the exploration of new spaces, using ‘home’ as a point of reference. These factors manifest strongly in *Arende*, particularly in the POW camp.

The relationship with culture involves various choices, which of course is in line with the greater identity narrative, but also specifically in the manifestation of masculine identity in *Arende*. Identity narratives are elaborated on later on in the dissertation.

2.2 'Identity' as social construct

Popular culture is one of the main places where identity is both formed and contested in society. Popular culture is the constant host of the human species' struggle for identity, whether on individual or group level. Yet there is a difference between the common use of the word "identity" in flagships of popular culture like magazines and cinema (perhaps more essentialist), and the word in an academic sense (perhaps more constructionist) (Baumeister 1986:3). Stuart Hall (1996:1) notes a "veritable discursive explosion" in recent years with regard to the concept of identity. Gleason (1983:910) starts his discussion on identity by suggesting that authors who write on identity often do so casually, assuming that the reader will understand what they mean.

However, most readers and authors will perhaps struggle to pin down what members of society understand 'identity' to mean. Identity, simply put according to Baumeister (1986:4), is a definition or interpretation of the self at a point where the individual's identity places him or her in the social context in which he or she exists and operates from day to day. Erasmus (2005:234) declares identity to be largely the interaction between different cultural groups and the meaning of differentiation on issues like a determined history, group and societal origin and shared causes and ideologies. Douglas Kellner (1995:220), following Stuart Hall, stresses in this regard that identities "... are wholly social constructions and cannot 'exist' outside of cultural representations" or cultural comparisons.

In moving somewhat closer to the themes of this study, Bornman (2003:26) discusses the work of Stuart Hall in the field of cultural studies, and mentions that Hall defined cultural identity (which has the above-mentioned characteristics mentioned by Erasmus in the introduction) as having a two-

fold definition. Cultural identity provides durable and lasting cultural myths amidst social changes. Secondly, cultural identity also provides space for an interactive process, in negotiating the group from past to future. This negotiation is later identified and explained both considering *Arende* and the time during which *Arende* was screened, later in this study. Erasmus (2005:234) also reasons that identity is imbedded in a specific culture and value system, and that identity can only be reproduced through culture.

However, Hall (1996:4) warns that identity should not be seen as historically and culturally fixed. Identity uses the social factors of history, language and culture as tools for construction, which also aligns identity within the ethnic group as defined by De Vos (1975:9). Most of this construction happens after the event, thus Hall (1996:4) reasons that “we are what we might become”, not ‘who we are’ nor ‘where we come from”. In supporting the stance that identity is a form of role playing (which is partially described in the above), manifesting in an activity called identification, Gleason (1983:916) includes the association with role theory and reference-group theory. Gleason (1983:916) quotes Foote (1951), defining identification as “appropriation of and commitment to a particular identity or series of identities” (perhaps in a social and cultural context) and the acceptance of the name of the group identified with. Identification labels the process or activity in which persons realise which groups they belong to, which attitudes concerning the group they should form, and which social behaviour is appropriate or not. Social flexibility is a permitted feature of identity, although it is not always acceptable to the dominant forces in identity.

Yet, Erasmus (2005:236) stresses that identity entails choice, involving voluntary associations and relationships. These can change when the original factors that led to the relationship and association change. This can be attributed to the innumerable choices of association and identification individuals are presented with in their lifetime. Bornman (2003:26) discusses the work of Brewer and describes identification as the process of solving two contradictory needs. These are for the individual to

be unique against the need to feel safe and assimilated (in a group). Therefore, as Kellner (1995:220) reasons, identity is both personal and social. Bhowon and Tseung-Wong (2004:86) hold a similar argument when they note that the individual has several identities over and above a unique sense of self, which includes familial, occupational, national, religious and ethnic. Social and cultural context ties in with the analysis of identity, which generally focuses on identity being a concept of unity over time (Baumeister 1986:15). However, the process of definition and interpretation creates problems in certain features of identity, namely self-knowledge, personal potential and fulfilment and, important in the context of this study, the relation (and group functioning) of the individual (male) in society (Baumeister 1986:4). These problems, which are discussed in the next section, also serve to show why understanding identity is important for *Arende* as a text and the social context of its setting and its audience.

2.3 Why does 'identity' matter?

Self-knowledge is often inhibited by self-deception, unconscious motivation, selective perception and memory and interpretative biases (Baumeister 1986:5). This implies an imagining of identity that does not exist, or an over-extension of a true and existing normative identity. Bauman (1996:18) reasons that one thinks of identity, whenever one is not sure where one belongs or which one of the host of identity components (mentioned later in Baumeister's (1986) model one has to adopt to be different from others. One can therefore draw the conclusion that the individual or the group which has comprehended these inhibitors successfully, will probably have an positive sense of their identity, and be considered the average member of the socio-cultural identity.

However, Baumeister (1986:5-6) warns that in the post-modern era, the record of who the individual's ancestors are, matters less than before. This suggests more of a focus in society on the individual as opposed to the group. This is not necessarily helpful to this study, especially if one considers the historical period that *Arende* is set in. One may consider

these constraints in the playing out of masculine rebels in *Arende*. It must be remembered that *Arende* deals with socio-cultural chaos caused by war and exile, a time which many of the instances of confusion over identity manifests. However, this was also the time of masculine identity reinforcement. The constraints on identity may also be useful in considering *Arende* in the light of the main characters Sloet Steenkamp and Captain James Kirwan, and in considering *Arende*'s audience. These considerations follow later in this study. It must also be remembered that *Arende* can be considered a text that could be labelled an identity narrative in the form originally referred to in the introduction of this study (Erasmus 2005:235).

Baumeister (1986:5-6) argues that uniqueness in identity implies the realisation of the individual (in the group) or group's potential, and the fulfilment which this realisation might result in. Uniqueness may also be found in the individual male in the society of *Arende* (discussed below). As Baumeister (1986:7) remarks, potential realisation and the fulfilment it provides often happens in the lower, everyday segments of society, or the challenging of societal norms, like that of the rebel male. Spirituality in society as well as in the life of the individual can also be a vehicle of potential realisation and fulfilment. Whether this is relevant to masculine manifestation in the socio-cultural identity portrayed in *Arende* will only be revealed once the theoretical discourse is applied further on in the study.

Societies (like those in *Arende*) act as benchmarks against which individual or group identities are compared, which is one of the aims of this study. Reflection in definition and organisation has to exist between identities and society for identities to survive. Therefore, according to Baumeister (1986:7), the individual and group's identity includes the relationship upheld with society and vice versa. This manifests in social processes like politics, religion and the judiciary of a society. One could relate this to what Stuart Hall (1996:4) describes as the fragmentation of identity through societal forces, contradicting the traditional ideas of identity being wholly situated in historical discourse, and also moving away from a strict

structuralist tradition to a more constructionist view. Identity negates a conceived origin in a historical past as it is suited best, after these historical events. This ties in well with what Baumeister (1986:5) mentions above, regarding the falsity that could be associated with self-knowledge, or a lack thereof. In the socio-cultural case of *Arende*, there is a disruption in both society and in the identities in society. This is caused by war and exile, and its resulting manifestations—rebels, disrupted families, Cape Afrikaners against their British rulers, *hensoppers* and joiners, pro-Boers, *bittereinders* and neutrals, war widows and pro-British suitors, officers and non-commissioned officers and romantic love across enemy lines.

2.4 A structuralist semiotic approach to identity in a particular society

This study, in discussing identity and implementing the social and cultural context of *Arende* in Baumeister's (1986:18) model of identity follows an analytical approach. This involves unity over time or continuity (as already mentioned above) and differentiation as the first part of the model (Baumeister 1986:15). Following this, the model considers the functional aspects of identity. Thirdly, there are identity components. The application of the model is complete with the model's self-definition process.

Unity in the case of this study refers to unity between the cultural group and the individual and to the individual as member of that specific cultural group. This includes the individual's expression of rebellion against the dominant masculinity characteristic of the cultural group in which he exists, discussed later on (see Chapter 3). Gleason (1983:918) points out that this individual expression stresses that unity over time does not imply homogenous unchanging unity, rather negotiated identity. However, Gleason (1983:918) stresses, by quoting Peter Berger that identity, whether individual or group, is socially bestowed and is also socially sustained in a consistent manner. The components of Baumeister's model must first be discussed.

The differentiation dimension of the model refers to exactly what it says. One could perhaps think of differentiation by expressing it as uniqueness (Bornman 2003:25). The differences in identity between individuals (both sexes) from different cultural groups, (male) individuals in the same cultural group, as well as the differences between cultural groups as a whole are paramount to identification, and are all important to this study (Bornman 2003:26). This links well with Erasmus (2005:234) where he states that differences in identity (and therefore identity itself) are expressed through individual similarity within the framework of the group, for example the speaking of a language unique to the group. As Bornman (2003:26) concludes on her discussion of Brewer, the need for assimilation is fulfilled by the feeling of solidarity (and perhaps not unity?) between members of a particular group, while each member remains unique in his or her own right. Importantly, the feeling of solidarity may be similar to the way Stuart Hall (1996:4) discusses identity, by arguing that it is constructed through difference and othering, and not outside of difference. Therefore the definition of the individual or group depends on what the individual or group is not, as opposed to it being related to unique socio-cultural signifiers. In the case of the language example above, this would mean individuals or groups who cannot speak the language (as mother tongue) are excluded from the socio-cultural group.

In drawing closer to implementing the rest of Baumeister's model, it is important to note his comment on why continuity or unity over time and differentiation are the defining criteria of identity. According to Baumeister (1986:18), an effective identity is one that is well-defined. A well-defined identity is one that satisfies either one or both the criteria of unity over time (continuity) and differentiation. Baumeister's model is used as foundation in sketching identity components in the society depicted in *Arende*, from which the various issues of masculinity are discussed. Subsequently, in discussing the model, various characters in *Arende* are linked to its components. These characters are not necessarily useful in discussing masculinity in *Arende*, but help construct the identity 'landscape' in which masculinity manifests in the first season of the television series.

In opening the discussion on the functional aspects of identity, Baumeister (1986:19) poses two questions, namely what good it is to have an identity, and what the functions of having an identity are. Functionally, a clear sense of identity assists one in making choices. This involves "... the individual's own structure of values and priorities" (Baumeister 1986:19). These couple with finding personal goals that provide direction and purpose in life. Identity further makes relationships with others possible, or impossible if one has a poor sense of identity. This will involve social roles and personal reputation along with interpersonal traits like sarcasm or aggression and designations like soldier or housewife (Baumeister 1986:19). Identity also serves to help the individual or group in hard times by directing the individual or group to their potentialities. This is achieved by having realistic goals and enough personal self-esteem to be able to reach that goal. The individual or group are also not discouraged if the goal should fail, and seek similar goals. The contrary is true of someone with a poor sense of identity (Baumeister 1986:20).

The individual and group potentially have many identity components, which Baumeister (1986:20) calls the three units of self-definition. These involve amongst others, religious choice or lack thereof, welfare, sexual orientation and occupation. An individual can therefore be Buddhist, middle-class, gay and a veterinarian. Yet components can vary in their importance from individual to individual (as major and minor components), although one could argue that they are rather more set in a group context (Baumeister 1986:21), in terms of acceptance or rejection of the individual. Identity components also fulfil the criteria of identity, namely continuity (unity over time) and differentiation. The componential make-up of an individual or group also contains the above-mentioned functional aspects. In the case of *Arende*, the definition of what a man is, and what he is not, are contained in these aspects of identity.

The last component of the model is that of self-definition. This is the process of acquiring identity components. Baumeister (1986:21) classifies them in terms of ease of acquisition or ease in creating identity, with Type

1 being very easy, and Type 5 being the most difficult. Type 1 deals with assigned identity components, commonly elements like lineage or sex. Type 1 identity components are characterised by being passive, stable and unproblematic outside of the social realm. Type 2 identity components deal with single transformation mainly through achievement. These achievements are often well defined, according to Baumeister (1986:22) and include achievements like parenthood, captaining a national sport side or being the chief executive officer of a multi-national company. Criteria are at the norm of the achievement and therefore the self-definition of identity. The achievement is also relevant for the lifetime of the individual or group and it never loses its esteem as self-definition component.

Whereas criteria for achievement in Type 2 self-definition are only characterised by one notable event, Type 3 deals with a hierarchy of well-defined criteria. The military system of rank would be an extremely relevant example in this study, considering the military undertone to the text. Yet Baumeister (1986:23) stresses that Type 3 self-definition can be never ending and is constantly subject to redefinition. There exists no passivity in Type 3 self-definition like in Type 1 and 2. Type 2 and 3 can be combined, for example, with the attaining of a degree. One could conclude from this that Type 3 self-definition is particularly common in developing socio-cultural individuals in groups, and in the group itself.

Baumeister (1986:24-29) typifies Type 4 and Type 5 as being much more difficult to pinpoint, because they are acts of choice and not acts of achievement. This results in several sets of criteria for self-definition of identity, with most being incompatible with each other. However, Type 4 and 5 are told apart by Type 4 being based on optional choice and Type 5 relating to required choice. Type 4 is typified by the continuing of tradition (or in Baumeister's (1986:25) words: "... the context of an overarching value system within the group, like the giving of family first names." Choice is voluntary, as mentioned above, yet the social guidelines will only be rejected for very compelling reasons. Type 5 is the opposite, where once the choice is made it is irreversible within the same socio-cultural society

and/or group. The choosing process often has no clear guidelines but its result is paramount to positive and harmonious self-definition within the group and/or society. Type 5 self-definition requires the individual or group to be introspective, and make a choice based both on cognitive and spiritual abilities. Type 5 entails choosing between various sets of acceptable criteria. This may be where the social character of the hero can be found. A combination of all five types would be in line with Douglas Kellner's (1995:219) definition of subjectivity.

2.5 Conclusion

Having touched on identity briefly, in discussing identity in terms of Baumeister's notion of unity over time, it is important to remember though that identity is not fixed, as argued by supporters of anti-essentialist theory (Kellner 1995:221). This is despite the argument above, that identity entails a shared historical, social and even political background. Constructionism perhaps points out the border between group identity and individual identity, in that the individual is not entirely defined by the group, nor do individuals necessarily share characteristics similar to the groups or themselves. Individual relation of experience may be different from that of the group's (Kellner 1995:231). This is also congruent with the arguments presented above, namely that identity is culturally constructed and determined. As Stuart Hall (1996:3) stresses on identity: "Once secured it does not obliterate difference." Erasmus (2005:234) affirms that identity depends on the position of the individual or group with regard to "social transactions" within groups or across different groups. Therefore, identity definition and description are not fixed either. Identity is practiced through a series of voluntary relationships, which changes in various ways, whether on individual or group level (Erasmus 2005:236). Grossberg (1996:89), reflecting on the work of Stuart Hall (1990,1991,1992), typifies identity as "... always relational and incomplete, in process." One can conclude from this, that these 'voluntary relationships' involve social processes like cultural events, religion, politics and judicial processes, all of which differ on individual level. Gleason (1983:918) underlines this when he quotes

Erving Goffman and Thomas J Scheff (Goffman 1959,1963; Scheff 1970) as equating identity with social relationship. Identity, according to Scheff (1970) (quoted by Gleason 1983), "... refers to the individual's sequence of acts;" while "... relationship refers to the ensemble of acts made up by the sequences of all the parties ... [or groups] ... involved." Grossberg (1996:89) describes identity as temporary and unstable by marking differences.

Kellner (1995:232) quotes both Laclau and Hall in making the point that identity components are only formed as "... unique historically specific temporary stabilization or arbitrary closure of meaning" or "an articulation [of identities] is a connection that can make a unity of two different elements [identity components] under certain conditions." This argument again agrees with the adoption of various different theoretical approaches, although the basis of the study remains the same. The argument for a mixed approach in conducting this study (as discussed above), has perhaps become clearer at the conclusion of this chapter. On the one hand structuralism, as a form of essentialism provides a steady description of identity, while constructionism, as a form of anti-essentialism involves itself in the notion of identity by helping to define and discuss different concepts such as group and individual identity.

Erasmus (2005:233) points at the fickleness of the 'us and them' nature of previous definitions of identity, especially considering the phenomenon of globalisation. However, one could also argue that these 'temporary' closures of meaning are exactly 'temporary' because of the interjection of a social chaos of some kind. This fits the social and cultural context of *Arende*, namely that of predominately war and exile like a glove, and also shows a disruption of "social transactions". However, said social chaos could also be temporary, with 'unity' being restored after a certain period of time.

Further voluntary relationships, which Gleason (1983:910) highlights as part of the ideas around understanding identity, are those of immigration and ethnicity. Ethnicity, as a feature of identity, in turn is a useful vehicle in explaining culture specific masculinity. This is in line with Elirea Bornman's (2003:25) comment that the concept of identity has become the prism through which most other aspects of contemporary life are studied, including masculinity. Grossberg (1996:89-90) reminds us of Kobena Mercer (1992) having called identity "the mantra of race, class and gender." Bornman (2003:26) relates the work of Roland Barthes, where identity is defined as having boundaries. These boundaries can be psychological, cultural, social or political. Relevant to *Arende*, and especially to situating masculinity as a feature of identity, is that these boundaries include some members in the social and cultural group, and exclude others. This is important in considering masculine rebels in *Arende*. Barthes (in Bornman 2003:26-27) also stresses the changing nature of identity—owing to changing physical, social, cultural, economic and political environments.

The aim of this chapter was to create an identity platform for the main discussion of masculinity that is to follow. As a concluding and summarising remark for the discussion on identity, we can reflect on Bornman (2003:27) quoting Rouse (1995):

The discourse of identity has thus become the primary medium for not only understanding and explaining the relationship between the personal (subjective) and the social, but also for discourses on the relationships between the individual and the group, the cultural and the political, as well as the group and the state.

CHAPTER THREE:

A BRIEF EXPLORATION OF WESTERN MASCULINITY AND ITS REPRESENTATION AS AFRIKANER AND BRITISH MASCULINITY IN *ARENDE*

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter created a platform for the investigation of identity. This chapter discusses the main focus of the study, namely masculinity, and addresses several questions pertaining to the concept of masculinity. Firstly, it briefly considers Western masculinity as dominant masculine discourse. Then the chapter shows how the previous chapter's analysis of identity provides a platform from which to consider Afrikaner and British masculinity in *Arende*.

Thereafter the chapter attempts to give a historical description of both Afrikaner and British masculinity of the time before, during and after the South African War (1899-1902), within the parameters of Kjertstin Andersson's (2008:139) opinion that "[m]en are affected by violence in different ways, as perpetrators and victims of violence, or as both." In giving a historical masculine description the focus falls on a number of specific elements. Firstly, the model male of both groups will be considered, focusing specifically on the model male of the above-mentioned period and not necessarily on just the male within the context of the War. Secondly, the military tradition amongst males from both groups from the stated period is described. This is especially important considering the military context of *Arende*, and the masculine interaction between the two groups. Next, the masculine rebels or outcasts from both groups are considered, as well as masculine social issues of the time, for example the non-enlistment of some Afrikaners in the South African War. Again, the entire period will be considered although more emphasis will be placed on the time of the War because social rebellion is more pertinent in a time of conflict.

Lastly, relations with women within the context of British and Afrikaner masculinity are considered. This element is considered from multiple perspectives, including the social position of women in the particular society, the influence of the dominant masculinity on the lives of women (this is specifically relevant to *Arende*), and the role of binary opposites in the relations between the male and female of both societies, especially in a time of conflict.

With the completion of the historical description of both Afrikaner and British masculinity, the chapter moves on to the application of the content of the historical description to *Arende*, aided at times by the general introduction to masculinity that follows below. Baumeister's model (1986) of identity and its application to *Arende*, which was put forward in the previous chapter, is also considered.

3.2 From identity to gender to masculinity

In the previous chapter regarding identity, the notion that identity is not fixed was stressed, even though the study tries to narrow down the identity landscapes of the first season of *Arende* using Baumeister's (1986) model. It was also mentioned that despite the unstable nature of identity, a broad definition of identity entails shared political, social and historical context. In the same light, and perhaps more in line with anti-essentialist theory, there exists a distinct border between individual and group identity, despite the fact that the individual belongs to the group and the group is defined by the collection of its individuals. Group and individual identity implies an interpretation of the world we live in (Connell 2009:83). Gender, on the other hand, revolves around identity, interaction and institution, specifically the production of difference and discrimination through difference (Kimmel 2008:112). Connell (2009:iv) considers gender as key to the functioning of the individual in the world by which he or she is surrounded. It is an arena in which we face difficult practical issues about justice, identity and even survival. Gender is a source of identity,

pleasure and recognition, but also of injustices and harm because of its social negotiation. Connell (1987:x) also argues that “[t]he basis of the ... [gender] ... synthesis, the logical starting point, is the nature of social reality itself.” Social reality is created by individuals and their group/s. Identity and gender, and in the case of this study specifically masculinity ties in with each other in that the “... the cultural ideal (or ideals) of masculinity need not correspond at all closely to the actual personalities of the majority of men... [within the group]” (Connell 1987:184). This is also one of the essential principles of hegemonic masculinity, which will be discussed later as part of this general introduction to masculinity.

Identity is culturally constructed and determined, or to quote Stuart Hall (1996:3), “once secured it does not obliterate [individual or masculine] difference.” Erasmus (2005:234) calls the intersection between individual and group identity “social transactions”, or voluntary relationships. A similar argument is upheld by Kellner (1995:232) in referring to Laclau and Hall who reason that the components in identity that are mentioned above are historically specific and may only be socially beneficial for a certain length of time. In the context of the period which *Arende* portrays, one can argue that the societal chaos of war and exile creates a unique “social transaction” applicable for a limited time, which challenges existing, longer running ‘peace time’ “social transactions.” One of these war time “social transactions” is a stronger sense of ethnicity, not necessarily on strict racial terms but more on those of either pro-Boer or pro-British. This in turn provides a platform from which to describe culture-specific masculinity in *Arende*. The investigation into culture specific masculinity is done from the identity platform that was set out in the previous chapter because masculinity is a functioning characteristic of identity and “... cannot ‘exist’ outside of cultural representation” (Kellner 1995:220 quoting Stuart Hall). While the above-mentioned approach to masculinity still has strong essentialist traits, it also moves towards a social constructionist approach by referring less to biological differences and more to gender (or masculinity in this case) performance (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004:41 quoting Judith Butler 1990,1999).

The debate regarding the concept of masculinity has, over the last 150 years, certainly not been one-dimensional in nature. In earlier times (from about the start of the twentieth century) masculinity had a strong sense of mainstream androcentrism (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004:1), while recently the debate around masculinity has moved more to male experience in a more gender equal society after second-wave feminism of the 1960s.

Gutmann (1997:386) puts forward the anthropological approach to masculinity which comprises four parts, sometimes used individually and sometimes in conjunction. The first concept entails anything men think and do. The second concept deals with anything men think and do to be men. The third proposes that some men are “more manly” than other. The third deals with male-female binary opposites in that anything that men are, women are not.

Epstein (1998:49) argues, for instance, that male identity or the way men “do man” is not fixed. Masculinity is affected by social position, relationships with the state, life histories of individual men and as Epstein (1998:49) continues, “... common sense or oppositional notions of what men should be like,” an argument also upheld by Morrell (1998:607) when he speaks of a society having “... many masculinities.” Morrell (1998:607) also reasons that masculinity is not natural but a system of “... collective gender identity.” Masculinity has thus proved not to comply with a system of systematic theorisation (Gutmann 1997:387).

However, for the purpose of this chapter it is important to get a general idea of the characteristics of what Western masculinity has entailed during the last 150 years, without considering much criticism of the concept through this period. This is in line with the argument that Epstein (1998:49) puts forward that masculinity is formed through unique histories of unique men and the societies in which they function. This may be translated into different masculinities becoming “... relevant, common, or even possible, in different historical times, in different places, and in different political situations” (Epstein 1998:49). One can also suggest that certain masculinities may even reappear. After completing

the above mentioned discussion, the focus shifts to the concept of (Western) masculinity during the period before, during and after the South African War, to serve as platform for giving a historical account of Afrikaner and British masculinity, which will then be applied to *Arende*.

3.3 The key concepts of dominant Western masculinity and their relevance for *Arende*

What does it mean to be a Western man? There are many sources, perspectives, opinions, debates and social events from which this question can be considered, as anthropologists have discovered (Kimmel 2008:55). Jack Khan (2009:47) stresses the difficulty in getting an acceptable and encompassing definition of masculinity. Connell (1987:66) states that “[i]n our ... [Western] ... culture the reproductive dichotomy is assumed to be the absolute basis of gender and sexuality in everyday life.” Masculinity is certainly not just a biological issue. It relates to so much more than just the male as physical being and refers to relations of gender, economy, culture and politics. Pilcher and Whelehan (2004: 82) describe masculinity as a “... set of social practices and cultural representations associated with being a man.” Kahn (2009:2) defines masculinity as “... the complex cognitive, behavioural, emotional, expressive, psychosocial and socio-cultural experience of identifying with being a male.”

Another point that is relevant throughout the history of masculinity is that has been positioned as the dominant of the two genders, acting specifically in a system of hierarchy dictated by binary opposites, with the masculine being positive and the feminine negative (Cranny-Francis et al 2003:1-2). When masculine and feminine are measured against each other, male domination creates and exaggerates difference (Kimmel 2008:11). It is from this hierarchal precondition that male and female roles are also assigned. It must, however, be kept in mind that these roles differ from culture to culture. In the case of *Arende*, this difference is generally minute; two men holding hands would be considered feminine in both Afrikaner and British societies and their respective gender

systems (Cranny-Francis et al 2003:3). Yet there are still variations in masculinity in the two cultures, although probably not as much as in two entirely different cultures (Kimmel 2008:101).

Masculinity also varies according to particular context (Kimmel 2008:103; Gutmann 1997:390). It is, however, important to remember that masculinity is a hypothetical construct in that it has no measurable or directly observable basis and is made up of "... a cluster of human experiences that may include behaviours, thoughts or emotions" (Kahn 2009:3). Sander Gilman (1995:176) quotes George Mosse (1985:17) in describing that the "idealisation of masculinity" is the foundation of the nation and society. A failure to be 'masculine' is seen as pathological. This ties in well with *Arende* in the sense that the text deals firstly with a struggle for nation and the domination of one nation over another, which leads to a struggle of masculinity itself and eventually a struggle for society itself (because society is controlled by males). In addition to this, Mansfield (1998:118) reminds us that masculinity is best demonstrated in war, and the defence of one's territory or country.

Masculinity as gender concept is made up of many 'sub-' concepts, which aid the social science researcher in better understanding of the concept itself. Knowledge of these 'sub'-concepts is also very helpful in understanding masculinity in the maze of different cultures and social contexts. Gutmann (1997:387) lists these 'sub'- concepts as amongst others, national character, division of labour, kinship and friendship ties, the body and control over the body. The concepts which are discussed below are all relevant to Afrikaner and British masculinity in *Arende*, and are discussed in no particular order.

3.3.1 Patriarchy

Highly relevant to masculinity is the notion of patriarchy. Kahn (2009:23) defines patriarchy as a social system in which the social structure is ruled by men. The patriarch in society has top social powers within the group and acts as beacon for younger men, women and children. Patriarchy also involves male domination in society, which according to Cranny-Francis et al (2003:14), is

largely the implied meaning when the term is used today. Both connotations of the term are strongly prevalent in *Arende*. It must, however, be kept in mind that patriarchy has developed into a multi-factor concept, and in its application in *Arende* as part of the study on masculinity, it will be explicitly stated which parts of the concept of patriarchy are referred to (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004:93-94). Veronica Beechey (1979:66), for example, states that feminists of various feministic persuasions have used patriarchy to explain feelings of oppression and subordination and to formulate theory. So, as another example, hegemonic masculinity, which is discussed further on in this chapter is a product of patriarchy. The anthropological interpretation of patriarchy, described as a kinship system where the oldest male is dominant with "... invested authority over other men and over women" (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004: 94), is perhaps most suited for application to *Arende*. It is however, important to realise that for the sake of this study, the basic definition of patriarchy is upheld, with little if any reference to ideological interpretations of patriarchy, as in for example Marxist feminism.

Walby (1986) is quoted by Dunphy (2000:29) when he stresses that the notion of patriarchy is wholly dependent on social structure, like the kinship system referred to above. Kimmel (2008:15) agrees with this stressing the evolution of societal makeup to emphasise male and female difference as well as male domination. Practically, this translates to old men in authority, younger men as subservient and women excluded. Older men supervise younger men throughout their lives, which may lead to public humiliation and deprivation, leading to the expression of excessive masculine display towards opponents viewed as weaker within the social system. Women hold no positions of power and authority, except if it supports individual men or the ruling system in general. This description is also very suited for application to *Arende*, especially considering the concept of the *volksmoeder* and the Victorian Angel of the house (See 3.5.4).

Patriarchy is also a form of "institution" (Cranny-Francis et al 1987:122-123) which is described as a concept in more detail below. Patriarchy is also closely

associated with the concept of male hegemony which relates to “... widespread domination of men in the social, economic and cultural spheres” (Cranny-Francis et al 2003:14-17). A similar view is supported by Connell (1987:183) when he states that patriarchy is a “... global subordination of women to men that provides an essential basis for differentiation.” Patriarchy finds an operational foothold within the concept of male hegemony, or male hegemony may even be born out of patriarchy. If hegemony “... involves the persuasion of the greater part of the population,” then patriarchy is perhaps the enforcing device of hegemonic masculinity, especially through the voice of popular culture, namely the media (Donaldson 1993:645). One may therefore conclude that hegemonic masculinity, for example, is a functioning agent of patriarchy. Dominant masculinity can thus be described as the idealised socially expected ways of being a male, which implies competition, wealth, aggressiveness, and heterosexuality as the main components (Khan 2009:32).

3.3.2 *The female body and masculine control*

Masculinity may also imply control, and specifically control of the female body, control of culture and the reasoning behind difference, amongst other things. Control through the body implies active participation in social process (Connell 2009:57). This also leads one to the masculine notion of the social construction of the body, specifically then the construction of social and cultural practices including male and female sex roles learnt by boys and girls from a young age (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004:6-9).

Connell (1987:47) argues that gender is not a predetermined state, but rather a condition constantly in a state of social negotiation. There is thus a distinct (and observable) difference between the person and the social position he/she occupies. Distinct actions and role behaviours are assigned to given positions, which vary depending on whether the masculine or feminine is involved. Connell (1987:47) continues by stating that role positions determine which actions are appropriate to a given social position, that there are counter-positions which keep positions intact through social interaction, and lastly that positions are enforced through social rewards, punishments, and positive and

negative reinforcements. Epstein (1998:52) affirms this in quoting Judith Butler (1990), regarding gender as "... inscribed on the body through continual performance." This "performance" can also be noted with social labelling (see 3.3).

Sex roles are a very appropriate point of connection to *Arende* as a masculine text and to the discussion on identity from the previous chapter. If one is to briefly comment on the notion of sex roles it could be said that the social orientation with regard to sex roles often refers directly back to the condition of the male and/or female biological body. Kimmel (2008:57) ascertains this when he asks whether labour division has ever not been decided on biologically based imperatives. Pertinent examples of this exist in *Arende*. The concept of 'body' also ties in well with both the discussions of identity and masculinity in this study because it is also a "variable boundary" (Judith Butler (1990) quoted by Pilcher & Whelehan 2004:8).

3.3.3 Social labelling, gender order and 'women watching'

A strong sense of social labelling makes up part of the discussion regarding what masculinity is. This is done in a variety of ways, through dress, through visual space as well as through social interaction. It could be said that binary opposites play a pertinent role here, because a social label from the perspective of masculinity that is not masculine is automatically feminine and is regarded as inferior to the masculine (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004:59). As much as women are what they are because of the way they are thought to be, so too are men (Oakley 1985:1). Hand in hand with this goes the concept of gender order which provides "... a patterned system of ideological and material practices" performed by individual males and females (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004:61). Coupled with social labelling one can include particular ways of seeing. John Berger ([1972] 2008:41) famously postulated that:

Men act and women appear. Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at. This determines not only most relations between men and women but also the

relation of women to themselves. The survey of woman herself is male: the surveyed female. Thus she turns herself into an object—and most particularly an object of vision, a sight.

This 'women watching' is also very apparent in *Arende* and it could be provisionally noted that scopophilia is a defining feature of both Afrikaner and British masculinities in the first season.

3.3.4 The family unit, division of labour and public and private space

The concept of masculinity is also involved in the family unit and specifically the domestic division of labour. Although this order of power in the house is changing in current Westernised society, the social make-up at the start of the twentieth century is explained here. The man is regarded as the head of the household and also dictates responsibility for domestic labour based on his position. Finances for household living have traditionally been the sole responsibility of the male. Housework and caring have traditionally been the responsibility of the female although this is perhaps a grey area, especially in *Arende* (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004:30-31). Cranny-Francis et al (2003:13) discuss the notion of institution, which they call "... a set of relationships and/or practices which are expressions of mainstream social beliefs and values." These include family, practices, parliamentary democracy, the legal system and general education. Practically "institution" generally relates to certain fixed social rules, governed by the patriarchal Western male of each institution. These systems are found in *Arende* and form part of the investigation into the representation of masculinity in the first season.

One can also relate the notion of experience here and specifically masculine experience. Briefly defined, experience can be defined as the things the individual or group does in the encounters with other human beings, that is to say experience has to do with relationships (Cranny-Francis et al 2003:36). We can therefore perhaps speak of the masculine experience, meaning the relationship men have with other men, and women and children. Both the terms

“institutions” and “experience” have strong similarities to masculinity as hypothetical construct.

Closely aligned to the notion of the gendered family unit is the distinction between public/private. Public and private portrays social relations in separate realms, namely that of public and private. Public is associated with males and the activities they engage in, in the wider society, under the overall jurisdiction of the state. The private is a realm more associated with the domesticated female and largely free from state control, although dominated by the individual patriarchal male (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004:124-125).

3.3.5 Hegemonic masculinity

Jack Khan (2009:30-33) discusses Raewyn Connell’s notion of hegemonic masculinity and how it acts as a system theory. The way Connell (2009:x) and Kimmel (2008:1) describe gender order, in that men are privileged and women are disadvantaged, certainly complies with the idea of a system, as explained below. Hegemonic masculinity may be considered an offshoot of patriarchy. Hegemonic masculinity, whether as its functioning outline of system theory or its discussion of masculinity is very suitable in aiding the discussion of *Arende*, and will be referred to both in constructing the historical description of British and Afrikaner masculinity and showing how it manifests in *Arende*. It is especially helpful in determining how masculinity is negotiated in strong patriarchal cultures such as those portrayed in *Arende*. The main function of hegemonic masculinity as system theory is to show how patriarchy and male privilege in a particular society work hand in hand, and how men make sense of masculinity in different social contexts. As may be gathered above, hegemonic masculinity involves a hierarchy of masculinities involving power and difference (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005:831). Donaldson (1993:643) opens his discussion on hegemonic masculinity by referring to it as “... the relationship of gender systems to the autonomy of the gender order.” Several masculinities may therefore exist in a particular society, while one dominates the society and regulates the remaining masculinities. The dominant masculinity is enacted by only a few men, men who received benefits of patriarchy by being complicit and

not forceful in their masculinity. These men are indirectly supported by compliant heterosexual women (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005:832)

Since the first uses of the term in the 1980's, hegemonic masculinity has been used widely in academic discourse, while also being criticised (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005:829). From its inception to the current day, hegemonic masculinity grew from a conceptual model with a narrow empirical base, to a commonly used framework for discourse on men and masculinities (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005:835). Initial sources which aided in the initial formulation of hegemonic masculinity were based on feminist critiques of patriarchy and debates relating to men transforming patriarchy. As with this study, most of the initial formulations concentrated on white men. The original conception of hegemonic masculinity was also still closely theoretically aligned to the original Gramscian notion of hegemony involving structural change through entire classes. To quote Connell & Messerschmidt (2005:832) "...was understood as the pattern of practice (i.e., things done, not just a set of role expectations or an identity) that allowed men's dominance over women to continue.

According to Connell & Messerschmidt (2005:838), both realist and poststructuralist theory have argued that masculinity and therefore hegemonic masculinity is flawed because of its blurred nature, or at least that masculinity cannot be precisely defined. However, the application of hegemonic masculinity has, since its conception, seen many instances of inconsistency and a uniform definition of masculinity. Connell & Messerschmidt (2005:838) continue by arguing that hegemonic masculinities may be constructed in theory, but does not find any practical correspondence in the lives of actual men. Furthermore, hegemonic masculinity has in the past often been associated with negative characteristics of men (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005:840-841). Hegemonic masculinity does include positive traits like bringing home a wage

A brief explanation of system theory is required as well as how it operates in hegemonic masculinity. A system comprises individual parts which work together for a common goal. In order for a system to remain stable other parts

may react to compensate for a damaged part. Change is generally resisted because it affects the reaching of the common goal. Hegemonic masculinity asserts that people will always act in a social group to enforce male privilege or an idealised version thereof, even to their own detriment, in the case of subservient masculinities in a given society. Sharon Bird (1996:121) affirms this system theory with a strong Freudian undertone, when she mentions that even in a small group, men keep to the dominant hegemony in the group. In other words, the men stick with the homosociality of the group. Homosociality can be defined as the non-sexual attractions held by men for other men, within the context of the group. Homosociality allows for the maintenance of hegemonic masculine identities. Within the context of *Arende* one may almost regard this as a 'longing' to be like the dominant men of the dominant masculinity; this refers to the second concept of homosociality. There are three key concepts of homosociality and how it functions as tool of hegemony. Firstly, there is the concept of emotional detachment, most prominently where young men detach themselves from their mothers and develop gender identities different to their mothers. Second is competitiveness through relating to but also differentiating from other men. Lastly, there is the sexual objectification of women, constructed through relationships with other men in which individuality is defined and also regarded as better than the individuality of the female. It must however, be made clear that the dominance of men and the subordination through hegemonic masculinity involves a historical process not a self-reproducing system which one may associate with systems theory (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005:844).

Through hegemonic masculinity men subordinate women through social institutionalization (external hegemony) and marginalise men through social ascendancy of one group of men over another (internal masculinity) (Kahn 2009:31; Connell & Messerschmidt 2005:835). Yet, in the context of revisionist thought on hegemonic masculinity one must remember that subordinate masculinities influence hegemonic masculinity through its tension towards it. If we explain hegemonic masculinity from the perspective of systems theory we can say that if there is deviation from the dominant masculinity by one element

in its make-up, other elements will compensate for this to return the masculinity to its harmonious state (Khan 2009:30-31). Khan (2009:31-32) illustrates this when he states the following: “Men comply in order for the system of patriarchy to continue with both advantages to men as a group and dire consequences to its individual members.” One can immediately discern the similarities in this statement to many of the definitions of identity provided earlier in the study. It is, however, important to stress Epstein’s (1998:50) point when she refers to Cornwall and Lindisfarne (1994) in saying that even hegemonic masculinity is not static, despite the fact that it is dominant. The concept of hegemonic masculinity in the guise of a system theory will be highlighted actively in *Arende*, because the text acts as a system of social and communicative devices.

In continuing the discussion of hegemonic masculinity, it must be kept in mind that hegemonic masculinity or male hegemony is generally not enforced by absolute force or dominance, but rather within a balance of forces, a state of play. Hegemonic masculinity deals with what sustains men’s power, and is not an expression of how powerful they are (Connell 1987:184-185). However, Donaldson (1993:645) stresses that heterosexuality and homophobia are essential to hegemonic masculinity and indeed these two states of being dictates hegemony’s oppressiveness. If one considers the infinitive form of the adjective “oppressive,” namely “to oppress,” the connection to violence is not inadmissible. This is particularly true because one of the fundamental elements of hegemonic masculinity is that women exist as potential sexual objects for men, which of course immediately brings into play the violence of rape. This is not just true of women but even applies to subordinate men, although hierarchally they hold a higher position than women.

Donaldson (1993:645) continues by relating that this sexual objection provides men with validation, and in turn creates a field of competition where men compete against each other for a particular woman, even to the point where women may feel oppressed if they are not competed for. In the same light, in conforming to hegemonic masculinity, heterosexual men may become homophobic to the other, as a means to secure their own inferiority complexes

and in complying with the social norm (Donaldson 1997:648). These hegemonic 'causes' also bring into place Andersson's (2008:139) statement that "[y]oung men are the most frequent perpetrators of physical violence and at the same time they are most at risk of being victims of violence." Instances of the above description can be found in *Arende* (see Chapter 4).

Finally, it must be made clear that the theoretical application of hegemonic masculinity to *Arende* tends to relate more to original theoretical conception than the revised modern day version. This is in part done due to the fact that *Arende* is a text centred almost exclusively on the battle between white masculinities in a historical context. Revisionist thought on hegemonic masculinity is therefore not ignored as irrelevant, but rather considered to mostly fall outside the narrative scope of the historical representations in *Arende* because it deals with elements of masculinities which were hegemonic in Britain and the two former Boer Republics of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. South Africa's very specific history influences the theoretical application of hegemonic masculinity, especially with patriarchal systems involving not just gender but also race. This situation allows for a theoretical application which caters for both historical and contemporary perspectives (Morrell, Jewkes & Lindegger 2012:21-22, 24).

3.3.6 The male hero

Another key concept in masculinity and especially pertinent to a discussion of *Arende*, is that of the hero. The hero is not an intentional act but a social construction, reflecting certain ideologies of the ruling social class (Rankin & Eagly 2008:414). This perspective is shared by Zimbardo (2010:25) when he states that "[h]eroism is a social concept, and—like any social concept—it can be explained, taught, and modelled through education and practice." Although this study has so far concentrated on Western masculinity, it appears as if the concept of the hero is a more universal masculine device. Schwartz (1969:82) comments that heroes exist in every society and are as old as the earliest records that were kept. Joseph Campbell (2004:29) describes that all heroes go

through a rites of passage, which consists of the phases of separation, initiation and return.

John Lash (1995:5) mentions that through the ages the concept of the hero has consistently appeared in texts of popular culture. The hero is in his own eyes and in the eyes of the world, defined by how he behaves and what he believes. In the same light, Louise Ryan (2000:74) argues that the tales of the masculine hero or villain are often formed with reference to women. The study of the (male) hero provides an excellent platform from which to evaluate cultural heritage (Schwartz 1969:82). Generally, heroes adhere to the basic definition of what it means to be a man, namely being physically tough, courageous and composed irrespective of the situation he faces (Andersson 2008:142). The hero's own beliefs determines whether or not he is a hero, because it is on this that society decides whether or not he is a hero in character and not just in heroic acts. The hero also always knows right from wrong, and holds the moral high ground (Lash 1995:2; McCartney 2011:44). The status of hero is often ascribed to men of little power who are elevated by the powerless masses, who are unable to claim power for themselves. Depending on the situation this may be to the detriment of the chosen hero male and the masses themselves (Lash 1995:29; Campbell 2004:29). This elevation to power is noticeable in *Arende*, especially from the perspective of the Afrikaners (both male and female).

The man as hero is a male individual who embodies more than his average masculine counterpart does. Yet the masculine is also formed by the hero myth (Lash 1995:27). As Lash (1995:5) relates, the male hero has "... a consistent capacity for action that surpasses the norm of man or woman." Yet the hero is nevertheless still human and never superhuman, on both moral, physical and identity levels, and faces personal crisis on these levels, often being compelled to redefine his quest. The hero is also defined by how he acts in facing death (Lash 1995:84). As Helen McCartney (2011:43) states, this death facing act was often as a soldier, because "[h]eroism has long been the province of the military." It is here where, in the context of *Arende*, it is important to keep in mind the hero status of the soldier, considered to represent "...refined and

distilled qualities of masculinity: a purified ideal, presenting only the essential characteristics of manhood” (Andersson 2008:143). The hero has a sense of excellence that makes him an example for the society and indeed the greater humanity in which he lives (Lash 1995:5). Schwartz (1969:82-83) concludes that the hero “... incorporates into the context of his existence the ethos of an age and thereby becomes its symbolic embodiment.” The hero rises above society with a vision for the future, and returns to his society to convey the message behind his heroism to his society. He leaves his ordinary world, encounters an obstacle which has to be overcome and then returns to his ordinary world, but as a changed being (Schwartz 1969:82-83).

Male virility is essential to the image of the hero. In the same breath, the hero will mostly be male, because the male is much more exposed to social roles requiring heroism than the female (Rankin & Eagly 2008:415). The male hero incorporates masculinity at its best but also possesses the worst traits masculinity has to offer because he remains the typical male. Violence figures strongly in the makeup of the hero, although one can argue that the violence he employs is always justified and dictated by the situation which he has to negotiate. This links to the way in which Mansfield (1998:118-119) uses the term “manly men.” Manly men suffer without complaint. They are, however, not humble and although championing a cause, they do not let themselves be insulted. They also make assertions, and make good on them, or nobly fail. According to Connell (2009: 4), violence is a disproportionately male attribute owing to the typical Western male upbringing based on physical events like contact sport such as rugby and football, which celebrate physical contact. Males who do not make it as professional sport stars, are the major recruits for the military, police and other law enforcement careers. However, aggression exhibited by the hero is employed in the cause to help others and in protection from danger (Lash 1995:17). Field (1933:370-372) reasons that in modern times the hero can only be defined in war because on the battlefield the hero can show his distinguishing qualities of courage, loyalty, generosity, self-sacrifice and nobility.

Another important trait of the hero is that he does not pursue that is lost, but rather protects and preserves that which is threatened (Lash 1995:6). This is also a prominent undertone in the *Arende* text, especially considering that conflict is the catalyst of the entire series. The heroic pursuit has the defence of honour as inherent principle, so retaliation takes place in defence of honour, on an autonomous but not an authoritative basis (Lash 1995:6). The honour mentioned in this explanation will refer directly to the social condition of the hero himself, within the group and culture within which he functions.

The hero is very adaptive and can change to fit with his surroundings and his socio-cultural conditions. In line with the hero as everyday human being the hero can, however, also be overwhelmed by his conditions, although he always has the ability to recover. This also fits with the psychological description of the hero which Zimbardo (2010:25) gives, namely that “[...] a hero is someone who possesses and displays certain heroic attributes such as integrity, compassion, and moral courage, heightened by an understanding of the power of situational forces, an enhanced social awareness, and an abiding commitment to social action.”

In the light of the above discussion on patriarchy, it is interesting to note that the hero is regarded as neither the product of patriarchy, nor the exponent thereof, yet he still has to undergo male initiation (Lash 1995:10, 70). This is perhaps one of the definitive characteristics of the hero, in that he has to rise above the common everyday of his social and cultural context to achieve the exceptional. In other words, because patriarchy is a common social masculine trait, the hero is defined exactly by it not being a common social masculine trait. According to Lash (1995:11), there has been a common misconception of the hero as the *machismo* male throughout history, a trait commonly associated with patriarchy and its champions.

An activity that has strong connection to the hero is that of the hunt (Lash 1995:13). This connection has manifested in many different guises throughout history and does not necessarily refer to the animal hunt. The hero in the hunt

can be summarised by referring to it as the hunt for honour which the hero aims to defend. However, the hunt also involves the conquest of new territories and the defence and maintenance of the home against much more powerful adversaries. In the light of this the vast unknown of nature and the earth has always been one of the definitive heroic quests (Lash 1995:58). Importantly, it is the excess courage of heroes that ensures the ultimate survival of the group (Lash 1995:93).

As a final comment on the hero throughout history, Lash (1995:30) notes that the heroic quest may differ throughout history, but the moral undertone has always remained consistent. This is perhaps also what removes the myth of the hero from patriarchy in that heroism is dominantly portrayed by acts of character rather than acts of strength.

In conclusion, when dealing with and discussing masculinity, especially in a Western orientated context, one must be careful not to define masculinity according to a certain set of traits or unitary model (Connell 1987:167). Morrell (2001:10-11) states: "Masculinity is a gender identity which is personal in the sense that an individual has a specific experience of what it means to be [...] a boy/man." Although this study tries to narrow down masculinity to certain cultural groups, it remains aware of the danger of thinking about masculinity in a homogenous way. However, in trying to regulate the study in a fixed manner, a degree of homogeneity will occur. This is countered by including a wide variety of sources from all spheres of the social sciences, and in essence pointing out the strands of particular hegemonic masculinity (Connell 1987:186).

In the remainder of this chapter, the discussion of Afrikaner and British males and specific social traits are discussed. These social traits include the following (as mentioned previously):

- The model male of both groups will be considered first, focusing specifically on the model male of the period and not necessarily on just the male within the context of the War.

- Secondly, the military tradition amongst males from both groups from the stated period is described. This is especially important considering the military context of the *Arende* text, and the masculine interaction between the two groups.
- Next, the masculine rebels or outcasts from both groups and masculine social issues of the time will be considered. Again, the entire period will be considered although more emphasis will be placed on the time of the War because social rebellion is pertinent in a time of conflict.
- Following on from this, relations with women within the context of British and Afrikaner masculinity will be considered. This element will be considered from multiple perspectives, including the social position of women in the particular society, the influence of the dominant masculinity on the lives of women (this is specifically relevant to *Arende*), and the role of binary opposites in the relations between the male and female of both societies, especially in a time of conflict.

3.4 The Afrikaner male

3.4.1 *The model male*

According to Du Pisani (2004:81), the social function in which the model Afrikaner male functions can broadly be described as comprising “ ... a patriarchal family structure [with the eldest male as head of the home], a system of social egalitarianism [albeit confined to their social group], a puritan work ethic, a sense of self-provision, a sense of social and political freedom ..., and an anti-British sentiment.” The Afrikaner male of the late-nineteenth to early twentieth-century was considered to be simple, sincere and steadfast, his image cast in that of Puritan values (Du Pisani 2004:90; Giliomee 2004:105).

Vestergaard (2001:20) holds a similar view when she notes patriarchal authority is the cornerstone of the God-fearing Calvinism practiced by many Afrikaners of the time. The said patriarchal authority would manifest itself in social positions such as husband, father, priest, school principal, and political and war leader. This patriarchal authority is perhaps reminiscent of a society which lived in areas that were scarcely populated and had little government control. During

peace time the isolated Afrikaners were only focused on themselves, so much so that social disputes often occurred between neighbours or regional leaders. The only exception was when Britain interfered politically (Giliomee 2004:150).

Strict patriarchy is an identifiable feature of the Afrikaner male, and even more so the Afrikaner man of the time before and after the South African War. Afrikaner patriarchy is firmly entrenched in the three main power roles that Afrikaner men perform, namely that of husband, father and warrior. This patriarchy is of such a kind that it may often reach levels of enforcement that go beyond reason (Gutmann 1997:397). Although this form of patriarchy is a phenomenon found in the broad society of the Afrikaners of this time, it is debateable whether the patriarchal roots are nationalistic in origin. In fact, Bradford (2002:45) mentions various examples during the War through which one could conclude that the patriarchal roles of husband and father took precedence over that of warrior; men deserted commando because they had agricultural responsibilities to attend to, or they worried for the safety of their wives. Within the social sphere of the farm, life was organised on familial structure, where irrespective of size, the eldest male was the unchallenged leader (Du Pisani 2004:82). This point is also confirmed by Seegers (1993:479), even though her particular work deals with more recent Afrikaner social history. In the same vein it must also be kept in mind that the Afrikaner population was not as uniform as it may often appear in social history texts. The Afrikaner population was never exclusively agricultural in its background. Subtle class distinctions were present as would be expected with any social grouping. The majority of the population were middle class, a smaller section were highly educated and wealthy, while an even smaller section were poor (Marais 1999:15).

Another important point which is raised by Seegers (1993:479), which stresses the family as core interaction site of patriarchy, is the fact that most Afrikaner families of the time were large. This fact is also confirmed by Giliomee (2004:150-151), when he states that even bachelors and spinsters remained part of the larger family and played an active role in the social functioning

thereof. The nuclear family (father, mother and many children) is complemented by many uncles, aunts, cousins and nephews and nieces. This abundance of relations is seen in the administration of the community in war too. In a marriage there was often a close genetic link between groom and bride, and children and their offspring often lived in the same district as their forebears. Although this point does not bear directly on masculinity, it does carry strong connotations when examining masculinity in *Arende*. Adults were superior to children in all cases, even if the child has reached physical and social maturity. Children had to be seen and not heard, and grown-ups had to be addressed as *oom* (uncle) and *tannie* (aunt), even though there were no relations between the child and the adult (Seegers 1993:479-480; Giliomee 2004:151). This even happened on commando between younger and older members of the fighting group (Pretorius 1991:258). In fact, a child's lesser status to that of his/her parents only lapsed with the death of a parent. Corporal punishment was a common way of punishing Afrikaner boys, and this was dispatched exclusively by a male.

An important issue raised by Du Toit (2003:158), which supports the idea of patriarchy being a home-grown social custom among the Afrikaners, is the fact that few Afrikaner combatants during the South African War saw their fellow combatants as 'brother Afrikaners,' perhaps fighting for a cause that would allow the individual to do as he pleases rather than fighting for one's cultural brother. Family ties were, however, the exception, with families often grouping together in the same commando (Pretorius 1991:251). Even a culturally historic event as important as the Great Trek comprised a number of different treks, following different routes to avoid company (Seegers 1993:481); the Voortrekkers definitely did not engage the Trek because they acted as a united nation or as one people (Giliomee 2005:115). During the Trek there were often quarrels between the various Trek leaders and the respective Trek parties (Giliomee 2004:122), which also shows a lack of unity. Giliomee (2004:202) also mentions that if the Cape Afrikaners (largely loyal to their British rulers in the Cape Colony) were not engulfed in so many varying identities, the British would perhaps have reconsidered the War because of the mass rebellion they

would face in the Cape Colony. The Cape Afrikaners often looked down on their cousins from the Orange Free State Republic (OFS) and the ZAR.

In continuing this major point of dichotomy that makes up the model Afrikaner male, Boje and Pretorius (2011:62) stress a number of crucial points about Afrikaner males during the South African War. Firstly, in the early days of the War, president MT Steyn of the OFS called the War a “Transvaal war” and stated that the OFS was only aiding the ZAR. However, later on the OFS resented the ZAR for a lack of resolve in the War. This was at the stage of the War when the ZAR sought peace terms with Great Britain. Secondly, and very important to *Arende* as text, is the fact that the POWs quarrelled so much on St Helena, that two separate camps were later created for OFS and ZAR citizens. While the OFS admired the struggle in which the ZAR engaged in, and gave their support militarily, relations between the citizens of the two Republics varied throughout the War. In some cases commando members refused to fight under a commander from a different republic (Pretorius 2002:77). Ironically, in Afrikaner myth making after the War, Van der Merwe (2009:34) mentions “... that [every] Afrikaner’s grandfather was a hero during the Anglo-Boer War.” Giliomee (2004:306) also quotes South African War general Koos de la Rey as saying after the War that now that Afrikaners were at peace with the British and the Africans they would probably start quarrelling amongst themselves. De la Rey did not realise how true his words would become with the outbreak of the 1914 Rebellion, an event described by Giliomee (2004:334) as practically a conflict between Afrikaners. The constant disputes which characterise Afrikaner identity is a critical point to consider when examining Afrikaner masculinity in *Arende*.

Du Pisani (2004: 81) and Giliomee (2004:109) mention that powerful images of the Afrikaner male as farmer (and specifically subsistence farmer), hunter and warrior have been prevalent since the early history of the Afrikaners. This originates from the early Afrikaner existence being centred in farming, which also manifested in an existence of self-subsistence and isolation (Grobler 2007:33-34). A good combination of this threefold image of the Afrikaner male is

where Giliomee (2004:98) quotes the magistrate Andries Stockenstrom in his summing up of the situation of the Afrikaner farmers on the Eastern Frontier in their battle against livestock marauding Xhosa groups and an unsympathetic Cape Colony government. Stockenstrom says of the choices the farmers had: “Either we run away ... or we stay sitting and let ourselves be slaughtered, or we have to defend what we have” (Giliomee 2004:98, my translation). In line with Giliomee’s (2004:150) previous description the Afrikaners, and in particular the Afrikaner male as excellent pioneers with a healthy common sense, possessing tenacity in the most unthinkable situations, brave, self-sufficient and peaceful. Yet the threat against their independence would ignite a dogged resistance. Should one combine the two descriptions of Grobler and Giliomee, the gun and the horse becomes important symbols in forming an image of the model Afrikaner male.

It is especially the image of the Afrikaner male as warrior that dominates images of the model Afrikaner male, notably from the perspective of nationalism. In this instance there is also particular value added to male heroes, especially from events that have been deemed important to the nationalistic cause, for example the Great Trek, the formation of the Boer Republics and the South African War. One example is Paul Kruger, regarded as archetypal patriarch, but also leader of the group, staunch in his view of the Bible being his guidance in life. Another example is General Christiaan de Wet, the champion warrior and major thorn in the side of the British after the start of the guerrilla phase of the War.

Swart (1998:738) agrees with the image of the Afrikaner male as warrior, and mentions that Afrikaner masculine identity was firmly entrenched in the “... Republican commando system” The commando system is one element of Afrikaner masculinity that influences all spheres of Afrikaner life, which according to Swart (1998:738) includes politics, culture and social mythology. The way the Afrikaner male presented himself on commando has a profound effect on how he is treated as individual in the community. His position in the commando would in turn be directly affected by his social position (Swart 1998:738). To the run of the mill Afrikaner male, the commando was a way of

life (Swart 1998:743). This perceived state of affairs links well with the theoretical discourse of Cole (2001:469) in which war is considered the primary replacement of traditional localities of male order such as the school, the church and the family.

However, most Afrikaner males believed in the ideal of Republicanism, which was central to their masculine identity (Swart 1998:751). One is reminded of the headstrong nature of the Afrikaners, something which is especially seen in the Afrikaner male as the face of the cultural society, although Seegers (1993:480) argues that it is exactly this stubbornness which connects Afrikaners, especially in difficult times. Giliomee (2004:173) mentions that the annexation of Basotholand (modern day Lesotho), the diamond fields of Kimberley and the Transvaal (ZAR) united Afrikaners in the Cape Colony (loyal to the British flag), the Orange Free State Republic (independent) and the ZAR (independent until that time) for a short time as cultural allies. One can, judging from the above, come to the conclusion that Afrikaners and by definition Afrikaner males as the dominant gender in society, only saw themselves as a united front in the event of a conflict threatening their national independence. This judgement is particularly important to keep in mind when examining Afrikaner masculinity in *Arende* because the text revolves predominantly around defeated Afrikaner characters and the circumstance of their defeat.

An important point to dwell on, considering the discussion on the model Afrikaner male and especially within the context of the defeated Afrikaner characters of *Arende*, is that of the memory of military defeat. Swart (1998:743) reasons that this posed a challenge to masculinity for both the Afrikaner leadership and the ordinary Afrikaner. The challenge to established masculinity is also posed by events during the War, especially with such highly relevant examples such as the issues of the joiners, the *hensoppers* and less directly, the scorched earth policy followed by the British.

Judging from Swart (1998:750), Afrikaner male society was based on a unique interpretation of 'government by the people, of the people.' Every man governed

himself principally, and then his society governed him, and only then did the appointed government govern him. Metaphorically, if someone smacked you in the face, you smacked him right back, and did not go running off to the police for them to settle the matter. To quote Seegers (1993:482), Afrikaner political power "... turned on an historical particular axis and not on a universal [...] view of human nature." Boje and Pretorius (2011: 62) ascribe this to the extreme domestication of the Afrikaners at the time, having strong local attachments and no overarching ideology within the context of domestication, characterised only by individualism and pragmatism. It could be said that this social condition of the Afrikaners was the direct result of patriarchal households.

As age was a definitive feature in the patriarchal identity of the Afrikaner male, the wearing of long uncombed beards was a visual exposition of this social status. Beards, according to Swart (1998:747), had dual symbolism in that they were both a symbol of age and manliness, the same factor so cherished by Afrikaner masculinity of the time. Swart (1998:748) mentions the public outcry—which served to fuel nationalism after the 1914-rebellion—at the forcible shaving of Afrikaner 'prophet' Siener van Rensburg's beard after he was apprehended as a rebel.

An important feature of Afrikaner males of the time is the strong identification with Christianity, especially to differentiate themselves from the indigenous population which they came across as they trekked through the interior of South Africa. This interpretation of Christianity often goes hand in hand with an underlying nationalism (Pretorius 2002:71). In many of the Afrikaner historical records before the South African War, Afrikaners specifically, and whites in general are referred to as 'Christian' and non-whites often as 'heathen' (Giliomee 2004). Nasson (2010:22) describes the Afrikaner male as "... intensely Protestant." In fact, Grobler (2007:94) and Pretorius (2002:71-72, 1991:151) mention that in the first Anglo-Boer War (1880-1881)—in which the Transvaal regained its independence from Britain—many of the Afrikaners combatants believed that their struggle was justified because God was on their side. In the same light, De Kock (2005:39) considers the South African War as

one of poles of Afrikaner Nationalism in the twentieth century. Pretorius (2002:71-72) and Blake (2012:4) make a strong argument that religious conviction is what kept many of the *bittereinders* (who refused to lay down arms against Britain after the capitals of the Boer republics were taken) to stay on and wage the War till the bitter end. It may be argued that the strict interpretation of Christianity also caused the Afrikaner male society to become largely impermeable from outside influences. This is evident by the Afrikaner male being known as being individualistic and patriarchal in his way of life. He and he alone, was the boss on his farm, according to Du Pisani (2004:81-82). To this end he was in control of his wife, and his children were raised on a strict rule-based system. As cohesive and religious this family may be, some of the most bitter family feuds are known to erupt despite the familial structure (Seegers 1993:481-482).

3.4.2 Afrikaner male military tradition

Afrikaner masculinity of the time before and after the South African War was strongly linked to the commando military system, which was seen as the defender of the Republican ideal of the Afrikaners (Swart 1998:738). The commando constructed Afrikaner masculinity on many fronts, using many symbols and was always linked to the Republican ideal (Swart 1998:738). This is probably owing to warfare being a way of life for the Afrikaner, within the context of the group's earlier settler roots (Van der Waag 2005:17). As mentioned in the previous section, a horse and a gun were cardinal to the identity of the Afrikaner male of the time. Swart (1998:750) quotes General Christiaan de Wet as saying, that "a Boer, his gun and his wife are three things never apart." According to De Wet, a Boer's gun was his second sweetheart, and a Boer was like a "helpless creature" without it. Giliomee (2004:127) mentions that even just after the settlement of the Voortrekkers in Natal, the governments assigned by the Trek's participants could call up men to the commando. Van der Waag (2003: 148) makes an interesting additional comment on the commando, that being that the organisation of the post-South African War political party *Het Volk* was organised on the same principles of the commando.

The commando also serves as a giant stepping stone in the Afrikaner male's rite of passage as it serves to assign social status and to socialise the young Afrikaner male. In Afrikaner circles, a man refusing to give his military service to the "... the Land and the People ... is hardly considered a man" (Swart 1998:738). While the British Army was regarded as an extension of the British state, the commando as people's army was the state itself (Swart 1998:738). The system of hierarchy was even enforced in the Afrikaans language, where members of the commando who were younger than twenty, were referred to as *penkoppe*, referring to heifers which have only started sprouting horns. Bradford (2002:45) states that Afrikaners of the time were not soldiers; they volunteered for any battle. At no time did social or material distinction decide the commanding positions. Giliomee (2004:207) does, however, mention that in some cases rich farmers paid poorer farmers to take their place on commando.

In contrast to the above argument, Grobler (2007:93) also mentions that the majority of the fighting Afrikaners only performed militarily if they had an intrinsic belief in the cause they were fighting for, which resulted in poor discipline being one of the biggest problems the Boer commanders had to contend with. Giliomee (2004:149) notes that during the 1876 conflict between the ZAR and the Pedi's of Sekhukhune, a large majority of the commando members went against their commander and decided to return home simply because they saw no sense in dying for the cause behind the mission for which they were called to arms. Giliomee (2004) and Bradford (2002:45) also refer to more examples of how Boer soldiers were almost lax, mentioning some who did not enter a battle with their commando simply because "... they did want to get out of bed at such an early hour" (Giliomee 2004:207). Boje and Pretorius (2011:62) make the point that men were compelled by law to join the commando when a conflict broke out but were never compelled to fight.

A man on commando was expected to bring his own horse, saddle, rifle and thirty rounds of ammunition. Mounted marksmanship (without any formal training) is the trademark of the man on commando, and he performs this duty

in the same clothes that he wore everyday, no formal uniform being worn by the Afrikaners soldiers of the time. The fact that no standardised uniform was worn on commando is a strong identifying feature whereby the Boer armies can be classified as a people's army, as opposed to a conventional army (Pretorius 1991:82). Grobler (2007:92-93) notes that soldiers and normal Afrikaner males were only distinguished by the wearing of bandoliers by the former. Soft-rimmed hats were worn (a prominent feature in *Arendse*), along with a bandolier around the chest (Swart 1998:739, 746). All (Boer) Republican Afrikaners (especially in combat) wore their hats fastened on the right side, while the British army fastened theirs on the left hand side (Swart 1998:747). Another important aspect about the way in which the Afrikaner warrior of the time dressed, is the fact that highly personalised styles often developed amongst the higher ranks, often including 'un-military' clothing like top hats and umbrellas (Pretorius 1991:82). As the War progressed and the tide started turning against the commandos, so the 'extravagance' of certain Afrikaner combatants became more in line with the average dress code of the man on commando.

A system of voting was used in deciding which of the burghers on commando would become commanders, and which battle plan would be followed (Swart 1998:739; Grobler 2007:92). Van der Waag (2005:17, 25) highlights that political, military and economic power often centred on one or two individuals of a certain district, irrespective of suitability. If one considers the downward spiralling nature of operations by the Boers in the middle part of the War, it could be said that better suited commanders might have resulted in the outcome of the War being very different. Despite a system of ranks, it appears that there was very little social distinction between officers and normal members of the commando, often involving the calling of each other by their first names (Pretorius 1991:273). However, Grobler (2007:93) does regard choosing commanders by vote as a weak link in the Boer military strategy. Often officers would serve under commanders who they had not chosen, leading to non-compliance on orders.

The laager was regarded as the centre of interaction in the commando. Here tasks that were regarded as instrumental to the operation of the commando were performed. The laager was also the place where much of the personal interaction between members of the commando took place. In the laager feuds erupted and disputes were settled, old acquaintances were renewed, communal cooking took place, debates were conducted and communal activities like a sports match was held. The laager had a dedicated officer placed in charge of choosing its situation and the way in which it was laid out (Pretorius 1991:104, 108).

There were various non-combative activities in the laager which are of particular importance in discussing *Arende*. An important aspect of laager life, at least in terms of *Arende*, was the holding of organised sports days, especially on significant national days like Paul Kruger's birthday (10 October) and the day of the commemoration of the victory over the British at Amajuba in the First Anglo-Boer War (27 February). Sporting events included athletics and more specifically sprints, high jump and shot put. The more traditional "boeresports" included an obstacle course, a three legged race, stick pulling and racing with one's legs in a sack (Pretorius 1991:122).

Board games were also a prominent to while away free time on commando. Card playing is mentioned by Pretorius (1991:130), with General Louis Botha becoming an active bridge player. Commando members with higher educational standing played games like chess and checkers.

Although the occasions were few and far between because of the mobility of the commandoes, the receiving of mail in the laager was considered a highlight. This is particularly obvious if one considers both the joy at receiving mail, and the disappointment at not receiving mail amongst the commando members (Pretorius 1991:135).

The camp fire was also considered an important part of the laager as social meeting place of masculinity on commando. Camp fires were made if the

combative situation allowed for it, and provided the opportunity for the telling of 'old wives tales', sharing of knowledge between commando members of various educational levels and often the scene of much mockery and messing around. Group singing was also a commonplace next to the camp fire (Pretorius 1991:137-138).

The laager was also the place where a dedicated corporalship of men continued their mutual relationship away from the heat of the battle. The same small group of men (twelve to eighteen individuals), who fell under a particular corporalship, shared living quarters and each individual had a particular day on which he was responsible for cooking duties. Usually, members of the corporalship would have a partner, with which all activities on commando were shared. The same corporalship also congregated together for a few moments of religious devotional time before going out for the night to stand guard in defence of the laager. Considering all that is mentioned about a corporalship, it is no wonder that many members described it as a group of brothers, typified by a spirit of mutual service and self-sacrifice (Pretorius 1991:112, 116, 251).

There was no military drilling at that time. When a commander received an order, he called his men together, communicated the order and the group would commence to the field of operation. In terms of travelling in a group, those who could not keep up had to find their own way back to the fighting group (Grobler 2007: 93). Pretorius (2002:71) relates that "... the Boers had a certain fortitude that enabled them, once they had started something, to persevere for a long time. Whereas it was difficult to get them to move, once they decided to follow their leader on a given course, they did not give up easily."

No formal disciplinary structures existed in the Afrikaner military environment of the time. Rather discipline existed as part of the patriarchal, social system of the Afrikaners. Pretorius (2009:404) mentions that leaders were generally held in high esteem, which was often very useful for spreading propaganda on commando, and to keep the burghers active in the War. Often family members (mostly from the same district) went on commando together, and family

structures and hierarchy continued on commando, where grandfathers, fathers and sons, and uncles and nephews were all present (Swart 1998:740). The rank of *veldkornet* was decided on by the community from which the individual came, and he in turn acted as a representative for the community in the state. He was also military leader and community protector (Swart 1998:740).

Similarly, leadership played an important role in the commando. The father to son relationship continued even where two individuals were not related. Brute force was a defining characteristic of these masculine relationships, with the sjambok and other draconian threats being the masculine enforcing devices (Bradford 2002:46). Seen as father figures, commanders used the sjambok to enforce discipline amongst the burghers they commanded (Swart 1998:739). A famous example, documented in a painting (F Waugh in Pretorius 1998:70-71) is one in the commando of General Christiaan de Wet, where a commando member assaults a comrade with a sjambok after he dared speak of possible peace talks with the British (Pretorius 1998:70-71). Pretorius (1991:203) does, however, differ somewhat from the above, in that he mentions that both the Boer Republics had military courts which could be in sitting while on commando. Punishment included imprisonment or fines. More practical sentences were often carried out, like having to carry around a saddle around camp or having to sit bare bottomed on a cannon in the hot sun. Over and above a single lashing with a sjambok, more formal corporal punishment was also enforced as a sentence, although Pretorius (1991:205) mentions that this did not often occur.

An interesting, if somewhat obscure bit of information, revealed by Grobler (2007:93), is that many of the Boer troops during this period did not consider running away from a hopeless battle as cowardly. This was specifically done because the futures of their own agricultural livelihoods and their wives and children were considered paramount, which Bradford (2002:45) confirms.

Although the Afrikaner male on commando was a unique individual with a unique opinion on the War, it was especially the leaders of the second guerrilla phase of the War who influenced the beliefs of commando members.

In addition, the role of the *bittereinders* must be stressed as exact opposites of the undisciplined men described above. Pretorius (2002:68-75) takes great effort in highlighting the differences of these warriors from the many which deserted the Afrikaner cause after the taking of the capitals of the two Boer republics in 1900. It was especially the feeling of patriotism, national duty and the determination for continued independence which were dominant amongst these commando members. A much stricter discipline was prevalent in the commandoes in 1902 at the end of the War than those of 1899 at the outbreak of the War.

3.4.3 Afrikaner masculine rebels/outcasts and other masculine social issues

Apartheid was the first instance in history where Afrikaners had to comply with the strict, Christian based social code in order to be openly accepted in the dominant social realm (Vestergaard 2001:21). However, the Afrikaners' obstinate nature manifested very strongly in the case of rebellion. For example—to this day three different Afrikaans Protestant, sister churches exist because of differences in the interpretation of the broad Calvinistic interpretation of Protestantism (Seegers 1993:481).

Even in rebellion, Afrikaner masculinity was paramount as driving force against that being rebelled against (Swart 1998:738). Dealing with the South African War as social, cultural and historic setting for *Arende*, this study mainly concentrates on Afrikaner rebels who pertain to the War: *bittereinders*, *joiners* and *hensoppers*.

With the British struggling to achieve absolute victory over the Boers in the guerrilla phase of the South African War, the British employed the National

Scouts. The National Scouts were groups of Afrikaners who openly supported the British after laying down arms against them, and then took them up against the Boers. They were known as *joiners* amongst the Afrikaners and helped the British in gaining an advantage over the fighting Boers' knowledge of the veld. This 'treason' of sorts may be considered as one of the tragic chapters of the War, often ending in death. Milne (2000:12-13) mentions commandoes who killed their former comrades in battle, of Afrikaner members of the community enforcing the 'scorched earth' policy on their own countrymen, outright murder taking place and of loyal pupils having to execute their treasonous former headmaster. Pretorius (2002:68) regards these men as those for whom the flame of Afrikaner nationalism during the War never burnt very high. Swart (1998:739) points out that the majority of these *joiners* (72%) were landless 'poor' whites, while the majority of the *bittereinders*—Boers who kept on fighting the British to the bitter end—were landowners. Not only does this go against the social equality of the commando, but also points out two different forms of rebellion within the same masculine paradigm. Through their actions, *joiners* tarnished their family names for many years after the War. When these traitors were captured by their countrymen in an active theatre, they were often executed by firing squad after only a short trial (Grobler 2007:123).

Swart (1998:742) makes the point that the rebel male mostly rebels because his identity and status of patriarch are threatened. This is often associated with a loss of land, loss of agricultural employment and the inability to provide his sons with farms of their own to allow his legacy to continue.

A particular pertinent point dealing with Afrikaner masculine social issues, and specifically its application in the South African War and *Arende*, is that of non-enlistment by Afrikaners during the War. Boje and Pretorius (2011:65) label the practice as "cowardice," and refer to the lack of formal structure in the Boer armies of the War as the cause of non-enlistment. The fact that formal structures did not exist in these armies resulted in "unmanly" fear. Young age and timidity were often the reasons given for non-compliance to a call up. In one instance a father described his son as "very delicate and unable to put up with

any excitement” and therefore not fit to go to war (Boje & Pretorius 2011: 66). As mentioned above, many Afrikaner soldiers in the War abandoned the commandos if put in any danger or when they reasoned the particular battle was lost. Some Afrikaners of the time simply objected to warfare entirely.²

Bradford (2002:46, 51) mentions that it was only after women were banned from visiting the commandos by commanders in 1900, that the culture of ‘men as brothers’ is established in which the commando is seen as a band of brothers that are prepared to sacrifice property and family for Afrikanerdom. Those scared to fight were considered equal to women, and general Christiaan de Wet (probably the most famous *bittereinder* general of the War) went as far as to say that he hoped the British capture and castrate them, so that they would be “old women in reality” (Bradford 2002:46). This kind of attitude points to what Pretorius (2002:68) reports on Roland Schikkerling (1964:66) having called a “fuller [Afrikaner] national conscious” (in 1900), after the start of the guerrilla phase of the War.

Many of the Afrikaner social issues regarding masculinity often reflect back to Afrikaner identity itself. The most pertinent question which arises from these issues is namely, who should be considered an Afrikaner and many connected questions which emanate from this. Grobler (2007:1) reminds us that throughout history the term Afrikaner has come to mean many things. For example, in the space of fifty years the term has drastically been refined. In the year 1899, for example, Bradford (2002:37) relates that “Boers” were those people that stayed on farms, while “Afrikaners” lived in cities. Another example is of general JBM Hertzog, who during his political career considered Afrikaners to be all white inhabitants of the Union of South Africa who also pledged their allegiance to the Union. Grobler (2007:1) notes that by the 1980s (and therefore in the time the first season of *Arende* was produced) an Afrikaner was

² Remarkably, the issue of cowardice and treason was such a sensitive topic that the South African government placed an embargo on archival resources that dealt with these issues until the year 2000 (Boje & Pretorius 2011:67).

considered to be a person who spoke Afrikaans as home language, was a Protestant Christian and regarded him/herself as an Afrikaner within the acceptance of the cultural society. Also in *Arende*, Afrikaner identity and by definition Afrikaner male identity, is a pertinent theme within the text.

National identity is also a very pertinent issue within the realm of Afrikaner masculinity. This is particularly relevant as far as both individual foreign combatants fighting alongside the Boer Republics, and locals who were only first or second generation citizens in the Republics are concerned. These citizens included those who emigrated to the Republics from Europe, or individuals who had a shared ancestry (a European father and a Republican mother for example). There were also social issues between Afrikaners from the two Republics and Afrikaners from the Cape Colony who rebelled against British authority and joined the commandos.

Firstly, there was social conflict between Afrikaners from the ZAR, OFS and the rebels from the Cape Colony, often characterised by mutual mistrust. This is a prominent contestation of masculinity both in the South African War itself and in *Arende*. At the start of the War, Pretorius (1991:259-260) relates that there appears to have been a genuine feeling of brotherhood amongst all Afrikaners. However, as the conflict progressed this feeling appears to have dissipated. The feeling of mutual mistrust was also evident amongst Cape Afrikaners.

Another prominent example dealing with social conflict over national identity concerns the handful of Jews who sided with the Boers during the South African War. From literature it appears that Jewish combatants were often socially labelled along dishonest financial lines. Pretorius (1991:123) and Milne (2000:71) mention the example of a Jew, known only as Kaplan, who acted as a bookkeeper when a horse race was organised amongst commando members of the same laager. Meanwhile, the same Kaplan showed exceptional bravery when he crept to a British blockhouse with two bombs around his neck in a saddlebag (Milne 2000:71).

It appears, however, that the major identity problems occurred between Afrikaners and (mostly) European volunteers who took up the weapon on Republican side during the War. These included German, Dutch, Scandinavian, Irish and Russian citizens. The lack of conventional army layout (discussed previously in this chapter) amongst the Republics' commandos appears to have been the first source of conflict. Volunteers expected to be kitted out by the Republics. The difference in language appears to have been another stumbling block. Often the volunteers had a higher level of education than the average commando member, which conflicted with the patriarchal simplicity of the average members on commando (as described earlier in this chapter). Rather surprisingly, it appears that it was particularly the Dutch volunteers who suffered socially under the Afrikaners

It is, however, not the purpose of this study to establish when the Afrikaner as unique socio-cultural group was established, especially not when considering the monumental work of Giliomee (2004). Rather in this particular academic scenario in the study, the embodiment and discussions around the term Afrikaner/s of the time before and after the South African War is examined.

3.4.4 Afrikaner male relations with women

Darian-Smith (1995:122) reports the following on gender and war:

[G]eneric war stories are masculine. In these gender-biased narratives, men's war occurs in a space in which women ... are a rarity, and the drama is the emotional and technological adventures of soldiering.

As mentioned previously in this chapter, the one myth that dominates Afrikaner male relations with women is that of the *volksmoeder*. Afrikaner women have largely functioned in the private domain, although the War meant that they brought the politics of nationalism into this domain—a point in fact shown through the strident attitude of Afrikaner women against surrendering the War effort (Du Toit 2003:158). Bradford (2002: 48) puts forward the argument that Afrikaner women's fierce opposition and even hate of the British grew from their

isolation on the farm; their husbands were the ones who went to town in times of peace to trade with the English businessmen and therefore had a much more even conception of the enemy. According to Liese van der Watt (1998:93), *volksmoeders* were saintly in suffering, defiant in suffering and an inspiration to the rest of the nation.

Afrikaner women during the War laid claim to the male field of politics through their fierce advocacy of the continuation of the War (Du Toit 2003:158). Seegers (1993:480), Giliomee (2004:209-212) and Bradford (2002:47) stress the resilience of Afrikaner women during critical social and historical events. In fact, Marais (1999:69) quotes Sol Plaatje (1973) as saying that “[w]omen are not of any value in war. Only Boers view the subject differently.” One such example would be earlier in the history of the Afrikaners when the women vehemently opposed the annexation of the young Republic of Natalia (established by the Voortrekkers) by the British in 1842. It is during this same incident where the Afrikaner woman, Susanna Smit famously said that she would rather walk barefoot across the Drakensberg than be ruled by the British. When her husband, Erasmus Smit, admonished her loud public outburst she silenced him by saying that she “... was wearing the breeches now” (Giliomee 2004:130-131).

Another example is found in Giliomee (2004:190), which he takes from the writings of Olive Schreiner during the First Anglo-Boer War (1880-1881) when the ZAR regained its independence. Schreiner regarded the Afrikaner women as playing a cardinal role in this war, albeit as she puts it “... from the armchair beside the coffee-table that the voice went out for conflict and no surrender.” Even some of the wives of the Cape Afrikaners (British subjects), urged them to aid the ZAR in its battle for independence. Marais (1999:162-167) mentions a number of cases, both official and unconfirmed, of Afrikaner women joining the War in a combative role alongside the male members of the commandoes. However, the view of the patriarchal Afrikaner society of the day was that women should not actively involve themselves in a theatre of war (Pretorius 1991:347). Yet the women had to take over the roles of the men, when the men

eventually did go on commando. This satisfies the definition of the *volksmoeder* entirely. Farming duties had to be taken over, and Marais (1999:35) mentions that some women excelled to such an extent at these activities, that there were even a crop surplus which could be sold at the market.

It is, however, important to keep in mind that the myth of the *volksmoeder* was one invented by males, in which women are represented as being "... apolitical, suffering and self-sacrificial" (Du Toit 2003:157-158). The *volksmoeder* is contradictory in that it signifies the power of white womanhood, yet in the sphere of the private domestic realm (Du Toit 2003:157). Despite the male dictation of the myth, Afrikaner women willingly interacted and were acted on by the myth of the *volksmoeder* (Du Toit 2003:158). In fact, Van der Watt (1998:93) argues that Afrikaner women actively took part in the construction of the *volksmoeder* ideology.

An important comment that has to be made is that there is no evidence to suggest that Afrikaner females of the time ever went against patriarchy by trying to upset the workings of the ruling male hegemonic system. Seegers (1993:480) reminds us that although the Afrikaner female is portrayed as robust, she is not applauded for any masculine actions, nor is she ever the equal of the man. Her place, according to patriarchy, remains in the house, away from public life, where she supports her husband as a loyal spouse. In fact, Pretorius (1991:323) notes that many of the older Afrikaner generals in the War, were accompanied by their wives in an ox-wagon, a fact which many academic scholars pointed out as an Achilles heel of the War effort of the Boers. General Piet Cronje's wife even accompanied him on exile to St Helena (this is directly mentioned in *Arende*). This is somewhat contradicted by the handful of female combatants mentioned above (Marais 1999:162-167).

Despite the fact that Afrikaner women of the time so willingly accepted their so-called inferior role to men, they still played a big role in the well-being of their families and in society as a whole. Women raised the children, educated them and fed them, whereas men were associated with cattle and crops. However, in

times when men were summoned to the battlefield, many of their wives became farmer, home protector and provider, sending back men who deserted the commando because they were concerned about domestic issues (Bradford 2002:45, 47). Often Afrikaner women faced the dangers of pioneering life alongside their husbands. It is especially the pioneering situation in which most Afrikaner women of the time lived that brought them closer to the status of the man.

In terms of relationship status, it also appears that single Afrikaner men could also be dominated by single Afrikaner women, because of a sense of embarrassment and a feeling of inferiority. This can however, also be considered as an emotional symptom of courtship. Pretorius (1991:341) mentions young Afrikaner warriors who felt embarrassed about the state of their clothing in the presence of young Afrikaner women, after months of fighting the guerrilla phase of the War. According to Giliomee (2004:190-191), Afrikaner girls received the same level of education as the boys and also shared inheritance equally. Marital agreements were concluded within a community of property agreement. Despite such agreements, husbands were still regarded as the head of the house and head over the rest of the family (Bradford 2002:45). Despite Afrikaner women being generally relegated to the private social sphere of domesticity, many wealthier Afrikaner women were often better educated than the average middle class Afrikaner male (Marais 1999:18).

In common with the Victorian customs in general, sexual matters amongst Afrikaner women were not spoken about openly. Marais (1999:39) reports that even pregnancy was sometimes not referred to by the term 'pregnancy,' but rather to a particular woman being ill in general.

As far as dress is concerned the Afrikaner women, or at least many of them in the towns, adopted a similar fashion to that of their Victorian counterparts in Britain. Corsets were worn and the dresses of women went down to their ankles. Over the corset followed several layers of material. Dresses were high around the neck, wide at the shoulders and narrow at the waist. Older women

and widows often wore only black. Like the British women, Afrikaner women, in the event of horse riding or cycling, wore bloomers which were baggy (Evans 1990: 24-25, 43; Marais 1999:24).

From the War, the one exception to male equality appears to be relations with African servants. From the work of Bradford (2002:49) it appears that Afrikaner males held controlling power over labourers and that this did not transfer to their wives once the men left for commando, often giving the labourers an opportunity to abscond and even turn to criminal activity.

3.5 The British male

Father, mother, and me,
Sister and Auntie say,
All the people like us are 'We,'
And every one else is 'They.'
--Rudyard Kipling, *We and They* (1926)

Hermann Giliomee (2004:154) notes that with the terrific expansion of the British Empire in the nineteenth century, many colonial Britons believed that there is no better way of doing things than by doing it the British way. Giliomee (2004:154) qualifies this statement by stating that despite the Cape not being the jewel in the British colonial crown, the British nonetheless wanted to imprint their language, architecture and social etiquette, an observation confirmed by Marshall (1996:8) when considering the British Empire as a whole. Catherine Hall (1998:180) mentions that the minds of the Victorians were filled with images of Empire—from its produce, to novels and missionaries.

Imperial Britain of the time had a social air, or even a social chauvinism, based on cultural and material principles (Giliomee 2004:161). This was based on the principle of being British to mean being white and exercising full civil rights (Bridge & Federowich 2003:3). Semple (2008:405) mentions that this extended

to the education of British children in the colonies, with a good British education was preferred, separate from the education of the indigenous children. Being able to speak English was regarded as a determining factor in being considered 'civilised' (Bickford-Smith 2003:85). Some of the British newspapers during the South African War even referred to the Boers as "herds" or "flocks" facing the superior British civilisation (Morgan 2002:5). Mentioning specifically Victorian members of the Conservative Party, Ellis (1998:52), relates that "[t]o the Victorian Tory, the only loyal Briton was of Anglo-Saxon race and the only safe non-Briton was a subordinate." Bickford-Smith (2003:82) cites the above mentioned tendency as an example of "British hegemony." In fact, Kumar (2006) states that the British invented social rhetoric by which to justify colonialism, using social terms such as the "civilising mission," "the white man's burden," "the carriers of civilisation" to "lesser breeds without the law." In practical terms within the context of *Arendse*, this means assimilation of Afrikaners within British culture, with specific reference to the Cape Colony. As far as the two republics went, the British saw the Afrikaners as unruly farmers which did not fit in 'polite' society (Van der Waag 2003:140).³ Much of British society shared a militaristic form of patriotism and regarded the Boers as uneducated and below any civilised Briton (Foster 2008:93).

The core of Victorian society was based on control and self-discipline, especially with regard to urban society. Fisher (1995:1) describes Victorian values as "... the virtues of hard work, thrift, abstinence, honesty, sobriety, self-help, and strict morality" Any deviance from this core resulted in social persecution (Black 1973:384), often through public scandal (Fisher 1995:5).

British society of that time was one where, despite its Victorian social nature, the individual and his rights were respected. Despite this, Victorian times are

³ This social air was all-encompassing in Victorian society, and even translated to something as everyday as dress. Evans (1990:24) mentions that the quality and cut of their clothes determined where middle class people would fit into society. Morrell (2001:35) confirms this when he says that family name often defined the identity of the Victorian settlers.

considered a Christian centred society, conservative both socially and morally (Giliomee 2004:153,161); Fisher (1995:1) confirms that the Victorians were puritan in social nature. In this regard, Semple (2008:401) argues that the spreading of Imperialism, led indirectly to the spreading of Christianity, of which examples exist in *Arende*. Persons regarded as socially inferior were addressed using their first name, rather than the socially equal “Mister” (Giliomee 2004:173).

Victorian Britons in South Africa differed considerably on their social and political outlooks on imperialism. Giliomee (2004:191) mentions that there was liberal imperialism, which sought the emancipation and the civilising of the colonies. The second form of imperialism was that of jingoism, a more aggressive, authoritarian and contemptuous form of imperialism which looked down on anything non-British. Marais (1999:146) quotes JA Hobson (1901) who defines jingoism as a form of patriotism where the love of one’s own nation is directly related to the hate of another nation, coupled with the explicit desire to destroy individuals of that nation. Giliomee (2004:192) adds that this imperialism was characterised by rowdy, belligerent and chauvinistic outcries of patriotism. It is this style of imperialism that fuelled Britain’s desire for war in South Africa. Both these forms of imperialism are important in considering the British characters in *Arende*, and both are exhibited by male characters throughout the first season. Imperialism forms the overarching context under which British masculinity is discussed below.

3.5.1 The model male

According to Black (1973:200), the male in Victorian times was the most important figure in the patriarchal home. Tosh (1999:2) relates that the home was where the boy, disciplined as an adolescent, achieved full adult status as holder of the house. This importance was often ensured through the use of fear. A man’s approved credo in life was that of honour, duty, esteem, and the conducting of an orderly life, most preferably through independent work (Tosh 1999: 79). This credo was present in all walks of Victorian life, including religious, family and societal. It was the man, according to Evans (1990:22),

who earned the money to support his family, and headed the household. The man sat at the head of the table and led the family in their daily prayers.

As with Afrikaner masculinity, and indeed most forms of masculinity, the British boy also had to pass through various stages and tests to be considered a man. John Tosh (1999:103-105) describes these stages as follows: Firstly, as an toddler of approximately six years of age, the boy was recognised as being male by being allowed to wear breeches and/or a pair of trousers, discarding the petticoats which his sisters still wore. The next stage, which followed soon after was going to school. The boy ended his schooling in his mid-teens and would then either head to university (not as common) or start training for a business or profession. The whole upbringing of the male child was geared towards independence, a stance which suited the movement of Empire very well, with husbands and sons often being away from the British Isles for many years. Tosh (1999:145) reasons that domestic domain was almost never a site of patriarchal privilege because the male breadwinner was often absent from the home. In fact, Francis (2002:640) asserts that Empire and the adventure associated with Empire resulted in a rise in men being lifelong bachelors, citing the examples of Cecil John Rhodes, Field Marshall Kitchener and Major-General Charles Gordon.

The British Empire as functioning entity was overwhelmingly male, and masculine in outlook. British masculinity itself can be seen as an extension of Empire (Semple 2008:398). Tosh (1999:174) shares a similar view on Empire being masculine, citing three prominent British military males, or 'Empire builders': Major-General Charles Gordon from the siege of Khartoum for masculine stoicism in death, Field Marshall HH Kitchener for the steely self-control associated with masculine and Lieutenant-General Robert Baden-Powell for masculine self-reliance. Bridge and Federowich (2003:6) also stress that British masculinity remained essentially British across the Empire and was not changed by the local influences of the particular part of the Empire. This point is particularly important when considering the British soldiers in *Arende* who come from the South African geographical area (whether *uitlanders* or born in the

Cape Colony, Natal or one of the Boer Republics). The British male of the Victorian period had the conviction of the value of his whole manner of living (Bickford-Smith 2003:90). Despite the previous information given, it must still be remembered that culture, even Victorian culture, is not fixed and that particularly in Empire, British men sometimes deviated from strict Victorian cultural values. A prime example would be their sexual relations with non-British women in the colonies.

The rhetoric in British masculinity of the time can be considered one with a spirit to conquer anything lesser than Great Britain (Sramer 2006:659). A colony was conquered socially, militarily, economically and even ecologically (with for example the tiger hunts in India) (Sramer 2006:661-662). The development of 'character' was seen as all important in the development of the Victorian (British) male (Sramer 2006:665). This 'character' building was often performed by means of a conquering activity, most prominently hunting, which would prepare the male for his future as soldier. A man's character was always under threat, requiring constant reaffirmation (Morrell 2001:161). Hunting was also seen as an activity in which defenceless women and children could be protected from evil vermin. (Sramer 2006:667). Morrell (2001: 160) argues that the protection of women and children was specifically inscribed into British masculine hegemony for its own survival. This 'conquering' masculinity also served as a mechanism of expressing social and ethnic difference (Semple 2008:399), a point which is particularly evident in *Arende*. Woollacott (2006:59) also asserts that British masculinity of the time was closely linked to episodes of imperial adventuring and war, something which is also found in Victorian popular culture.

For a British man to be a proud citizen (and thus by implication a proud man of worth) he had to be responsible for the welfare of his wife and children (Levine-Clark 2010:304). Semple (2008:397) notes that British masculinity, especially within the context of Empire, demanded social responsibility, a notion characterised by energy, virility and strength, alongside decisiveness, courage and endurance. Yet, Tosh (1999:79) mentions that fatherhood was not a very

topical subject in Victorian masculinity, especially with regard to the duties and pleasures associated with fatherhood. The reason for this was that children were raised in the private sphere, despite the fact that Victorian males probably played a greater role in the home. It is perhaps the permeable (between public and private) characteristic of British masculinity which made the rhetoric on fatherhood less topical within the public dialogue on masculinity. Francis (2002:639) suggests that it was frowned upon for men to become too involved in the home, and that some divorce cases were based on over involvement in the home.

Victorian society also saw the rise of the all-male club, particularly as the British Empire enlarged. Tosh (1999:185-189) explains that these clubs were often frequented by bachelors but also married men, who escaped from the social demands of marriage life. At these clubs, men could be men, drink like men, smoke like men, and speak like men. With the formation of Empire, bachelorhood increased because Empire was an all-male affair, and in a similar vein, social clubs for males followed suit. An underground culture of homosexuality also emerged, although this was socially and judicially frowned upon.

Class is also a very important factor in the model British male of the time. Class entailed the attaining of a degree of respectability through cultural expression of mind over body. Respectability can also be closely linked to the notion of 'character.' Furthermore, respectability also lay in the skill and physical ability men possessed. Respectability also entailed being employed on merits set by the individual male himself, while the employment congruently provided him with an income with which he could support his dependents at a socially respectable level (Semple 2008:398).

As mentioned above, class was often expressed in dress style. In daytime, men dressed in coloured waistcoats, and dark, knee length dress coats with elegant trimmings. Striped trousers were fastened with a strap underneath the shoe. Collars were stiff, with cravats around the neck. Beards and particularly

moustaches were popular. When outdoors, men wore bowler or top hats accompanied with a cane or walking stick (Evans 1990:25).

The home appears to be central to the identity of the British male, although he was not exclusively bound to it as in the case of females from most societies (at least as far as the upper classes of British society were concerned). However, in the light of Tosh's (1999:27-33) research on Victorian males and domesticity, it appears that British males had a much closer relationship with home than did their Afrikaner counterparts. In the same vein, one must remember the historic agricultural workplace of the Afrikaner male, where the home was often part of the same landscape in which the capitalistic duty of the male was carried out.

Morrell (2001:14) highlights that the colonial male settler often found himself in a social environment which was free of the constraints set by the metropolis of a typical British city of the time. This argument is supported in part by Tosh (1999:33), who describes the ideal middle-class Victorian home as secluded in a rural atmosphere. Van der Waag (2003:140-147) discusses the settlement in South Africa of members of the so-called 'kindergarten' of Alfred Milner after the South African War. Farms were bought and the general idea was to settle an English country stead in the South African rural geography. The property would be where the male establishes himself, almost in a way reminiscent of his own little Empire, complete with magnificent garden (Tosh 1999:33). It was envisaged to practice productive farming (not that this was always the case) and launch a career in politics. A house which would suit the perceived status of the owner (in the case of Milner's 'Kindergarten,' the status is associated with independent wealth) also had to be constructed, a stone building which would allow the owner the opportunity of living the life of an English country gentleman. Houses were seen as administrative centres, especially with regard to political involvement, showplaces for the display of authority (and probably wealth too), centres of hospitality, "... and places where time could be whiled away in pursuit of pleasure" (for example horse racing and hunting) (Tosh 1999:33-34).

There certainly are some similarities to Tosh (1999:33-34) when he describes the bourgeois home being the place where the man can be himself, away from the pressures of work, which defined him as breadwinner of the home. A property constructed household managed in accordance with the above description, allowed their (male) owners to exhibit their existence in the world and their claim to esteem. Another example in South Africa where this existence is represented filmically (although from both Afrikaner and British perspective) is Jamie Uys' *Lord Oom Piet* (1962).

The looting of farms during the scorched earth phase of the South African War, is certainly not regarded as being within the parameters of Victorian manliness, yet Bradford (2002:38) suggests that for British soldiers in South Africa this was a way of affirming masculinity. These activities were covered up because this was not the manner in which Victorian gentlemen behaved and were considered "... odious to 'chivalrous Englishmen'..." (Bradford 2002: 38) Bradford (2002:38) reasons that looting was exactly the way in which Victorian soldiers conducted colonial warfare, giving them the status of hero and representative of imperial masculinity. In the same light, Woollacott (2006:89) states that imperial expansion gave British men the opportunity to expand sexual desires and energy by finding more sexual opportunities in the colonies than at home. Tosh (1999:175) concludes that Empire, and the activities involved with Empire like those mentioned here, gave the British male the opportunity to escape the confines and routines of domesticity, which included the act of marriage. Empire gave the opportunity to a young British male to remove himself from the less conventional and elements of the polite Victorian society and its rules of strict adherence.

3.5.2 British male military tradition

Robert Morrell (2001:139), in his discussion of colonial masculine identity in Natal, argues that militarism is "... the carefully nurtured product of white men, something woven deeply into the construction of settler masculinity." In the same vein, it could be argued that this type of masculine militarism was an intrinsic part of any man involved in the Empire.

It appears as if the British Army was characterised by severe ruthlessness, which only started abating to some extent after the Crimean War (1853-1856). Fisher (1995:20) mentions that the common British soldier was often seen as an animal by his commanders. Soldiers were treated with neglect and brutality, with pay low, cramped barracks and Draconian punishment⁴. Fisher (1995:20) continues that the British army attracted those unemployed or unemployable and criminals who are on the run. Recruits signed up for the army for a minimum of 21 years until 1870 when enlistment was for twelve years. Changes only started appearing from 1861 with restructuring occurring under successive Liberal governments.

As mentioned in the previous section on the British male, the prescription of militaristic qualities was instrumental in the development of masculinity. Similar to the Afrikaner male tradition, the army was seen as an institution where boys could become men and prove their masculinity by scorning domesticity (Bradford 2002:42). Woollacott (2006:77) even refers to this as an escape from feminised domesticity in the case of the British male. Tosh (1999:7) views army masculinity as a scorning of domesticity by the British male in a somewhat different light, in that he reasons that army masculinity developed as a result of the need for men generated by the creation and defence of Empire. Consequently, Morrell (2001:140) argues that militarism developed early in the life of a British male, namely at school and through the institution of sport. Aspects of team work, perseverance, aggression, toughness, precision, competence, obedience and the protection of countrymen were drilled into British schoolboys from a young age. Part of being a British soldier was to endure physical hardship, and endure it as cheerfully as possible. Soldiers did not complain. They were also expected to be more inclined to heroism and risk their lives, and if the soldier was unwilling to do so, he would stain and

⁴ One hundred lashes being considered a light punishment; with 1000 lashes before the regiment being considered an almost guaranteed death sentence. Both sentences were regarded an intrinsic part of life, although these sentences were severely limited by 1847 (Fisher 1995:20).

dishonour his personal and social 'character.' Here we can see the link in 'character' building stretching from the British male as boy in civilian life, to the British male as adult in army life.

Morgan (2002:7) relates that Colonel Robert Baden-Powell was regarded by many of the pro-War British journalists of the time to be both a shining example of the British male as well as the British army male. Baden-Powell was regarded as having an "impish good humour" and a typical English love of sport. The journalists furthermore presented him as the "... the classic strong, silent type, a child of nature," styling himself to a unique identity with the bush hat which he wore (Morgan 2002:7).

The military appears to have been a form of 'club' for many British men at the time. Morrell (2001:144-147) relates that especially amongst the volunteer regiments of the colonies, regimental congregation was the congregation of gentlemen. Volunteer regiments of the time were often controlled with the minimum of government involvement. Class, as in so many aspects of British life, was deeply entwined in forming of volunteer regiments and was seen as the preservation of elitist hierarchy. Members of volunteer regiments had to provide their own horses, saddle and uniform. Members were also expected to take part in parades, as well as attend a ten-day training camp. As with most cases of warfare British soldiers were schooled to be "real men" and "weaklings" were socially cast out (Bradford 2002:38).

3.5.3 *British masculine rebels/outcasts and other masculine social issues*

The rebellion of the Pro-Boers is so apparent in damaging the British psyche that Davey (1978:1) highlights the fact that the main feature of British masculine rebelliousness in the context of this study is that of the 'anti-War' movement in Britain. David Lloyd George, later to become British Prime Minister (1916-1922), was a powerful anti-War dissident in Wales, where Welsh newspapers often expressed sympathy with the Boer Republics because they saw the War as the same form of English aggression that colonised Wales (Morgan 2002:10; Auld 1975:92). Even in Scotland, where the support for the War was generally

strong, patches of opposition did exist (Brown 1992:156-162). Yet, as Kumar (2006:5-8) relates, while the colonisation of Britain into a United Kingdom was primarily an English affair, the acquiring of Empire constituted willing English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish involvement. Yet the Empire always had a dominant English character. This was often to the detriment of Britain as a whole. The Liberal Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone contended that English persecution played a major role in the alienation of subject nationalities like the Irish and Welsh. It was the Prime Minister's opinion that English institutions had been imposed on the United Kingdom's distinct nations. This imposition led to the breakdown of the native political traditions and religious institutions, not to mention goodwill between nations (Ellis 1998: 53).

Very little literature was available on the Pro-Boers in 1978 (when Davey's work was published), particularly in Britain. Pro-Boers were also known as "Little Englanders;" the name given by the peoples' whose views they opposed, especially because of their opposition to Imperial expansion (Davey 1978:8). Yet, with the outbreak of the War, anyone in Britain who dared speak of peace with the Boer Republics was labelled "pro-Boer." Anyone labelled as a "pro-Boer" was subject to being called anything from misguided, or an abettor of the Crown's enemies. Often Boer sympathisers were confronted by mobs; in fact when the War at times went against Britain, the sympathisers were often attacked (Auld 1975:79; Kross 1973:105). The Pro-Boers came from a collection of disparate personalities and persuasions (Koss 1973:xiv), yet the Pro-Boer cause was one associated with many respected people in British society, including GK Chesterton, Emily Hobhouse, Bertrand Russel and Henry Campbell-Bannerman (Davey 1978:10). Noteworthy also, is the rise of a Women's Liberal Federation, with 60 000 members, who were vehemently anti-War and even went as far as proclaiming that " the contemplated attempt to enforce the demands of England by force of arms ... [is] ... not only an error but a crime" (Hirschfield 1982:28). Considering the gender relations of the Victorian era, this step taken by a women's organisation was unique.

Pro-Boers may be considered members of British society who rejected the new (jingoistic) imperial trend, especially its military consequences. They expressed words of sympathy and conciliation with the enemies which jingoist imperialism made. They came from organised labour, were train union leaders and Irish nationalists. Their support emanated from the first elements of opposition during the annexation of the ZAR in 1877. It must be stressed, however, that the so-called 'pro-Boers' had varying levels of opposition to the War, with some opting for an immediate armistice and others opting for a more negotiated peace (Koss 1973:xiv). With the invasion by the Boer Republics many (non-Irish) pro-Boers, however, lost their enthusiasm for the cause because the Republics went onto the offensive and were not attacked (Davey 1978:50).

A very relevant chapter in the description of the pro-Boer and much closer to *Arende* as text, concerns British officers who turned to self-admonishment at particular times during the War. Surridge (1997:583-584) suggests that the horror faced by these soldiers is just one factor which turned many active British soldiers into pro-Boers (albeit probably in a less public way than the Pro-Boer movements themselves with references only in diaries and letters). The changing British society and the economy depression are considered factors in the officers' stances, especially as many of the soldiers came from landowning families. Urbanisation and the influx of Jewish capitalism are also considered factors. A particular distaste for Johannesburg's Jews and *uitlanders* (who the officers reasoned polluted the British uniform) developed amongst the officers when the British claimed Johannesburg on 31 May 1900. The two groups were associated with cowardice, greed and unmanliness by the British officers. Surridge (1997:582) further argues that many of the officers became anti-Semitic because of Johannesburg and its gold being one of the more subtle reasons for the War, and of course many of the Randlords were Jewish. Other officers were disturbed by the methods used by the British in waging the War, while others admired their Boer foes and ideal foes who had a solution to 'saving' an increasing urbanising British army. Urbanisation was also blamed for a poorer recruit quality accepted into the British Army. Officers believed that better soldier stock came from the country than the city (Surridge 1997:587).

Many officers felt the reason for going to War became blurred (Surridge 1997:583). One may suggest that the War was not just a physical conflict in Britain, but also a crisis of masculinity for the British male.

It is especially the presence of Irish nationalists that is very apparent in the internal rebellion that is the Pro-Boer movement during the War. McCracken (1999:9) even suggests that the War reignited Irish nationalism and eventually led to the independence of Ireland. Ellis (1998:60) even reasons that many of the constitutional nationalist of the Irish Parliamentary Party came very close to treason in their rhetoric against the War. One can almost conclude that any enemy of the British was considered a friend of the cause for Irish independence. Charles Stewart Parnell, an Irish member of the House of Commons, went as far as saying that “as an Irishman, coming from a country... which had experience to the fullest extent the results of British interference in its affairs and the consequences of English cruelty and tyranny [...]” felt “... a special satisfaction in preventing and thwarting the intentions of the Government ...” (Davey 1978:131). Back in South Africa, many Irishmen who went to the ZAR as miners joined up as members of the Boer commandoes (McCracken 1999:23). In the *Diggers News* of 28 September 1899, a manifesto was published which further shows Irish hate of Britain. It read:

Vengeance! Irishmen! Away with every mean and selfish consideration. Remember against whom we call you to fight, your oppressor for seven hundred cruel years. Remember what thousands of your dearest friends have suffered by their merciless tyranny. Remember your wrecked homes. Remember Michaelstown, Remember Allen, Larkin and O'Brien!

Every Irishmen worthy of the name and every Irish-American in South Africa will be found in the ranks of the Irish Brigade of the S.A.R., under the sacred Green Flag, fighting against the brutal English Tyrant. 'God save Ireland' (McCracken 1999:26).

3.5.4 *British male relations with women*

In Victorian times, women were generally subordinate to men, and their sphere of influence was strictly limited to the domestic, although it appears that there were several interpretations regarding the situation of the domestic, especially if one considers a figure like Emily Hobhouse or the role of women in British missionary societies (Woollacott 2006: 138-139). Black (1973:190) states that "... marriage and family were the proper lot of every ... [Victorian]... woman." Nead (1988:13) refers to Victorian art, specifically three works by George Elgar Hicks (1863) called *Women's Mission*, where the woman is depicted through relationships with three different men—her son, her husband and her father. Black (1973:200) continues that the Victorian family revolved around the mother. Women were considered the managers of the household (Black 1973:212; Evans 1990:22), as their aspirations were considered towards marriage and home, removed from the outside world. Motherhood was regarded as the chief reason for a woman's mission. Motherhood was regarded as the zenith of feminine purity and the inaccessible model for human relationships (Nead 1988:26). As a result, women were poorly educated, with the little education which they received being "... ritualistic rather than intellectual" (Black 1973:385; Tosh 1999:66). Evans (1990:23) notes that the education of women were considered to be "... able to sing, play the piano or produce fine embroidery" (again as far as the upper classes are concerned).

As marriage was considered the sole aim of most Victorian girls, there was also a very strict social protocol which had to be followed in such an event. In fact marriage was deemed so important, that there were public debates on 'surplus women,' as an apparent result of a proportionally unbalanced sex ratio (Tosh 1999:149-150). The male suitor had to inquire about an appointment with the young lady, or "permission to call." Once the appointment took place, the couple had to be accompanied at all times. If the 'relationship' turned into a marriage proposal, the young suitor would have to ask the lady's father, who would inquire about the suitor social status through questions on his job, salary and future prospects (Evans 1990:23). However, in many of the colonies, women took an active role in running the household while also being involved in the

subsistence of the family, in most cases farming (Morrell 2001:225-226). Child rearing was also seen as the prime work of women, although Francis (2002:63-64) argues that men became more involved with their older children than infants.

If Afrikaner social identity lends the *volksmoeder* label to its females members, then the Victorian British equivalent would be the 'Angel mother.' The Angel Mother role of the female was regarded as the privileged otherness which the female held. In terms of discourse on sexuality, the mother was regarded as the bearer of life by the Victorians, both in her capacity to produce egg cells (in response to the earlier conception of the man being the main participant in reproduction), albeit passively, and the feeding of her child from her own breast. In the light of the sexual discourse, women were also seen to have been born with the skills of selfishness, the ability to aid the moral development of their children and to develop these traits if they were not immediately present in the female. Despite the affection for home which characterised many middle class Victorian males, the role of the Angel Mother as manager in the home took precedence over the needs of the male in the home (Tosh 1999:43-50; Nead 1988:26).

Sexual intercourse was generally a taboo subject in Victorian society. Black (1973:384) relates that the best way in which Victorians dealt with sex was to pretend that it did not exist, a point also confirmed by Fisher (1993:1). Sex education was extremely shrouded. According to the Victorians, (sexual) pleasure was for men, and procreation for women, with abstinence being seen as feminine (Nelson 1989:530) as opposed to the male being regarded as more sexualised. As the expression at the time rang: "Lie back and think of mother England," referring to an unwilling wife being approached sexually by her husband. Sexual urge was labelled by the Victorians as a "lower nature" (Nelson 1989:527). Childbearing in Victorian Britain was considered a patriotic duty (because Britain was considered the "Workshop of the World"), and in the same light sex was regarded for procreation only confined within the family unit (Fisher 1995:1).

Adulterous women were regarded as the worst of any sexual deviant by the Victorians. Women who were labelled as adulterers, were regarded as impure and as destroyers of the domestic atmosphere. While male infidelity was viewed as regrettable, female infidelity was regarded as unnatural and unalterable. Adultery was regarded as a betrayal of her father, husband, and next of kin.

There was also a social danger in the levels of education of British girls (Fisher 1995:44). Out of the strict patriarchal nature of Victorian society, employment opportunities for women were few. While this appears to have been less of a problem for upper-class women, the respectable lower class women were often lured into a life of semi-slavery in the Empire because of the opportunity of social interaction and the promise of marriage (which was considered central to the existence of the Victorian women, as she would be a social deviant without a husband). Working class women had to work alongside men in factories, or where one found couples running businesses together, the wife was similar to a junior partner (Tosh 1999:16-18). Domestic service was also an occupation in which working class women were employed (Evans 1990:420). Lisa Chilton (2003:36) makes the point that British women experienced the emigration associated with Empire significantly different from British men. British women also shaped their own social futures through participating in Empire.

On the contrary, Haggis (1998:45) quotes Bulbeck where she mentions that white [British] women in the Empire had very limited chances at voicing their opinions—where they were quickly silenced if Empire was not presented in a favourable light. A particular example which comes to mind is Emily Hobhouse.

According to Nead (1988:28-29) the respectable Victorian woman was expected to be dependant, delicate and fragile; signs of independence were regarded unnatural and signified boldness and sexual deviancy. In the economic, legal, medical and cultural fields, women's dependency was ingrained, believed to be a component of respectable femininity. These notions were especially promoted

with the belief that respectable women were inherently weak and delicate and in a continuous state of ill health.

Women could keep ownership of their property after the passing of the Married Women's Property Acts (1870 and 1882), but it was still expected of her husband to provide for his wife. By the start of the twentieth century, married women could separate from their husbands on grounds of domestic abuse, desertion, assault, persistent cruelty, neglect and habitual alcoholism, even being able to consult the court for maintenance (Levine-Clark 2010:304). Men could even be sentenced to imprisonment if they neglected their families. The exception was when there was any form of immorality from the side of the woman (Levine-Clark 2010:306).

However, the expansion of the British Empire also meant that many men sought their fortunes in the colonies, often leaving wives and children to fend for themselves (Levine-Clark 2010:302). This goes against the masculine self-respect which Tosh (1999:15) mentions, where a man who could, or did not provide for his family was socially shamed. Chilton (2003: 37) argues in line with Rita Kranidis (1998:14) that British women in the colonies were nothing more than commodities and that they served very little purpose for the advancement of Empire. Empire was a man's work and women had to fight for their voices to be heard at all (Chilton 2003: 38). As mentioned previously, Empire also allowed greater sexual opportunity for British men, specifically with women of the colonies. This most often happened in the form of prostitution or the keeping of mistresses by British men (Woollacott 2006:89-95).

However, British women were also seen as the 'grand matriarchs' who promoted cultured femininity, ensuring that the right class of woman domesticated the savage colony (and in effect conceding to masculine ideology) (Chilton 2003:39). The men of Empire prepared the wild and barren colonies for the domesticity of women. Yet despite women being seen as matriarchs and men as preparers of female domesticity, Morrell (2001:19) reminds us that

colonial men still enjoyed the patriarchal dividend in gender relations, while also holding the colonial dividend by the fact that they were British.

Class also played a leading role in the way Victorian women dressed. Because of the sexuality taboo of the day, the dresses of women went down to their ankles. They wore corsets to give them the 'hour-glass' figure, and wide skirts over crinolines and several layers of petticoats. The lady's main garment was a dress of velvet or silk, which was high around the neck, wide at the shoulders and narrow at the waist. Older women and widows often wore only black. Outside, the Victorian woman was seen wearing a felt hat or bonnet, gloves or fur muffs, sometimes with umbrella-like parasols (Evans 1990:24-25, 43).

The South African War is regarded as a key element in the politics of gender in Britain, which eventually resulted in the vote for women in 1918 and 1928 (Morgan 2002:11). Considering this, it could be said that the average British woman of the time was socially far ahead of the average Afrikaner woman of the time. The only reason for this is perhaps that Britain was perhaps more industrially developed, while South Africa was still characterised by vast distances between 'outposts' of civilisation.

Considering the above discussion and in light of the next chapter one must be careful not to apply the theoretical discourse discussed too stringently, as this may appear stereotypical. It is particularly important that a theoretical application of Afrikaner and British masculinity should be guided by a degree of stereotyped theory, yet should allow great flexibility too, considering the audio-visual context of *Arende*. In this regard, Fisher (1995:1) warns that the academic scholar should not be blinded by the notion of Victorian values, because they often did not apply or exist in contexts outside of British Victorian society, particularly in parts of the Empire. This is particularly true of the conservative stance on sexuality of the Victorians described above (Fisher 1995:2). In the same light it must also be kept in mind that Victorian society, like

Afrikaner society, was also continually evolving, at times even at odds with itself, as Surridge (1997) confirmed to be the reason for many British officers being secretly pro-Boer. Tosh (1999:171), for example, makes a very appropriate point in saying that as women's rights in Victorian society increased, so the strict distinction between public and private also became more blurred.

It must also be stressed that gender spheres are not as fixed as social scientists had initially thought, and therefore the scholar must beware against 'absolute' interpretation of the text. As Francis (2002:638) relates: "... the inadequacies of the 'separate spheres' model of gender roles, revealing that the boundary between the female/private and male/public realms was unstable and regularly transgressed." The attempt at analysing Afrikaner and British masculinity is therefore done using a cautious, yet liberal approach in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR:

ANALYSIS OF THE REPRESENTATION OF MASCULINITY IN *ARENDE*

Masculinity can be considered to be the proverbial grey area. This 'flexibility' of masculinity is just as evident in Afrikaner and British society. In the following analysis of *Arende* based on the theoretical discourse built up in Chapters Two and Three, an adaptable process is followed encompassing both the chapter on identity as well the chapter on masculinity. While the application deals mainly with the analysis of masculinity in *Arende*, the discussion regarding identity in Chapter Two will aid the discussion in some respects.

With a study of such huge proportions it is difficult to structure the analysis of masculinity in a sensible and reader friendly manner. While the text is broken up into scenes (which are used in the identity analysis), the analysis of masculinity differs somewhat from this approach. Discussion of characters forms the basic structure of the analysis of masculinity in Chapter Four. This will also involve discussion of situations involving more than one character who is not necessarily discussed individually. This step is important in understanding the masculine context of *Arende*. The 'masculine content' of each character will be dictated in the same way in which the discussion on masculinity in the previous chapter was carried out. Furthermore, characters will be discussed as they interact in scenes and how they relate to the series and its ideological streams.

The Afrikaner/Boer characters discussed are:

- Sloet Steenkamp
- Mees Mouton
- PJ Buys
- Bennie Mentz
- Paul Johnson.

The British characters that are discussed are:

- Captain James Kirwan
- Captain John Mosten-Smythe
- Governor Wilks of St Helena
- Sergeant Stewart
- Jimmy Kitchener.

In the discussion males dominate, but their relationships with various female characters will also be discussed. These characters include Annette Steenkamp and Mary Wilks.

The previous two chapters were mainly devoted to the theoretical discussions of identity and masculinity. While the theory on identity dealt with identity in general, the chapter about masculinity investigated both Afrikaner and British males in the period before and after the South African War (1899-1902). The brief investigation of identity in this study is necessary because it helps in giving a social context to the setting in which the series is set, while also providing a socio-cultural identity profile on which to base the analysis of theoretical masculinity, as discussed in Chapter Three. The investigation into identity situates both Afrikaner and British males to their respective identities. The struggle for identity is initiated in both the plot of *Arende* and perhaps even in the society of the audience. *Arende* is a manifestation of popular culture—a place where identity is formed and contested. *Arende*, with its complement of signs as visual text, offers its audience a platform where difference in socio-cultural identity gets semiotic meaning. The series is structured around the clash of identity narratives, that is, relationships with history, relationship with space and relationship with culture. Cultural identity provides durable and lasting myths, many of which manifest in the masculinity associated with the particular cultural group, specifically traditional male associations of politics, religion and the law. Identity is, however, not historically or culturally fixed but uses factors of culture in which to manifest in which choice of associations and relationships are involved.

The historical description of masculinity in the previous chapter focused on a number of specific elements. This included the model male of both Afrikaner and British societies, the military traditions of both groups, the masculine outcasts or rebels, and finally the relationship between the men of the two groups and their female cultural counterparts. The general introduction will also be sporadically referred to in the analysis of the representation of masculinity in this chapter.

4.1 Theory of masculinity: An analysis of characters

The discussion of the various characters follows in the same order as the theory is discussed, with the exception of the female characters. With the female characters, the majority of the discussion focuses on the relationships between females and the selected male characters.

4.1.1 Afrikaner characters

4.1.1.1 Sloet Steenkamp

Sloet Steenkamp, portrayed by Ian Roberts, is the main protagonist around which the text revolves. He is a Cape rebel who has been exiled for life to the British controlled island of St Helena.

Before beginning the analysis of the representation of masculinity in the character of Sloet Steenkamp, it is necessary to again lay a brief foundation for identity. Sloet Steenkamp is a rebel right from the start of the series—he is a man unto himself, who does as he, and only he pleases. His sole reason for existing in the POW camp is to escape and return to his farm and his wife. This can be described as a silent ‘pact’ that Steenkamp makes with himself. In Scene A (Figure 1), after his execution has been called off, Steenkamp upon hearing of his future in exile, shouts at the soldiers to shoot him and be done with. Only the fact that his wife asks him to live for her (Figure 2), makes Steenkamp change his mind, and it is herein that one sees the ‘pact’ he makes with himself to escape. His identity is fixed, and therefore his relationship with his fellow POWs varies according to how they accommodate his identity. Despite this, he is still

considered a hero. His identity is stable and he can sufficiently cope with hard times.

However, Steenkamp also has values and priorities in his identity construction that pertain only to him—most notably in this case his attempt to escape and return to his farm and wife. He is typified, not only as a Cape Rebel, but also as a rebel within his own society, in addition to being considered a hero. Owing to his strong identity he is able to cope with the hard times he experiences, and is not discouraged when he does not always achieve his goals. In terms of identity components, the character of Sloet Steenkamp is stable in both Type 1 and Type 2 components. He is the current generation of Steenkamps on his farm, and leader of the farm and household. He owns a farm, is married and does as he chooses. He is also a Cape Rebel, and as the first season progresses he achieves more social labels—namely good runner, escaped prisoner, prisoner in isolation and uniting factor in his community. By gathering all these social accolades, Steenkamp also defines his own identity in term of the Type 3 identity component. The Sloet Steenkamp at the end of the first season is far more revered than the Sloet Steenkamp at the start it. With regard to his status as Cape Rebel, escapee and runner, Steenkamp satisfies the Type 4 requirements of optional choice. However, the Cape Rebel status may also satisfy Type 5 requirements of irreversible choice—standing up for a cause for which he is willing to die. This identity component in the case of Sloet Steenkamp stands for so much more, because he also stands up for his wife, his farm and his whole way of life, despite the fact that by standing up he stands to lose everything.



Figure 1: "Shoot me and be done with," Sloet Steenkamp shouts to the British soldiers⁵



Figure 2: Annette Steenkamp begs Sloet to live for her

Herewith an analysis of Sloet Steenkamp's masculine traits. Firstly, Sloet Steenkamp can be described as completely masculine and therefore positive, if one compares this to its binary opposite, the negative feminine (as discussed extensively in gender theory). This may be visually presented in Scene A, with the planned execution. He sits blindfolded but upright in front of an open grave, showing no sign of fear. He is dressed in his normal clothes (Figure 3). In contrast, the female mourners are all dressed in black, many of their faces half covered, all looking down (Figure 4). Steenkamp's role as owner of the farm and

⁵ All figures are screenshots from the first season of *Arendse* (1989).

head of the household, as well as independent rebel is highlighted in his pose, even on the brink of death. Steenkamp is the dominant patriarch. His rebellion lies in the challenge to his patriarchy, and in effect the challenge the British had made to his cultural identity—which may also mean the loss of his land, a culturally defining characteristic for an Afrikaner male of the time (Swart 1998:742).



Figure 3: The positive male



Figure 4: The negative female and husbands

Scene A also shows Steenkamp's cultural control of the female body. After his sentence is commuted to life imprisonment, he immediately holds his wife,

Annette Steenkamp tightly, who looks up at him for some kind of guidance (Figure 5). The segment from the scene has a two-fold visual explanation: Firstly, the couple's marriage is confirmed, carrying forth the earlier images of Sloet Steenkamp's wedding band (Figure 6) and his dominant role in the marriage. Annette's band is not shown at all. Secondly, he is physically much taller than her, which again confirms his dominance, because he has to look down at her and she has to look up at him. Both of them also fulfil their culturally determined sex roles in this segment. To a certain extent, John Berger's ([1972] 2008:41) notion of 'women watching' is also illustrated. The female mourners watch Annette going to her husband, Sloet watches Annette the whole time (shown by the constant cutting between their faces), while we later learn that the character of Mees Mouton also watches, planning to eventually marry Annette and take Sloet's farm.



Figure 5: The embrace and male dominance

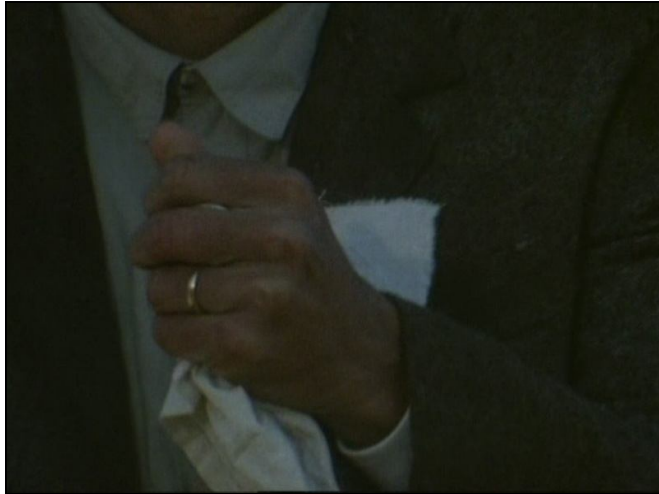


Figure 6: The wedding band

In Scene N in Episode 3, Sloet Steenkamp also exhibits control of the female body when he and Captain Kirwan look down from the cliff at the character of Princess Gobler (Figure 7). She, in her wet, white dress, is not aware that she is being looked at (Figure 8). Steenkamp and Kirwan compete against each other by watching her. The two men conform to their sex roles and subordinate the female, even just by staring or enacting the male gaze. It could be said that in this particular scene, neither of the men would have acted in such a way if the others competitor had not been there. In this there is a cultural struggle through performance by the two enemies. As the plot progresses Princess becomes a target of competition between the two men—she betrays the injured but escaped Sloet to Kirwan, who is having an affair with her. By doing this she completes Berger's ([1972] 2008:41) description of women being watched and objectified as objects that men own.



Figure 7: Male-gaze at Princess Gbler and hegemonic marginalisation



Figure 8: Unaware of being watched

Suggestions of Sloet as a member of a given hegemonic masculinity is evident in Scene A, because Sloet subordinates his wife with their embrace (Figure 5), while marginalising Mees Mouton somewhat in surviving and making it more difficult for Mees to carry through his plan for Annette and Sloet's farm (Figure 9). In Scene B we also see hegemonic masculinity, when Sloet Steenkamp steals washing for the sick POWs on the steamer (Figure 10), although this may be on a more individual level, as Sloet is initially not considered one of the leading patriarchs. Steenkamp is regarded as the newcomer to the society of the POWs and therefore has to do the dangerous and risky jobs because he is yet without status. So the group and the individual benefits—the group benefits from the washing and Steenkamp's position within the group improves.

Herewith, his designation of hero also starts to develop in the eyes of his fellow POWs. However, Steenkamp, as mentioned above, is also a rebel unto himself within the hegemonic masculine society. This is clearly seen in Scene B, where he watches (Figure 11) the lashing of the character of Paul Johnson for cowardice (Figure 12), from a distance, wanting to be no part of it. He further illustrates his rebellion by applying cream to Johnson's wounds (Figure 13) and getting into an argument with Buks Retief and PJ Buys over whether those on the steamer can still be considered part of the War. In as much as Sloet wants to be part of the hegemonic masculine society, he also stands outside of it (falling in line with a more reformist view on hegemonic masculinity discussed in Chapter 3). As with the theoretical hero, Steenkamp discards that which is lost (the War) and rather focuses on a clear and present danger (his own survival, the survival of his whole existence). He sets his status within the commando of men within the camp and eventually 'graduates' as hero within the community of men. He, unlike the other men, has moved beyond the aftermath of the military defeat.



Figure 9: Mees Mouton's masculine marginalisation



Figure 10: Climbing the hegemonic ladder by stealing washing



Figure 11: A man apart, watching the group



Figure 12: The lashing of Paul Johnson



Figure 13: Rebelling by helping the coward

In Scene I, Sloet challenges the reigning hegemonic masculinity when he gets into an argument with the elderly Peet Johnson over a possible escape from the camp. Peet Johnson states the case for the consequences that the other POWs will face as opposed to Sloet's argument that he is exiled for life. This challenge is visually represented by the elder Johnson sitting down (Figure 14), while Sloet looks down at him and at one stage circles him (Figure 15). He repeats his actions in the same scene when the character of Commandant Keet reprimands him.



Figure 14: Challenging hegemonic masculinity; Sloet vs. oom Peet Johnson



Figure 15: Challenge to hegemonic masculinity by circling the older male

Yet at the same time, in Scene K, Sloet uses the structure of the hegemonic masculinity in the camp to his advantage. He asks the character of Bennie Mentz advice on where to find a map, while temporarily giving up his hegemonic masculine rebellion to him (although Mentz as Jew and his unique masculinity also does not rank very high on the hegemonical ladder). This is visually presented in Scene K by Mentz looking down at Steenkamp (Figure 16) and Steenkamp visiting him at the hut where the camp 'newspaper' is produced. As the scene progresses and Sloet carries forth his argument, the men reach the same level and eventually Mentz is shorter than Steenkamp (Figure 17).



Figure 16: Sloet Steenkamp temporary giving in to the hegemonic masculinity of Bennie Mentz



Figure 17: Back on equal hegemonic masculine terms

Steenkamp is subordinated and marginalised in the greater hegemonic masculine scheme of the island (which includes the British and the indigenous population of the island alike) in Scene N, where he and Captain Kirwan have a foot race. The fact that he tripped and lost to Kirwan is a visual representation of Sloet being subordinate to Kirwan in terms of rank in the greater hegemonic masculine scheme of St Helena (Figure 18). As the scene progresses the viewer may understand that Kirwan and Steenkamp are engaged in a mental battle of minds, unlike the War which was physical. Kirwan tries to oppress Steenkamp mentally, subtly reminding him that he is being watched and cannot compete. This is visually presented when the two men stand on the cliffs before the sea when their race is complete. Kirwan shows Steenkamp that escape is impossible; no further passage can be gained from here (Figure 7).

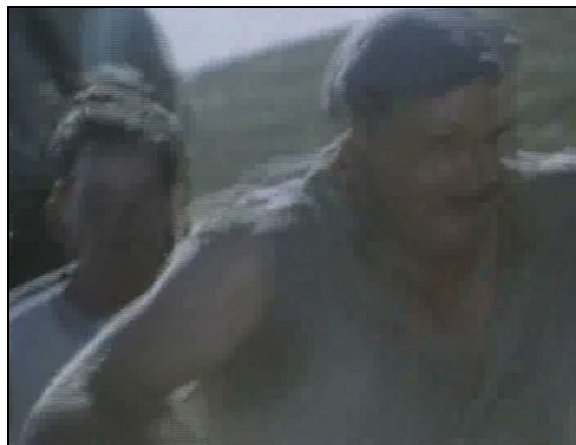


Figure 18: The foot race and hegemonic marginalisation of Sloet Steenkamp by James Kirwan

In Scene II, Sloet shows that he has reached the upper echelons of the hegemonic masculinity that exists amongst the Boer POWs. This is visually shown by his return on horseback to the camp (Figure 19). The entire camp erupts in cheering as he gets closer to the camp; Kortgiel Mostert calls PJ Buys as he is teaching the *penkoppe* and they rush forward to the gate (Figures 19, 20). The whole camp, and therefore the whole (male) community comes to a standstill with the arrival of Sloet. For a moment Sloet has also hegemonically defeated Captain Kirwan, because he rides ahead, and the captain follows, not the other way around as usual. This scene can also be regarded as the community honouring a hero. Through this interaction, community and individual identity is strengthened, although there still remains difference in the group.



Figure 19: PJ Buys teaching



Figure 20: Kortgiel announces Sloet's arrival back from the fort

Scene MM is the race between Kirwan and Sloet as part of the sports day. By beating Kirwan (Figure 21), Sloet for a short while becomes the ruling patriarch in the overarching hegemonic masculine system in the camp as whole. He is, however, again subordinated at the end of the race by Kirwan and the armed guards which take him back to the fort (Figure 22).



Figure 21: Steenkamp beats Kirwan at the sports day



Figure 22: Sloet Steenkamp is betrayed and taken back to the fort

In Scene A, Sloet also shows his status as hero. This status is confirmed in his rebellion as well, because Sloet Steenkamp is like no other Afrikaner male within the given context. Firstly, his heroic status is directly formed in relation to his wife, fitting Louise Ryan's (2000:74) description by being portrayed as physically tough and courageous in the situation in which he finds himself. His facing of death with the planned execution also elevates him as a hero. To

quote McCartney (2011:43), he exhibits “... refined and distilled qualities of masculinity; [...] presenting only the essential characteristics of manhood.” Furthermore, by heading to execution Sloet may be considered a “manly man” (Mansfield 1998:118-119). Sloet suffers without complaint. He is not humble, and does not even let himself be insulted, even when Mees Mouton reads out his execution warrant (Figure 23). In his rebellion he makes a plan to escape and through his capture he has nobly failed. Towards the end of Scene E, Steenkamp’s heroic mission is set, when he reads the warning sign at the POW camp, which says that any POW found outside the camp will be shot. This acts visually as his cue to escape (Figure 24).



Figure 23: Mees Mouton reading the execution order and standing alone

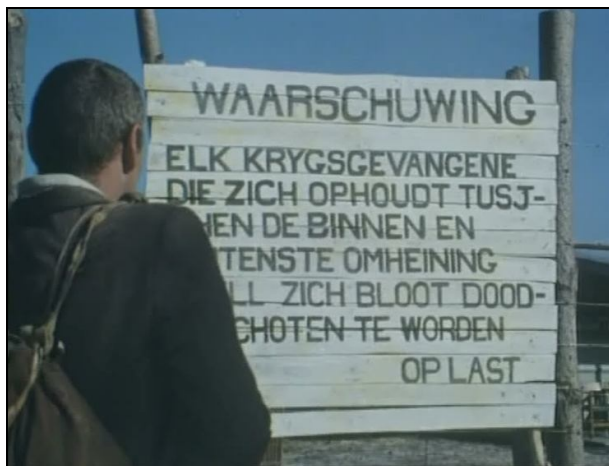


Figure 24: The challenge of escape

The hero worship of Sloet by his fellow POWs is shown visually in a number of scenes. In Scene R, which shows the preparation for Sloet's escape, it is the group most aided by Sloet and the ones who admire Sloet the most who help him with the technicalities behind the escape. Paul Johnson, Danie Keet and the other *penkoppe* were all influenced by Sloet earlier in the series and now they silently encourage him as he escapes, cheering him along like a sports star (Figures 25, 26, 27, 28 and 29). Sloet's heroic status as a runner is again confirmed as he runs away from the camp at the end of the scene after his escape has been discovered (Figure 30).



Figure 25: Preparing for the escape



Figure 26: Discussing the escape; a hero and his followers



Figure 27: Danie Keet acting as lookout for the escape



Figure 28: Greeting the escapee



Figure 29: Creating a distraction for the escape



Figure 30: The hero as runner

Another scene in which Sloet's heroic status is confirmed is in Scene V. We see here an injured Sloet, hidden from the British and Princess Goble's betrayal, by Sam Goble (Figure 31). Visually, this scene may be explained as the hero being human and never superhuman, particularly on a physical level, while also to some extent moral in this case. Sloet has had to change his hero's quest of escaping because of his injury. He also realises that because of what Sam has done for him. He has scorned the British and lost his income. He addresses this moral issue by writing to his fellow POWs to buy banana wine from Sam to supplement his loss. Sloet also shows his ability to adapt as hero. Although he is overwhelmed by his conditions he has the ability to recover. Again, he never complains, but tries to make the best of a situation.



Figure 31: The hero as human and never superhuman

Scene A immediately establishes Sloet Steenkamp as an Afrikaner male. This is done in two ways. Firstly, he is confirmed as head of the house in the way in which he embraces his wife (that is he has control over her) (Figure 5).

Secondly, the execution scene also points out is direct opposition to the British and his anti-British sentiment.

Steenkamp can also be seen as a patriarch in Scene E when he jumps after the character of Danie Keet into the water to save him from drowning (Figure 32).

He acts as a beacon for young Danie, and as the story continues we learn that Danie idolises Steenkamp. Age as a qualifying condition for patriarchy plays a defining role here. It fits in with the patriarchal condition that adults are always superior to children; in fact Danie addresses Sloet as *oom*. This factor is also confirmed when Danie immediately wants to help Sloet when he announces his escape plans upon arriving on St Helena. There are two visual aspects to this part of Scene E: Firstly, when Sloet engages with Danie, he looks down on him and Danie willingly looks up at him, in an almost servile manner (Figure 33).

Secondly, Sloet immediately feels his patriarchy and identity being the threatened by the governor and the military band looking down on him. Later on, in Scene I, Danie tries to assist Sloet, wanting to give him information for a planned escape. Sloet is idolised by Danie Keet. Then Danie's proposition comes—he wants to join Sloet in escaping.



Figure 32: Sloet rescues Danie Keet



Figure 33: The hero being idolised by Danie Keet

Steenkamp's patriarchal status is further visually confirmed as the POWs walk to the camp at the end of the scene. Steenkamp speaks to Paul Johnson about telling his father about his lashing. Steenkamp is portrayed as the senior patriarch by standing behind Johnson in an almost supportive manner. The superiority of age which Sloet has is also portrayed in how Paul looks up at him (Figure 34).



Figure 34: Sloet Steenkamp tells Paul Johnson to tell his father about the lashing

In Scene I, Sloet strengthens his own patriarchal position by challenging the patriarchy of Peet Johnson. This is because of the argument they have over his planned escape. As mentioned above, this is visually represented by the elder Johnson sitting down, while Sloet looks down at him and at one stage circles him. Sloet rebels here against his own cultural identity and tries to displace a

man older than himself in the patriarchal ranking. He repeats his actions in the same scene when the character of Commandant Keet reprimands him (Figures 14, 15).

Also in Scene O, Steenkamp establishes himself as patriarch when he goes after the upset Paul Johnson to comfort him after he has admitted cowardice to his father, Peet. This is visually depicted by contrasting the crying Paul Johnson, who is bent over the washing trough and an upright Sloet. The conversation between the two men carries on in this fashion until eventually Paul composes himself and stands upright. Sloet, however, remains taller than him, signifying patriarchal dominance (Figure 35).



Figure 35: Steenkamp the patriarch comforts Paul Johnson after his confession

Both the *penkoppe* and Paul Johnson reach out to in support of Sloet as patriarch when Sloet escapes from the camp. They offer to assist him blindly, at great danger to themselves, to help the patriarch whom they look up to. This patriarchal desire is again exhibited by Danie towards Sloet when Sloet is on the other side of the fence and he is silently encouraged by Danie (Figures 26, 27 and 28).

The two idols of Sloet Steenkamp's patriarchy, namely Danie Keet and Paul Johnson come together in Scene LL. Sloet is busy shaving, while Danie chats to

him about the race. He is still busy shaving when Paul enters and speaks to him about why the Boers went to war over land. Patriarchy is presented visually in the following way: Firstly, the act of shaving. Being able to grow a beard was seen as a sign of age and manliness amongst the Afrikaners. Although Sloet only has a thick moustache, this immediately gives patriarchal dominance over the other two characters. Paul is clean shaven—and unlike most of the other characters he does not grow a beard, nor do we ever see him shaving, questioning his ability to generate facial hair. He is sharply contrasted with his father, Peet Johnson, to whom he looks up and who has a long, thick bushy beard. Through this Paul is also classified as a coward and outcast. Danie, on the other hand, is too young to grow a beard. Despite the fact that he has been to war and killed enemy soldiers he is still a boy and not a man, idolising other men. In this scene it is once again shown that Sloet, under a specific context, has top patriarchal powers (Figure 36, 37, 38, 39)



Figure 36: Sloet Steenkamp, the patriarch shaving



Figure 37: Danie Keet watching Sloet Steenkamp shave



Figure 38: The clean shaven Paul Johnson



Figure 39: The patriarch reacts to Paul Johnson

In Scene Y, Sloet shows his tenacity and ingenuity in the most unthinkable of situations as Afrikaner male when he is recaptured and placed in solitary

confinement in a cell. He sets this alight to rid himself from the lice in the cell. This tenacity is also shown earlier when Sloet escaped from the camp and survived with a broken leg with the help of Sam Gobler. However, in the same scene Sloet rebels against his own Afrikaner masculinity by being openly accepting of the Polish citizen Skurf. Another instance is his acceptance of Dominee Blomfontein and the Jew, Bennie Mentz, unlike his Afrikaner male counterparts who viewed any 'foreigner' with disdain. Sloet is able to see that these foreigners are fighting for the Boer cause. Because Sloet's identity is so stable, he is accepting of foreigners for his cause (Figures 40 and 41).



Figure 40: Sloet Steenkamp shows his support for the Dutch accented Rev. Theo Blomfontein



Figure 41: Sloet Steenkamp and Skurf the Pole

Furthermore, Scene Y shows Sloet as typical Afrikaner male with an identification towards Christianity. While he is in isolation Sloet asks for a visit

from *Dominee* Theo Blomfontein in order for him and Skurf to receive some spiritual guidance. The Afrikaner male's dependence on his faith is visually illustrated by the fact that the two prisoners sit, while the *dominee* stands and looks down at them while conducting the service. To the Afrikaner male, and then by implication Sloet, the battle against the British, whether in an active theatre or as POW, is one lead by God—requiring constant guidance from Above. This was also a feature which kept many *bittereinders* in the War. It suffices to say that if Sloet was not captured his rebellious character would suit the requirements to be a *bittereinder*. In the next instance when the Dominee comes to visit the two prisoners, he crouches down to their level, and hands Sloet a knife with which to grind out the prison's iron bars. Now the Dominee is in line with Sloet's identity; he has broken his oath of neutrality, as much as Sloet has committed high treason when he as British subject joined the Republican commandoes (Figure 42).



Figure 42: Sloet Steenkamp and Skurf the Pole receives spiritual guidance from Rev. Theo Blomfontein

Scene B shows this first instance where Sloet Steenkamp may be seen as a struggler for national and cultural identity and the continuation of his own masculinity. It shows him on his own, stealing washing from the steamer which takes the POWs to St Helena, which is used to keep the sick prisoners warm (Figure 10). Through this, Steenkamp dominates the British, albeit subtly, for his nation's own survival according to Kahn (2009:3) and Mosse (1985:17). Scene

C further continues this masculine theme when it shows Steenkamp jogging around the steamer while the other POWs look on nonchalantly (Figure 43). This scene can be explained by Steenkamp's jogging as a way to keep body and mind, and in effect masculine struggle fit, while his fellow POWs have given up the struggle. Furthermore, this also brings forth Steenkamp's hero image, tying in with Carl Jung's (1989) description of the hero as runner. Steenkamp's virility as opposed to the rest of the POWs is also shown. Through this, Steenkamp shows the unworthiness of fighting for what is lost (that is the War), rather concentrating on that which is threatened (his own existence). As hero he also adapts better to his surroundings on the steamer than the other POWs.

A further instance where he struggles for national and cultural identity is where he runs against Captain Kirwan in Scenes G and JJ (Figures 21, 44). The scene illustrates several challenges to Sloet. Firstly, there is the challenge for his position within the hegemonic masculinity of the Afrikaner POWs. Secondly, there is the challenge in the greater hegemonic masculinity of the War itself. He addresses this by challenging his enemy to a foot race, a battle of wits, as opposed to weapons. Both Sloet and Captain Kirwan also defend their own titles of patriarch within their own social context.



Figure 43: Jogging on the steamer while the other POWs sit around



Figure 44: The first race between Steenkamp and Kirwan

The race may be seen as a metaphor for the masculine War itself—masculine Boer against masculine Briton, as Mansfield (1998:118) reminds us. Initially, as with the War, Steenkamp the Boer is ahead, and the whole nation is behind him (in the form of the POWs cheering him on). But then he trips and his masculine British rival overtakes him and the cheering dies down, perhaps a further metaphor for the waning Boer resistance and enthusiasm for the War after a couple of British victories. So the masculine defense also wanes.

In Scene Y, as with his other escape attempts, Sloet may be seen as rebel and struggler for nation and identity. The fact that he is confined goes against his character of Afrikaner male in two ways. Firstly, he is a man of the wide open farm where he can go where he pleases. Secondly, he is a patriarch and warrior and he is considered the leader of his own destiny, therefore he is likely to rebel against confinement. By being confined Sloet's masculine and national identity is threatened.

4.1.1.2 Mees Mouton

Mees Mouton, portrayed by Nico de Beer is an Afrikaner British civil servant, who did not rebel against the British. He is middle-aged, resides with his mother in town and owns no land. He attempts to get hold of Sloet's farm.

Mees Mouton's identity is unstable. As mentioned previously, identity involves choice, involving voluntary associations and relationships. Identity is also both social and personal. The individual within the social identity context makes these choices and relationships. Identity and its cultural relevance are also evident in Scene D with Annette Steenkamp, Adam and Mees Mouton. Consider Mees and Adam and the way they are dressed and the way in which they act out the scene. Adam, as black farm hand, shows his cultural affinity and dependence on the farm and the Steenkamps by dressing in a similar way as them (despite being a non-Afrikaner) (Figure 71). He also boasts long facial hair as did most of the Afrikaner men of the time. Although Mouton is culturally from the same group as Annette Steenkamp and the other Boers/Afrikaners, he serves the British and does not have the social standing of property and marriage. Through this, although not identically similar, Adam and Mouton may be considered cultural 'equals' in the different forms of alienness. In terms of similarity in features of identity, both Adam and Mees Mouton act in (passive) rebellion against their different cultural unity, in accordance with what both Baumeister (1986) and Gleason (1983) reason.

Differentiation in identity (another of the components of Baumeister's model, mentioned previously) in this Scene D can be explained as follows. Firstly, Adam and Mouton are from different cultures. However, their difference is also highlighted by both speaking Afrikaans, as explained previously by Erasmus (2005:234), Adam as non-Afrikaner and Mouton as Afrikaner cultural outcast. They differ, however, in their feeling of solidarity as explained by Bornman (2003:26). Adam is in solidarity with the Afrikaner cause against the British. Though he does not take up arms, he supports and remains faithful to his rebellious Afrikaner employers. Mouton, however, refrains from solidarity, always portrayed as pro-British. Therefore, even in his alienness, Adam is much sounder in his position of cultural identity than Mouton because his test of unity and differentiation appears much stronger. Mees Mouton has a weak cultural identity within the context of Cape Afrikaner society. As far as functional aspects of identity are concerned, Adam is superior to Mouton. As cultural alien with the Cape Afrikaner community his structures of values and priorities are much

sounder than Mouton's, a 'blood' Afrikaner. Adam's personal goals are sound, Mouton's are not.

It is continually shown that Mouton cannot generate meaningful relationships, whether with Annette Steenkamp, Oudok or even Adam because of his weak sense of identity. He is not sound in his social role—this appears in the visual metaphor where he constantly moves between the town and the Steenkamp farm, and he is sly by nature. He is defined by his identity components—rebellion against social better judgement, British servant and deceiver. With reference to Type 2 identity, even here Mees Mouton is lacking in the eyes of society. He has achieved nothing noteworthy within the context of the society, except perhaps being known as a sly character. Considering Type 3 identity, Mouton has not achieved much. He is simply a civil servant, and even worse, associated with the enemy. The character of Mouton engages in activity associated with the Type 4 identity component. He tries to get land in accordance with his socio-cultural definition, albeit in a dishonest way, and against the societal value system that one also associates with Type 4. With regard to Type 5 identity component, the following can be said about the character of Mouton. Firstly, Mouton chose not to rebel against the British and take up arms in solidarity with the two Boer Republics. Furthermore, he chooses to serve the British, going directly against the positive and harmonious societal group definition characterised by the Type 5 identity component. He does not choose any of the various sets of acceptable criteria in society.

The first unstable identity choice that Mees Mouton makes is his choice of employment in a socially turbulent time. He works for the British government, the very same government against which his cultural group, to which he claims membership, is waging a war against. Therefore, although he is a member of a particular cultural group he chooses to define himself within the group through rebellion (dishonesty in this case). He has set himself apart from other males in the group in two ways—firstly by choosing to serve the British, and secondly by being unmarried and without property (in fact he still stays with his mother). He has achieved very little, if anything within the context of the group. His

solidarity to the group is questionable. He does, however, try to achieve something by acquiring Sloet's farm and wife in a dishonest way. Because his personal goals in life are obscure he struggles to find purpose in life. The fact that his identity is unstable makes relationships with other members of his cultural group very difficult.

Mees Mouton's masculine features may be explained as follows. Firstly in Scene A, he is visually presented as a masculine outcast (and therefore in opposition to the ruling hegemonic masculinity) by standing alone (Figure 23). This serves to highlight his culturally attained identity label of *joiner* (even though in this case it is historically incorrect).⁶ Surrounding Mouton are two groups of men who are his masculine superiors. Firstly, we must consider the culturally equal men, standing around the execution site. All the men have wives by their side (Figure 4). All of the men can show their masculinity by it being positively reflected off the negative image of their feminine counterparts. Mees has got no one off whom to reflect his positive masculine image. Secondly, in comparison to the soldiers who make up the execution party, Mees carries no sense of masculine power, at least in a way acknowledged by the dominant group in society. This is visually illustrated by the uniforms they wear, and by the rifles they wield (Figure 45).

⁶ According to Pretorius (1985:35), *joiners* were Boers who surrendered and then aided the British against the Boers still in combat. *Hensoppers* were Boers who surrendered their weapons and laid down an oath of neutrality, with no aid to the British against the Boers. Mees Mouton can historically be regarded as a *joiner* because he is a subject to the British Crown as citizen of the Cape Colony. His character is however, very much portrayed like that of the historical *joiner*.



Figure 45: The British soldiers in uniform against Mees Mouton the individual

Mouton holds no power of patriarchy in Scene A; he cannot even stand up to Sloet when the former is bound and blindfolded. Despite not being one of the very younger male members of society, Mouton is unable to express his culturally determined patriarchal identity, because he has nothing to do it with—no wife, no property and no social cause. He is part of the lower echelons of the masculine hegemony. He has no choice but to comply within the masculine hegemonic system. Through standing alone in Scene A, Mouton experiences the homophobic element of masculine hegemony. He is oppressed by the social situation as it is visually presented in Scene A. The fact that Mouton holds no patriarchal power within the ruling masculinity puts negative influences his attempt to be regarded as the model Afrikaner male.

Scene A also shows how Mouton uses the circumstances around military defeat, as described by Swart (1998:743). As mentioned above, Mouton is very low on the hegemonic ladder. However, he uses the situation created by the War to manipulate the ruling hegemony. Scene A illustrates this in the following manner: firstly Mouton standing on his own, secondly Sloet Steenkamp sitting blindfolded next to an open grave (Figure 3), his wife standing without him, and lastly, the British soldiers standing armed (Figure 45) to show the bigger patriarchal battle that is raging between Afrikaner and British hegemony. This attempt of Mees Mouton is again visually underlined when the camera shows his disappointed face (Figure 9) in the background while Sloet and Annette

embrace after the former has been spared from execution. Mouton's lack of patriarchal power is also visually expressed in Scene D where he is dominated by Annette Steenkamp. Inadvertently Annette supports the dominant masculinity, of which Sloet is a member, by resisting Mees' masculine challenge to the dominant masculinity. This is not something which happens to a secure patriarch (Figure 46).



Figure 46: Annette Steenkamp dominating Mees Mouton

Mees Mouton's lack of any patriarchal force is once again shown in Scene M. He visits a frail Annette and once again tries to convince her to sell the farm to him. Despite her frail condition, she once again chases Mees away. His lack of patriarchal force is shown in this scene by the camera angle showing a portrait of Sloet in the background as Mees tries to persuade Annette. Mouton is dominated by a female—Annette—and her hegemonic superior Sloet, even in his absence.

.Mees Mouton manages to an attempt to improve his position in the hegemonic masculine setup (and improve his aspirations to become a patriarch) in Scene P. Annette Steenkamp is shown at her weakest when the scene starts—she struggles to put the kettle to the boil because of her injuries. Suddenly shots ring out and she walks out and finds Mees Mouton. Mouton's patriarchal stand is visually presented with the gun in his hand, characteristic of an Afrikaner male. Secondly, the fact that he is sitting on horseback forces Annette to look up at him, providing him with visual superiority. He now looks more like a warrior,

perhaps even a father and husband like other, patriarchally dominant men in his social context (Figures 47, 48).

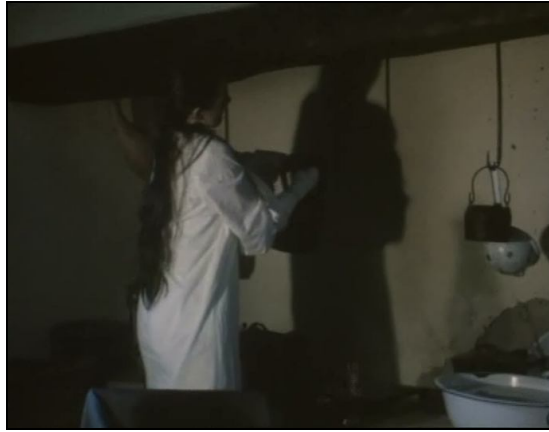


Figure 47: Annette Steenkamp struggles through injury

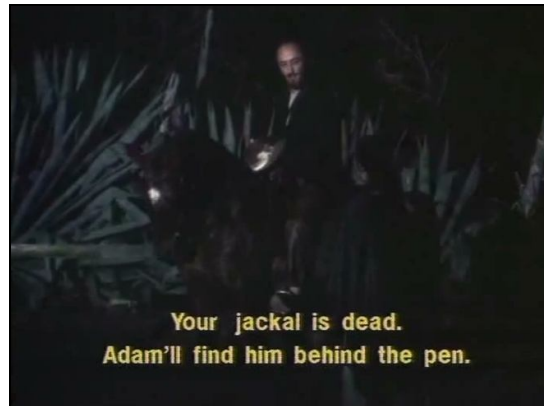


Figure 48: Mees Mouton makes a patriarchal stance

Yet Mouton's attempt at challenging the dominant masculinity is once again dashed in Scene Z. Oudok, the district doctor and an older male, admonishes Mouton for constantly visiting the Steenkamp farm. Mouton tries to deny the claims which Oudok makes about the formers claim for the Steenkamp farm. However, Oudok constantly refutes these denials, speaking in an authoritative manner, almost as if to a child. This is in line with the patriarchal social system of the Afrikaners. Oudok's dominating patriarchy can be visually seen in the facial expressions of the two characters. While Oudok, with his patriarchal control, maintains a set facial expression (Figure 49), Mees' changes into ones of shock, anger and disgust and several times he looks away from Oudok (Figure 50).



Figure 49: Mees Mouton gets a patriarchal hiding



Figure 50: Mees Mouton's reaction

Mees Mouton's masculine offensive finally collapses in Scene KK. He and his mother are being entertained by Annette on the Steenkamp farm. At the dining table (Figure 51) they start to talk about Sloet. Mees' mother lets it be known that Sloet writes such passionate letters—letters which Annette never received because Mees disposed of them. Mees' mother scolds him and demands that she take him home immediately. Mees goes after Annette but she chases him away again. The collapse of his patriarchal stand is visually illustrated in two ways. Firstly, by the seating arrangement at the table: his mother sits at the head of the table, while Annette sits opposite him with no wall behind her. Mees sits with his back against a wall. The two women act as visual 'breaking agents' of Mees' attempt at patriarchy—he is trapped like an animal against them (Figure 52). Traditionally, the male would sit at the head of the table, with

subordinates sitting at the sides of the table. Mees is still ruled over by his mother (Figure 54), while Annette knows of his dirty tricks and traps him like an animal in a trap. His attempt at patriarchy further collapses when Annette chases him off the farm. The scene places off in the main bedroom, with the portrait of Annette and Sloet again playing a silent but important role. It may signify that even in his absence, Sloet is the supreme patriarch on the farm and in the house. Furthermore, Mees is chased from the main bedroom (Figure 53), the place of privacy and procreation of a married couple during this period, with the man always being the senior partner. Significantly, he came so close to taking the role as the senior partner but his own conniving brought him to a fall.



Figure 51: Seating arrangements with the Moutons' visit



Figure 52: Mees Mouton is trapped



Figure 53: Annette Steenkamp chases Mees Mouton away with the portrait of her and Sloet looking on



Figure 54: Mees Mouton being dominated by his mother

Mees Mouton is not the head of a household, even though he is the only male in his mother's house. He also works for the enemy and has no puritan work ethic. He is not sincere, does not survive on self-provision because he is not his own boss and lives in town, and he holds no social position. Importantly, unlike the model Afrikaner male he carries no anti-British sentiment. He holds no Republican sentiment and does not have a characteristic headstrong nature. This is all visually illustrated by the fact that Mouton ties his field hat to the left hand side like the British, unlike the Afrikaner combatants who tied theirs to the right (Figure 55). In the same vein it must be stated that Mouton's character agrees with what Du Toit (2003:158) mentions, that very few Afrikaner males saw their fellow combatants as 'brother Afrikaners;' every man was for himself,

except in the case of family. The scenes involving Mees Mouton in the rest of the first season is visually representative of how Mouton tries to use patriarchal chaos of the society to better his own hegemonical position. He becomes socially detached in his attempt because he tries to secure his own inferiority complex in trying to comply with the social norm.



Figure 55: Mees Mouton wearing his field hat in the British style

Scene D shows Mouton's first attempt. It however, also shows his shortcomings. He arrives on the farm on a horse, the traditional mode of transport for the rural Afrikaner male. He wears a white suit. He approaches Annette and Adam. However, his attempt is immediately challenged by the fact that Annette is also on a horse and wears a pair of trousers (Figure 46). Visually she is his equal, and perhaps even his superior. This shows that socially the event is abnormal, because female dominates male. Mouton cannot enforce, or attempt to enforce any patriarchy on a female as is traditionally expected of him. No male domination takes place. Sex roles are totally reversed by the fact that labour division is reversed between Annette and Mees—she runs the farm and he holds a lowly administrative job. In keeping with tradition she as married woman dominates him as unmarried male. This is visually illustrated both in terms of riding alongside him on horseback and chasing him off the farm with a whip.

4.1.1.3 PJ Buys

PJ Buys, portrayed by Andre Roodtman is a POW with Sloet on St Helena. He suffered a severe bayonet wound on his cheek during a battle before being

captured and it left a significant scar. Before joining up he was a teacher. In the camp he is a schemer, and is constantly in competition with another POW, Buks Retief.

The identity of PJ Buys is stable yet varying. He is one of the main members in whatever group he finds himself—whether it is within the small community in the tent or in the camp as a whole. He is socially well orientated, is not married and enjoys activities like socialising with his fellow POWs, drinking, and gambling. With regard to identity narratives, PJ Buys adheres to the existing social climate of war. Despite his status as POW he still passionately supports the cause for which he went into battle, although the various relationships he has with his fellow POWs is less rooted in this social climate. A prime example is his stormy relationship with Buks Retief, whom he refers to as a *Vrystaatse brak* (a Free State dog). His identity therefore varies in as far as the identity narrative of a relationship with history goes. The next identity narrative, the relationship with space, is stable in PJ Buys. He strongly identifies himself throughout the series as a *Bosvelder* or a Bushvelder, referring to the part of South Africa from which he originates. This status is especially highlighted by the fact that he is far away from home on a socially alien island. By his very nature, PJ Buys has a strong relationship with culture, the last identity narrative. He smokes pipe, enjoys drinking, socialises with his fellow POWs and also enjoys betting and card-playing. He successfully maintains individual unity within the group and is generally well received as individual by the other group members, while still maintaining his individual identity. He therefore participates in the solidarity of the group, while remaining unique as an individual. As an individual he is defined as warrior and teacher, smuggler, and in the last episode instigator of an uprising against Sloet Steenkamp's re-imprisonment. The fact that he adheres to group identity also means that he adheres to the military structure of the group. He never refuses to obey an order a commandant and he willingly participates in the process to punish Paul Johnson for his cowardice.

The first unique masculine trait which PJ Buys exhibits is that of patriarch within the defined hegemonic system. Although he is not the leading patriarch he

adheres to maintaining the hegemonic system, whereby younger males are dominated by older males. In Scene B, PJ Buys is part of a group of three men who unmask Paul Johnson's cowardice. PJ Buys and Buks Retief, as subordinate patriarchs, question Paul Johnson about where he sustained the wound on his hand that warrants a bandage. Commandant Keet, the main patriarch, forcefully removes the bandage to reveal that Paul Johnson was never injured. The hegemonic order and PJ Buys' position is visually represented by the occupation relationships below deck of the four men. PJ Buys and Buks Retief, who may be considered on equal hegemonic level, sit down; Paul Johnson lies on his back in a hammock, while Commandant Keet stands upright directly behind the hammock (Figures 56, 57).



Figure 56: Seating arrangements below deck as hegemonic representation



Figure 57: Commandant Keet as leading patriarch and Paul Johnson as subordinate

The hegemonic chain of command is once again shown in Figure 12, where Paul Johnson is beaten for his cowardice. PJ Buys, as subordinate patriarch reads out the sentence, while Commandant Keet, as the main patriarch carries out the punishment. A further example of PJ Buys' role as subordinate patriarch is in Scene G, where the men gather in the coffee house and Reverend Blomfontein is confronted about the oath of secrecy he took on the War situation in South Africa. He is accused of being a *draadsitter* (a derogatory term for being neutral in the conflict). Although PJ Buys does not make the accusation himself he sits on the side of the table from which the accusation comes. Opposite to him sit all the men who do not fit comfortably in the dominant social group of who amongst others PJ Buys and Buks Retief are members. These other men are Sloet Steenkamp, Reverend Blomfontein, and Kortgiel Mostert who has Portuguese ancestry (Figures 40, 58).



Figure 58: Seating arrangements in the group, with PJ Buys in the dominant hegemonic group

PJ Buys may also be considered a typical example of the model Afrikaner male. As mentioned above he holds a certain amount of patriarchal power within the group. In addition to this, he also fulfils the designation of school teacher (Figure 19). His anti-British sentiment is shown in Scene F, when he throws a handful of mud at Jimmy Kitchener and again in Scene O when he is involved in a light scuffle with Sergeant Stewart.



Figure 59: PJ Buys showing his anti-British sentiment by throwing mud at Jimmy Kitchener



Figure 60: Sergeant Stewart and PJ Buys in a light scuffle

PJ Buys hegemonic status may be somewhat affected by the fact that he is not married, which is a requirement for membership of the dominant masculinity. He may have the status of subordinate patriarch because he can only fulfil the power role of warrior and not also of father and husband as the traditional Afrikaner male patriarch is defined. However, this also makes him an ideal candidate for the Boer cause to the bitter end, because he did not have a wife and children to think about like Sloet Steenkamp, for whom the War was over. Despite the ideological curtain which strict patriarchy formed around Afrikaner men, many commando members abandoned the commando to tend to their families and farms.

PJ Buys' position as subordinate patriarch is, however, also culturally confirmed despite the fact that he is a bachelor. Culturally bachelors and spinsters held social power in a large family and we see exactly this happening with PJ Buys within the context of the POW population. This status quo was also present on commando. A further visual confirmation of this status is PJ Buys' beard. Another strong characteristic of PJ Buys as Afrikaner male is that of adherence to Christianity. Although this is not visually portrayed as with some other characters, Buys refers to himself as a *peinsende Christen* or 'pensive Christian.'

In Scene JJ in the last episode of the season, PJ Buys makes a hegemonic status leap in when he leads the other POWs in protesting against Sloet's re-incarceration in the fort (Figure 61). Socially Buys can also do this because Commandant Keet, the main patriarch, and Buks Retief, Buys' fellow subordinate patriarch are both dead.



Figure 61: PJ Buys leads the POWs in protest over Sloet's rearrest

4.1.1.4 Bennie Mentz

Bennie Mentz, portrayed by Percy Sieff, is a Jew who fought with the Boers. He refers to himself as a *Boerejood*. He is the editor of the camp newspaper.

Bennie Mentz has a challenging time in upholding his identity within the chosen cultural group with which he associates. Firstly, as a Jew he faces a historical disadvantage through being stereotypically viewed by his Afrikaner POWs. One

can almost say that he had to turn against himself to be accepted amongst the Afrikaners. Even after he participated in the fight for independence along with the Boers, something which most Jews in the two Republics did not do, he is still viewed with scepticism by many of the POWs. His spatial relationship within the context of the social group is much better than his relationship with history, as he finds a social place within the context of the tent. This is also improved by the fact that he manages a small 'newspaper' within the camp, which relates mostly on the social happenings within the camp, like the sports day and the concert. His embracing of his new culture is stable and he actively involves himself in events such as the sports day and the music concert. Furthermore, he socially mingles with many of the main characters, specifically PJ Buys, and is also seen in the local 'café', drinking illegal banana wine with the other men.

Despite coming from an alien culture, Bennie Mentz still fits in relatively well with his chosen cultural group. He manages to express himself as individual yet he always portrays the role of the cultural outsider. Whereas Sloet Steenkamp may be seen as a rebel within his own group, Bennie Mentz is an outsider outside of the group. Steenkamp will always remain a member of the group despite his rebellion, but Mentz always has to justify himself as member of the group. He does this mostly through his newspaper. His differentiation within the group lies not in his uniqueness as Afrikaner but in his alien status as Jew, and of the underlying stereotype of the period of Jews being financially dishonest (Pretorius 1991:123; Milne 2000:71).

With the above mentioned status Mentz finds it difficult to lay a sense of self definition at his own door and thereby acquire the harder-to-get identity components. He can attribute to himself the titles of husband, warrior and newspaper editor but because of his cultural alieness these designations do not carry the same cultural weight as they would with a Calvinist Afrikaner male. Because the aforementioned situation exists, Mentz cannot earn higher components of self-definition. It is unlikely that he will hold rank within the Republican commandoes and his superior education compared to many of the POWs does not count for much within the cultural realm. Even his choice to

associate with the Boers and their struggle never shows as much dividends as it would show for an Afrikaner man.

Mentz's troubled identity also makes his attempt at patriarchal status within the hegemonic system very weak. This is visually portrayed in Scene O, when a fight erupts in the tent between PJ Buys and Buks Retief (Figure 62). Bennie Mentz shows his lack of patriarchal power within the greater hegemonical scheme when he simply tries to break up the fight by shouting at the two men. Sloet Steenkamp, on the other hand, physically breaks up the fight as sign of his hegemonic status (Figure 63). A few moments on in the scene Peet Johnson, an elder occupant of the tent with a bushy beard to confirm his patriarchal status and in effect his position in the 'tent commando,' bursts in and admonishes the three men (Figure 64), referring to Retief as a 'proud man of the soil,' to Buys as 'an educator of the *penkoppe*' and Steenkamp as a 'proud rebel.' In this scene Bennie Mentz stands in the tent as an alien. Although he was part of breaking up the fight Johnson does not even notice him (Figure 65). Mentz does not show top social powers as mentioned by Kahn (2009:23) and he cannot show domination within the group (Cranny-Francis et al 2003:14). Mentz is in some cases a patriarchal slave, with the status associated with those of women and children, despite his age.



Figure 62: The fight between PJ Buys and Buks Retief



Figure 63: Sloet breaks up the fight



Figure 64: Peet Johnson, the bearded senior patriarch admonishes the men



Figure 65: Bennie Mentz the Jew stands alienated in the tent as if he was not there

Very little can be said about Bennie Mentz as Afrikaner male, specifically because of his acquired identity as 'Jewish Afrikaner'. He has no agricultural link

as he worked in Johannesburg as a news editor. Theoretically this is entirely possible, as Marais (1999:15) relates that subtle class distinctions existed amongst Afrikaners, with the majority of the population being middle class and a smaller section being highly educated (which Bennie Mentz is to a degree). The only claim which Mentz can make to patriarchy is in his roles of warrior and husband, but within the hegemonic group it appears as if this claim automatically ceases because Mentz has an acquired identity. One could therefore also reason that Mentz does not carry the image of warrior and that his own masculine identity is not entrenched in that of the Republican commando system. He cannot be considered as a rebel, because a rebel like him with an acquired identity would be excommunicated from the group should he rebel. Because of the strong sense of ethnicity that is associated with war, Bennie Mentz is isolated like so many of the 'foreign' volunteers, by the Afrikaners.

4.1.1.5 Paul Johnson

Paul Johnson, portrayed by Gert van Niekerk, is a young Boer captured in battle. On route to St Helena it is discovered that he has been faking a war wound, and he is punished with six lashes. His father is Peet Johnson, an elderly Boer already on the island.

Unity over time (as one of the components of Baumeister's model) as characteristic of identity is found in Scene B with the punishment of Paul Johnson on board of the steamer. Johnson is in negotiation with his own individual identity within that of the group when he acted in the way he did. At the same time, the group also has certain social rules which have to. Failure to do so, especially in the case of a war situation (as example of social group chaos) as threatening to the group's survival, results in certain social consequences. One can argue that Johnson is punished rather lightly with just a lashing, considering he could have been expelled from the group as a whole, and in an active theatre probably executed by his own commando.

Although culturally Paul Johnson fits into the group of Afrikaner POWs, his identity is very unstable. He questions the purpose of the War and why the Afrikaners went to war over land. Johnson's unity as individual within the group is lacking, especially after he was unmasked as a coward. He rebels against the dominant masculine characteristic amongst the group of men and attempts to define himself within the group. This only occurs in the last episode when he makes an armed stand against the British. Johnson has a negotiated feeling of solidarity within the group and this may be why he struggles to negotiate his own identity within the group. He struggles to make choices and set priorities within the greater group, while he struggles to set personal goals to guide him. He associates with the group on all fronts, except the issue of the War. This identity problem is solved at the end of the season. Over and above what was mentioned about Johnson's identity above his ability to assimilate identity components is poor. He has achieved nothing of social value. However, he improves his self-definition towards the end of the season of *Arende* by making an armed stand against the British. He improves his self-definition by making a required choice to the benefit of the entire group.

As member of the hegemonic masculine community in the camp, Paul Johnson has a very low status. He struggles to achieve masculine status within the group, especially because masculinity in his cultural group is demonstrated through war and aggression, something which he is against. He therefore can carry no patriarchal status because he does not fit into the dominant masculine order. Within the hegemonic system, Paul Johnson is the patriarchal slave and is marginalised. This is visually portrayed in a number of ways. He is disciplined by the strict patriarchal system by being lashed for his cowardice by the supreme patriarch, Commandant Keet (Figure 12). Paul Johnson is always clean shaven and does not appear to be able to grow a beard (Figure 38). With thick beards being a sign of patriarchy and social status within masculinity, a visual comparison between Paul and for example Sloet Steenkamp (Figure 36) highlights this fact. Furthermore, he is hegemonically oppressed by, amongst others, Buks Retief and PJ Buys and he carries the shame of a lashing which he does not want to show to his father (Figure 56).

Paul Johnson cannot be considered a model Afrikaner male, although he does exhibit his own unique masculinity. As mentioned above, he holds no patriarchal position and holds no social position such as that of husband, father, priest or leader. He even failed in his position as soldier. He also lives in the shadow of his elderly father who goes unchallenged as his patriarch. Paul perhaps even idolises his father. In this respect he betrayed the Afrikaner tradition of family ties on commando by being a coward (Pretorius 1991:258). He places himself in masculine isolation by his aversion to the commando, which according to Swart (1998:738) is the root of Afrikaner masculinity. Furthermore, he is not married. Paul does, however, have strong identification with Christianity like the model Afrikaner. This plays a significant role in his attempt to confess to his father, as he goes to the two ministers to assist him with his confession in Scene L (Figure 66).



Figure 66: Paul Johnson goes to the ministers' hut for help

Despite the fact that Grobler (2007:93) mentions that in some cases Boer troops did not consider running away from a hopeless battle as cowardly, Paul Johnson has to be considered as a rebel within his own cultural community. Paul's rebellion may be explained because of the War challenging his identity as a pacifist. He does not understand that people should go to war over land, holding the exact opposite view to that of his fellow commando members/POWs. Boje and Pretorius (2011:67) give

evidence of many Boer men not wanting to fight because of an objection to warfare. However, in Paul's case he experiences a conflict between his pacifist outlook and his commitment to family ties through his father. This conflict and Paul's rebellion in the situation is visually represented in Scene O when news of the lashing reaches Peet Johnson's ears (Figure 67) and Paul has to show him the marks on his back (Figure 68). Both men storm out of the tent, Peet Johnson to visit the ministers and Paul Johnson crying to the watering site. The fact that he cries shows what has become of his rebellion and how the hegemonic masculine system has controlled him as a young boy to maintain balance within the system. He is comforted in his failure by another rebel, Sloet Steenkamp (Figure 35).



Figure 67: Peet Johnson hears of the news of his son's lashing for cowardice



Figure 68: The lashings on Paul Johnson's back

As mentioned above, Paul Johnson becomes more assimilated as an Afrikaner male within the group at the end of the first season by staging an armed protest against the re-imprisonment of Sloet Steenkamp. By using a handgun Paul rejects his pacifist identity and embraces the typical image of the Afrikaner male of the time and his defining symbol, the fire arm (Figure 69). By doing this he also finally makes a proper stand against the threat of national independence posed by the British, although this only lasts for a few minutes before he is shot dead. The irony in his assimilation is that in his death he is symbolically again placed under a patriarch when he dies in Sloet Steenkamp's arms (Figure 70).



Figure 69: Paul Johnson mounts an armed protest against the British



Figure 70: Paul Johnson dies in Sloet Steenkamp's arms after being shot

4.1.1.6 Annette Steenkamp

Annette Steenkamp, portrayed by Libby Daniels, is Sloet's wife, who stays behind on their sheep farm in the Karoo. She is in a constant battle to survive without her husband, and keeps the farm functioning.

Annette Steenkamp has a stable yet negotiated identity. This is mostly brought about by the social chaos of war in which she finds herself. Generally her relationship with history is normal—she complies with most of her roles as female within her cultural group. Yet one has to consider her reaction to the challenges she faces with her husband away from the farm. The fact that she constantly finds herself on the farm where she has lived her life as married woman means that she has an established spatial relationship. By marrying Sloet she has become part of a lineal connection associated with possession of land. She associates with the farm as her only 'home' and we only see her once going to town. In as far as her relationship with culture goes it is here where Annette Steenkamp does the most negotiation in terms of identity as Afrikaner female—albeit because of the social situation created by the War. Through this there appears to be some separation between her and her cultural group. In this separation Annette Steenkamp differentiates herself from other woman in the cultural group, while staying part of the group.

Although Steenkamp's identity is generally stable the social chaos in which she is sometimes embroiled, makes her choices less clear. For example, she nearly ends up divorcing Sloet and marrying Mees Mouton as season one progresses. This centres on the future ownership of the farm and whether she as female can own the farm, or whether it should be owned by a male. The viewer may see some kind of cultural normality returning when Annette writes the letter asking Sloet for a divorce to save the farm, in Scene H. She is pictured in her role as manager of the farm, in her male trousers, laced-up boots and hair tied back in a plait. She does, however, compose the letter in the kitchen, a place that in normal cultural circumstances she would regard as a fortress of the female. However, there is also a constant reminder of social chaos in the scene where Annette writes the letter, and in the scene where Sloet reads the letter. For both

it is a bitter pill to swallow—Annette doubts whether she should post the letter, while Sloet dismisses himself from the group of POWs who celebrate his return from the fort for the planned sports day between the Boers and the British.

Her relationships with her fellow group members are also somewhat strained although she is never alienated. However, her identity is the factor which directs her in her time of difficulty. Generally her components of self-definition are stable. She has undergone transformation in her life by complying with the cultural norm of marriage. Through her marriage she also involuntarily attained the title of 'wife of a Cape rebel' and it is based on this that she has to renegotiate much of her own identity. This state of being also forces her to make specific choices, in essence for the survival of the masculine artefact of the farm and the dominant role of the male in a marriage. However, her forced choices with regard to the farm and her marriage are also required choices because she has to defy cultural tradition and manage the farm on her own.

Differentiation in identity confirms the social chaos in the life of Annette Steenkamp. She differentiates herself from what is expected of the female within the Cape Afrikaner society, and even stands up to and dominates men. She does, however, remain part of the cultural group by speaking Afrikaans and following the customs and traditions, albeit in fulfilling the role of the man on the farm. Throughout, her identity remains well defined and stable within the context of her circumstance. This enables her to cope in hard times. She maintains this by making choices for her own well-being and her own cultural survival. Through this she is also able to maintain relationships with the rest of society, even though at a distance and on her terms, as she takes on the role of not only housewife, but also of owner/manager of the farm.

Furthermore, Annette Steenkamp's identity components are mostly stable. Considering the Type 1 identity component she is passive, stable and unproblematic as far as her role as housewife and wife of Sloet Steenkamp goes. Type 2, dealing with her achievements are varying—she is the wife of Sloet Steenkamp, but now also the owner/manager of the farm. With Type 3 she leap-

frogs the traditional hierarchy because of the social chaos in her society. In terms of the Type 4 identity component and the choice associated with it, Annette Steenkamp's identity is defined by new and old choices. She initially chose to live within the passive limits associated with females of the time, happily a housewife and supporter of her husband on the farm. However, with the realm of social chaos that affects her identity she is forced to go against the social guidelines and chooses to partially take over the role of her husband and senior. In supporting her husband's rebellion against the British she has fulfilled the requirements of the Type 5 identity components.

Below follows a description of Annette Steenkamp's relationship with men as well as how she changes her feminine identity in season one of *Arende* in order to accommodate her new, traditionally masculine role as manager of the farm. The basis of her forced transformation may be explained with a gender binary opposite. The anthropological approach to masculinity implies that anything men are, women are not (Gutmann 1997:386). However, Annette Steenkamp has to be everything a woman is, and everything she is not in trying to manage the farm. In Scene A the dominant gender order is maintained. Annette looks on longingly at her husband as he waits to be executed (Figure 2). Visually she is presented exactly as is expected of a woman of the time. After his pardoning, they embrace and Annette's subservient status as woman is once again confirmed, especially because she has to look up at Sloet (Figure 5).

With the departure of her husband to St Helena, Annette Steenkamp's identity shifts as Afrikaner woman starts to take place. Firstly, she holds a position of power and position on the farm, albeit in service of Sloet. She has to re-negotiate her sex role as female and the cultural division of labour by performing tasks such as working with a flock of sheep (Figure 69), shooting a marauding jackal (Figure 70) or riding a horse (Figure 46) (Judith Butler 1990;1999 quoted by Pilcher & Whelan 2004:8). Yet, Annette Steenkamp does so much more than just take over the jobs associated with managing the farm. In doing this she assimilates herself with the powerful image of the Afrikaner male as farmer, hunter and perhaps even warrior. She also underlines the Afrikaner

temperament of self-subsistence and isolation (Du Pisani 2004:81; Giliomee 2004:109).



Figure 71: Annette Steenkamp working with the sheep with the labourer Adam



Figure 72: Annette Steenkamp tries to shoot a marauding jackal

Annette Steenkamp also has to take over the responsibility of running the household over and above managing the farm. This includes chores like cooking and collecting water for use in the house. She traverses the masculine/feminine distinction of public and private albeit mostly by assimilating labour division on the farm. This is visually illustrated not only in the new roles which she undertakes but also in the way she dresses—not in a dress anymore but in clothing associated with males, namely a pair of trousers, a buttoned shirt with sleeves rolled up (Figures 46, 69). This state of dress only changes when she is shown in the house (Figure 74), when she travels to town, dressed in the

Victorian manner of the time (Figure 73), and when she hosts the Moutons for lunch on the farm (Figure 51).



Figure 73: Annette Steenkamp dressed in the tradition of her gender at the time

Despite the fact that Annette Steenkamp somewhat defies cultural processes by taking over the management of the farm, she inadvertently also serves patriarchy by supporting the dominant masculinity. This is illustrated in Scene H when she sits at the kitchen table in her male trousers, lace-up boots and plaited hair busy inspecting a rifle with Sloet's initials engraved on the butt. Annette is in the house's kitchen, a room identifiable with her as housewife, yet she is dressed like a man and handles a rifle, traditionally associated with an Afrikaner/Boer male (Figure 74). If we again consider hegemonic masculinity in terms of system theory, Annette inadvertently acts to compensate the continuation of the existing masculine order despite the fact that it is in turmoil with the War (although she falls outside the system entirely). By taking over the labour activities originally performed by Sloet, she helps to maintain his masculine presence and in effect the relationship she has with him—that of subservient wife of a patriarchal husband. She, in effect, takes over the homosociality associated with a group of heterosexual men in keeping the order of masculine hegemony (Bird 1996:121). Therefore, one can conclude that despite the fact that Annette Steenkamp takes over so many male roles, she is in effect still subordinated by hegemony (Khan 2009:31). This is visually illustrated in Scene J.

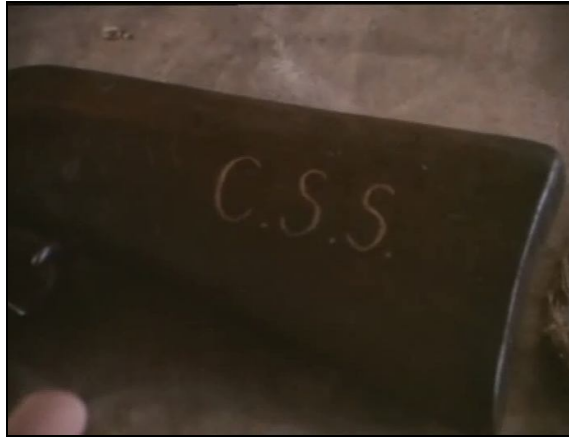


Figure 74: The rifle butt with Sloet Steenkamp's initials as visual sign of the control of masculinity

The analysis of Annette Steenkamp is incomplete if it is not compared to the Afrikaner myth of the *volksmoeder*. The first example is the resilience shown by Annette Steenkamp on the farm and her support of the War. She exhibits the support of the nationalistic cause by redefining her own identity in support of the War cause. This is in line with the merits of the *volksmoeder* myth. The fact that Annette Steenkamp takes over the farming is entirely in line with the myth of the *volksmoeder* in difficult times. Furthermore, from the way in which the character is portrayed it appears that the myth is followed in line with the purpose of its male creators. Annette Steenkamp is "... suffering and self-sacrificial" (Du Toit 2003:157-158) and willingly interacts with the myth. As the storyline goes this brings certain consequences, the most prominent two being the injury she sustains with the gun (Figure 73) in Scene M as well as the advances which Mees Mouton makes towards her. Both of these consequences underline her inner weakness as a female, as the myth dictates and adds a sense of nostalgic history with regard to the image of the Afrikaner woman. Visually it also places her back into the domain of the female, namely that of the private sphere comprising the bedroom, the kitchen and the house in general. Although she is portrayed as robust, the incident with the rifle serves to bring her back in line with her own gender designation confirming that she will never be equal with the male gender designation.

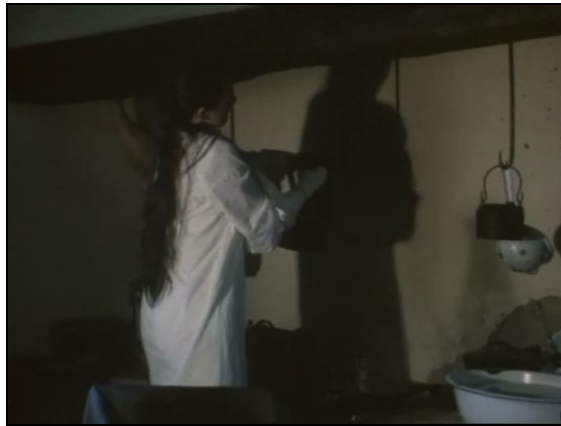


Figure 75: An injured Annette Steenkamp struggles with house chores

The one exception with regard to the *volksmoeder* myth and Annette Steenkamp is the fact that she is totally alone on the farm. She has no family to care for and their only child lies buried in the family graveyard on the farm. There is no child to educate or feed, which also points out that Annette as *volksmoeder* can only serve her husband. None of the familial structures exist on the farm, so the entirety of the myth can never be visually presented in the first season of *Arende*. Where the myth in terms of its impact on social structure within the family and the community is evident is in Annette's domination of Mees Mouton. Firstly, Annette has the status of a married woman, while Mees is an unmarried man with little status. Secondly, and in line with the myth, this social status dictates that the female indeed dominates unmarried males because of their low patriarchal status.

The final manner in which Annette Steenkamp differs from much of her cultural historical description as female and the designations of the myth of the *volksmoeder* is in the relationship she has with the African labourer, Adam. While historically, the male had control over the labourers, it is documented by Bradford (2002:49) that with the absence of the patriarch labourers often absconded and even turned to criminal activity. Even as far as labourer control goes, Annette Steenkamp has taken over the traditional role of the male in that she dictates to Adam chores on the farm (Figure 76), albeit in a very dignified

and respectful matter (something which may not always have been the case in the relationship between the patriarch of the farm and his labourers).



Figure 76: Annette Steenkamp and Adam the African labourer

4.1.2 British characters

4.1.2.1 Captain James Kirwan

Captain James Kirwan, portrayed by Gavin van den Berg, is the British commander of Deadwood Camp on St Helena. While he exhibits military precision in most things he does, he is also a womaniser.

The identity of James Kirwan is stable with very little exception, as would be expected of his status as a military man and officer. With regard to his identity narratives, Captain Kirwan's stable identity reflects positively. Firstly, he has a solid relationship with history because he holds the rank in the most powerful military force of its time. The fact that he is an officer in the British Army defines his own social existence parameters. He is allowed to define his identity in as much as the rules and regulations of the Army allow him to, predominately dictated by the social power behind his rank. Captain Kirwan's spatial relationship in terms of his identity is a little more difficult to explain because St Helena is not his home. However, he exerts a certain amount of control in that he is commander in-charge of the camp and holds a higher social rank than the indigenous people on the island. He can also dictate authority through his extra-marital relationships with Jo-Anne Wilks and Princess Gobler, although this falls

outside the rules associated with the Army. His spatial relationship is also defined in terms of the power afforded to him by the set rules of the British Army.

However, Kirwan never bases his exploration of the island with reference to his true 'home.' Nowhere in the series does he ever display a longing for home or even affection for home. His relationship with culture is fixed according to Army rules and traditions. However, outside the Army he chooses to engage in a more individual masculine identity with relationships with various women. He does not struggle to make choices because his identity is stable, especially considering his designation as soldier. Captain Kirwan also easily manages to collect identity components. Firstly, he is defined by the achievement of the rank which he holds, for which he had to fulfil certain social criteria. Kirwan can also improve on the achievement of rank which would boost his identity and place him on an entirely new social position within the group. His identity is also more stable by the voluntary choice of marriage he made, although he compromises group custom through the extra-marital affairs which he conducts. He also makes irreversible choices through the orders he gives.

Owing to his stable identity, the masculine elements associated with Captain James Kirwan are vast. Kirwan can be regarded as the supreme patriarch, at least as far as Deadwood Camp goes, but in many instances also the entire St Helena. As mentioned in Chapter Three, patriarchy comprises male domination through a hierarchy orchestrated with binary opposites. More directly the masculine is regarded as positive and the feminine as negative. Kirwan illustrates this in two cases in what may be regarded as processes in assuring his complete patriarchal status. The two female characters in question are Princess Gobler and Jo-Anne Wilks (Scene GG). Let us consider the former first. A core part of Kirwan maintaining his patriarchal status is contained in his running of Deadwood Camp. This process is upset by the escape of Sloet Steenkamp and Captain Kirwan takes it upon himself to recapture the POW and maintain the patriarchal status quo. Princess Gobler becomes a pawn in the hands of Kirwan because he uses her to get to his nemesis, Sloet Steenkamp

(see 4.2.1.1). Kirwan correctly suspects that one of the indigenous members of the island, Sam Gobler, is helping Sloet by hiding him. He gathers his intelligence by engaging in a relationship with Princess Gobler, Sam's only daughter, which eventually ends in her falling pregnant. His control of Princess also gives him greater patriarchal control over Sam, because the latter is dependent on the British soldiers as customers for the goods which he sells (Figures 78, 79).

Kirwan therefore uses the unique patriarchal social system from which he emanates to boost his own patriarchal status within the very same system. Visually his control over Sam and Princess is shown in a variety of ways. This is initially shown in Figures 7 and 8 when Kirwan and Sloet Steenkamp take control of the female body when they watch the scantily clothed Princess from a cliff. Kirwan however uses the control of the female as his main strategy in which to ensure patriarchal dominance. In the case of Princess he engages with her when she is at her weakest. The first instance is when he enters the Goblers hut and finds Princess naked in the bath (Figure 77). While she initially reacts with shock, later on in the scene she submits to his advances and drops the towel with which she covers herself. The second instance is after the fall-out between Princess and her father over her betrayal of the escaped Sloet Steenkamp. Kirwan uses this to further his romantic involvement with Princess and thereby further embarrass Sam. He robs Sam of part of the defining characteristics of his identity, by making the latter's only family turn against him. Sam goes on to say: "I have no daughter."



Figure 77: Captain James Kirwan walks in on Princess Gbler bathing



Figure 78: The patriarchal domination of Sam Gbler by Captain James Kirwan



Figure 79: Captain James Kirwan advances his patriarchal control by engaging romantically with Princess Gbler

Kirwan also advances his patriarchal position through the use of Jo-Anne Wilks (Scene GG), the Governor of St Helena's daughter. In the initial segments of season one, we see advances made by Jo-Anne to Kirwan; advances which are flatly ignored by Kirwan. However, as the problem of adequate medical care in Deadwood Camp becomes a crisis and the Governor refuses to intervene, Kirwan engages in a romantic relationship with Jo-Anne in order to influence her to change her father's mind (Scene GG). According to the Victorian myth of sexuality, Jo-Anne has betrayed her father by labelling herself as an adulterer. In the same mythical tradition, Kirwan's part in the relationship is merely regrettable as a male urge (Nead 1988:30). If one ignores the fact that Kirwan is a married man, he also does not follow social protocol by inquiring to visit Jo-Anne from her parents. (Evans 1990:23).

Deadwood Camp is the basis of Kirwan's patriarchal stance and therefore he uses the advances made by Jo-Anne to achieve his objective as patriarchal control. As the episodes progress, the viewer realises that Kirwan has no intention of a future for the relationship as he is still also involved with Princess Gbler. There is visual illustration of Kirwan's deception in that the relationship is initially conducted far away from the Governor's house (Figure 80) while towards the end of the season, Kirwan and Jo-Anne meet each other in the garden of the Governor's house where they are eventually 'caught out' by Mary Wilks, Jo-Anne's mother in Scene GG (Figure 81-82). It could be argued that Kirwan had deliberately planned for this to happen in order to also get the Governor's wife under his influence for the advancement of the camp's medical situation. He specifically uses the presence of Mary Wilks to further his agenda on the camp and eventually succeeds when Mrs Wilks leads a group of nuns from the monastery to take over the medical care of the POWs.



Figure 80: James Kirwan and Jo-Anne Wilks engage in their affair on the coast of St Helena



Figure 81: Later on the 'lovers' move to the governor's house...



Figure 82: ... and are 'caught out' by the governor's wife, Mary Wilks

If one considers James Kirwan and Sloet Steenkamp to be the top patriarchs in their respective hegemonic dispensations, one could also argue that the competitions between the two may be viewed as the masculine competition for nation and the domination of one nation over another. The entire season one may be seen as a competition between the two patriarchs and their competition is highlighted by the races in which they compete with each other (Figures 21, 44). However, in the greater hegemonical scheme of the island (and the hegemonical state of the two individuals), Kirwan ranks higher than Sloet in as much as we can assume that at this stage of the historical plotline the British were dominant in their war effort against the Boers (and therefore the hegemonical position of one nation is higher than the other). This is visually illustrated not only in the race but also in the two men's physical situation within the context of the camp. Within the social context Kirwan is almost free to go as he pleases, whereas Sloet Steenkamp is restricted. Kirwan moves about on the island freely, while Steenkamp is confined within the boundaries of the camp fence. This is visually presented with Kirwan being free to run outside the camp (Figure 83), while Sloet has to run within the confines of the camp in Scene G (Figure 84).

Kirwan's dominance is also displayed in Scene F when welcomes the POWs to Deadwood Camp, while on horseback, towering above them (Figure 85) and displaying hegemonical dominance. The men commanded by Kirwan also seeks to maintain the hegemonical order in terms of system theory (Khan 2009: 30-31), while at the same time they are marginalised according to military rank because the POWs are marginalised as the enemy of the British hegemonic system. Kirwan therefore uses subtle oppression in which he maintains his patriarchal status in the hegemonic masculine system on the island.



Figure 83: Captain James Kirwan jogging outside the camp



Figure 84: Sloet has to jog inside the confines of the camp



Figure 85: Captain Kirwan welcomes the POWs to Deadwood Camp

In the masculine battle between Captain James Kirwan and Sloet Steenkamp, it has already been established that Steenkamp may be regarded as a hero. The question, however, has to be posed whether the same heroic status can be

attributed to Kirwan. It appears that Kirwan may not be regarded in the light of the traditional hero, although occasionally the contrary also appears. Firstly, Kirwan's acts are in most cases very intentional, especially considering the influence of command and rank in the social system in which he functions. The hero never acts intentionally.

In the masculine battle between Kirwan and Steenkamp, women are often the central reference for which the two compete—whether in the case of Kirwan for Princess Gobler or in the case of Sloet for Annette Steenkamp. Ryan (2000:74) argues that the tales of the hero and villain alike often occur with reference to women.

In terms of masculine physical features and composure, James Kirwan may certainly be regarded as a hero. On the contrary, with regard to holding the moral high ground, James Kirwan certainly cannot be regarded as a hero. He does not achieve his social status through his actions but rather through his rank. Therefore one can also not conclude that Kirwan is elevated to hero status by the powerless masses. In the same vein, Kirwan does not necessarily embody more than his average masculine counterpart. Neither does he possess the sense of excellence that makes him a figure of esteem in his own social group (Lash 1995:5).

Then again with reference to competition and competing, Kirwan may in turn be classified as a hero. Because of the military undertone of the social realm in which James Kirwan functions, the heroic association of the hunt may paint Kirwan as hero. In the context of season one this does not refer to an animal hunt but rather to, for example, the chase after the escaped Sloet and the social conquest of Princess Gobler and Jo-Anne Wilks.

In the next part of the analysis of the masculine traits of James Kirwan, we consider Kirwan as the model British male. With regard to honesty, strict morality, control and self-discipline Kirwan, as officer in the British Army, certainly cannot be regarded as the model British male because of the way in

which he conducts himself on St Helena, especially regarding women. One can assume that being an officer Kirwan would come from an upper class family (Semple 2008:298). On the other hand, Kirwan's individuality is in line with the model Victorian male of the time, although he lacks a social and moral conservatism. Considering imperialism one never experiences that Kirwan supports the jingoistic interpretation thereof. Rather, in his role as patriarch of Deadwood Camp he shows some empathy for the Boers. Evidence of this may be found in his visits to Sloet in the fort and his efforts to have him returned to the camp, and in his efforts to improve the medical care of the POWs.

In his position as patriarch, James Kirwan certainly fulfils the requirements to be the model British male; however, one does have to keep in mind that his patriarchy functions over a group of subordinate men in the military context and not a nuclear family. With regard to his character in general, Kirwan patriarchally complies, because as Tosh (1999:103-105) mentions the whole upbringing of the male British child was centred on independence and Kirwan is certainly independent, albeit within the confines of the Army. Kirwan also shows an aversion to the domestic domain and one can perhaps reason that his many affairs are also a sign of this in that he does not seek the security of being married to his wife, but rather chooses to engage in more insecure shorter relationships. Yet in having these relationships Kirwan also tarnishes his image as proud British citizen—he in effect relinquishes the responsibility towards caring for his wife. Yet his sexual pursuits are in line with men of the Empire, who often became involved in extra-marital affairs with women in the colonies. In fact, Empire allowed the British male to escape the confines of the domestic domain.

With regard to his attention to social responsibility, especially towards the occupants of the POW camp, Kirwan acts very much like the typical Empire man. He also does this with energy (in pursuing his goals), virility (his daily detail to exercise), strength, decisiveness, courage and endurance (Semple 2008:397).

As with the Afrikaners, the army was also considered a place of masculine maturation, another opportunity to escape the domesticity of home. James Kirwan is a prime example of this process taking place. One can make a number of background assumptions based on the way in which the character of James Kirwan is portrayed in *Arende*. One of these is his insistence on a sport day between the British soldiers and the Boer POWs. This reflects accurately on Morrell's (2001:140) observation that militarism developed early in the life of the British male through his school involvement in sport. In particular, sport for the British male child involved aspects of team work, perseverance, aggression, toughness, precision, competence, obedience and the protection of countrymen, values which are evident in James Kirwan to a lesser or greater extent. Highlights which stand out in this particular regard, are his daily jogging and his races against Sloet, his skill as equestrian (Figure 86) and his visits to Colonel Miller at the fort where he requests permission for the sports day (Figure 87). One never sees Kirwan complaining about any hardship—he simply conducts himself in such manner as to overcome these hardships. This conduct must also be seen in accordance with his maintenance of patriarchy.



Figure 86: Captain Kirwan displaying his equestrian skill



Figure 87: Captain Kirwan taking orders from Colonel Miller

4.1.2.2 Captain John Mosten-Smythe

Captain John Mosten-Smythe, portrayed by James White, is the camp doctor at St Helena. He has epilepsy and is addicted to morphine.

Mosten-Smythe may be regarded as an outcast within the social community of the British Army on St Helena. This state of existence is also reflected in his identity narratives. His addiction to morphine appears to restrict him from his conduct as British soldier. On the island he fulfils the role of doctor only partially and the role of soldier on active duty almost never. St Helena complements his alien existence and he never moves anywhere else than between his sleeping quarters and the camp hospital. His sleeping quarters is where he satisfies his morphine addiction and may be regarded as Mosten-Smythe's private domain away from the public domain of the island itself. This state of affairs also results from his association with 'home' being absent, which also complicates his functioning as individual within the group. He maintains no relationship with culture and as a result his masculine identity becomes stunted. One can therefore also regard Mosten-Smythe as one of the societal manifestations resulting from the chaos caused to the social context by the War. One can then conclude that there is no real unity between John Mosten-Smythe and the cultural group of the Army. They are only connected through the uniform which the individual is forced to wear. In terms of differentiation in identity, Mosten-Smythe cannot be regarded as a unique individual within the group, because of

his lack of unity and because he cannot be compared to any other member in the group. The only direct cultural identity element that links him directly to the group is the fact that he speaks English.

An interpretation of the functional aspects of Mosten-Smythe's identity also reflects on a weak individual. He cannot make appropriate choices for the effective functioning of the camp hospital and does nothing to curb the high mortality rate amongst the POW occupants of the hospital. He also displays no affection for personal goals and lives from the one morphine shot to the next. His addiction also makes relationships with others impossible, with the possible exception of Captain Kirwan. Consequently, he suffers severely in the hard times which he endures on the island. He has only two noteworthy achievements on which to reflect, namely that of doctor and the rank of Captain in the British Army. Lastly, he cannot make any choice with which to define his identity, whether they are required or optional.

In the light of the above analysis one can pose the question regarding the status of Captain John-Smythe's patriarchal position. In his civilian capacity, Mosten-Smythe does not feature patriarchally. However, his rank gives him the opportunity to function patriarchally within the social system of the British Army and St Helena. The major activity around which Mosten-Smythe may construct a patriarchal stance is his responsibility as camp doctor. Within the confines of the camp, and specifically the camp hospital, Mosten-Smythe can subordinate both the POWs and his fellow British soldiers. The social situation of the hospital also serves to hide his personal problem of addiction. However, in terms of the rest of his life goes he does not display the dominant male traits of competition, wealth and aggressiveness (Khan 2009:32). His patriarchal stance in terms of his position and rank eventually turns into a patriarchal farce when he is confronted over the poor medical conditions by protesting POWs and he gets an epileptic fit and collapses to the ground (Figure 88). This serves as a visual cue to show Captain Mosten-Smythe's loss of patriarchal ranking amongst both the Boers and British. After this event, he holds no more masculine authority on the island.



**Figure 88: Captain John Mosten-Smythe collapses after being confronted by the
POWs**

4.1.2.3 Governor Wilks of St Helena

Governor Wilks of St Helena, portrayed by Keith Grenville, is the civil administrator of the island whose biggest concern is St Helena's economy and the sustaining thereof.

Governor Wilks has a stable identity, one which is very much grounded in his role as British civil administrator of St Helena. Through this association his relationship with history may be received positively because he regards himself as a representative of the British Empire and all its glorious achievements of conquest and cultural assimilation. Generally he administrates and explores the island with positive associations of Britain. His spatial relationship lies with St Helena. Despite the fact that the island is not Britain itself, Governor Wilks associates with it as his home (Scene BB) and carries out his duties towards the island's population with valour. He goes as far as resisting the control the British Army tries to exert on the island and maintains an aloof relationship with the former. Governor Wilks also maintains a positive relationship with culture in that he aims to 'win' St Helena for Britain, by instituting British traditions on the island. This is not always presented visually in *Arende* but rather in the utterances of Governor Wilks himself.

In the case of unity in identity, Governor Wilks has a harmonious relationship with his fellow British cultural members. Although he often quarrels with the Army, unity in identity is always maintained and none of the participants disassociates themselves culturally. However, there is a form of masculine rebellion in the relationship between the governor and the Army. In the same light, the governor also expresses his masculine identity in a different way to that of the Army and in particular the commanders on the island. One senses two separate systems of patriarchy that are constantly in competition with each other on the island, while being united by the feeling of cultural solidarity. The stability of Governor Wilk's identity is further confirmed by his identity components. His biggest achievement from the perspective of *Arende* is his status as Governor and representative of the mightiest power in the world at that time. Other achievements by the Governor which fall in the same identical category would be fatherhood and marriage. Wilks, as civil servant, also has the potential of reaching a higher position within the civil system. The Governor's higher identity components are also stable. He has made the optional choice of civil service and becoming the governor of St Helena and continuing the tradition of British rule on the island. He has also made the required choice of governing the island in the way in which he sees fit, albeit within the culturally accepted tradition dictated by history.

Governor Wilks' strong identity also contributes to a strong masculinity. His status of supreme patriarch of the island (albeit undermined at times) is cardinal to his masculinity. His status is presented right at the start of Season 1 in Scene E where he awaits the arriving POWs (Figure 89). He is the centre of attention in the scene and he is surrounded by those who are under his patriarchal control, namely his wife (Mary Wilks), his daughter (Jo-Anne Wilks), Father Patrick Swindle, head of the local monastery, and Colonel Miller, commander of the Army on the island. Male domination and male social structure are evident from the scene, especially with the governor sitting in the middle of the reception party. Governor Wilks may also be regarded as the supreme patriarch because of his age and by implication his authority status. His patriarchal status is further

presented through the relationship he has with his wife. In more than one case he snubs her suggestions which she makes for possible better administration of the island. In fact, the whole system under which the island is ruled highlights the working of patriarchy, especially if one assumes that with the presence of the Army and the POWs, there are more men than women on the island.



Figure 89: The reception party for the POWs, with Governor Wilks sitting in the middle as supreme patriarch

Governor Wilks exhibits a further patriarchal characteristic by taking control of the female body and using his wife to strengthen diplomacy on the island. He does this by allowing her to visit the POW camp as part of the sanitary inspection (Figure 90) and eventually leading the party that takes over the medical care of the POWs (Figure 91). None of this would have been possible if the Governor had not given his express permission.



Figure 90: The Governor accompanying his wife on camp inspection



Figure 91: Mary Wilks leading the medical team that take over the POWs treatment

Governor Wilks also acts as a patriarch within his own home (Scene BB). He is the head of the house and dictates responsibility for domestic labour and other activity. He initiates the education of his daughter through his wife. He also arranges social evenings involving other figures of patriarchal control on the island (Figure 92), for example Father Patrick Swindle. Governor Wilks also makes a strong distinction between the public domain in which he functions, and in which we often see him, and the private domain, where he restricts his wife and daughter. In fact, Mary Wilks is only once seen in public without her husband, and despite this she is still accompanied by Father Swindle (Figure 91).



Figure 92: Card playing in the private domain

The male as the most important figure in the patriarchal home also qualifies Governor Wilks as the model British male of the time. The Governor, especially in his governing of the island, exhibits a model credo, associated with honour,

duty, esteem and the conducting of an orderly life (Tosh 1999:79), across all his patriarchal control. Governor Wilks also represents the British Empire in accordance with his overwhelmingly male tradition in that his masculinity is an extension of Empire. While governing the island, Wilks also serves to imprint British greatness on what was regarded as a lesser entity. Wilks may also be regarded as the model British male because he is responsible for the welfare of his family. He even goes so far as to send Jo-Anne back to Britain after her affair with Captain Kirwan becomes known (Figure 93).



Figure 93: Governor Wilks sends his daughter home, away from Captain James Kirwan

As a male in a colony, Governor Wilks is also able to express himself in a more independent way as a man than he would have been able to do at home in Britain. Through his male presence and social status he has the ability to settle a country home in Scene BB (Figure 94) in what is regarded as the epitome of Victorian domesticity—the rural countryside. In his home he is able to express himself as male and as Governor, and through season one we see that he is more confident in making decisions on the management of the island at home, than away from the physical building itself. The Governor's house is one of typical Victorian grandeur, with the double storey house having a grand façade with long semi-circular arches and a barrel vault entrance. Inside the house, its many rooms are lavishly decorated with artefacts and furniture, while long curtains cover the long rectangular windows.



Figure 94: The Governor's house and garden set in the rural Victorian country style

4.1.2.4 Sergeant Stewart

Sergeant Stewart portrayed by Brian O'Shaughnessy, is a Scottish *uitlander* who enlisted after the outbreak of War. He is the chief NCO and Captain Kirwan's right hand man.

Sergeant Stewart presents a very unique identity image in the sense that he is Scottish, lived in the ZAR as *uitlander*, can understand Afrikaans to a certain extent and is an NCO. Stewart's identity as character is unique because of the many social ideologies it carries. He has a varied relationship with history in that he left Britain for the ZAR, but nonetheless supported his country of birth in a time of war. He therefore ploughs his knowledge of the alien Afrikaner culture back into his own British culture. Judging from his strong Scottish accent, he has maintained his Scottish cultural roots in that he was never assimilated with Afrikaner culture during his time in the ZAR. Yet, in as far as his spatial relationship in terms of identity goes, it is difficult to grasp where Stewart regards 'home' to be. His strongest association appears to be with the camp, especially as his role as postmaster and censoring official, for which he has a special hut where he may be considered in-charge. He formulates his relationship with culture by involving the various cultural roles mentioned above.

Generally, Stewart displays cultural unity within the group of which he is a member although one can only judge this within the social sphere that is the

British Army garrison on St Helena. He displays minor cases of rebellion within the group predominately through his rank as NCO (that is, to lower ranks) and his status as *uitlander* (specifically in his dealings with the POWs). Stewart further emphasises his own unique identity and its differentiation within the group with his status as Scot and *uitlander*. However, he shows his solidarity with his cultural group by supporting the War effort. His identity components define him as an individual in a particular way. Firstly, one has to consider the military rank which he holds. This may be regarded as an achievement which has the potential to be redefined in the case of promotion. Stewart also makes both optional and required choices in formulating his identity. His optional choice may be his decision to come to the ZAR, as well as enlisting in the British Army at the start of the War. Yet, his enlistment may also be seen as a required choice, necessitated by a feeling of cultural identity affiliation. In making this decision Stewart ensures that he maintains a positive and harmonious self-definition within his cultural group.

Purely by his rank as NCO, Sergeant Stewart can only make a weak claim of patriarchal status. Although he is one of the oldest soldiers, he is patriarchally dominated by Captain Stewart because of the latter's higher rank. Stewart is therefore only able to dominate any NCOs lower in rank than him (Figure 96). He can also assert patriarchal dominance over the POWs, although this emanates from the binary opposite of captor and prisoner and does not involve rank as with the Army. A visual example would be in Scene AA where Stewart orders a group of POWs to put out a fire that was not made in the permitted place. This may also be seen as a clash of cultures, between Stewart as a modern industrialised Briton and the more rural Afrikaners of the same era (Figure 97). Another example would be in Scene O (Figure 60) where Sergeant Stewart engages in a light scuffle with PJ Buys.



Figure 95: Sergeant Stewart takes lead over his inferior NCOs



Figure 96: Sergeant Stewart orders POWs to put out an illegal fire

If one considers Sergeant Stewart as the model British male, a distinctive difference in character is noted between him and the other Britons. This may be because of his status as *uitlander*. Stewart does not exhibit any of the social chauvinism that was distinctive of many Victorians of the time (Giliomee 2004:161). One may also notice that Stewart has a more even social temperament when he deals with the POWs. No form of jingoism can be found in his character. He views the POWs as fellow warriors and does not display the jingo characteristics of aggression, authoritarianism, contempt and hate. Stewart simply does his job as soldier and he does it humbly. In social character he is the exact opposite of someone like Jimmy Kitchener and Governor Wilks, for example.

Stewart may also be regarded as one of the social foot soldiers of Empire. By going to the ZAR as *uitlander*, Stewart exhibits the upbringing of the male British child by showing independence in the building of Empire, both socially and economically, and the establishing of outposts of Empire to support British industry (Tosh 1999:103-105). As mentioned above, Stewart differs culturally somewhat from his fellow British soldiers (Bridge & Federowich 2003:6). This trait is unique as the Victorian male had the conviction of the value of his whole manner of living (Bickford-Smith 2003:90). One also has to keep in mind that Stewart as *uitlander* may have been regarded with distaste by many of the officers in the British Army, and been regarded as cowardly, greedy and unmanly (Surridge 1997:583-584). It could be speculated that Stewart, despite his senior age, is not an officer because of his status as *uitlander*.

It is in Sergeant Stewart that we also see characteristics of the all-male club associated with Victorian masculine culture. Tosh (1999:185-189) relates that these men were often bachelors like Sergeant Stewart, who smoked and drank to hearts' content (in this case within the rules of the particular male club, namely the British Army). This expression of masculinity is portrayed convincingly by Sergeant Stewart who smokes a pipe (Figure 98) and buys banana wine from Sam Gbler.



Figure 97: Sergeant Stewart smokes his pipe

Sergeant Stewart must also be viewed in the light of colonial masculine identity, especially with regard to British male military tradition. Stewart's enlistment in the British Army from his geographical position in the ZAR highlights an intrinsic militarism associated with the colonial male (Morrell 2001:139). Through his 'membership' of an all-male club, his status as bachelor and his ventures on the goldfields of the ZAR, Stewart defines himself as an Empire man.

4.1.2.5 Jimmy Kitchener

Jimmy Kitchener, portrayed by Tim Mahoney, is a lowly NCO and the nephew of the supreme commander of the British forces in South Africa, Lord Horatio Kitchener of Khartoum. He constantly lives in the shadow of his uncle, and wants to see action but does not realise what real war means.

Naivety is a strong word one can use in describing the identity of Jimmy Kitchener. Firstly he has somewhat of a skewed relationship with history. His entire existence as individual within the Army is built on his familial lineage to the Supreme Commander of the British forces in South Africa, Lord Horatio Kitchener. He therefore uses the history of the group and the identity of his uncle to orientate his own identity. The spatial relationship that Kitchener exhibits in his own identity again refers to his lineal connections. To a certain extent it may be argued that the spatial relationship of Lord Kitchener was undefined throughout his life. Although he was a British subject and his cultural association was with Britain, he was not just a man of Empire but a man in Empire, mostly far away from home. As a so called 'Empire-builder, it could be said that Kitchener may have found difficult to associate the British Isles as 'home' and perhaps would rather have made such an association with the various forms of 'battlefields' of the Empire.

The character of Kitchener's relationship with culture is perhaps his strongest and purest identity characteristic, especially in his upbringing as soldier. Kitchener shows unity in identity by his strong association with his cultural group, especially in expressing his British ways in relation to the abhorrent attitude he has of the POWs. One also senses some rebellion from Kitchener

within the group which may be attributed to his reality as NCO compared to his aspirations based on the reputation of his famous uncle. Yet it is exactly this rebellion which contributes to Kitchener's differentiation of identity within the group, while still showing solidarity. One could almost reason that Kitchener shows an over projected solidarity within the group, with the potential of almost being a vigilante. To add to this, Kitchener certainly differentiates himself from the POWs. He also shows a problem with finding personal goals, especially within the context of the Army and in fulfilling in what he may feel to be his familial duty. To this end his identity components appear very limited. His strongest component may be his status as soldier and the rank associated with this. However, one is never convinced that Kitchener has the potential to further his current position within the Army. He does, however, show forms of required choice within his identity profile, most significantly in choosing to continue the family tradition of enlisting with the British Army.

In terms of patriarchal position, Jimmy Kitchener does not feature at all within the hegemonic masculine system of St Helena. Even in relation to the POWs, against which Kitchener should have an automatic patriarchal inferiority, he struggles to make a masculine stand. A visual example is when he tries to chase Sloet away from the camp fence, even threatening to shoot him, while the latter simply ignores him, if not silently challenging him (Figure 99).



Figure 98: Jimmy Kitchener threatens to shoot Sloet if he does not move away from the camp fence

Kitchener fails to show any real form of male domination and this is again shown in Scene F when PJ Buys hurls mud at him when the POWs arrive at Deadwood Camp, and Kitchener is unable to react because Sergeant Stewart orders him away. In fact, Kitchener is often patriarchally dominated by both Stewart and Captain Kirwan. In one instance Stewart even dominates Kitchener irrespective of the fact that Kitchener was complying with orders from Kirwan. If one considers the theory of hegemonic masculinity Kitchener's inferiority complex results in his anti-social attitude to the POWs (Donaldson 1997:648). By the end of the first season, Kitchener's homophobia reaches a zenith when he shoots Paul Johnson (Figure 100). By doing this Kitchener confirms Anderson's (2008:139) remark that young men are often perpetrators of violence. The shooting incident is for Kitchener an attempt at fulfilling his masculine aspirations of becoming a warrior and participating in war.



Figure 99: Jimmy Kitchener shoots Paul Johnson

The character of Jimmy Kitchener is a prime example of the British male displaying social chauvinism. He is also a prime example of a jingoist and displays absolute hatred towards the Boers. Like many of his fellow British males, Kitchener accepts the challenge which Empire presents to him and offers him independence, yet from his identity profile one senses that he cannot maintain himself in a culturally appropriate way within the social context of the Army. Despite exhibiting the British masculine conquering rhetoric of the time,

Kitchener goes about it in the wrong way and alienates himself. He affirms his masculinity outside the perimeters of Victorian manliness (Bradford 2002:38) despite being brought up with, what one would assume, are militaristic qualities. One may almost come to the conclusion that Jimmy Kitchener is too over eager in wanting to be a soldier and in displaying warrior characteristics.

4.1.2.6 Mary Wilks

Mary Wilks, portrayed by Diane Wilson, is the governor's wife. She is concerned for the welfare of the Boer POWs and tries to convince her husband to do something about their situation, but to no avail.

The identity of Mary Wilks is largely shaped by the physical and social situation in which she finds herself in on St Helena. Concerning her relationship with history, she mostly complies with the reigning Victorian myths of the time (elaborated on below). Socially she maintains an acceptable status quo in that she never acts as individual, but rather with the group in her social exploration of St Helena. However, she maintains a social air with reference to the place she calls home, namely Britain. Her relationship with culture is mostly one of compliance and she rarely challenges the reigning social hegemony. She therefore also shows unity between herself and her cultural group and on the odd occasion rebels against the dominant masculine order of which her husband is one of the main patriarchs. Mary Wilks' differentiation within the group is difficult to pinpoint because barring her daughter, Jo-Anne Wilks, she is the only female British character in season one. One could perhaps mention her cross-cultural identity differentiation in comparison to Princess Gobler, but even this would likely yield a shallow discussion. The only slight individual differentiation which manifests in the cultural group is her status as the wife of the Governor of St. Helena. Mary Wilks' self-definition and her acquiring of identity components are also rather stable. However, many of these relate to her husband. Her major achievement in life is her marriage to a civil servant of the British Empire and more specifically the Governor of the crown colony of St. Helena. She can also pride herself on the achievement of motherhood in as far

as her identity goes. However, from season one, the above-mentioned are perhaps the only factors by which to discuss Mary Wilks' identity.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Mary Wilks is almost completely subordinate to her husband and to British men in general. This subordination is in line with ideology of the Victorian era (Woollacott 2006:138-139). Wilks appears at her most comfortable in the domestic atmosphere of her home, where she is mostly guided by her husband, barring the responsibility of the education of her daughter, Jo-Anne. Wilks has also shaped her social future in Victorian terms by getting married, yet she is not directly involved with Empire as many of the middle-class Victorian women often became (Chilton 2003: 36). Wilks may be classed as upper-class, with the position of her husband and in her dress style (Figures 90, 91, 95; Evans 1990:24-25, 43). In effect she may be viewed as a "commodity" of Empire as Rita Kranidis (1998:14) suggests. In comparing the character of Wilks with the ideological theory of the Victorian era one cannot always make an association with Wilks as manager of the home. This may simply be that filmically this traditional role of manager of the home does not fit in with the broader plotline of season one. On the other hand, we never see the Governor performing his duties away from his home, in for example an office. This situation, in as far as ruling gender ideology goes, would make it impossible for Mary Wilks to manage the home independently. This situation makes it difficult to label Mary Wilks as the typical Victorian 'Angel mother.'

One way in which Wilks' character complies with the ruling gender ideology is that she removes herself from the outside world through her marriage. However, this removal is inflated even more by her location on St Helena—"a rock in the sea" as one of the POWs remarks. She also complies socially by taking responsibility for the care of Jo-Anne, predominately through education (Figure 95) but also in parental guidance when she discovers the affair between her daughter and Captain Kirwan (Figure 82).



Figure 100: Jo-Anne Wilks and her protective mother Mary, busy with education

Mary Wilks does breakaway somewhat from her Victorian role as the 'Angel Mother' through the work she does in the POW camp. In early episodes, she insists in taking a tour through the camp visiting the medical facilities and the church. However, this is still done while being accompanied by her husband (Figure 90). Several occasions during the visit, she makes suggestions as to the improvement of the POWs' conditions but these suggestions are constantly downplayed. It is only once Captain Kirwan brought the real medical condition, through his affair with Jo-Anne, to her attention that she breaks away from her husband and organises the monastery to assist (Figure 91).

4.2 Group scenes in *Arende*: An analysis of Season one as a whole

Scene F in the coffee house can be described according to the criteria set by Baumeister's model. Previously this scene was investigated from the perspective of Sloet Steenkamp as individual, while here we consider it from the perspective of the group. Sloet Steenkamp and his cultural identity may be described in the following manner. Firstly, he maintains unity in identity when he takes a stand in favour of Reverend Blomfontein. This can be perhaps be ascribed to his identity as Cape rebel, and not a citizen of the two Boer republics, even though he joined the battle on the latter's side. Through speaking out against what he considers the unfair treatment of Reverend Blomfontein, he is also in negotiation with his

own identity within the group. The scene also fits the requirements for differentiation as an aspect of identity. The whole argument amongst the men is visually presented with the social significance of men around a table at a social gathering place (Figures 40, 58). Furthermore, the visual representation is also an expression of individual identity, and of defining identity within the socio-cultural realm. However, all of the participants in the argument are culturally bound together through speaking the same language and socially bound together by the battle against the British. Sloet Steenkamp verbally explains his own identity differentiation by stating that he is for himself before he is for anything else, which is confirmed visually by his abrupt exit from the coffee house. Sloet and the other occupants of the coffee house have, through the argument, their own unique interpretation of the values and priorities of their common socio-cultural identity.

There does not appear to be any hierarchal levels amongst the group of men in Scene G. As the identity analysis shows above, the men appear to be equal in social level. All the men in the coffee house fought on commando against the British. There is not even an issue of rank amongst them. Their disputes do not deal with patriarchal position but rather with social issues within a larger overarching patriarchal battle, namely the War. The men argue amongst each other along the lines of their shared social designation of warriors. Even Sloet Steenkamp as rebel takes one side over another. The whole scene shows men making sense of masculinity within a particular social context (Connell 2009:x). One patricidal issue that may be identified here is that none of the men regard each other as 'brother Afrikaners' (Du Toit 2003:158). In the argument between the men, they refer to each other by the citizenship of the two Republics and the Cape Colony. In fact, Boje and Pretorius (2011:62) stress that historically the POWs of the two Republics imprisoned together on St Helena were eventually separated into two separate camps because of excessive quarrelling. The threat of battlefield conflict no longer surrounds the group of men in the scene and they revert to their initial backgrounds, their cultural union disbanded. The memory of the imminent military defeat which the Afrikaners were facing during the historical period of Scene G is a masculine challenge posed to the men around the table (Swart 1998:743). In facing this challenge the men revert to each individual

governing himself principally, followed by the society and then the government (Swart 1998:750; Pretorius 1991:259-260).

Scene G, which depicts the POWs busy retiring for the night, is relevant to show a general cultural picture (Figures 101, 102). Although the men are thrust together through the social chaos of war, their inherent cultural similarity still emerges, and they feel welcome in each other's company despite the alien setting of St. Helena. This manifests directly in music, when Paul Johnson plays traditional tunes on his banjo. This in turn is something that Sloet mentions when he writes a letter to his wife in South Africa; Paul's banjo playing acting as a silent metaphor for the longing that he carries for her and the farm; both are also cultural beacons for Sloet Steenkamp and the Afrikaners in general. The group in the tent shows unity in identity in general. Paul, Sloet and Buks Retief stick to accepted activities within the cultural norm, while PJ Buys rebels and negotiates culture in his card game with Bennie Mentz. Of further cultural significance in this scene is Buks Retief reading his Bible; religion is a constant undertone in the entire series in as much as it is an undertone in the cultural identity of the Afrikaner at the time. PJ Buys and the Jew Bennie Mentz and the card game they share points to a form of cultural integration. Mentz, as mentioned previously, is never portrayed as comfortable in his role as Jew who supports the Afrikaner/Boer cause against the British. He is, however, never portrayed as a traitor, but rather as an outsider fighting for a cause far removed from his own cultural background.



Figure 101: The cultural scene in the POW tent



Figure 102: The cultural scene in the POW tent

The same argument applies if one considers differentiation in the scene. Cultural difference, but also cultural similarity is shown amongst the men in the tent. There is a feeling of solidarity in the tent, yet each person interprets this solidarity in their own cultural way within the cultural group, bound together by cause and language. The defining criteria of identity, as previously discussed, have therefore been satisfied, which also acts as a mechanism for the POWs to survive the hard time they are going through on the island. The units of self-definition are also present amongst the POWs in the tent—each differing from the other yet together culturally united. There is Paul Johnson, the peace advocate, banjo player, cultural individual and son of Peet Johnson. There is Sloet Steenkamp, the Cape Rebel, a cultural individual in his own right and hero of the camp. Buks Retief could be considered a fiery nationalist, trouble seeker, from the Free State, nemesis of PJ Buys, and forever challenging authority which he nonetheless still respects. PJ Buys, the Transvaler (other name for a citizen of the ZAR), from the bushveld, gambler, ex-schoolmaster, pensive Christian, loyalist and big mouth in the camp. Finally Bennie Mentz, Jewish, Boer sympathiser, newspaper editor, scribe and cultural outcast.

Scene G is reminiscent of the laager formed by the Afrikaner commandos during the War. The laager is regarded as the centre of interaction in the commando, in much the same way as in Scene H. Just as a dedicated corporalship stuck together on commando, so the POWs stick together in the tent despite their many

quarrels. The POW tent like the laager is the place of interaction where fights and feuds are settled, acquaintances renewed, cooking done. Board games were also popular on commando and we see a card game being played in the tent (Pretorius 1991:122).

Similar to Scene H is Scene L of the *boeremusiek* concert. In this scene all the differences between the POWs are put aside as they unite behind a cultural similarity. Even the cultural outcasts are welcome, with Paul Johnson playing the banjo, Bennie Mentz as one of the biggest cheerers in the crowd, and Rev. Theo Blomfontein opens the concert with prayer (albeit at the insistence of Rev. Louw). It is only Sloet Steenkamp and Kortgiel Mostert, the commando member with Portuguese ancestry who are absent from the concert. Although both can be considered cultural rebels in their own way, Kortgiel sorts mail in the same hut where a map is located that could aid Sloet in escaping. The scene depicts unity in cultural identity, created by the cultural signifier of traditional music, although socially bestowed as Gleason (1983:918) argues. The exception to this in the scene is the Jewish character of Bennie Mentz, especially as he is depicted as one of the enthusiastic members of the crowd. Differentiation is also satisfied in the scene. Not only are the concertgoers, despite their differences, bound in solidarity through music, but more obviously they also all speak the same language. One can reason that language and music are factors of cultural solidarity in identity, despite the fact that the members of the group that associate with it, differ in their individual identity. However, a factor like music is perhaps today not as bound in ethnic cultural identity as in the time of the South African War.

Scene L can be considered in the same cultural vein as Scene Q described above in the third episode where the group of men and *penkoppe* sit around a camp fire talking about what they miss. Like the *boeremusiek*, the camp fire is another cultural signifier that underlines the whole group's unity in identity as well as their differentiation or solidarity as group (Pretorius 1991:137-138). Everybody, irrespective of age, is welcome around the camp fire. This is confirmed by their discussion—all about things from home that they miss, but can culturally all

associate with, in a manner that their enemies cannot. Scene T illustrates unity in identity and differentiation in solidarity is the scene where a group of POWs have been commissioned to do structural repair to the house of the Governor of St Helena. As they walk to the construction site, they put aside their individual differences and sing traditional folk songs, which as members of the same cultural group holding the same cultural identity are familiar to all of them. The company includes old men and *penkoppe*.

In Scene S where Britons, and specifically British soldiers, function as a unit is where there is a search operation to find the escaped Sloet. Britain's cultural and military domination of the island is very clearly illustrated. In the scene, the soldiers, led by the non-commissioned officer, Sergeant Stewart, mill about the local inhabitants on what happens to be market day on St Helena (Figure 103). The British soldiers act in a coordinated and domineering way, while the local inhabitants appear as disbanded as their collective heritage is (Figure 104). Their ancestors were slaves that came to St Helena from all over the world, and on the island they reached some kind of assimilation, although perhaps not as culturally tight as the British and Afrikaners/Boers. Even at the family level, there is discontinuity.



Figure 103: Sergeant Stewart questions a local inhabitant of St Helena



Figure 104: The disbanded community of local inhabitants with the British soldiers moving amongst them

The British soldiers certainly express unity in identity. This happens both militarily, through their uniforms and the coordinated way in which they act, and culturally. Communication with the island population occurs exclusively in English, much like the British communicate with the Afrikaner/Boer POWs. With this scene the British men enforce their perceived notion of being civilised and enforce British hegemony on the people they rule on the island. Sergeant Stewart does not address anyone he questions as 'Mister' showing his male and social superiority. He also maintains British masculinity in a culturally alien setting (Bridge & Federowich 2003:6).

Scene S is also filmed with the British soldiers looking down at the local population, either on person to person level, or from horseback. In fact, in most exchanges between the British and anyone else who are not British there is almost a domineering physical stance maintained.

As far as differentiation is concerned, there are differences amongst the British population and the British soldiers themselves, but they are still portrayed in solidarity. Sergeant Stewart is a Scotsman and an *uitlander* (the term used for Britons who came to the ZAR when gold was discovered in 1886). Captain Kirwan believes in strict army discipline, both when he enforces it and when he is disciplined himself. Jimmy Kitchener, a lowly NCO, carries his family name on his shoulders, being the nephew of the supreme commander of the British Army in

South Africa, Lord Horatio Kitchener of Khartoum. He continually feels inadequate and deserving of higher rank and has a particular distaste of the Boers/Afrikaners, particularly Paul Johnson playing his banjo. Among the NCOs he is portrayed as dominant, something which he cannot express as poignantly when commanded by a higher rank. Yet all the mentioned characters are still distinctly British, in that they exhibit similar cultural characteristics. They find their unified identity in a structure of values or priorities of ruling the island and enforcing British rule. This is in contrast with the culturally disbanded island inhabitants.

Chapter Four aimed to give a theoretical analysis of British and Afrikaner masculinity as it was portrayed in the first season of *Arende*. The chapter identified six characters from each of the two communities, two of whom were women. Questions of model male identity, relations with women and masculine rebels were identified in both communities, discussed and compared to the theory generated in Chapters Two and Three. Throughout Chapter Four screenshots from *Arende* were taken to give a visual representation of the scenes discussed and the theory applied.

CHAPTER FIVE:

CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary of chapters

The purpose of this study was to analyse the portrayal of Afrikaner and British masculinity in the first season of the television series *Arende*. Since masculinity is implicated in identity, identity was briefly investigated in Chapter Two. The investigation commenced by posing the question of what identity means. In addition to this question, the fundamental characteristics of identity were also investigated. It was found that the concept of identity may be regarded as an elusive theme in academic theoretical discourse, while remaining one of the most important questions in the social science discourse. Defining identity was important because it provided a vital social contextual platform for the critical analysis of *Arende* in the study.

In Chapter Two, the argument for a structuralist approach in a post-structuralist, post-modern world was also made. One of the main points that were presented in support of the argument was the two time periods in South Africa's history, both when the *Arende* text plays off (1899-1902) and when it was screened (1989). By using the work of Umberto Eco (1976:28), the study established that theoretically one must be able to discern between the abstract nature of one text and that of another, while keeping into account social phenomena, like masculinity, and that both texts that are subject to change over time. This applies to the time during which the *Arende* text is set and for the time during which *Arende* was screened.

The chapter then continued by situating identity within popular culture. From here on, various definitions of identity were considered. One conclusion made from this section of the chapter was that identity was a fluid concept and is never fixed, and that identity can only be produced

through culture. The chapter next investigated why identity matters within the post-modern era. It was established that identity becomes crucial in times of war and exile, as experienced in *Arende*. Identity therefore negates a conceived origin in a historical past as it is suited best, after the historical past. The last part of the chapter focused on the explanation of Baumeister's (1986) model. The model was applied in Chapter Four as part of the theoretical analysis of masculinity.

Chapter Three concerned itself with a brief exploration of western masculinity, particularly as dominant masculine discourse in the world. Connell (1987:66) reasons that masculinity is the absolute basis for the functioning of western society. Next in Chapter Three was the discussion of various key concepts in masculinity. The following key concepts of western masculinity were considered: patriarchy, the female body and masculine control, social labelling, gender order and 'women watching,' the family unit, division of labour and the public and private sphere, hegemonic masculinity and lastly, the male hero. After the completion of this section the chapter focused on considering Afrikaner and British masculinity. This consideration was divided into the model male, the military traditions, the masculine rebels or outcasts and masculine social issues and lastly the relations with women. Both groups were considered. Chapter Four applied the theory from Chapter Three to the first season of *Arende*. The entire *Arende* series is structured around the clash of white identity narratives.

If we focus on hegemonic masculinity, which is a system of gender order a number of beneficial relationships emerged between patriarchy and male privilege. Later on, the study pointed out that hegemonic masculinity plays a large part in the social interactions in *Arende*. Hegemonic masculinity is a passive system, which is not enforced by absolute force, rather by a balance of forces; men subordinate women (outside of the group) and marginalise lower ranking men (inside the group). This sexual objection that is created by hegemonic masculinity allows for a field of competition where men compete against each other for one woman, as was shown to

occur in *Arende*. An example was found in Sloet Steenkamp, who actively participates in a hegemonic system through the subordination of his wife, of Sam Gobler, the *penkoppe* in the camp, Paul Johnson, Mees Mouton and whoever else stands in his way. Considering Captain James Kirwan, he also seems to use his sexual affairs to enforce his position as patriarch in the hegemonic masculine system on St Helena.

The penultimate part of Chapter Three dealt with the concept of the male hero. The male hero is a figure created by the society in which he functions and reflects certain ideologies of the ruling social class. It was found that this definition of the hero is very difficult to maintain in the context of *Arende*—a society at War and its associated condition of exile. One has to ask the following question: Who is the ruling social class in any given scene in *Arende*? In the conflict itself one may argue that this is being disputed. Within the context of exile, there are the exiles themselves and the people who enforce the exile. It may be safe to conclude that there are many different social classes within the context of *Arende* and that different ones rule at different times. If we return to the male hero one trait of the hero that stands out is that he has to go through a rite of passage. This rite of passage is enshrined in how the hero behaves and what he believes in. A poignant example in *Arende* would be the character of Sloet Steenkamp, while his rite of passage is his attempts to escape. The question, however, remains if Kirwan can be considered a hero in the same light as Sloet Steenkamp? If one attributed certain key features to the hero, then one may conclude Sloet would much rather be a hero than Kirwan, although the latter does certainly show heroic qualities in many cases.

The model Afrikaner male of the time before and after the South African War may be considered as an individual who is part of a patriarchal family structure. Afrikaner male patriarchy is entrenched in three main power roles, namely that of husband, father and warrior. These roles were, however, not absolute and in no particular order. An important point in the study which Chapter Three brought to light is that there was very little

sense of brotherhood between fighting Afrikaners in the War. Rather it appears that many of the many were fighting to ensure their own individual freedom, within the context of their communities and their families. Sloet Steenkamp is the main protagonist in season one and is also a born rebel. One would be able to associate him with the *bittereinders* during the War. However, the popular image of the model Afrikaner male is firmly entrenched in the image of the warrior, especially in the context of the commando. Similarly Steenkamp still exhibits much of the social behaviour and identity typical of the Afrikaner male of the time. He negotiates this position in an entirely different way to any of his fellow Afrikaners.

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, Afrikaner masculinity was strongly linked to the commando system. The commando also served as a stepping stone for young Afrikaner males into adulthood. The laager was the centre of interaction in the commando. In *Arende* the POW camp as well as the individual tents may be regarded as laagers of their own. Initially Sloet Steenkamp is labelled a Cape Rebel and an outsider by his fellow POWs, who mostly hail from the two Boer Republics. As the season progresses his rites of passage becomes established in his attempt to escape and he becomes a hero within the context of the camp (which serves as a figurative commando in this case).

The very obstinate nature of the Afrikaners resulted in many cases of masculine rebellion. The most notable rebels within the context of *Arende* are the *hensoppers* and *joiners*. The *hensoppers* are more pertinent to the context of *Arende*, especially considering the character of Paul Johnson. Typical Afrikaner issues like land and patriarchy were often reasons for individuals to rebel. It could be concluded that Sloet Steenkamp creates his own patriarchal system and that anyone wishing to belong to it has to work in the interest of Steenkamp. Afrikaner identity was also a pertinent issue of rebellion. The character of Mees Mouton may be regarded as a cultural outcast within the context of *Arende*. His identity is unstable—he is an unmarried, middle aged Afrikaner man, who is a

British civil servant. He is unable to get out of the situation in which he finds his identity and tries to take Sloet Steenkamp's farm and wife in a dishonest way—he does not comply with the image of the model Afrikaner male and their association with their land and their wives and children. Another example that the study found was that of PJ Buys who exhibits the typical dislike of other Afrikaners from different areas and he is constant competition with Buks Retief from the OVS. Paul Johnson may be regarded as the most outcast of the men the POW camp. He constantly questions his identity as Boer and struggles to comprehend the necessity of the War. Johnson cannot be regarded as the typical Afrikaner male.

Afrikaner male relations with women were centred within the context of the patriarchal system. However, in times of war, many women advocated the conflict to their men, who in some cases did not want to fight. The dominant myth on women within the Afrikaner social context was that of the *volksmoeder*. In essence the myth dictated sub-ordination of women to men in peace time. In fact, it may be argued that Sloet Steenkamp's wife Annette is a hegemonic tool in his quest to maintain a supreme patriarchal position. His wife acting as the theoretical *volksmoeder* enables the successful negotiation of Sloet's patriarchal journey—in the same manner which the myth of *volksmoeder* dictates.

The British male of the time, particularly through Empire, sought to imprint the ways and culture of Empire on the people he ruled. The British male originated from a society that was based on self-control, discipline and strict morality. The dominant rhetoric in British masculinity of the time was the conquering of anything lesser than Britain and her Empire. In this sense, Captain James Kirwan is the direct hegemonical opponent of Sloet Steenkamp. His existence and identity is largely portrayed by his role as officer in the British Army—a major pillar of Empire. He holds as much social power within the context of the island as his rank allows him. Through his extra-marital affairs he displays a habit often associated with British men serving in the Empire; something which was less frowned upon

in men than in women. He may be regarded as the typical British male, although he can only carry this label within the context of the Army and St Helena. In much the same way in which Sloet uses Annette to enforce and strengthen his patriarchal position as Afrikaner male, so Kirwan uses the various female characters to enforce and strengthen his patriarchal position as British male. Governor Wilks is a good example of the model British male in that he is always seen as head of the household and snubs most suggestions made by his wife. He may be regarded as the prime man of Empire, even though one may at times conclude that his negotiation of identity is at times too rigid and negatively affects his relationships with other members of his designated cultural group. The Governor's masculinity may be seen as an extension of the British Empire. In the case of the British, most of the communality is shown through the various ranks which the individual soldiers carry. Yet there also appears subtle discontent amongst the British group of males in as much as it was found amongst the Afrikaners in *Arendse*. This was mostly commonly found in the characters of Captain James Mosten-Smythe and in Jimmy Kitchener, although at times Sergeant Stewart also exhibited behaviour outside the border of the typical British male identity.

As far as domestic affairs went, the British male like his Afrikaner counterpart, functioned in a patriarchal home environment. The British male also passed through various stages and tests of masculinity. His whole upbringing was geared towards independence, fitting in well with the idea of Empire. The Empire itself was overwhelmingly male. With the high importance of Empire, the British military played a cardinal role in British social life. The military played a significant role in the development of masculinity. Here boys could become men and escape from the feminised domesticity associated with home. As with the Afrikaner boy, a sense of militarism developed early in the life of the British boy, mainly through the institution of sport. It may therefore be concluded that Captain John Mosten-Smythe may be regarded as the British equal to Paul Johnson. He is also an outcast and his addiction to morphine makes his identity

challenging. While he is able to hold masculine sway when he deals with the POWs, he is totally removed from his own cultural group and to a certain extent turns his back on his expected image of the typical Victorian male. He can only function patriarchally through his rank.

Similar to the Afrikaner women, British women were generally subordinate to British men, with their influence being limited to the domestic sphere. Motherhood was regarded as the zenith of female purity. Women were poorly educated and any education which they received was ritualistic, rather than intellectual. This was certainly evident in both Mary Wilks and in the way in which she mentored her daughter Jo-Anne. British women, especially when in a part of the Empire, were seen as matriarchs of civilisation, with it being argued that the British men prepared the wild and barren colonies for the domesticity of the women. Mary Wilks displays some of the traits of the Victorian 'Angel Mother' in her compassion to her daughter Jo-Anne. In affect she supports her husband's patriarchal position. One may also draw the conclusion that this social scenario of Empire was evident in the character of Mary Wilks in that she could only assist with the medical care of the POWs after the intervention of two men—initially Captain Kirwan and later on Governor Wilks.

To conclude then, *Arende* may indeed be regarded as a text which generally gives an convincing representation of Afrikaner and British masculinity. With regard to Afrikaner masculinity, Sloet Steenkamp may be regarded as the prime representative of Afrikaner masculinity. The other Afrikaner characters provide a social balance to the depiction of masculinity which *Arende* presents, showing intra-cultural variety in that not all the men are exactly the same, but each has a unique way of negotiating his Afrikaner masculine identity. Considering British masculinity it could be said that the representation of British masculinity in *Arende* appears to be convincing, although Captain James Kirwan sometimes strays from his image as British patriarch. However, owing to limitations in the text it was difficult to present a full perspective of British masculinity as was done with

its Afrikaner equivalent. There is, for example, no representation of a British based domestic sphere.

5.2 Contribution of study

It is hoped that the one contribution that this study made was to give a better understanding of a component of white masculinity in South Africa. Although this study is based on a text, which one may argue has fixed dimensions, it is hoped that the study helps to provide a possible point of discussion from the past to provide an explanation of South African white masculinity in the present. This may be particularly relevant if one considers the arguments made in the introduction of this study on South Africa being an assimilation of cultures.

The study also highlighted the deep-rooted patriarchy that has formed part of white South African history. Although it may be rightly argued that the study only concentrates on a section of the sub-continent, it has to be kept in mind that the two masculinities discussed may be regarded as the two domineering masculinities dating from at least 1652. The study highlighted the dominant role of men in South Africa, but also showed that women play an integral part in the history of the country, especially in times when it was at its darkest.

Because of the popularity of *Arende* even today, the study may also give a glimpse into the identity of the modern day Afrikaner, especially after the fall of apartheid in 1994. Of particular importance are the Afrikaners that have emigrated, especially when Nel (2009:6-7) quotes Paul C Venter, author of *Arende*, as saying that the most pirated copies of the series are amongst the expats overseas. In fact, the author of the study, hypothesised in a paper entitled "Speculating comments on the parallels between *Arende* and the loss of White Afrikaans-speaking male identity in South Africa (late 1980s and early 1990s)" delivered at the University of Johannesburg, the

connections between the Afrikaner males' experiences in *Arende* and the experiences of Afrikaner males in the South African Defence Force (SADF) before the fall of apartheid (Hall 2010:19-26).

5.3 Limitations of the study

There appear to be at least four limitations in this study. Firstly, it may be that to a certain extent the text is Afrikaner dominated, as well as only considering white masculinity. In Chapter Four where masculine theory was applied, it was not always possible to conduct an argument in a comparable way. There was for example no part of the text which represented scenes in Britain as scenes in the Cape Colony were represented. How, for example, would masculinity be represented on the British side in a civilian setting as was the case with Afrikaner masculinity and for example the character of Mees Mouton? It is therefore felt that the study might be lacking in applicable analysis for British masculinity and could only go as far as the text allowed it to.

In the same light as the above argument, much of the masculine theory was discussed specifically because of its suitability to the text. A good example of this problem in the study would be the section of theory dealing with the Irish as British male rebels. There is not proper Irish representation in the text. All it would have taken was perhaps one or two Irish characters. Although the priest in *Arende*, Father Patrick Swindle is Irish and Roman Catholic, there might be some historical misrepresentation here, as it can be argued that Anglicanism was the main religious denomination of Britain at the time. Perhaps one of the POWs could have been an Irishman that fought with the Boers, to add a more historically correct variation to the text.

A similar argument would perhaps be that much theory was compiled with little opportunity to apply it throughout the text. However, it must be kept in

mind that where in some cases certain aspects of theory were not applied, they served as support for the theory which was applied, and the theoretical argument would have been weaker without it.

Lastly, the study was unable to come to a plausible conclusion on why *Arende* is still so popular amongst the Afrikaners today (in the light of the comments made by Paul C Venter to Nel above). Although this fact was not directly investigated in the study it was one of the questions which formed part of the initial conception of the study. One can only speculate from the arguments which the study generated that there may exist a connection between *Arende* and the various ages of Afrikaners that watch the series.

5.4 Suggestions for further research

A number of suggestions for further research have emanated from this study. Firstly, a more comprehensive study into the POW camps can be made. This study is largely based on theory applied to a text with very little actual detailing of social interaction in the camps. One must therefore propose a historical study which tries to construct a detailed synopsis of life in the POW camps, in much the same way as which Fransjohan Pretorius (1991) did with the commandoes in his *Kommandolewe tydens die Anglo-Boereoorlog 1899-1902*. There does exist work which features specific aspects of life in the camps, but none as comprehensive as suggestion for further research suggests. This can form a basis from which to enrich the understanding of white masculinities in modern day South Africa.

Another comprehensive study needs to be done on the role of the *penkoppe*. Although many works do indeed devote some space to this and Pets Marais published *Penkoppe van die Tweede Vryheidsoorlog 1899-1902* (1993), a fresh approach may be needed especially if one considers the element of masculinity. How, for example, did the fact that the Boers

lost the War affect the developing masculinity of the *penkoppe*? How did the sons of joiners and/or hensoppers react to their fathers' treason/neutrality? How did both the previous two questions affect the post- South African War generations of white males in their conception of race, class and gender. In which way did the War shape the *penkoppe* as adults of the future and the changing social landscape which eventually gave birth to the Union of South Africa?

Lastly, there appears to be a need for research to be done on the history of Afrikaner masculinity. In doing research for this study it was easy to come across sources which relate to most of the historical stages of British masculinity, yet Afrikaner equivalents were sorely lacking. Although journal articles that deal with the subject do exist, what is needed is a comprehensive historical guide which can guide the potential scholar through an Afrikaner masculine history until the present day. This is especially important considering the diverse nature of modern South African studies and indeed South African visual culture.

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APPENDIX A: SCENES

The model by Baumeister (1986) discussed in this study is applied to the first season of *Arendse*. This application focuses on specific scenes that feature specific characters that will be used as point of departure throughout the study. Certain scenes are also described as a whole to also understand character interaction. All the episodes in the first season are considered, and various appropriate scenes are chosen in applying Baumeister's model in terms of identity. This does not mean however that all the scenes that are discussed in this chapter will necessarily be discussed in the chapter on masculinity and vice versa.

Scene A (Episode 1)

The first scene to be considered in this chapter is the opening scene of the first episode. There is a cut between two sets—one showing an open horse-drawn carriage with two occupants going at full speed. One occupant, a man, is dressed in a red uniform and is identified as a soldier by the wearing of a British army field hat associated with the era of the British Empire. The second occupant, also a man, is wearing a black suit, with the collar of a white shirt done up with a white bow-tie. He is wearing a black hat, with a stiffened rim, identifying him as a minister probably for the Dutch Reformed Church. His face is bearded and he is wearing glasses.

The second set shows a man with a moustache sitting on a wooden stool, with a mound of dirt to his left. The man has a black rag around his eyes. He is dressed in a dark jacket with a white cotton shirt. A square sized rag is pinned to his jacket with a safety pin in the region of his heart. In front of him a man stands with fawn coloured balding hair and a full beard with curled moustache ends. He is wearing a black suit. The man is reading off a white document. Directly behind the previously mentioned man a group of men in khaki uniforms stand wearing the traditional British field hat from the era of the British Empire. All of these men hold rifles against their right

legs. Behind the soldiers a group of men and women stand, all dressed in black. Most of the men wear hats. The camera pans across the group and zooms in on a woman wearing a black hat with black netting across her face.

Once the reading man finishes, it becomes apparent that what the viewer is witnessing is a military execution, with the soldiers as a firing squad. The man with the blindfold is sitting next to a freshly dug grave and the half-circle of people dressed in black are family and friends mourning his imminent death. The reading man is an Afrikaans speaking government official reading out the death sentence. After he has finished reading, another soldier, apparently the commander of the firing squad, places a white rag in the hand of the condemned, with the instruction to “drop this when you’re ready.” For the first time the viewer sees the wedding band on the left hand of the condemned man. The commander walks to the side edge of the firing squad and draws a sword. He sets the squad off on their initial routine of taking aim at the condemned man. The camera cuts back to the speeding carriage, setting a tension between the two sets. As the two sets meet, the minister jumps from the carriage, shouting at the firing squad to hold their fire. The minister runs to the condemned man, removing the black rags from his face and announces the commuting of his sentence to life long exile. The British soldier dressed in formal red uniform confirms this with the commanding officer of the firing squad. When the condemned man, now identified as one of the main characters, Sloet Steenkamp, hears of his new fate he is enraged and screams at the firing squad to “shoot me and be done with.” The woman with the black netting over her face rushes forward and embraces him, begging him to live for her. She is identified as his wife, Annette Steenkamp. The man with the fawn coloured hair and whiskered beard watches disappointingly at the embracing couple. He is identified as the Afrikaans-speaking British civil servant Mees Mouton.

Scene B (Episode 1)

In this scene the Boer prisoners of war (POW) are loaded on a steamer bound for the British island of St Helena. One scene shows the unmasking of a hensopper and coward, named Paul Johnson, by the characters of PJ Buys, Buks Retief and Commandant Hendrik Keet (Hennie Oosthuizen). Retief is from the Orange Free State Republic (OVS), while Buys is from the Bushveld region of the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek* (ZAR). Johnson is subsequently sentenced to six lashes. The sentence is carried out on ship by the Commandant away from English eyes, after the sentence is read by PJ Buys. Paul Johnson, whose father Peet Johnson, (Limpie Basson) is already a POW on St Helena, requests that his father should not hear of Paul's shameful act. Afterwards Sloet Steenkamp applies cream to the lashes and gets into an argument with Buks Retief and PJ Buys over the lashing.

Scene C (Episode 1)

The following scene is also from the first episode and depicts a steamer that contains Boer prisoners of war, guarded by British soldiers. Sloet Steenkamp is shown jogging on deck, while the rest of the POW's look on.

Scene D (Episode 1)

Next under discussion is the Karoo geography as central *mise-en-scene*. Annette Steenkamp is seen on horseback, wearing male trousers and dictating farming instructions to the farm hand Adam (Chris April). They are at the scene where a jackal has caught one of the farm's sheep. Adam is dressed in the same way as his employer, while in addition being bearded and wearing a veld hat, with a curled rim. It is asserted that the farm belongs to the Steenkamps. Mees Mouton, the Afrikaans speaking civil servant arrives on horseback. He is dressed in a white suit, and also wears a veld hat with a curved rim. He carefully makes overtures towards Annette Steenkamp on selling the farm. He then suggests that he can borrow money to buy the farm. Adam looks on mistrusting, his own future being at

risk. The scene ends with Annette Steenkamp chasing Mees Mouton off the farm with a whip.

Scene E (Episode 1)

From here the first episode moves back to the set of the steamer, and specifically the arrival at St Helena. The POWs are greeted by a military brass band playing in full regalia. Under the shade netting sits a British soldier in formal red uniform, followed by a woman, with a white, wide brimmed hat, complementing her ankle length white dress. Next to her sits a man in white uniform, with many decorations. He wears a white hat with a twisted brim and feathers on top. Next to him is a woman with curly fawn coloured hair, also wearing similar headgear and dress to the first woman. Lastly, is a man wearing a long black robe with a tied priest's collar. He wears headgear resembling that of either a Catholic/Anglican priest. It is later asserted that this party are the governor of St Helena, his wife, their daughter, the commanding officer of the garrison on the island, and the local Catholic/Anglican priest on the island. All around, British soldiers in khaki field uniform, mostly with moustaches, are seen carrying rifles. Meanwhile the POW's have started leaving the steamer in a life raft, along with bags of mail, Sloet Steenkamp being amongst them. One of the bags fall off, and a boy called Danie Keet, which turns out to be an orphan, jumps off the pier to save it. He cannot swim and Sloet goes after him from the life raft and pulls him to safety. No one else offers to save the drowning boy. After they get out of the water, Sloet suspiciously eyes the parade. He is already making plans to escape and Danie wants to help. Towards the end of the scene, the POWs walk behind a donkey drawn carriage to the camp. Here Paul Johnson speaks to Sloet about his lashing. Sloet encourages him to be done with and tell his father. The scene ends where Sloet Steenkamp looks at a warning sign for prisoners not to try to escape.

Scene F (Episode 1)

The POWs arrive at the camp and are greeted by Captain James Kirwan. A photo is posed for, and PJ Buys uses the opportunity to throw mud at Jimmy Kitchener, the British soldier taking the photo.

Scene G (Episode 1)

Then there is a scene in the 'coffee house' in the POW camp. Some of the newly arrived POW's are seen gathered around a table along with camp veterans. They are served pancakes and coffee by another camp veteran who runs the 'coffee house.' The minister, Reverend Theo Bloemfontein, is also seated and an argument arises around patriotism towards the two Boer republics and the Boer cause. Reverend Bloemfontein has volunteered to come to St Helena, and was not taken prisoner in battle. He is thus under oath not to disclose any details about the various theatres of war back home in South Africa. He is labelled a *draadsitter* (fence sitter) by the party, while Sloet Steenkamp defends him. When Sloet Steenkamp's commitment to the struggle is questioned he replies that he is only for himself. Both he and the reverend leave the hut.

Scene H (Episode 1)

Following on, is a scene showing the social events in the boarding tent of a group of POWs, just before lights out. Sloet Steenkamp is writing to his wife, Paul Johnson is playing his banjo, Buks Retief is reading, while PJ Buys and a Jew named Bennie Mentz, who fought on the side of the Boers are playing card games. The scene cuts to the next day. The final scene to be discussed from the first episode is one depicting the officer commanding the POW camp, Captain James Kirwan going for his customary dawn jog. Sloet Steenkamp watches him from the other side of the fence. When Kirwan passes him, Steenkamp pursues him in a race from the other side of the fence, which ends in a discussion between the two, still separated by the fence.

Scene I (Episode 2)

Danie Keet hounds Sloet after the race and eventually he proposes to escape alongside Sloet, but this is immediately refused by Sloet. Sloet goes to the elderly Peet Johnson to find out where he can find a map of the island. Peet Johnson, sits around a camp fire, while Sloet stands upright with a pumpkin in his hand. They get into a heated argument over the consequences of a possible escape. Later on, the character of Commandant Keet also orders Sloet to see off his escape plans.

Scene J (Episode 2)

In moving on to the second episode, the viewer is confronted by the changing figure of Annette Steenkamp, who now has to manage the farm on her own, along with the help of the farmhand Adam. This transformation is complete when she is in the kitchen, dressed in trousers and buttoned shirt like that of a man, her hair tied back in plait, busy cleaning a rifle with Sloet's initials engraved on the butt. Annette's cultural role alienation is confirmed later on in the episode. She lies and waits for the marauding jackal in the late of night, but when she tries to shoot it, something goes wrong with the rifle, and she is struck unconscious by the kick of the rifle butt.

Scene K (Episode 2)

Another important scene to consider in the second episode is that of Sloet Steenkamp going to Bennie Mentz, the editor of the camp newspaper to enquire about a where to find a map for his possible escape. Through this the role of the media and also of the journalist in any society as source of information is noted. This is explained more extensively later in the study.

Scene L (Episode 2)

The second episode also features the planning and production of a musical concert by the Boer POW's. This is done to the tune of the traditional style of music known as *boeremusiek* or 'boer music.' For the duration of the concert all the POW's (with the exception of Sloet, who does not attend) put aside their differences around cultural entertainment.

The two ministers in the camp are shown as figures of authority in society, when the hensopper, Paul Johnson, goes to them to ask help in breaking the news to his aged father about his act of cowardice. He feels safer to confess to them than to his father.

Scene M (Episode 3)

In the third episode the local community doctor of the area where the Steenkamp's stay visit the frail Annette (the day after the rifle accident). He makes it clear that he is against her staying on the farm in her condition, and also expresses this to Mees Mouton, who is once again trying to work his way into ownership of the farm. Not only is he much older than Mees (in fact he delivered Mees at birth), he also walks in a more authoritative manner. Even his name, Oudok, refers to his social superiority. He is only challenged in his life approach by Annette's refusal to come to town for treatment. This challenge to his authority is significant of the societal chaos. Annette Steenkamp would otherwise never have opposed him.

Scene N (Episode 3)

This scene shows the race between Sloet Steenkamp and Captain Kirwan. Steenkamp is cheered on by the POWs in the camp and leads the race for a good distance before tripping. They eventually run to the end of island, where Kirwan shows Steenkamp the inaccessibility of the cliffs towards the sea. They then stare down at Sam Gobler and his daughter Princess, local inhabitants of the island. Princess launches her father's boat into the ocean and her white dress gets wet. The two men on the cliffs stare at her.

Scene O (Episode 3)

The POWs have to clean their tents for sanitary inspection. Sloet enters the tent and eventually a fight between PJ Buys and Buks Retief breaks out. Bennie Mentz, simply tries to end the fight by shouting, while Sloet Steenkamp physically breaks up the fight. A further verbal argument ensues between the three men and Peet Johnson admonishes them on national grounds. Buks Retief then tells Peet Johnson about the cowardice

of his son Paul. Father and son face each other and each go their separate ways out of the tent with Sloet going after Paul. Commandant Keet, admonishes Buks Retief and strikes him through the face. Sloet comforts Paul at the washing trough and listens to why Paul deserted the commando. At the end of the scene PJ Buys and Sergeant Stewart are involved in a light scuffle over the camp map that has gone missing from the mail sorting office.

Sceen P (Episode 3)

Annette is seen struggling to the kettle on the boil in the kitchen when shots ring out over the farmyard. The shots are fired by Mees Mouton, who kills the marauding jackal. Mees is on a horse and Annette is in sleepwear when they meet each other outside.

Scene Q (Episode 3)

The third episode ends with the elders and the *penkoppe* sitting around a camp fire at night. Paul and his father sit on opposite sides of the fire. The conversation centres on what they miss from home. Some mentioned beloved dishes cooked by their mothers or wives, Danie Keet mentions stream water found on his family farm, while Paul Johnson mentions his mother. In the meanwhile, Sloet is busy digging a tunnel underneath the fence, with the some *penkoppe* helping him.

Scene R (Episode 4)

A large segment is spent on the preparation for Sloet's escape while the governor is visiting. The *penkoppe* act as lookouts while Paul Johnson and the extra *penkoppe* stage a diversion for the armed guards inside. This is continued as Danie Keet silently encourages Sloet after he has reached the other side of the fence.

Scene S (Episode 4)

The one scene to be considered from episode four is where Sloet Steenkamp has escaped from the camp and the whole garrison of British

soldiers are searching for him. They question many of the indigenous population of the island in a market scene, stamping out their authority as rulers of the island.

Scene T (Episode 5)

A scene relevant for discussion in episode five is where a team of POW's are assembled to do repair work on the governor of St Helena's house. As they walk to the site, they cheerfully sing traditional songs, and also perform certain accompanying dance moves.

Scene U (Episode 5)

As far as British identity goes, there is the scene of the governor's daughter busy educating herself in the garden of their home, while flirting with Captain Kirwan, a married man. Later on in the scene he also makes overtures to Princess Gobler, a local of the island, whom eventually betrays Sloet's whereabouts after falling from a cliff and being cared for by her father, Sam. Later on in the season it is revealed that they had engaged sexually when it becomes known that Princess is pregnant.

Scene V (Episode 5)

The injured Sloet has received word that Princess Gobler has betrayed him and so Sam Gobler has moved him to a cave away from trouble. Here Sloet is pictured alone, helpless with his broken leg, depending on the gratitude of Sam Gobler.

Scene X (Episode 5)

Later on in the fifth episode, there is a scene where Danie Keet and the governor's daughter meet each other by chance at the garden fountain. Danie is for once upset after the discussing on the construction site turned to his farm. The two 'enemies' face each other, each confronted by the alien environment of St Helena. The governor's daughter longs for the streets of London, Danie Keet for the water spring on his family farm.

Scene Y (Episode 6)

Sloet is recaptured and put in solitary confinement in the fort. He is attacked by lice and subsequently he sets his cell on fire. He is then placed in a separate building with a Pole, called Skurf, who fought with the Boers. Skurf cannot speak due to a bayonet wound in his throat. He was placed in confinement because he got into a fight with three Boers. Sloet sympathises with him. The scene also shows a visit from Dominee Theo Blomfontein.

Scene Z (Episode 6)

In this scene Mees Mouton and Oudok meet each other at the post office. They have a conversation in which Oudok warns Mees to stay away from Annette.

Scene AA (Episode 7)

Episode seven shows a clash of cultures when Sergeant Stewart, the most superior of the British non-commissioned officers (NCOs) instructs a POW to put out a fire which was made away from the usual fireplaces.

Scene BB (Episode 8)

In terms of cultural identity, the house of the governor in St Helena is relevant in episode eight. This includes the design and front façade, the garden, and the interior layout.

Scene CC (Episode 8)

Moving back to the Steenkamp's farm there is the scene where Annette writes to Sloet asking him for a divorce, to save the farm. When she asks for permission for ownership of the farm, she is dressed in male trousers, with her boots done up and her hair in a plate—like she would manage the farm during the day. However, when she rides to town to post the letter, she is in a dress covering her legs to the ankle. She also rides the horse side-saddle and not astride like on the farm. The request to give

permission for divorce and the transference of ownership on the farm is as heavy on Sloet as it is on Annette—a sign of cultural and societal chaos.

Scene DD (Episode 8)

Also in episode eight is the protest among the POWs, once the news has reached the camp that the governor and his family is been taken hostage by commandant Keet and Buks Retief. Even the character of Kortgiel, who has partial Portuguese ancestry and is often treated as an outsider by the other POW's, joins the protest. Not even the authoritative influence of the minister can calm the situation around the protest. The protest thus acts as a unifying force.

Scene EE (Episode 8)

As far as the hostage taking itself is concerned the social influence of the Roman Catholic priest is noted when he is instructed to post the letter which the governor writes under duress to King Edward VII of the United Kingdom concerning the health facilities in the camp. There might be some directorial misrepresentation in the Roman Catholic priest, due to especially England and Wales being Anglican or at least Protestant in some form. However, the character of the priest is Irish, with Ireland being a largely Catholic region.

Scene FF (Episode 9)

Episode nine also centres on a protest, this time to the medical hut, to protest the health conditions, and specifically the ability of the camp doctor, Captain John Mosten-Smythe. One of the plotlines focused on is that of Bennie Mentz, the (Boer) Jewish 'newspaper' publisher in the camp. Mentz is recognised for his writing skills and is tasked with writing the official petition protest letter to give to Captain Mosten-Smythe. He refrains however, from protesting himself, and is once again pictured as separate, as with many other scenes. Also from the protest scene are the Catholic nuns sent from the seminary as a temporary solution to the complaints by

the POWs about the health facilities. Not just their dress, but also their opposing denomination is rivalled to those of the POW's.

Scene GG (Episode 9)

In episode nine, there is a night scene involving the governor's daughter, his wife and Captain Kerwin. Captain Kerwin, a married man, and the governor's daughter is having a secret affair for the entire series. The commander of the camp now hopes however, that he can manipulate the governor into giving serious attention to the state of health in the camp, by using his daughter to persuade him. The governor's wife catches the two kissing in the dark of the garden, but does nothing except reprimand the couple. Her daughter opposes her, and again she does nothing. Captain Kerwin takes advantage of the situation and speaks to the governor's wife in an authoritative voice to help state his case on the health conditions in the camp.

Scene HH (Episode 9)

Also interesting to note in episode nine, and indeed the entire series, is how different cultures work together against a common enemy. Sam Gobler, one of the St Helena locals helps the POWs and Sloet Steenkamp in particular. Earlier on in the series he helped an injured Steenkamp when he fell on the rocks in his attempt to escape, and harboured him away from the British, until his daughter betrayed him. He hated the British even before the arrival of the POWs, but with his daughter pregnant by a British officer, he now hates them even more.

Scene II (Episode 9)

This part of the episode shows, PJ Buys busy instructing the *penkoppe* in writing. The next moment, Kortgiel Mostert bursts into the class announcing that Sloet Steenkamp has returned from the fort. Sloet rides on horseback, with Captain James Kirwan a little bit behind him.

Scene JJ (Episode 9)

Sloet has returned from his morning running and finds extra food on his bed. The entire tent and all the *penkoppe* have brought their rations and food gifts from home to prepare him physically for the race. Sloet however does not want to run, because of the letter he received from Annette Steenkamp, asking him for a divorce.

Scene KK (Episode 10)

Finally, there is the scene of Annette Steenkamp entertaining Mees and his mother. Mees has managed to convince Annette in divorcing Sloet and marrying him to keep the farm. With the situation panning out as it does, Annette immediately reverts to her role of housewife—dressing herself in a dress, and preparing food to be served on her best crockery. It is, however, later on revealed that not only did Mees not post Annette's letters to Sloet, and also withheld Sloet's letters to Annette, but also that the Cape Colony had decided that Annette could keep the farm, irrespective of her husband's status as Cape Rebel. Mees did not convey this information to her in his attempt to get the farm for himself.

Scene LL (Episode 10)

Danie Keet visits Sloet while he shaves to tell him its fine if he does not run. In the end Sloet agrees that he will run. Paul Johnson then enters and discusses with Sloet why the Boers want to fight over land.

Scene MM (Episode 10)

The running race between Sloet and Kirwan takes place as part of the sports day. In a thrilling race Sloet beats Kirwan. However, Sloet is betrayed and ordered to return to the fort by Kerwin and armed guards with fixed bayonets. All the POWs stand up for Sloet, and declare that the guards will have to shoot them first before taking Sloet. Paul Johnson climbs atop a water tank and fires a shot with a revolver that Sloet acquired from Sam Goble for his second escape attempt. Paul declares that he was wrong about the British being human, and that they only understand

violence. Jimmy Kitchener grabs a rifle and shoots Paul, who falls from the water tank and dies in Sloet's arms.