

**Facilitating and renegotiating Afrikaans youth identities: *Die Antwoord*
phenomenon**

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by Stephané Ruth Meintjes

Supervisor: Professor Herman Wasserman

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ABSTRACT

This thesis reports on a project which investigated how young native, Afrikaans-speaking Rhodes University students responded to the musical outfit *Die Antwoord* and to their music video “I Fink U Freeky”. The study attempted to establish how a selected group of Afrikaans-speaking students consisting of Whites, Coloureds and Blacks interpret the work of *Die Antwoord* as well as their own Afrikaans identity. The purpose of the study was to interrogate the relationship between artistic media, citizenship and belonging to a particular group. The thesis reports on the ways in which interviewees in the group discussions responded to notions of identity, whiteness, class, race, hybridity and creolization registered in the music video which was used to prompt the discussions. Finally the thesis reports on findings regarding the relationship between citizenship and the artistic media. The enormous change in the socio-political position of Afrikaans-speakers in the post -1994 dispensation provides the social context of the study. The project utilised qualitative research and a reception study of the music was undertaken by means of focus group discussions in order to arrive at thick descriptions in an attempt to understand the contextual behaviour of the participants. It was postulated that *Die Antwoord* provides a discursive site within which audiences could generate their own innovative meanings regarding being Afrikaans. While there was no clear indication that the identities of the participants was constructed by the media, the video prompted discussions regarding identity and provided evidence that media texts are capable of stimulating an interrogation of identities. It emerged that all participants, while abandoning some aspects of Afrikaans culture, strongly embraced and highly valued the language. Participants did not regard race as an important aspect of citizenship. Vociferous discussions regarding class demonstrated how media texts can influence citizenship. Discussions about hybridization and creolization demonstrated how the media can challenge received conceptions regarding citizenship. Responses provided evidence that the media could stimulate new forms of citizenship and contribute to the inclusion of previously excluded subjects. The research findings clearly demonstrate links between artistic media, citizenship and belonging to a group of Afrikaanses rather than Afrikaners. Post- 1994 young Afrikaans-speakers in this study provided clear evidence that they are exploring new and alternative ways of being Afrikaans.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a contextual background as well as a brief theoretical framework which forms the foundation of the study. It underlines the significance of the project and provides an outline of the study's objectives. The chapter concludes by charting the methods that were used to collect the data and indicates how the thesis as a whole is structured.

1.1 Background to the study

1.1.1 Social context

While Afrikaner identities had been in a state of flux before the birth of the “new” South Africa in April of 1994, the arrival of democracy gave new impetus to the reconfiguration and renegotiation of identities. Afrikaners as a group went from a position of political, economic and social power to a position of limited political influence and partial social marginalisation (Korf and Malan 2009: 150). Mads Vestergaard asserts that since the fall of apartheid, South Africa has become a “virtual battleground where different actors are trying to define Afrikaner identity” (2011:28). The demise of apartheid and the rise of a democratic South Africa meant that Afrikaners have had to reposition themselves politically, socially as well as ideologically in an attempt to find new ways of defining themselves. This re-examination and renegotiation of identities have left many Afrikaners feeling “displaced” and as a result have forced many of them to find new ways of interrogating and redefining their place in this country (Marlin-Curiel 2008: 59). The way in which some Afrikaners in the post-1994 South African dispensation see and position themselves, is significantly influenced by the modalities of political, economic and consequently cultural globalization.

Conversely Afrikaans speakers who in the pre-1994 dispensation were not regarded as Afrikaners, in the new South Africa found themselves in a position where Afrikaans lost its stigma of being the language of oppression which facilitated the reclaiming of the language by marginalised groups. An indication of the relative growth of Afrikaans in the new South Africa is the fact that the 2011 census indicated an increase of 850 000 speakers of Afrikaans compared to the previous census which was conducted 2001.

This study focuses on native Afrikaans speakers from a variety of backgrounds. For the purposes of this investigation the term “native speaker” is used to refer to Afrikaans-speakers who are not necessarily mother-tongue speakers but who identify with the language and conduct their citizenship by means of Afrikaans. The subjects in the focus groups therefore speak Afrikaans like mother tongue-speakers.

The ongoing political and social changes in South Africa are mediated by the mass media as well as through cultural and artistic expressions such as visual art, music, drama and literature (Wasserman and Jacobs 2008: 16). This confirms Anderson’s (1983) remarks that imagery contributes to the construction of citizenship and nationhood. In his seminal work about nationhood and identity, *Imagined Communities* (1983), Benedict Anderson links citizenship with identity. Citizenship broadly refers to “membership in a polity, and as such citizenship inevitably involves the dialectical process between inclusion and exclusion, between those deemed eligible for citizenship and those who are denied the right to become a member” (Kivisto and Faist 2007:1).

This study examines audience responses to representations by the punk rock outfit *Die Antwoord* in their music and video representation “I Fink U Freeky”. The project was done in order to find out how young Afrikaans-speakers interpret and make sense of, not only *Die Antwoord*, but also their own Afrikaans identity. *Die Antwoord* is made up of Ninja and Yolandi Vi\$\$er who play on a mix of different marginalised South African identities as Ninja himself proclaims: “I represent South African culture. In this place, you get a lot of different things... Blacks. Whites. Coloureds. English. Afrikaans. Xhosa. Zulu. Watookal. I’m like all these different people, fucked into one person” (Rapport 2012: 1). Consequently they are playing not only with notions of identity, but also with representation and as such they highlight the fact that identity is constantly evolving and changing. Judith Butler speaks of performativity in relation to identity and is of the view that the “subject is not determined by the rules through which it is generated because signification is not a founding act, but rather a regulated process of repetition that both conceals itself and enforces its rules” (1990: 145).

Of particular interest is the way in which Afrikaans-speaking young people engage with the work of *Die Antwoord* to negotiate identity and notions of belonging. The focus of this research is on youth identities which, since the advent of democracy, have been contested and remain in a state of flux as individuals are trying to find their place in the new South Africa. *Die Antwoord*’s music does not only deal with notions of identity, citizenship, whiteness,

hybridity and creolization, but also with the concept of class and its interaction with race in South Africa.

As *Die Antwoord* uses Afrikaans in a mix of South African languages and registers, it contradicts the traditionally accepted norm of Afrikaans music. In this way they illustrate that not “all white Afrikaners fit squarely into dominant representations of Afrikanerdom” (Haupt 2012: 113). Musicians like *Die Antwoord* use music as a way of “engaging critically with whiteness as they overtly and covertly attempt to problematize and reinvent white identity” (Marx and Milton 2011: 727). *Die Antwoord* is not a representation of the “real” but instead a “carefully crafted appropriation of a particular mix of marginalised South African identities” (Scott 2012:747-748).

Despite this preoccupation with specifically South African identities, the group enjoys global success, largely due to their music videos going “viral” on the internet. Adam Haupt is of the view that the success of *Die Antwoord* lies in the fact that they are able to make optimum use of social media, have access to “high-quality media-production tools as well as their self-referential parody of white and/or coloured working class subjects” (2012: 115). Their representations have, however, not been welcomed by everyone. They have also received criticism for their portrayal of working class characters and the appropriation of “Coloured” forms of cultural expression to the extent of having been accused of resorting to “Blackface” caricatures (Haupt 2012 ; Kozain 2006).

Apart from representations of ethnicity and race, the construction of class identities is also central to the representations offered by *Die Antwoord*. The notion of “zef” – being “common” or belonging to a lower-class – has been used by the group in response to questions about their genre. One of the questions debated in media discourses about *Die Antwoord* is whether they manage to overturn stereotypes of the working class as inferior, laughable and ridiculous, or whether they reinforce them.

Die Antwoord as a popular culture phenomenon has generated substantial media discourses surrounding identity in particular and representations of whiteness in general. The performing subject is no longer presented as an isolated high culture Afrikaner, but forms part of a hybrid transcultural phenomenon. *Die Antwoord* has created a space which potentially allows for a broader range of Afrikaans identity options to emerge. Their performance of identity

highlights the view that identities are not given and permanent but can be challenged, changed and (re)constructed. The demise of apartheid has contributed to the undermining of fixed notions of whiteness and class identities.

The controversies about *Die Antwoord*'s representation of race, class and ethnicity in relation to their performance of South African identities raise the question of how different Afrikaans audiences might make meaning from their work. This study examines how specifically young Afrikaans audiences respond to *Die Antwoord*'s mediation of identity, in order to explore how the group's performance of identity allows young audiences to transgress previously constructed identities in a process in which new identities are constructed. The assumption underpinning the study is that meanings made from media artefacts are not fixed, but can produce varied interpretations (Hall 1980), often influenced by audiences' social position (Morley 1980). Identity, according to Hall, is part of a narrative and is therefore part of a kind of representation (2000:147). Hall developed the encoding/decoding model which provided a framework from which to analyse how readers/viewers receive a text. The message must be encoded by the producer and decoded by the receiver in order for communication to take place (Hall 1980: 131). However, the "meaning structures" of the creator is not always shared by that of the receiver and therefore the referential framework of the receiver will determine whether a dominant, negotiated or oppositional position toward the text will be taken (Hall 1980: 131). Morley (1980) made use of the encoding and decoding approach formulated by Hall in order to analyse how the social positioning of an audience may influence their response to media texts. His work stemmed from the belief that different occupational groups would receive texts differently and consequently class became a defining category. Therefore, an individual's social positioning determines whether the text is read as a dominant, negotiated or from an oppositional position (Morley 1980). In order to understand how Afrikaans audiences make meaning from *Die Antwoord*'s music, it would therefore be important to investigate how the referential framework of the receiver, as referred to by Hall (1980: 131), could influence the decoding of a text. Furthermore class differences could influence the reception of a text as indicated by Morley (1980).

Die Antwoord is an example of how South African identities, and in this case specifically the identities of speakers of Afrikaans, are interrogated through artistic expression and media discourses in a new South African dispensation. It has created a space which is deeply nuanced allowing for contradictory views of Afrikaans identity to emerge. *Die Antwoord* poses questions regarding previously held convictions regarding being Afrikaans.

In the South African dispensation before 1994 cultural identities were rigorously demarcated and even entrenched in the legal framework. While Africanisation and the hegemony of English might, once again, limit the choices which citizens have, in the new democratic dispensation, citizens are afforded more opportunities to choose civic identities or even to form new identities leading to multicultural citizenship.

1.2 Significance of the study

This study focuses on the media's construction of civic identities and, in particular, multicultural citizenship, with specific attention to representation and whiteness.

There has been a renewed interest in citizenship as a subject of the social sciences, in particular in analyses of democracy in an increasingly global society. The peculiar situation of speakers of Afrikaans in a new South African social dispensation, provides an interesting case study of how a cultural or ethnic group could be included or excluded in a specific socio-political dispensation. Kivisto and Faist assert that the renewed interest in citizenship studies stems from the assumptions that citizenship is not only important but that it is evolving and changing (2007:1). Citizenship studies build on the work of Marshall who created the first "evolutionary scheme" of citizenship (1950). As the notion of citizenship is not fixed it can consequently be conceptualized in various ways. This study indicates how manifestations or perceptions of citizenship, can be impacted on by media constructions and how Afrikaans identities have been reconfigured in the democratic South African framework. There are many different variations and formulations of the term citizenship and of what it is and could mean. Pertinent to this study are the notions of cultural citizenship as well as media citizenship. Cultural citizenship looks at the role the media as well as other cultural forms play in enabling citizenship (Wasserman and Garman 2012: 4). However, it is John Hartley's formulation of media citizenship which is most important to this study. This type of citizenship looks at the use of popular media to "construct identities, associative relations and communities" (Wasserman and Garman 2012: 5)

The relationship between culture and citizenship is not determinate and therefore culture can be viewed as being either a dimension within citizenship or citizenship can be viewed as part of cultural discourse (Ommundsen, Leach and Vandenberg 2010: 4). This study attempts to determine how cultural discourses in the media are associated with particular forms of citizenship. Ommundsen et al articulate that the mix of citizenship, culture and globalization

has had a homogenising effect on cultural production but that it has also spurred an insatiable “market for cultural difference” (2010: 2). This has resulted in a focus on what can be termed “identity politics” (Ommundsen et al 2010: 3). This study is interested in how some young Afrikaans speakers paradoxically adopt a global culture while at the same time emphasize uniqueness and cultural difference. This global platform means that regardless of separation by either time or space, individuals have real time access to media messages from variant origins (Strelitz 2005:30). Globalization in turn leads to cultural hybridity which refers to the complex relations between the local and global (2005: 31). A consequence of this is that identities previously locked in isolation, have now become fluid and are continuously in a state of flux.

Isin and Wood (1999) link citizenship to identity and conceptualize citizenship as being varied and at once “modern, diasporic, aboriginal, sexual, cosmopolitan, ecological, cultural, and radical” (Kivisto and Faist 2007: 2). This study attempts to indicate how the traditional citizenship of Afrikaans speakers has become multi-dimensional but not necessarily uniform as, prompted by the media, notions of identity can be critically interrogated and how Afrikaans identities have been reconfigured in the democratic South African framework. In this study identity is viewed as a constructed state of being and of viewing and experiencing oneself and the study focusses on Afrikaans-speakers in the post-1994 dispensation. Representation is what links language and meaning to culture. Through the use of language the production and dissemination of meaning can occur (Hall 1996: 15). Identity, according to Hall, is part of a narrative and is therefore part of a kind of representation (2000: 147). Consequently identity is always within representation and as such is never a “sealed or closed totality” (Hall 2000: 148). The musical outfit *Die Antwoord* is a constructed phenomenon that plays on a mix of different marginalised South African identities. Consequently they are playing not only with notions of identity but also with representation and belonging, all of which constitute modes of citizenship.

Dahlgren is of the view that one of the key concepts in working to understand citizenship as a civic agency is to look at the notion of identity (2009: 63). A characteristic of modern society is the “emergence of the self as a reflexive project, an ongoing process of shaping and reshaping of identity, in response to the pluralized social forces, cultural currents, and personal contexts” which are experienced by individuals (Dahlgren 2009: 63-64).

In order to look more specifically at the identity of Afrikaans speakers, a closer investigation of the concept of “whiteness” is also required. In the pre-1994 dispensation the Afrikaans language was monopolized by the dominant political group and was specifically associated with being white. According to Ruth Frankenberg, whiteness connotes a “set of locations that are historically, socially, politically, and culturally produced” and which has strong ties to relations of domination (2000: 451). Traditionally whiteness was seen as a sign of identity. In apartheid South Africa whiteness was regarded as a marker of intellectual, cultural and moral superiority. However, in a new South African dispensation whiteness *per se* has been replaced by a cultural identity of which, inter alia, language is a significant marker. The notion of “whiteness” changes over time and is therefore a constructed “product of local, regional, national and global relations, past and present” (Frankenberg 2000: 454). Steyn asserts that different white cultural groups, despite common identification and assumptions, frame their whiteness in different ways in a post-apartheid South Africa (2004: 144). In a post-94 South Africa whiteness has become obscured by a new emphasis on language identity such as is reflected in the term “Afrikaanses” which has generally replaced “Afrikaners” in publications such as *Die Burger* (Wasserman, 2009). Some Afrikaans musicians such as the *Voëlvry* movement prior to 1994 used language and music as ways in which Afrikaans identity could be reconceptualised (Grundlingh 2004). Similarly visual representations are also significant in the pursuit of interrogating and reconfiguring conceptions of identity.

1.3 Goals and objectives of the study

The broad purpose of this research project is to interrogate the audience reception of the music video “I Fink U Freeky” by the musical outfit *Die Antwoord*. The goal of the project is to interrogate how audiences generate meaning from artistic media. The overall objective of this thesis is to investigate and demonstrate the relationship between artistic media, citizenship, and belonging to a particular social group. The thesis sets out to interrogate the ways in which various notions of identity, race, whiteness, class, hybridity and creolization are manifested in the music of *Die Antwoord* and how these performances are interpreted by young Afrikaans speaking audiences in the process of interrogating and (re)constructing identity. The music video “I Fink U Freeky” was specifically selected for the purposes of this study as it incorporates the notions set out above.

1.4 Methods of Study

The project undertakes a reception analysis of *Die Antwoord*'s music. Focus groups consisting of Afrikaans-speaking Rhodes University students were shown the music video "I Fink U Freeky" by *Die Antwoord*, and it was used as a prompt to discuss notions such as identity, citizenship, whiteness, class and race. The students selected for this purpose were specifically chosen on the basis that they are global media users who represent contemporary young Afrikaans-speakers who might be capable of and are likely to renegotiate traditional identities. The particular video was used as a prompt for the investigative discussions as it specifically sets out to challenge audiences with regard to identity, race, whiteness and class.

The study is primarily based on the qualitative tradition and its methods as it aims at describing and understanding rather than explaining behaviour (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 270). By using qualitative methods "thick" data descriptions can be gained (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 272).

Qualitative research is associated with non-random sampling methods and non-random or purposive sampling methods have been utilized in this project (Deacon 2010: 52). This method involves bringing together small groups of individuals that are purposively chosen to represent certain groups in society to discuss and sometimes identify issues relating to the study (Deacon 2010: 57). The study makes use of a purposively selected group of young Afrikaans-speaking Rhodes students. As the primary definer for the selection is that the participants use Afrikaans as a native language on a par with the language facility of mother tongue speakers. The selection included students from different racial, gender and social backgrounds. The focus group participants were selected through a combination of purposive and snow-ball sampling where initial contacts identified by the researcher pointed to other contacts (Deacon 2010: 55). These groups were used in order to create a space where media users were able to express their understandings of identity and citizenship in relation to the meanings they make of *Die Antwoord*'s work.

1.5 Thesis Outline

The thesis consists of six chapters. In this first chapter titled *Introduction*, a general background to the study as well as the significance thereof is given and the objectives and the methods used for the data collection for the study are outlined.

The second chapter explicates and discusses the literature on, and the theoretical debates and perspectives regarding discourses of identity, especially Afrikaans identity, whiteness, class and race.

The third chapter builds on the second and looks at theoretical literature and debates on what citizenship and notions of belonging are and how they can be linked to hybridity and creolization with a specific focus on Afrikaner identity in a post-Apartheid dispensation.

Chapter four, titled *Methods and Methodologies*, discusses different methods and methodologies applicable to a thematic analysis as well as focus group interviews. This chapter explains why a thematic analysis interrogating the music video “I Fink U Freeky” was done and how the focus group interviews were created and conducted.

The second last chapter, reports on ways in which the music video “I Fink U Freeky” was received and interpreted by some Afrikaans-speaking youth at Rhodes University and how they see Afrikaner identity in general and their own identity more specifically in the new and changing South African dispensation.

The last chapter, *Conclusion*, provides a synopsis of the thesis.

1.6. Conclusion

The above overview of the study undertaken provides an overall background to the research project and indicates the significance thereof. It outlines the objectives of the study and the methods used to collect the relevant data. It also provides an outline for the structure of the whole thesis. In the following chapter, the broader context within which the music video is situated is given. It focusses on debates surrounding discourses regarding identity, especially Afrikaans identity, whiteness, hybridity, class and race.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW: IDENTITY, AFRIKAANS IDENTITY, WHITENESS, CLASS AND RACE

Introduction

This thesis reports on a reception analysis of the music video “I Fink U Freeky” by *Die Antwoord* in order to ascertain how a selection of Afrikaans-speaking consumers in 2013 responded to this music video. This video was used as a prompt for discussions regarding identity, Afrikaans identity, whiteness, class and race. This chapter specifically reviews literature pertaining to the concepts indicated above, while chapter 3 discusses theories regarding citizenship, hybridity and creolization. These notions discussed in two chapters, as indicated, are important to the central research question in this thesis namely how Afrikaans-speaking audiences generate meaning from artistic media.

2.1 Identity

Identity can be seen and understood as the consciousness of the self which starts to develop as the child discerns his/herself from their parents or family and as result takes up an individualised place in society (Jary and Jary 2000: 285). This means that identity formation is tied to institutional and historical sites. Identity formation furthermore, refers to the development of a distinct personality. In the book *Questions of Cultural Identity* by Hall and du Gay they argue that identities function as a result of subjects being able to exclude certain individuals by rendering some on the “outside” (1996: 5) This means that identities are “constructed within the play of power and exclusion, and are the result, not of natural and inevitable primordial totality but of the naturalized, overdetermined process of “closure” (Hall and du Gay 1996: 5).

The concept of “identity” is one which has for many years been debated in social theory and notions of stabilized identities have given way to possibilities of new identities. Hall asserts that there are three different conceptions of identity: the Enlightenment subject, where the person is seen as a unified and centred subject who from birth remains essentially the same (1998:275). The second conception of identity as formulated by Hall is the sociological subject who is not regarded as an autonomous or self-sufficient being but rather is formed in relation to “significant others” who mediate the world in which he/she lives. In other words

these significant others would decide what culture the individual adopted. The third and final conception of identity, according to Hall, is the post-modern subject who is seen to have no fixed or essential identity at the core but which is a moveable concept which is able to change continuously and as such is seen as being not biologically bound but rather as historically bound (1998: 277). This means that the individual is able to take on different identities at different times due to their socio-historical location. In terms of this study on identity formation in response to *Die Antwoord*'s music, Hall's view of identity would imply that an individual's identity is not fixed but constructed by the texts within which they function. This implies that individuals and groups, in the instance of this study, contemporary Afrikaans-speaking university students, might be in a position to reinvent and redefine identities as prompted by media texts.

Nuttall and Michael point to the emergence of what they call "new forms of imagining" (2002: 2). In the new South African dispensation this mediation of new forms of imagining has taken place in various spheres and has challenged the relative immovability and fixed nature of identities under apartheid. As a result a destabilization not only of cultural hierarchies but also of imposed ethnicities has taken place (Zegeye 2001: 3). Therefore, it is a process during which different social actors are able to construct and make meanings on the basis of a "cultural attribute or related set of cultural attributes" available to them (Zegeye 2008: 18). *Die Antwoord* is a carefully constructed phenomenon which explores different notions of Afrikaans identity and more specifically the different marginalised South African identities. *Die Antwoord* plays with these different notions of identity and representation by continuously highlighting the point that identity is constantly evolving and shifting.

Globalization has meant that identities become increasingly "fragmented and fractured" and as such identity is a constructed phenomenon, formed across different "intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions" (Hall 1996: 4). Identities are constructed inside of a discourse and as such one needs to understand identity as being produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices by specific enunciative strategies. Consequently, identities emerge within what Hall calls the "play of specific modalities of power" and, as such, are outcomes marking difference and exclusion (1996: 4). Therefore, identities are constructed through and not outside of difference. The present study regards the cultural domain within which young contemporary

Afrikaans speakers operate as a site of contestation. This means that media impulses could prompt an interrogation and redefinition of identities.

With the above in mind it may be expected that the concept of identity has become a means by which one could be able to understand relationships between the personal and the social, the cultural and political, the individual and the group and the relationship between the group and the state (Zegeye 2008: 18). What is indicated by Zegeye above is that the identity of an individual determines his or her relationship to society at large but that, at the same time, this very identity formation is the product of social phenomena. Consequently the renegotiation and (re)construction of identity in the new South African dispensation has meant that this reconfiguration takes place where the global and the local intersect. Globalization refers to the “rapidly developing and ever-densening networks of interconnections and interdependence that characterise modern social life” (Tomlinson 1999: 2). Robertson (1992) goes on to define a Japanese business term related to globalization namely “glocalization”. According to Robertson glocalisation refers to a process where goods and services are globally marketed but are adapted to suit a specific local market (1992: 36). *Die Antwoord* is an interesting example of the opposite of glocalisation as a local product is globally marketed and becomes a sight where the local and the global intersect.

Pertinent to this thesis is the way in which individuals are able to construct their identities from images and stories carried in the media and how these individuals are able to relate to the people around them on the basis of their constructed identities. Nuttall and Michael emphasise not only the multi-dimensional but also the hybrid nature of identities by using the term “creolization” to refer to the cultural dynamic of post-apartheid South Africa (2002). For Nuttall and Michael creolization is a process where “individuals of different cultures, languages, and religions are thrown together to invent a new language, Creole, [which is] a new culture, and a new social organization” (2002: 6). While creolization attempts to describe new cross-cultural formations, this does not mean that the past is completely obliterated. Ironically hybridization as represented in cultural phenomena such as Kwaito music, still contains aspects which demonstrate racial, cultural, political and economic inequalities of the past. Hybridization and creolization are discussed in chapter 3 which follows.

2.1.1 Afrikaans Identity

Afrikaner identity in general and Afrikaans identity in particular became vulnerable to change in the new South African dispensation after 1994. This state of cultural and identity flux provides an ideal opportunity to investigate the relationship between media texts and identity formation.

With the birth of the new South Africa the social, political and economic conditions of white South Africans and most especially those of white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, resulted in the fact that they found themselves in a position of a considerable reversal of power relations. Afrikaners went from a state of having extreme power during the apartheid regime to being rendered relatively politically powerless with the advent of the new South Africa. Korf and Malan suggest that whenever the dynamics between groups change, it can and usually does have a “potential impact on individual identity” (2009: 149). Consequently the reconfiguration and (re)construction of Afrikaner identity have recently sparked great interest for studies in the social sciences and humanities (Marx and Milton 2011: 723).

Afrikaans identity historically derived from Afrikaner nationalism which was dependent on a number of interwoven discourses which focused on themes of racial, cultural and religious purity, superiority and the struggle against oppression as well as for autonomy which included the drive towards an independent language. Verwey and Quayle make reference to Van Rooy, who in his capacity as the chairman of the Afrikaner Broederbond, made the following statement in 1944:

“God created Afrikaner people with a unique language, a unique philosophy on life, and their own history and traditions in order that they might fulfil a particular calling and destiny here in the southern corner of Africa...”

(2012: 553).

When the National Party came to power in 1948 their visualisation for a (then) new South Africa was one to be built around the hierarchy of Afrikaner identity (Verwey and Quayle 2012: 553). The apartheid ideology that was institutionalized by the National Party was one which cultivated and fostered incompatible conceptions from the start (Davies 2009: 27). It lobbied for separateness between the white and black population which fostered racism and emphasized social, political and economic inequalities between white and black South Africans.

The apartheid regime insured that generations of Afrikaners were raised in a space where the boundaries of what Afrikaner identity was supposed to be, were sharply drawn. Vestergaard comments that if Afrikaans people “failed to embody the ‘good Afrikaner’, they could not only lose their material privileges, but also be ostracised from their communities, churches, or workplaces” (2001: 20). In terms of Hall’s division of the three conceptions of identity, the Afrikaner during apartheid was a subject constructed by the text of the hegemonic regime (1998 :275).

As a hegemonic discourse the apartheid state continually had to change and adapt itself to incorporate or prohibit those who posed a threat to the apartheid regime, namely anti-apartheid resistance. Aletta Norval in *Deconstructing Apartheid Discourse*, illustrates this stronghold on Afrikaner identity by asserting that:

“[...] as the apartheid project crystallized and penetrated into more and more aspects of everyday life, it became increasingly difficult to question its parameters. One either stayed within the horizon delineated by apartheid discourse, or one fell outside of it; one either engaged in ‘loyal’ resistance’, or one became a traitor to the Afrikaner cause. It was only in the 1980s ...that a rearticulation of the meaning of Afrikanerhood became practically possible once again”

(1996:300).

The end of apartheid signalled the destabilisation of identities of all South Africans. White minority rule was replaced by black majority rule. With the disintegration of the apartheid regime the Nationalist Party and Afrikaner population had lost part of their ability to delineate and express their own identity as well as any other identities, which meant that the social field was reopened (Vestergaard 2001:22). Subsequently a “cacophony of voices has been raised in debate about what it means to be an Afrikaner” (Vestergaard 2001:22). The Afrikaner people had to reposition themselves politically, socially as well as ideologically and in the process attempted to find new ways of defining themselves (Marlin-Curiel 2008: 59).

Two recent photographic exhibitions in 2012 have dealt with identity issues and in particular Afrikaner identity, which sparked interest in the media and helped to generate substantial

media discourses around Afrikaner identity. The exhibitions were *Die Jong Afrikaner* by Roelof van Wyk and the photographic images of *Die Antwoord* by photographer Roger Ballen. The body of work by van Wyk focuses on the post-Apartheid generation of white Afrikaners and how they are engaging in becoming African. *Die Jong Afrikaner* opens a window into the world of this urbanised, creative, engaged group of Afrikaners, and holds up a mirror to the viewer, challenging preconceived ideas regarding Afrikaner identity and values and how Afrikaners see themselves in the world. On the flipside the work done by Ballen calls into question what it means to be Afrikaans in the post-apartheid era. This means that the complexity of meanings surrounding *Die Antwoord* produce a rich hybrid intertextual mutation involving photographic text, commentary and music.

One of the biggest markers of Afrikaner identity was language. During apartheid it was a vehicle for mobilizing a pan-South African Afrikaner identity (Vestergaard 2001: 26). The Nationalist Party de facto used as the Afrikaans the official language of the country, but Afrikaans has since the fall of the regime been forced to find its place within the other ten official languages of South Africa. As the official language of the regime, Afrikaans had to carry the burden and the stigma of being the “language of Apartheid”. Consequently the language which “glorified their youth marginalises them today” (Marlin-Curiel 2008:56). However, in the new South African dispensation artistic expression has not fallen prey to this stigmatisation. The arts scene has made a point of using the language as their medium of expression.

Music, which is also seen as a mode of artistic expression, has traditionally not been seen as a means of contributing to public debate. However, in a shifting and continuously morphing society like South Africa, music is more than entertainment. Kahn observes that:

“The musical form does have more to offer than being pure entertainment, and that the media that engage with this music serve more than just a reporting function – they act as a link between the music and current political debates, and in some cases facilitated debates around the music”

(2011: 20).

Interestingly the notion that music can be used as a tool to initiate identity debates in South Africa is not new. During the late 1980s at the height of apartheid Afrikaans rock musicians used their music as vehicle to voice their social and political dissatisfaction with the regime.

(Kahn 2011: 21). It is through the emergence of the *Voëlvry* movement that some Afrikaner youth were able to unite (Jury 1996: 99). Music was seen as an instrument and conduit of resistance against the apartheid regime. Grundlingh asserts that this move to use music as means of resistance was a “unique phenomenon by the media; for the first time full-blown rock and roll with biting social commentary was seen to challenge the generally perceived staid and shackled Afrikaans cultural and political world” (2004: 485).

Musicians like Koos Kombuis and Johannes Kerkorrel were prominent members of the *Voëlvry* movement which began underground in clubs as well as bars in Johannesburg (Grundlingh 2004: 486). Due to the radical nature of this movement and their rejection of nationalist Afrikaner identity as well as their “re-appraisal of what was, until then, a hegemonic Afrikaans culture” the alternative Afrikaans music came to be regarded as the “manifestation of the emergence of an Afrikaans counter culture” (Kahn 2011: 22). Johannes Kerkorrel himself spoke of the globalizing as well as modern notion of the *Voëlvry* movement by asserting that “Rock and roll is a universal language. It works in Europe, it works in Australia, America, and it works here” (Grundlingh 2004: 491).

Scott is of the view that popular music is able to act as a channel that could potentially give individuals the ability to take the “‘scraps, patches and rags of daily life’ and transform these into the signs of a national culture and a national narrative, while simultaneously presenting ‘counter narratives of the nation’ that work to destabilise the same” (2012: 748). Grundlingh develops this notion by asserting that decolonisation and oppositional music have had a complex history in Africa (2004: 486). Black protest music had been well-established in South Africa since the 1930s and many of the *Voëlvry* musicians were not only aware of these musicians and their resistance to the apartheid regime, but were themselves part of their social circles. Consequently *Voëlvry*, like similar social movements, was the “product of particular historical circumstances that evolved in an inchoate way” (Grundlingh 2004: 497-8).

Towards the end of the 1990s there was an explosion of Afrikaans rock music in South Africa. According to Andries Bezuidenhout, the new music scene could be divided into three strands – the romantic, the nostalgic and the cynical (Kahn 2011: 22). An example of the cynical can be seen in the work of the band *Fokofpolisiekar* which, like the *Voëlvry* movement, uses music as a vehicle to make socio-political statements singing about

“disillusionment, apathy and social politics” to a very specific audience (Bezuidenhout 2007). These musicians engage with issues of identity, race, language as well as class-position in their work and as such comment on and try to reconcile themselves with the new South Africa.

This study focusses on the musical outfit *Die Antwoord*, who proclaim that they are an “overnight hit, twenty years in the making” (*Die Antwoord* 2010a). Their first music video *Enter the Ninja* propelled them onto the world stage, a place they have managed to keep since the release of the video in February of 2010 (Scott 2012: 747). Their use of online platforms like *YouTube* to disseminate their music can be seen as instrumental in *Die Antwoord* being able to capture an international audience. It is their use of various social media platforms which helped *Die Antwoord* garner audiences from around the world. The outfit comprises of Yolandi Vi\$\$er and Ninja. They perform what can be termed Afrikaans zef-rap-rave (Haupt 2010) and they conceptualise themselves as the “love child of diverse cultures – black, white, coloured and alien” (Eggington 2010). The word “zef” can be loosely translated as meaning “common” and subsequently Yolandi and Ninja amalgamate the identities of Afrikaans “white trash” and “Cape coloured gangster signifiers” (Scott 2012: 747). Jack Parow, another South African musical artist, asserts that “zef” is a movement which is “kind of like posh, but the opposite of posh”(Wikipedia).

What makes this group so interesting is that whilst their personas might appear to be a real portrayal of who they are, *Die Antwoord* as a representation, is by definition not “real” and the musical outfit is a carefully constructed performance which mixes and appropriates different marginalised South African identities such as Cape Flats imagery as well as Cape coloured identity (Scott 2012: 748). Therefore, they are playing with notions surrounding representation, performance and the “real”. The band itself offers an insight as to what they are trying to achieve in the opening lines of the music video *Enter the Ninja*:

“I represent South African culture. In this place, you get a lot of different things... Blacks. Whites. Coloureds. English. Afrikaans. Xhosa. Zulu. Watookal. I’m like all these different people, fucked into one person”

Die Antwoord (2010b).

In the light of this, *Die Antwoord* phenomenon creates a point of departure from which an

engagement with the “complexities of South African identity construction and performance can take place” (Scott 2012: 748).

Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, the co-founder of the Institute for Democracy in South Africa, asserts in his book *Tough Choices: Reflections of an Afrikaner African*, that being an Afrikaner has in the past been associated and identified with intolerance and that in the new dispensation “Afrikaners will have to apply themselves imaginatively to the task of establishing who they are in the new South Africa” (2000: 79). With the fall of apartheid, South Africa has become an explorative space where different people and individuals are trying to (re)define their own Afrikaans identity.

2.2 Whiteness

With the above in mind it is important to note that when looking at questions around contemporary Afrikaans identities, one is forced to consider the problem of “white” identities or “whiteness”. Whiteness studies started to emerge in the 1990s when the work on the representation of whiteness in Western visual culture done by Richard Dyer began to permeate through and spark interest throughout the academia (Steyn 2004:144). Dyer asserts that in:

“Western representation whites are overwhelmingly and disproportionately predominant, have the central and elaborated roles, and above all are placed as the norm, the ordinary, the standard”

(1997: 3).

Fishkin (1995), Frankenberg (1993), McIntosh (1992) and Morrison (1992) argue that white people believe that they inhabit a culturally neutral space. However, they also argue that this particular space provides advantage and well-being and is supported and perpetuated by a cultural structure. It is interesting to note that “white” is often written in quotation marks to point to the socially constructed nature of the term. Ruth Frankenberg is of the view that one can define what “whiteness” is through a set of interlinked dimensions (1993: 447). She asserts that:

“First whiteness is a location of structural advantage, of race privilege. Second, it is a ‘standpoint’, a place from which white people look at ourselves, at others, and at

society. Third, ‘whiteness’ refers to a set of cultural practices that are usually unmarked and unnamed”

(Frankenberg 1993: 447).

Frankenberg goes on to argue that whiteness is politically, socially, culturally and historically produced and more importantly, is fundamentally intertwined with relations of domination (1993: 451). Historically, whiteness is also linked to privilege, which in the South African context meant that it was revealed through not only political but also economic power (Verwey and Quayle 2012: 556). Whilst the advent of democracy in South Africa brought an end to political power being held in the hands of white South Africans, economic privilege still continues (Nyanto 2006: 22-23). Consequently to look at the socially constructed nature of whiteness is to look at a site of dominance. Therefore, the term whiteness does not refer to a fixed set of ethnic characteristics but it is rather a “strategic deployment of power or the space from which a variety of positions can be taken” (Gabriel 1998: 12). These “positions” are unavoidably relational and as such only exists as an identity in relation to other racialised identities such as blackness.

Fiske (1994: 42) argues that whiteness is not constituted by specific ethnic qualities but that whiteness rather refers to specific power relations. In this regard Ruth Frankenberg (1993: 231) contends that whiteness comes about as a result of the way in which others are constructed. Once whiteness and its others have been constructed, the objects are constantly watched and surveilled in the same way as Michel Foucault argued that those defined as deviants are constantly watched in prisons and asylums (1971).

In the South African context whiteness has tended to be defined by the struggle between English and Afrikaans partialities and biases. Steyn terms this struggle as an “intra-white” rivalry as to who “owns” real whiteness (2004:147). However, this is not limited to the South African context as the “origin of racial practice was not in the black-white dichotomy of the colonial encounter, but in race to approximate and appropriate whiteness within Europe itself” (Steyn 2004:147).

The concept whiteness is a complicated phenomenon which involves far more than the binary black/white opposition. Seshadri-Crookes (2000) is of the view that whiteness has to do with a competition regarding domination and supremacy within the white group itself. Norval

(1996), Steyn (2001), and Wicomb (2001) investigated the complex Afrikaans-English dichotomy in South Africa where these two groups competed for white domination. Commentators such as Dubow (1992), Fredrickson (1981), Porter (2000) and Vail (1989) are of the view that Afrikaner nationalism was informed and stimulated by the humiliation of the Boer forces in the South African Anglo-Boer War which lasted from 1899 to 1902. The English-Afrikaans dichotomy after the 1948 political triumph of the Nationalist Party, cemented the division within the South African white group for a considerable time. Despite political domination, Afrikaner whiteness remained what Gabriel (1998: 184) termed subaltern whiteness in relation to the threat of white English speakers backed up by the British Empire (Giliomee 2001). It could be argued that *Die Antwoord* attempts to reclaim an autonomous identity. In “I Fink U Freeky” Afrikaans speakers in general, coloured people, working class people and other marginalized groups appear to claim a voice and an identity in significant opposition to the British colonial and, since 1948, Afrikaner neo-colonial “Other” in the way that Lacan uses the term (Lacan 1968). “The Other – with the capital ‘O’ – has been called the *grande-autre* by Lacan, the great Other, in whose gaze the subject gains identity” (Ashcroft et al. 1998: 170).

In order gain a more nuanced and deeper understanding of whiteness one also needs to look at the notion of race. Verwey and Quayle assert that “whites lived on the privileged side of a society that used race as an organizing principle in apartheid South Africa” (2012: 566). Since the dawn of a new democracy, South Africa has had to reshape its “intergroup relations through a process of reconciliation and nation-building” (Steyn 2005: 119). This has meant a significant revaluation of social identities.

Steyn is of the view that “taking whiteness as an object of study is seen as a critical move in race studies. It involves redirecting the academic gaze from “racism”, the way in which the centre constructs the margins, to the way in which the centre constructs itself (2005: 120). Whiteness is an ideologically socially located position which was first facilitated by the construction of “race”, which became the marker of power and privilege of this position (Steyn 2005: 121). The end of apartheid meant the de-centering of whiteness within South African society, from a position where “white advantage was legally entrenched, to where it is actively disciplined” (Steyn 2005: 122). Although the white minority have lost political power, their economic power has been largely maintained. However, the new dispensation has put pressure on the need to dismantle and deconstruct old social relations:

“The social revisions brought about by the political realignment of the different population groups in relation to each other are far-reaching, complex and multiple. Not least among these is the re-negotiating of identities. South Africans, willingly or unwillingly, successfully or unsuccessfully, are engaged in one of the most profound collective psychological adjustments happening in the contemporary world”

(Verwey and Quayle 2012: 556).

In the light of the above it is clear that whiteness is relational and an outcome of history. This means that it has only socially constructed meanings and no inherent meaning. Consequently meanings may appear to be simultaneously flexible and intractable.

2.3 Class and Race

Despite the fact that racial categorisation cannot be scientifically substantiated

“race as a factor describing and determining people’s life chances continues to exist. It is manifested in three forms: (a) as an ordering concept for dominance and discrimination, which has become institutionalized; (b) as a historic experience, a force shaping the lives and consciousness of the designated group; and (c) as a distinguishing marker for the group, transformed into a mark of pride, resistance and a tool for liberation”.

(Lerner. 2001: 5985)

Race as a “mark of pride” and as “an ordering concept for dominance and discrimination” as outlined in the quotation above, generates class distinctions (Lerner. 2001: 5985). Lerner contends that “[c]lass is a term that sorts people according to their relation to resources and power. The term is a social construct, but it is based on actual economic differences between people. There is a large literature illustrating the way race and gender affect a person’s class position” (2001: 5986).

The notion of class is central to the music of *Die Antwoord*. Their work, inter alia, deals with being white and “zef” or being coloured and “rou”. Therefore they look at how not only South Africaness but also Afrikaansness is attached and tied to an aspirational “ordentlike” (respectable) identity where imagery of the working class is often seen as being unacceptable, laughable and ridiculous. Ideas about morality and respectability are always tied to class

positions which in the South African context often assume racial dimensions. This is why *Die Antwoord's* music can potentially renegotiate identity. This study probes audience perceptions of class, race and Afrikaansness in order to indicate how these phenomena are represented in the music of *Die Antwoord* and how it generates responses in consumer audience. Therefore, the notions of class and race are central categories in this study.

The notion of “zef” – being “common” or belonging to a lower-class – has been used by the group in response to questions about their genre. One of the questions that could be raised in response to *Die Antwoord* is whether they manage to overturn stereotypes of the working class as inferior, laughable and ridiculous, or whether they reinforce them.

Die Antwoord as a popular culture phenomenon has generated substantial media discourses surrounding Afrikaans identity in particular and representations of whiteness in general. The performing subject is no longer presented as an isolated high culture Afrikaner, but forms part of a hybrid transcultural phenomenon. *Die Antwoord* has created a space which potentially allows for a broader range of Afrikaans identity options to emerge. Their performance of identity highlights the view that identities are not given and permanent but can be challenged, changed and (re)constructed. This very important aspect of *Die Antwoord* as an open-ended, challenging artistic configuration is discussed in chapter 3 where hybridity is discussed under 3.5.

The demise of apartheid has contributed to the undermining of fixed notions of whiteness or class identities. The controversies about *Die Antwoord's* representation of race, class and ethnicity in relation to their performance of Afrikaans identities, raise the question of how different Afrikaans audiences might make meaning from their work. One critique of *Die Antwoord's* representation of race and ethnicity is articulated in the Blackface debate. According to Eric Lott (1993:3) Blackface refers to a 19th Century American phenomenon when caricature images of blacks were produced by white people for amusement or to make money. An obvious consequence of this was that black people could not challenge the identities portrayed. One critic, Richard Poplak (2010) described *Die Antwoord* as “basically Blackface”.

Haupt is of the view that *Die Antwoord* creates caricatures of coloured subjects (2012: 127). In this regard Hart has the following to say:

“The debate over cultural appropriation is about whether speaking for others or representing them in fictional as well as legal, social, artistic, and political work is appropriate or proper, especially when individuals or groups with more social, economic, and political power perform the role for others without invitation”

(1997: 137).

Haupt does not only negatively comment on the appropriation of coloured subjects by means of Blackface in performances by *Die Antwoord* but also asserts that *Die Antwoord* registers the stereotypical “white trash” phenomenon popularized by US TV comedies such as *My Name is Earl* (2012: 130).

In response to the negative criticism regarding *Die Antwoord* summarized above, one could assert that *Die Antwoord* phenomenon has at the very least generated a critical debate regarding being Afrikaans and/or coloured and/or working class in the new South Africa. *Die Antwoord* acts as a stimulus for an interrogation of identity in the new South Africa and has clearly provided an impulse for a critical look at identities, identity representation and the creation of stereotypes. The body of criticism surrounding this controversial outfit supports a premise that indeed the media can and do play a significant role with regard to the formation and critical analysis of identity and citizenship. Even if *Die Antwoord*’s portrayal of certain groups and individuals in South African society is a complete caricature, at least they offer the media consumer an opportunity to say, in the words of the title of a text by Jeanne Goosen, “*Ons is nie almal so nie*” (We are not all like that) or consumers are free to argue that nobody is like that.

This study examines how young Afrikaans audiences respond to *Die Antwoord*’s mediation of identity, in order to explore whether the group’s performance of identity allows young audiences to transgress previously held notions of their own identities. The assumption underpinning the study is that meanings made from media artefacts are not fixed, but can produce varied interpretations (Hall 1980), often influenced by audiences’ social position (Morley 1980) as is explicated in chapter 1 above. Identity, according to Hall, is part of a narrative and is therefore part of a kind of representation (2000:147).

2.4 Conclusion

As this study attempts to identify the way in which selected Afrikaans speaking audiences

respond to performances by *Die Antwoord*, the chapter above provides a discussion of relevant concepts such as identity, Afrikaans identity, whiteness, class and race. While it is argued above that *Die Antwoord* facilitates new possibilities for identity construction, this chapter also outlines criticism against *Die Antwoord*, particularly with regard to the way in which the outfit, in the view of some critics, improperly appropriates some presumed South African identities which results in the formation of caricatures. However, it is postulated that *Die Antwoord* as an artistic phenomenon at the very least, generates a discursive site which enables consumers to generate their own meanings regarding “Afrikaansness”. *Die Antwoord* could stimulate and has stimulated opportunities for interrogating traditional notions of South African identities, in general and Afrikaans identity in particular. In this way the vital link between the media and aspects of citizenship is demonstrated.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW: CITIZENSHIP, HYBRIDITY & CREOLIZATION

Introduction

In the past two decades there has been a renewed interest in citizenship studies with scholars realizing that not only is the notion of citizenship and what it entails important, but also that it is not a static concept but a phenomenon which is continuously in a state of flux. In the previous chapter theories surrounding identity, Afrikaans identity in particular, whiteness and class are investigated. In this chapter identity is discussed in relation to citizenship, hybridity and creolization. The theoretical background to this investigation is discussed in two separate chapters for reasons of clarity.

3.1 Social Context

South Africa is a nation which is profoundly divided along the lines of race, class and ethnicity. Although South Africa is not the only country divided along such lines, it provides a glaring example of the “institutionalisation of racial divisions and the limitations of a concept of citizenship that can exclude the vast majority of the population from the democratic processes” (Dorward 2000: 218). Despite the fact that the white population of South Africa has never constituted more than 15 per cent of the population, they have dominated and monopolised citizenship since the establishment of a refreshment station at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652 (Dorward 2000: 218). The onslaught of British colonialism culminating in the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) reduced the Afrikaner population to colonized subjects under British Rule. This stimulated the rise of Afrikaner nationalism which reached a peak when the Nationalist Party under DF Malan in 1948 gained control over the union of South Africa. Ironically the previously colonized Afrikaners adopted many of the approaches and views of their previous oppressors and 1948 constituted the beginning of a form of neo-colonialism which systematically marginalized and oppressed the majority of the population by means of Apartheid legislation and Afrikanerdom established a hegemony. Korf and Malan articulate that the Afrikaans-speaking population of South Africa have, since the end of Apartheid, in 1993 moved from a “political majority to a political minority, from a position of extreme political power to one of far less power, and from an advantaged status to a potentially disadvantaged status” which have been aggravated by

measures such as land restitution and affirmative action (2009: 15). However, when looking at South African history one needs to be “sensitive to the construction of ethnic consciousness” and to be wary of essentialising “tribal” and “ethnic” categories such as the Afrikaner or the Zulu (Dorward 2000: 219).

3.2 Citizenship Studies

Contemporary debates about citizenship consider who is considered a citizen and consequently who is not seen to be a citizen. It investigates the spaces or contexts where citizenship is manifested and what citizenship is. Furthermore, contemporary studies of citizenship also pay attention to the histories through which citizenship becomes relevant. Citizenship can be defined as “both a set of practices (cultural, symbolic and economic) and a bundle of rights and duties (civil, political and social) that define an individual’s membership in a polity” (Isin and Wood 1999: 4). Therefore the notion of citizenship needs to be seen as both practice and as status.

Historically the notion of citizenship can be linked to the work of Thomas H. Marshall (1950). However, the Marshallian view of citizenship has been criticised as the original conception of citizenship looked primarily at social rights whilst contemporary scholars look at and emphasise the “flexibility of social membership, the limitations of citizenship as merely rights, and perspectives that emphasize identity and difference” (Isin and Turner 2002: 5). A major critique of Marshall’s theory of citizenship was that the emphasis on social rights was one-dimensional and that in actual fact there are many different types of citizenship. Another critique of the Marshallian model of citizenship was that he took for granted the definition of a citizen where more recent theories and theorists are concerned mainly with the changing nature of identities and questions like “who is the citizen” (1950:8). Identity has become a central issue of many social movements and the notions of both identity and citizenship are intensely connected (Isin and Wood 1999; Isin and Turner 2000). In a country like South Africa where there is an abundance of different identities, the very notion of identity becomes foregrounded and a reflection of the complexity of South African society. This fact necessitates a constant awareness of difference, the renegotiation of identities and the potential for conflict stemming from conflicting identities.

Citizenship therefore is also an identity and not just about status or defined in terms of rights and duties (Kymlicka and Norman 1994: 569). It is about the expression of one’s self as a member of a political community.

3.3 Cultural Citizenship

One central dimension to cultural citizenship is globalization. Ommundsen, Leach and Vandenberg assert that citizenship, globalization, and culture can be “an explosive mix, with the capacity to unsettle not only traditional modes of belonging, but also established ways of thinking about being and belonging” (2010: 2). Giddens states that globalization can be defined as “the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa” (1990: 64). Therefore, cultural citizenship in a global era highlights the pressures and strains between:

“...individual and group rights, between human and cultural rights, between principles of universalism and respect for cultural difference, and between the authority of the state, the rule of international law and the seemingly lawless operations of transnational capital”

(Ommundsen et al 2010: 2).

Culture and cultural rights have in the past very rarely been linked to citizenship or seen to be something separate from broader social rights (Pakulski 1997: 80). Pakulski argues that culture should be taken into account when formulating notions of citizenship and should be seen as “a new set of citizenship claims that involve the right to unhindered and legitimate representation, and propagation of identities and lifestyles through the information systems in a public fora” (1997: 80). This means that cultural citizenship is about access to the production, consumption and distribution of culture which becomes a “field of struggle and conflict” (Isin and Wood 1999: 123). The cultural dimension of citizenship has therefore become an integral part of citizenship studies (Turner 1997; Pakulski 1997). Cultural citizenship is consequently defined not by a political, legal or socioeconomic location but rather in terms of symbolic representation, cultural promotion and culture-status recognition (Pakulski 1997: 80). Culture is defined here as the production, consumption and exchange of ideas, images, sounds and symbols.

Youth around the world, regardless of their access to different media outlets and forms, are absorbed and intrigued by the overflow of sounds and images they are exposed to. Therefore, being or feeling part of popular culture is a key part of modernity (Dolby 2006: 32). Diouf (2003) argue that young Africans are shaped by the osmosis between the local and the global

and imply that this results in new cultural forms. Strelitz asserts that one of the key features of communication is that it is able to take place on a global scale which allows individuals, separated by time and space instantaneously to access messages from across the world (2005: 30). According to McGrew (1992) globalization has in some way resulted in a single, universal system. A consequence of this is that free-flowing global impulses can break into the rigid traditional cultural boundaries. This allows the individual the freedom to choose identities influenced by impulses from outside without the traditional cultural constraints which resulted in homogenous identities.

Popular culture is often seen in a dichotomous way. It is either seen as being good or being bad or that it induces or arouses feelings of anxiety or celebration. *Die Antwoord* can be seen as the epitome of this dichotomy. Some people such as Adam Haupt (2012) could interpret the work of *Die Antwoord* as bad in the sense that they undermine traditional cultural norms, while others like Anton Krueger (2012) might applaud them for developing new hybrid cultural forms. The views of both Haupt and Krueger are referred to at a later point in this chapter.

Popular culture then, becomes a site of struggle where the negotiation of gender, nation, race, and other identities can take place. Stuart Hall asserts:

“Popular culture is one of the sites where the struggle for and against a culture of the powerful is engaged; it is also the stake to be won or lost in that struggle. It is the arena of consent and resistance. It is partly where hegemony arises and where it is secured”

(1981: 239).

Toby Miller is of the view that cultural citizenship is the zone “where the popular and the civic brush up against each other” (1998). In the case of *Die Antwoord* Miller’s statement could be translated as meaning that the popular entertainment produced by *Die Antwoord* in fact becomes both a reflection of and a stimulus for cultural formations. He goes on to argue that popular culture is a formative rather than a reactive space. It therefore becomes a space where democracy can be made as well as unmade. Dolby asserts that there is a “deep, affective human pleasure that can be found in multiple spaces, and [that] popular culture taps into that desire” (2006: 42). In the light of this, popular culture becomes deeply political as it is informed by and a function of political dimensions. It could force individuals to start a

conversation and discuss various issues, topics and phenomena and could compel them to have an opinion, to care and to perhaps even act.

Whilst the interplay between culture, citizenship and globalization has had a homogenising effect on cultural production and consumption, it has also generated a need and a demand for cultural difference. Consequently this interplay has given rise to a focus on “identity politics” and as a result has undermined notions of group and individual identities (Ommundsen et al 2000: 2). In a sense this means that in an era of globalization one needs to bear in mind that citizens now see themselves as “both citizens and consumers, publics and audiences, workers and traders, all at once” (Hartley 2010: 238). Citizens are now also in a position to take decisions regarding associations of identity and can be part of a global consumer society. While the consumption dimension of citizenship is still relatively new to social theory, it represents the lived experience of millions of people (Hartley 2010:238). Isin and Wood argue that consumption plays a part in both politics and identity formation and that as a result citizenship should be “freed from its exclusive connection with the state and associated with markets” (1999: 138). *Die Antwoord* is a typical example of a phenomenon which functions on a global scale and which survives as a result of global consumption. As the South African target market is relatively small and partially digitally and financially challenged, the outfit has to rely on global exposure for survival. This facilitates the possibility for generating new international identities not bound or limited by local cultural restrictions. Therefore, identity is a process which is constantly occurring and changing within what Nadine Dolby refers to as the “global/local matrix” (2006: 33).

In order to understand cultural citizenship one also needs to look more closely at the conception of culture. Crucial to the understanding of culture is the idea of difference. Marshall (1950) saw citizenship as a shared or common identity which included and joined previously excluded groups into one shared identity. However, in recent times it has become clear that many groups still feel that they are excluded from the “common culture” of a state despite carrying and owning the common rights of citizenship (Kymlicka and Norman 1994: 369). Therefore, citizenship needs to take into account the notion of difference and in particular cultural differences. *Die Antwoord* celebrates cultural difference by incorporating and including different races and cultures and attempts to emphasize difference and how it is through difference that commonalities between cultures can be found.

3.4 Media Citizenship

Hartley speaks of the emergence of media citizenship which looks at the ways in which an individual makes sense of the world of relationships and of his or her position in the world via popular media. Media citizenship observes the use of popular media by audiences to help them with “identity formation, associative relations and even for periodic actions that reverse ‘consumer demand’ from a corporate strategy to a popular movement” (Hartley 2010: 239). In effect this means that audiences make use of leisure entertainment to gather knowledge and information and also as a means to connect with others. Media citizenship appeals to and is entered into by those who have most keenly felt excluded from the more traditional forms of citizenship (Hartley 2010).

Die Antwoord harnesses the power of media citizenship. Viewers and listeners are able to interact with *Die Antwoord*’s work on predominantly online platforms such as *YouTube* and *Vimeo* and in so doing make connections with other like-minded individuals or enter into discussions with those who are opposed to their work. Adam Haupt asserts that one could attribute a large part of *Die Antwoord*’s fame to their ability to utilize social media as a means to bypass the “gatekeeping functions of mass media, such as TV and radio, in order to empower independent musicians and their fans alike” (2012: 118). This means that the work of *Die Antwoord* becomes readily available to anyone operating outside the framework of traditional media and opens up the way for novel associations between people disregarding traditional isolated class units. *Die Antwoord* explores and interrogates different marginalised South African identities which have either been previously excluded or still are excluded in the new South Africa. Marginalisation in this sense refers to neither being part of the traditional predominantly white cultural elite nor being part of the new South African moneyed black middle-class. The group emphasizes the fact that in the new South Africa the previously fixed notion of white Afrikaans identity is changing and being challenged and that consequently different groups can now consider and define themselves as being Afrikaans. *Die Antwoord* as a complex artistic configuration leaves open spaces which could be utilized to interrogate a variety of South African socio-political and cultural phenomena. The notion of open spaces is discussed in Chapter 4.3.1 below.

One of the overt implications of *Die Antwoord* is that it, inter alia interrogates Afrikaans identity in general and white Afrikaans identity in particular. This aspect of *Die Antwoord* was chosen as the subject of investigation in the present thesis.

In the music video “I Fink U Freeky” personas representing different race groups including white, coloured and black are united by difference and not sameness. Not only are there racially different individuals in the music video, but the types of individuals who are used are themselves also different from their own race and cultural group in that they portray people who are markedly different from the institutionalized image of their particular groups. Their bodies are emaciated, they wear the minimum of clothing, the woman seems to share the bed with mice, the one character plays with a snake, and almost all of them depict dental neglect and decay. Almost all of these features mentioned are anathema to all the cultural and racial groups they pretend to represent. This presentation of difference challenges the so-called ideal mode of being portrayed by glamour magazines and celebrates difference, deviance and alternative modes of existence. *Die Antwoord*, through this music video, are tries to emphasize that difference should not be an exclusionary state but rather that it should be celebrated and that although you may be different that does not mean you are not valued/liked: “*I fink you freeky and I like you a lot*”. *Die Antwoord*’s celebration of the freaky, according to du Preez, is something which in their case is self-made and self-proclaimed and consequently the freakish characteristics they acquire are for the purpose of shock, exhibition, consumption and for spectacle (du Preez 2011: 110).

In the light of what is stated above one also needs to take cognisance of the fact that *Die Antwoord* finds itself on the wrong side of the digital divide. Walton and Donner (2011) calculated that in 2008 only 4.1 million (10%) of South African citizens had fixed line access to the internet. This means that the kind of citizen portrayed by *Die Antwoord* might well not have access to performances by this group. Nevertheless it could possibly be argued that *Die Antwoord*’s target market is indeed the privileged 10% of the population. This means that they are in a potential position to confront privileged traditional South Africans with new possibilities for citizenship and new hybrid cultural mutations.

Digital connectivity has generated consumer productivity. Anyone with access to the internet can productively interact with others who have internet access. With reference to Jenkins, Hartley refers to “participatory culture” where digital connectivity enables a new form of cultural consumerism (Hartley 2010: 240). This kind of homespun cultural production, Hartley describes as “DIY Citizenship” (1999: 179). However, one should take cognisance of the fact that the digital divide referred to above still largely restricts *Die Antwoord*’s target market to the privileged approximately 10% of South African society which reinforces the proposition that *Die Antwoord* is, despite its celebration of marginality and deprivation, to a

large extent a middle-class phenomenon challenging middle-class citizens. This digital exchange of ideas, which Coleman calls “conversational democracy”, creates a space for inventive cultural formations and the creation of new ideas and reimagined citizenship (2005).

Consequently media citizenship becomes more reliant on flows of communication rather than being reliant on the state to determine claims to citizenship. This means that citizenship becomes more productive in the sense that individuals are able to act politically and culturally as well as self-represent and organise themselves without having to stand in for the whole of society. They are able to forge their own identity and in turn their own citizenship. The kind of grotesque existence imagined in the video such as the caricature of a woman preparing food for her partner, does not attempt to provide a standard for new cultural formations, but rather deconstructs the male/female roles in society in a form of a parody. The point of *Die Antwoord* is not to present society with a model of a new way of existence but rather to challenge, undermine and deconstruct previous certainties in order to make possible the reimagination of new ways of being.

3.5 Hybridity and Creolization

Peter Burke with reference to Perry Anderson (1998) states that the modern era we live in celebrates “the cross over, the hybrid, the pot-pourri” (2009: 1). Hybridization can take on many different configurations including cultural, racial, and political or linguistic forms amongst many others. Rowe and Schelling define hybridization as the “ways in which forms become separated from existing practices and recombine with new forms in new practices” (1991: 231). *Die Antwoord* is a reflection of this definition as they break away from previously accepted norms about Afrikaans identity and combine and appropriate different cultures to form a new way of looking at Afrikaans identities. The concept of “hybridity” is mostly associated with the work of Homi K Bhabha (1994) who argued that a relationship of interdependence existed between the colonisers and the colonised and that hybridity came about as a result of the interactions between the dominant group and the dominated part of colonized societies.

Bhabha’s key text *The Location of Culture* speaks of the “Third Space of enunciation” which is where cultural formation is constructed (1994: 37). Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin state that “cultural identity always emerged in this contradictory and ambivalent space” (1998: 118). Bhabha (1994:247) articulates that in a third space in-between cultures an intermixing and

transformation of cultural forms become inevitable. This process of hybridization can manifest itself in the arts as well as in cultural life. He makes the point that this process demonstrates the constructed nature of culture. *Die Antwoord*, as stated above, creates a third space where a mix of cultural forms can proceed. The irony is that *Die Antwoord* complicates matters by portraying figures who themselves do not represent any group in a recognisably authentic way. Each of the participants is presented not as a character but as a caricature exaggerating possible perceived attributes of those they might be portraying. Bhabha encapsulates his thoughts in this regard as follows:

“It becomes crucial to distinguish between the semblance and similitude of the symbols across diverse cultural experiences – literature, art, music, ritual, life, death – and the social specificity of each of these productions of meaning as they circulate as signs within specific contextual locations and social systems of value. The transnational dimension of cultural transformation – migration, diaspora, displacement, relocation – makes the process of cultural translation a complex form of signification. The natural(ized), unifying discourse of nation, peoples or authentic folk tradition, those embedded myths of cultures particularly, cannot be readily referenced. The great, though unsettling, advantage of this position is that it makes you increasingly aware of the construction of culture and the invention of tradition”

(1994: 247).

Bhabha’s notion of cultural hybridity as explained above, provides a useful term to describe the cultural mix which comes about in *Die Antwoord*. A performance by *Die Antwoord* indeed becomes a “third space” (1994) as used by Bhabha. In *Die Antwoord* the portrayal of hybridization is not that of the first or second generation cultural fusion which happens between colonizer and colonized but rather a later post-colonial form of hybridization which comes about as a conscious mix of established cultural formations in South Africa. A further factor which contributes to the complex cultural mix in *Die Antwoord* is the fact that the different elements which become literally mixed up in the new formation indeed are already products of hybridization. This in fact means that *Die Antwoord* generates the hybridization of previously configured hybrid cultural formations.

Hybridity then, can be seen to function as a power relationship between the “centre and the margin, hegemony and minority, and indicates a blurring, destabilisation or subversion of that hierarchical relationship” (Pieterse 1994: 56). This means that the newly configured cultural

formations while often reflecting elements of an original hegemony, reworks these elements into new structures strongly positioned against any previous hegemonic authority.

An example of hybridization that is central to this study is that of racial hybridity. Racial hybridity involves the integration of two races which are seen to be separate and distinct from one another (Yazdih 2010: 32). Historically this hybridization occurred due to births which occurred as a result of the intermixing between the coloniser and the colonised. Individuals who were part of a mixed heritage were often stigmatised and became subject to racism. However, it must be noted that the racial differences themselves were the product of social construction in order to legitimise power relations. Hybridity undermined the discourse of purity and separateness and deconstructed colonial power.

Die Antwoord highlights racial hybridization in South Africa by portraying “coloured” identities and removing them from a previously excluded liminal space and foregrounding them as equal claimants of Afrikaans identity. *Die Antwoord* attempts to show that Afrikaans identity in the new South African dispensation is no longer racially exclusive and reserved for white Afrikaans speakers but that anyone can choose their cultural affiliations and should they choose to do so, lay claim to, and define themselves as being part of the Afrikaans culture. In the music video “I Fink U Freeky”, *Die Antwoord* incorporates and includes individuals from white, coloured, black and albino racial backgrounds and in doing so questions the previously accepted notion that being Afrikaans was equal to being white as explained in a previous chapter above. Ninja, himself explains how Afrikaans identity can be reconfigured by stating: “I represent South African culture. In this place, you get a lot of different things... Blacks. Whites. Coloureds. English. Afrikaans. Xhosa. Zulu. Watookal. I’m like all these different people, fucked into one person” (Rapport 2012: 1).

Another form of hybridization which is pertinent to this study is the notion of language. Language is a powerful tool in the process of colonisation and/or cultural oppression and the marginalisation of the excluded in the process of “othering” as used by Edward Said (1978). Language therefore is used in a process of cultural exclusion. This leads to the silencing of the marginalised. This language complication has enormous implications for the processes at work in *Die Antwoord*. Fanon argues that “to speak... means above all to assume a culture...” (1967: 17-18). The voice assumed by *Die Antwoord* utilizes creolized versions of the languages of oppression namely English and Afrikaans. A further irony is the fact that

standardized Afrikaans itself is a later development of originally creolized Dutch. This phenomenon of creolization is further explained below in this chapter.

In chapter 2 above the choice of this particular video and the relationship between *Die Antwoord* and Afrikaans are indicated. Whilst the bulk of *Die Antwoord's* music is in English, the form of English they appropriate is reminiscent of Cape Coloured English and a heavy Afrikaans accent is always present. In their songs they intermittently make use of some Afrikaans words, phrases or sentences and their language use can be seen as a mix between Afrikaans and English. The following is an example of the mixture of language in *Die Antwoord's* work as manifested in the music video “I Fink U Freeky”

*“...Increase the peace, don't wreck the party
And fuck da jol up for everybody
Ek's a laarney, jy's a gam
Want jy lam innie mang, met jou slang in a man”*

These four lines from the video text clearly depict a mix of English and Afrikaans. It is furthermore pertinent to note that the words “laarney” and “gam” while clearly Afrikaans, do not form part of the register of standard Afrikaans. The word “laarney” refers to a white person and “gam” to somebody who is not white.

“I fink u freeky and I like you a lot [x8]”

The line “I fink freeky and I like you a lot” which is repeated eight times, emphasizes the acceptance of someone who previously might have been regarded as the other. It is important to note that the word ‘fink’ instead of ‘think’ is associated with the English of an Afrikaans speaking person.

*“Now why you loer en kyk gelyk?
Is ek miskien van goud gemaak?
You want to fight, you come tonight.
Ek moer jou sleg! So jy hardloop weg”.*

The four lines above clearly indicate that the speaker in the text uses a form of Afrikaans mixed with English.

Once again, the lines quoted above indicate that the group are highlighting the fact that they are not just one thing, but rather, an amalgamation of different identities, races, cultures and languages all mixed together to bring forth a new notion of what it could mean to be Afrikaans-speaking in the new South Africa.

Hybridization should be seen as a means reimagining what Yazdih refers to as an “interconnected collective” as opposed to trying to divide and sort different historical narratives to emphasize individualised identities (2010: 36). *Die Antwoord* attempts to create this interconnected collective by redefining and reconfiguring the parameters of not only who and what becomes an Afrikaans-speaking individual in particular, but also who can call themselves South African in general. They weave together different cultures, histories and identities to create a new all-encompassing collective of people who connect with one another across and through difference.

However, it is important to note that *Die Antwoord* is not a representation of the “real” but rather is an appropriation of different identities. This can be seen as one of the major criticisms of *Die Antwoord* as Corrigan asserts:

“Are they parodying Afrikaner culture of elevating its status, giving it a cool-street cred? Can they rightfully appropriate Cape Coloured culture as their own, when they are white? Are they mocking this culture or do they genuinely feel an affinity for this segment of society”

(2010).

In response to the questions above, it could be argued that the artistic text does not necessarily speak for itself but the open spaces consciously and unconsciously left in the text, as formulated by Iser (1970) allows for consumer interaction and meaning making. He formulated the meaning-making role of the consumer of an artistic text as follows: “Thus, whenever the flow is interrupted, and we are led in unexpected directions, the opportunity is given to us to bring into play our own faculty for establishing connections – for filling in gaps left by the text” (Iser 1970: 285). The semiotician Robert Scholes (1982: 21) regards duplicitousness as the distinguishing characteristic of artistic literary texts but the same phenomenon is characteristic of all other artistic texts. It is for this reason that Roland Barthes states that “the more plural the text the less it is written before I read it...” (1975: 10). The music video “I Fink U Freeky” is a prime example of an artistic text which is characterised

by indeterminacy which provokes the intervention of the consumer. Roland Barthes concludes the following with regard to the interpretive openness of artistic texts when he states: “It follows that the meaning of a text lies not in this or that interpretation but in the diagrammatic totality of its readings...” (1975: 120). The central question therefore should not be what does *Die Antwoord* say but what does *Die Antwoord* inter alia allow consumers to say. In other words, ironically, *Die Antwoord* does not purport to provide any answers but rather to stimulate discussion and meaning generation. This aspect is investigated in the group discussions.

According to Ashcroft et al creolization is the “process of intermixing and cultural change that produces a creole society” (1998: 58). Therefore it is not just about the intermixing of cultures but also about the creation of new ones. Creolization is a process which is taking place throughout the world but has most commonly pertained to “new world” societies or those post-colonial societies which are the product of European Colonisation (Ashcroft et al 1998: 58). South Africa falls within the ambit of a post-colonial society where a plurality of different cultures has led to the creolization and intermixing of cultural exchanges.

Cohen reflects on the concept of creolization and asserts that:

“While it is true to assert that creolization had its locus classicus in the context of colonial settlement...I want to signify the potentially universal applicability of the term. To be Creole is no longer a mimetic, derivative stance. Rather it describes a position interposed between two or more cultures, selectively appropriating some elements, rejecting others, and creating new possibilities that transgress and supersede parent cultures, which themselves are increasingly recognized as fluid”

(2007: 381).

Die Antwoord has manifested as a creole outfit which appropriates elements of coloured, black and white identities and in the process might have contributed to the formation of a new South African identity which includes a plurality of different cultures and races. The group discussions in this research project attempted to probe this question. In the music video “I Fink U Freeky” various racial groups are included and portrayed. Some of those groups which have previously been neglected by traditional media have found a place in the work of *Die Antwoord*. *Die Antwoord* actively appropriates certain cultural elements such as being marginalized, poor and deviant which are in contestation with traditionally accepted notions

of whom and what it means to be Afrikaans. They choose which elements to foreground and consequently reject others which negate their chosen voice/image. The group chooses to embody “zef” counter-culture which is seen to portray the Afrikaans working-class. The word “zef” means “kitsch” or “common” but in *Die Antwoord’s* configuration “zef”, being “common” and “kitsch” is now “cool”. The “poor white” theme is extremely evident in the work of *Die Antwoord*. Both Yolandi and Ninja don mullet haircuts; Ninja has amateur tattoos tattooed across his body; both Ninja and Yolandi use language which is offensive (words like naai, fok, kont, poes). These features allude to their embodiment of the “zef”, the Afrikaans working-class culture of the poor (Krueger 2012: 402). The outfit furthermore purposively position themselves between the white and coloured race categories and identify strongly with Afrikaans speakers from the Cape Flats. Ninja’s tattoos are reminiscent of those sported by coloured gangs (Krueger 2012: 403). Hannelie Marx and Viola Milton assert about Ninja that:

“By explicitly constructing himself as a poor white living on the borders of the Cape Flats – thus indicating a clear distinction between himself and the middle-class whites – it is possible that Ninja might be promoting a more hybrid, creolised Afrikaans identity where race and class interact”

(2011: 738).

It is evident then that *Die Antwoord* plays on the poor white theme in their work and this can also be seen in their music video “I Fink U Freeky” where the majority of the characters in the music video including Ninja and Yolandi are depicted as being dirty and wearing dirty clothes. Their surroundings are also dirty and one gets the feeling that there is disintegration taking place around them. They are extremely thin, their teeth show decay and their clothes are tattered. Anton Krueger speaks of *Die Antwoord’s* comedy of degradation and asserts that whilst “zef” mocks, exaggerate and exploit poor white Afrikaners, it is actually an attempt to “come to terms with some of the unsettling qualities inherent in a new South African white identity [and] this is an identity which has had to reshape itself within the context of a hybrid culture” (2012: 406).

The fact that “I Fink U Freeky” utilizes Afrikaans, brings to the fore that the Afrikaans language, as it is often argued, itself is the product of creolization (Davids 1989: 113; Rassool, Heugh and Mansoor 2007: 57). The theory that Afrikaans is a product of creolization was at times disputed by linguists such as Bosman (1928: 149). However, most contemporary

linguistic historians agree with Den Besten (1997: 322) that creolization played a significant role in the development of Afrikaans. When the Dutch arrived in the Cape in 1652 they made contact with the indigenous Khoi people and from the beginning of the 18th century the Khoi moved away from the Cape and became the custodians of so-called Orange River Afrikaans. From 1658 onwards a significant number of slaves and political exiles were sent from the East to the Cape. Many of these people worked in the homes of the colonists and the creolized form of Dutch which they developed was literally referred to as a “kombuistaal” (kitchen language). They played a significant role in the growth of Afrikaans. They established schools, which were often attended by the children of Dutch colonists and published books in Afrikaans written in Arabic script. At a mission station, Genadendal, an Afrikaans school was established in 1814 and a teacher’s college in 1838. The irony is that after the Cape was taken over by the English in 1806, despite their political support for the English, the Coloured community remained resolutely Afrikaans-speaking.

Despite this enormous contribution to the development of Afrikaans the neo-colonial nationalist party regime after 1948 claimed Afrikaans for themselves and attempted to elevate it to the level an exclusive elite language of domination. This resulted in a schism between white and non-white speakers of Afrikaans (Giliomee 2012: 308). Ironically Afrikaans as a language of oppression was fought by means of Afrikaans when the United Democratic Front in the 1980s used Afrikaans as a language of liberation.

Van der Waal asserts that since the fall of apartheid there has been a drastic move to try and incorporate the “three million coloured Afrikaans-speakers politically and culturally” (2012: 455). This has meant a reconfiguration of the apartheid notion that only white people can be considered to be Afrikaans and has challenged individuals who consider themselves to be Afrikaans to find “commonalities across former divisions” (van der Waal 2012: 459).

In the light of this it becomes clear that *Die Antwoord* is challenging previously held ideas about who can see themselves as citizens in general and Afrikaans citizens in particular in the new South African socio-political dispensation.

3.6 Conclusion

The discussion above pays attention to different theories regarding identity and citizenship. The South African social context within which *Die Antwoord* operates is sketched and special attention is given to cultural citizenship and media citizenship. In order to characterize *Die*

Antwoord as a social phenomenon in general and “I Fink U Freeky” in particular, Bhabha’s (1994) notions concerning hybridity and third spaces as well as the phenomenon of creolization as outlined by Ashcroft et al (1995: 58) are utilized to explain important aspects of the work of *Die Antwoord*. The chapter concludes by postulating that *Die Antwoord* has played an important role in challenging traditional views of South African citizenship in general and being Afrikaans in particular.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In this chapter the methodology of the study is explained and the methods and procedures used are discussed as they relate to the project's theoretical framework. As stated in chapter 1, the main objective of this study is to ascertain how audiences make meaning from visual media. The thesis attempts to investigate and demonstrate the relationship between artistic media, citizenship and belonging to a particular sector of society and how young Afrikaans speaking audiences construct or reconstruct identity and race. In order to achieve the objectives set out above, a reception analysis was undertaken of the music video "I Fink U Freeky" by the musical outfit *Die Antwoord*. The chosen video was used as a starting point for a discussion regarding notions of identity, citizenship, whiteness, class, race, hybridity and creolization. The video was specifically chosen as the prompt for the reception analysis as the material in the video sets out to challenge audiences on perceptions of the phenomena listed above. The intention of this research design was that the answers provided by the focus groups would reveal links between *Die Antwoord* as an example of a media text and the construction of identity. The study was conducted within the framework of qualitative research. This chapter shows how the chosen methods and procedures, namely focus group interviews stemming from the qualitative tradition, permitted the gathering of qualitative data which allowed for the analysis of how the chosen audiences received and interpreted the music video by *Die Antwoord*.

4.1 Ordinary vs Scientific Knowledge

The need to generate knowledge is at the core of being human and as a result there are many different forms of human knowledge which include ordinary or lay knowledge, on the one hand and scientific knowledge, on the other hand (Babbie and Mouton 2004: 5). Ordinary knowledge is knowledge which is made up of first-hand experiences and is the type of knowledge which is often based on personal authority. This study deals primarily with the perceptions and experiences of the individual and therefore ordinary knowledge based on first-hand experiences, as described above, are produced in this study. The type of knowledge generated by ordinary knowledge is "rich in meaning and symbolism" as it is based on personal experiences as well as observation (Babbie and Mouton 2004:5). However, the

gathering and interpretation of this ordinary knowledge from the focus groups are informed by theoretical scientific knowledge.

4.2 Qualitative Research

The 1980's saw the emergence of the qualitative tradition in media studies which coincided with the emergence of cultural studies. Cultural studies investigate the relationship between power and culture. This means that culture not only becomes the site where power is produced but also struggled over. Cultural studies also assume that it is important to look at historical context and everyday practices in order for media products to be analysed. This assumption points to the fact that cultural theorists see reality as being constructed and that viewers and receivers of texts are not passive participants but rather active contributors to the production of meaning. Cultural studies therefore, are preoccupied with identity, subjectivity, representation, society and culture and consequently with issues surrounding power struggles and how these different factors affect communication. Qualitative research is rooted in the phenomenological/interpretivist tradition which foregrounds the centrality of human consciousness (Babbie and Mouton 2004: 28). Where the positivist approach attempts to emphasize the similarities between the natural and social sciences, the interpretivist tradition aims to highlight the differences between them.

The primary aim of qualitative research is to describe and understand. This means that the insider perspective becomes pertinent. Qualitative research usually takes place in a natural setting known to the social actors being studied (Babbie and Mouton 2004: 270). The focus lies in the process of the study rather than on the outcome of the study which highlights the “insider” or “emic” view (Babbie and Mouton 2004: 270). The primary concern of qualitative research is to understand social actions in their specific contexts rather than making generalisations as done in quantitative studies (Babbie and Mouton 2004: 270). Therefore, qualitative research is much more flexible than quantitative research as it “emphasizes discovering novel or unanticipated findings” (Bryman 1984: 107). In the present research the focus group method *inter alia* allowed for the groups to develop organically as participants invited friends to contribute. This resulted in the generation of heterogeneous groups where responses to questions often were novel, unexpected and completely unpredictable.

Qualitative research is appropriate for the study of social processes over time as the researcher in this tradition wants to study events as they happen rather than having to

reconstruct them which is often done by quantitative researchers. Bogdan and Taylor assert that the:

“phenomenologist views human behaviour as a product of how people interpret the world. The task of the phenomenologist, and for us, the qualitative methodologists, is to capture this process of interpretation. In order to grasp the meanings of a person's behaviour, the phenomenologist attempts to see things from that person's point of view”

(Bogdan and Taylor 1975: 13-14).

In this study, as stated above, an attempt was made to ascertain through focus groups how Afrikaans-speaking youth interpret and make meaning of the music video “I Fink U Freeky” by *Die Antwoord*. It was decided to use Afrikaans speaking young people for the purpose of this study as *Die Antwoord* uses Afrikaans in their language mix and portrays some Afrikaans characters. Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly, Afrikaans speaking young people were used as, as was stated in the introduction in chapter 1, young Afrikaans speakers of different races and classes after 1994 found themselves in a position where they needed to or could choose to interrogate and sometimes reinvent their identities. This redefinition of identity could shed light on the relationship between the media, identity formation and citizenship. This music video was used as a starting point for a discussion of issues regarding identity, Afrikaans identity in particular as well as notions of race, whiteness, class, hybridity, creolization and belonging. The qualitative tradition provided the means to probe the research question regarding the relationship between the media, identity and citizenship by generating information from the different interview discussions in order to see how these young Afrikaans-speaking persons make sense of their own identities in the changing South African landscape.

The qualitative researcher should not be a mere participant observer, but should strive to place themselves in the shoes of those individuals they are studying in order to try and understand their “actions, decisions, behaviours, practices, [and] rituals” (Babbie and Mouton 2004: 271). In other words the qualitative researcher aims to understand events which take place in the natural context and the concrete space in which they occur. Therefore, qualitative research emphasizes the importance of seeing through the eyes of your subjects and consequently the need to understand social behaviour within its social context (Moore 1993:33).

The qualitative researcher is concerned with idiographic rather than nomothetic research strategies. Both have their roots in the work of Wilhelm Windelband, a German hermeneuticist who asserts that nomothetic studies aim to generalize findings, appropriating them to larger audiences whilst idiographic studies are interested in understanding events or cases within their particular context (Babbie and Mouton 2004: 272). Therefore, qualitative research rejects the quantitative social survey method as it is seen as providing superficial or “thin” information regarding the social world whilst the qualitative tradition aims at providing “thick” descriptions.

A “thick” description is a description which aims to capture the actions as they occur by placing them in contexts which are understandable to the actors (Geertz 1973). Geertz argues:

“The concept of culture I espouse... is essentially a semiotic one. Believing with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning”

(1973: 5).

Geertz uses the neologistic term “thick description” to describe a theory which attempts to interpret social behaviour instead of using the methods and techniques of social science theory which attempts to describe social behaviour as if it is purely mechanical and structural. Geertz argues from the premise that cultural behaviour always represents symbolic meaning. This means that all social responses are grounded on a cultural base and therefore it is semiotic (Shankman 1984: 261). Essentially Geertz attempted to understand and interpret social behaviour from the perspective of the subject involved in the particular manifestations of social life (Shankman 1984: 262).

Qualitative research is “multimethod” in focus and consequently the most suitable methods for obtaining and gathering “thick” descriptions are by making use of life stories, case studies, observation, and interviews (Denzin and Lincoln 1994: 2; Bryman 1984: 78). In this study focus group interviews of previously selected individuals were used in order to gain a deeper understanding of identity, citizenship and belonging. The data generated from the focus group interviews was not an attempt to portray an objective reality but was rather an effort to secure an in-depth understanding of how audiences respond to *Die Antwoord*

phenomenon and how it facilitates the renegotiation of traditionally accepted identities (Denzin and Lincoln 1994:2).

The principle behind qualitative studies is that an investigation of human behaviour can reveal ways in which society is constructed and meaning is produced. Human social life is based on understanding cultural systems. Qualitative studies therefore attempts to fathom the ways in which persons make meaning of their lives. The basic question in qualitative studies is “what are the interpretations of meaning and value created in the media and what is their relation to the rest of life?” (Christians and Carey 1989: 358-9).

4.3 Focus Group Interviews

4.3.1 Background

For the purpose of this study the primary method for gathering and generating data was through the use of focus group interviews. These focus groups were made up of purposively selected groups of Afrikaans-speaking Rhodes University students. The aim was to gather Afrikaans speaking Rhodes Students from different races, cultures and class. Persons known to be Afrikaans were targeted and invited and they in turn, on occasions, invited persons known to them whom they thought could make a contribution to the discussion.

Lunt and Livingstone concisely define focus group research: “Briefly, the focus group method involves bringing together a group, or, more often, a series of groups, of subjects to discuss an issue in the presence of a moderator” (1996: 80). The early 1980s saw the resurgence of focus group research which has since become one of the most popular methods for analysing audiences. It has especially become intimately associated with reception analysis (Deacon et al 2010). A reception analysis looks closely at the social context of media consumption as well as at the creative role that the audience plays in interpreting and ultimately decoding the media text being analysed.

Reception theorists include Stanley Fish, Steven Mailloux and Hans Robert Jauss to name a few. Each of these theorists is concerned with the interpretive activities of readers whether it be “formal, historical, authorial, Derridean, feminist, Marxist, and so on” and how these activities explain the texts significance (Machor and Goldstein 2001: 1) Media texts then, become the place where the joining between media production and its consumption takes place (Hagen and Wasko 2000: 19), Morley (1980) is of the view that one should study and

take notice of both the media text as well as the audience. Consequently reception studies looks at the text-reader relationship. This means that the audience is not passive but rather active in their interaction with a text and that as such it is important to look at the activity taking place between text and the reader. “Active”, according to Hagen and Wasko, describes the role that the audience plays in the meaning making process (2000: 15). Reception studies is typically linked to the work of Stuart Hall(1980) and his encoding/decoding model which is discussed below.

Hall’s (1980) encoding and decoding model was used during the course of the study as a framework from which to see how viewers of the music video made sense and interpreted the text “I Fink U Freeky”. For communication to take place the message encoded by the music outfit *Die Antwoord* needs to be decoded by the viewer who then either takes from the text the dominant or intended meaning, a negotiated meaning or an oppositional response to the text being consumed as outlined above. Hall argues that:

“Before this message can have an ‘effect’ (however defined), satisfy a ‘need’ or be put to a ‘use’, it must first be appropriated as a meaningful discourse and be meaningfully decoded. It is this set of decoded meanings which ‘have an effect’, influence, entertain, instruct or persuade, with very complex perceptual, cognitive, emotional, ideological or behavioural consequences”

(1980: 130).

If no “meaning” is made it implies that no “consumption” has taken place (Hall 1980: 128). The dominant or hegemonic position is when the viewer of the text takes the connoted meaning which was encoded by the producer (Hall 1980: 136). The negotiated position is when the audience by and large takes the preferred reading of the text but realizes that it is within a hegemonic structure. The oppositional reading is when the viewer does not take the preferred reading of the text but in effect takes the opposite stance (Hall 1980: 138). This study proceeded from the premise that meaning is not necessarily fully present in texts but rather constructed by consumers/audiences. This view is based on Wolfgang Iser’s (1970) notion that artistic texts are characterised by indeterminacy and open spaces which have to be filled by the meaning making consumer. Furthermore, Stanley Fish (1980: 10) argued that meaning making is to a large extent determined by interpretive communities who determine how individuals would interpret a text. The particular personality of an interpreter, according

to Norman Holland (1980), could also determine how a text would be interpreted as the consumer is sometimes governed by his or her particular identity theme. The complex process of interpretation as outlined above is however, not only governed and regulated by the individual's identity but at the same time the process of decoding could contribute to a renegotiation or reconfiguration of identities.

Focus group research in the field of media studies often involves the discussion of particular texts by the participants in the group (for example, the work done by Morley *The Nationwide Audience*, 1980). The focus group interviews used in this project created a space where media users were able to express their understandings of the music video as well as to interpret and make sense of it. Furthermore, it allowed the participants to voice and convey their understandings of identity and citizenship in relation to the meanings they made from the work of *Die Antwoord*.

Therefore, in the light of the above, group discussion on a particular topic, theme/(s) or issue lie at the centre of focus group research. Interactions between respondents during the focus group interviews became a means of generating data and highlighted perceptions and understandings that would not necessarily have come to the fore in individual interviews. The presence of multiple participants in a discussion is seen to stimulate responses from the interviewees (Frey and Fontana, 1993: 25). According to Hansen et al "It is precisely the group dynamics and interaction found where several people are brought together to discuss a subject that is seen as the attraction of this mode of data-collection over individual interviews" (1998: 262).

In order to gain a deeper understanding of focus group methodology, one needs to look at the strengths and weaknesses of focus group interviews as a technique for collecting qualitative data. One of the main strengths of focus group interviews is the ability to generate concentrated amounts of data on the precise topic of interest (Morgan 1997: 130). Consequently the data generated in focus group interviews are directly assimilated to what the researcher wants to know. Focus group interviews provide insight into the interviewee's opinions and experiences on a certain topic.

Another great strength of focus group research, as mentioned above, is the dependence on group interaction to produce and generate data. It is the comparisons and associations which

the participants make amongst each other's "experiences and opinions that are a valuable source of insights into complex behaviour and motivations" (Morgan 1997: 15). These differences in experience and opinion of how each participant made sense of the music video "I Fink U Freeky" offered insights into understandings of identity, race, class, whiteness as well the larger *Die Antwoord* phenomenon. As random sampling was used no attempt was made to regulate the selection of people from different groups. The selection was exactly what Morgan called random sampling. The heterogeneity of the group was fortuitous for the study but was not specifically predetermined.

However, the strength outlined above, comes with its own weakness in that group interactions often mean that the group influences the data it produces. What is meant here is that sometimes in a group situation there is a tendency toward conformity on the one hand, and polarization on the other where individual members may present extreme points of view to the group. Often it is the topic which determines how the group will react (Morgan 1997: 15) In other words a very sensitive topic may lead to some participants feeling as though they can't express their views in a group situation. Although the music video "I Fink U Freeky" as well as the larger *Die Antwoord* phenomenon is controversial, the particular selection of a group of young Afrikaans-speaking global media users, mitigated any such awkwardness as all of them were sophisticated and worldly wise persons familiar with a wide variety of challenging and sometimes shocking impulses via the internet. The groups created the impression that far from being awkward, the participants were keen and eager to explore ideas and even to reveal personal concerns, feelings, emotions and uncertainties.

However, as with any research methodology, there are also weaknesses. Although the fact that focus group research is driven by the researcher's interest, is one of its strengths when collecting data, it is also a weakness. It is a weakness in that as a result of the researcher directing and creating the focus groups, the method becomes markedly less natural than participant observation for example (Morgan 1997:14). The risk here is that the facilitator, without a conscious effort to do so, could influence the group's interactions. However, Morgan points out that "in reality, there is no hard evidence that the focus group facilitator's impact on the data is any greater than the researcher's impact in participant observation or individual interviewing" (1997:14). In this study the impact of the researcher was consciously minimized by allowing the participants to interact and brainstorm while the researcher stepped back and refrained from directing the course of the conversation. Furthermore, the

issue of the researcher's possible influence on the data, is one which is pertinent to in all qualitative research.

The researcher also needs to bear in mind that participant involvement is another weakness over which the researcher has no control. There is always a possibility that a participant's level of involvement can be either too high or too low. This could mean that the researcher will be able to generate only scattered instances of information if the levels of participation from some participants are too low. However, if some participants are too highly involved, then the moderator will have to interject and work to control the discussion more which could also have a negative effect on the generated data.

In the light of the above it is clear that focus group research, as any other research method, has both positive attributes as well as weak ones. However, focus group interviews offer a compromise of the strengths from both individual interviewing techniques and participant observation and therefore focus group interviews are able to operate across traditional boundaries (Morgan 1997: 16). In this study this method of generating data was best suited to the research question and aims of the researcher as the focus groups afforded the participants a platform for spontaneous interaction without being constrained by the presence and questions of the facilitator.

4.3.2 Sampling and recruitment of groups

The focus group participants were students from Rhodes University. Hansen et al. (1998: 265) assert that audience studies which make use of focus group methodology often aim to draw participants from "naturally" existing communities (such as Rhodes University) which makes the process of finding participants easier than having to draw them completely randomly. The focus group participants were made up of Afrikaans-speaking Rhodes University students. Although the primary definer of the groups was that the students be native Afrikaans-speakers, the selection of students from the Rhodes student population inevitably and fortuitously resulted in students from various social, racial and gender backgrounds being included. The purpose of the investigation was to ascertain attitudes and cultural strategies and therefore the fact that the participants claimed to be mother tongue speakers of Afrikaans had to be accepted and the strong indications of their identification with the language qualified them to express opinions and attitudes regarding Afrikaans identity.

The ages of the participants ranged from 19 to 27. While the majority of the participants came from middle-class families, as indicated by themselves, a small number of those who participated came from a working-class or a previously disadvantaged background. This stark contrast between participants prompted both sides to discuss and critically to reflect on their own views and perceptions of not only *Die Antwoord* but also their identities as Afrikaans-speaking individuals in a new South African dispensation.

The sampling technique for the focus groups was a combination of convenience sampling and snow-ball sampling where initial contacts identified by the researcher pointed to other contacts (Deacon 2010: 55). Convenience sampling, according to Deacon, is even less defined than snow-ball sampling and is rather a product of chance and practicality (2010: 55). The students were specifically chosen on the basis that they are global media users who have access to and who are exposed to the internet. It was assumed that these participants may be capable of and are likely to renegotiate traditional identities as their exposure to global media is likely to problematize or challenge traditional boundaries, norms and rules.

The number of focus group interviews one decides to have, depends on the aims of the research as well as the availability of resources. However, the general rule is that one should conduct focus group interviews until little new material is generated or comments begin to be repeated. Lunt and Livingstone support this assertion by saying: “A useful rule of thumb holds that for any given category of people discussing a particular topic there are only so many stories to be told. Hence one should continue to run groups until the last group has nothing new to add, but merely repeats previous contributions” (1996: 82-3).

Seven focus group interviews with six to seven participants in each focus group were conducted. The number of participants per group was kept relatively low and comprised of six or seven participants in order to facilitate a real conversation to occur where participants were not rushed to articulate their views and opinions in order for everyone to have a say. The smaller groups worked well because it allowed for each individual to be able, not only to articulate their own views, but also to respond and reflect on the views of others. The smaller groups also allowed the facilitator to probe certain responses deeper in order to get a clearer understanding of what the individual was trying to say. Another reason why the groups were restricted to six to seven participants was due to the fact that as Rhodes University is primarily an English-speaking university, the number of native Afrikaans-speaking students is

relatively low. The predominance of female and white participants reflected the demography of the Rhodes University student population where female students constitute 59% of the total student population and where relatively few non-white Afrikaans-speakers study. Only 4% of the student population is Coloured, a South African group which happens to be predominantly Afrikaans-speaking.

4.3.3 Interview setting

The Africa Media Matrix (School of Journalism and Media Studies) was chosen for the interviews because of its convenience for the facilitator as well as for the students. It was a neutral site and as it is situated on campus it made it easier for students to get to the interviews. Morgan asserts that the site of the interview must balance both the needs of the researcher as well as that of the participants (1988: 60).

4.3.4 The role of the facilitator in this particular study

During the course of the focus group interviews in this particular study, the role of the facilitator was conceptualised as allowing for the facilitation and stimulation of discussion rather than as being the dominant force in the focus group proceedings (Hansen et al. 1998: 272). This meant that the facilitator refrained from taking part in the discussion and bringing her own views to the table. The facilitator had to make sure that the focus of the research as defined in the interview guide was covered during the course of the interviews and that each member participating in the focus group was allowed an equal chance to express his or her points of view. The facilitator had to attempt to make sure that there was a balance in allowing each participant to speak and the facilitator had to make sure that the discussion did not deviate from the topic. The fact that the facilitator herself is an Afrikaans-speaking Rhodes University student meant that she was able to establish a rapport with the focus group participants, as the primary definer of the groups was that the participants be native Afrikaans-speaking students.

4.3.5 The interview guide

A framework for the focus group discussion was provided by drawing up an interview guide. This interview guide is attached at the end of this thesis. The facilitator did this to ensure that the discussion stayed focused on issues relating to the research question. Another reason for putting together an interview guide was to enable a comparison between the different focus group interviews when extracting the findings. Therefore, the interview guide provided the

skeleton for the discussion to take place and assured some uniformity between the different focus group interviews.

The interview guide was made up of two sections. The first section dealt with questions specifically related to the music video “I Fink U Freeky” which each group watched at the beginning of each focus discussion. These questions primarily dealt with certain aspects of the music video which then led to more general questions about *Die Antwoord* and how their work stimulates discussion and thought about identities in a changing South African social landscape.

The second section of the interview guide focussed on Afrikaans-speaking identity in particular and identity formation in general. Respondents were able to think about and respond to questions about how they view their own identity as Afrikaans-speaking individuals in a new South Africa, whether they feel comfortable being Afrikaans and what factors have shaped their identity and how they see the relationship between language and culture, amongst others.

However, as mentioned above, the interview guide served as the skeleton from which to guide the discussion, which meant that it allowed for some flexibility in the sense that when a participant or participants picked up on something of interest the facilitator was able to probe that line of questioning amongst the group in more depth. This correlates with Morgan’s assertion that when conducting a focus group interview the guide should not be too rigid (1988: 56).

This meant that during the course of the interviews, the fact that the groups were relatively small meant that the facilitator was able to probe certain responses to questions in more depth. It also allowed for other respondents then to have their say about how they felt about what had been said. The fact that the facilitator was able to deviate at times from the interview guide was extremely helpful because it allowed her to zone in on ideas and responses that she, herself, had not anticipated.

4.3.6 Recording and analysing the data

At the start of each focus group interview the participants were asked whether they would grant permission for the recording of the proceedings on a recorder. Once permission had

been granted, each participant was asked to introduce her/himself at the start of each focus group for voice-identification purposes during the transcription stage. The ability to record the data also meant that after the focus group responses had been transcribed, it was possible to go back and see exactly what had been said and in doing so also to identify key points/quotes which could be used for the purposes of the summary in the findings chapter.

The interviews were conducted in English despite the fact that the interviewees all indicated that they identify with Afrikaans as a language. This identification was amply supported by the statements which are recorded in the section on the findings of the research. The decision to conduct the interviews in English was done for practical reasons as English is the usual vehicle for academic discourse at Rhodes University. The difficulty of obtaining transcribers competent in Afrikaans also prompted the use of English. Finally English was used as the study realised that the research findings would have to be presented in English in a thesis presented in the English medium. It was feared that a translation of responses from Afrikaans to English in the findings might be highly problematic.

In the analysis of the data an attempt was made to match the responses with the underlying theory covered in the theoretical section. The responses fitted the expectations raised in the theory almost to the point of being difficult to believe. It is unfortunate that limitations regarding the allowed length of the thesis did not allow for the inclusion of all the transcribed material as supporting evidence. The themes which were supported by the responses included notions regarding identity, Afrikaans identity, whiteness, class and race as well as citizenship, hybridity and creolization.

4.4 Conclusion

The fourth chapter above describes the methodology informing this study and clarifies the methods and procedures used. As the first objective of the study is to determine how meaning is generated from artistic media, this chapter explains how a reception analysis of the music video “I Fink U Freeky” was done in order to ascertain the responses of young Afrikaans speaking individuals to this video. The chapter explains the difference between scientific knowledge and ordinary knowledge based on first hand experiences. The notion of qualitative research, which is fundamental to this project, is explained. Stemming from this the very important notion of “thick description” as developed by Clifford Geertz (1973) is interrogated and explicated as this project heavily relies on “thick descriptions” where an attempt is made

to capture and understand the contextual behaviour of participants in social interactive situations. As this study relies on focus group interviews the focus group phenomenon is elucidated and an attempt is made to define and explain reception theory. As reception theory demands a report of consumer responses to a text, it was necessary to explain how the sampling and recruitment for focus groups was done. The chapter outlines the interview setting, the role of the moderator and indicates the interview guide which is provided as an annexure at the end of the thesis. Finally an indication is given of how the data was recorded.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS

Introduction

The goal of this study was to look at how a selected group of Afrikaans-speaking youth audiences respond to, make sense of and interpret not only *Die Antwoord* phenomenon but also their own Afrikaans identity. In chapter 1 it is stated that the participants in the study included native Afrikaans-speakers who come from various socio-economic backgrounds. These native Afrikaans-speakers are not necessarily mother-tongue speakers but identify with and conduct their citizenship through the medium of Afrikaans and their mastery of the language is comparable to levels of proficiency normally found amongst mother-tongue speakers. The second chapter considers theories regarding notions of identity, Afrikaans identity, whiteness, class and race and it is registered that while *Die Antwoord* created a space for new possibilities regarding identity construction, there has also been criticism that they appropriated certain South African identities which resulted in these identities being caricatured. However, despite criticisms of the work of *Die Antwoord*, the possibility that the outfit can and does stimulate an interrogation of traditional South African identities, remains. In chapter 3 the theoretical framework is developed further by examining theories of citizenship with particular attention paid to cultural and media citizenship. The concepts of hybridity and creolization are explored in order to explain important aspects of the work of *Die Antwoord*. In chapter 4, the methodology which informs this study is described and the methods and procedures used are explicated. In the present chapter the findings of the focus group discussions are interrogated in relation to the way in which a selected sample of young Afrikaans speakers received the music video “I fink you freeky” by *Die Antwoord*. This video, as explained above, was chosen as a prompt for the focus group discussions because it deals with notions of identity, whiteness, race, hybridity and creolization and citizenship.

5.1 Identity

In chapter 2 the concept of identity is explained inter alia with reference to Hall and du Gay who argue that identities are “constructed” (1996: 5). Hall’s concept of the post-modern identity which is not fixed but open to fluidity and change (1998: 277) was demonstrated by the responses of the focus group participants. They demonstrate what Nuttall and Michael call “new forms of imagining” (2002: 2). The focus group interviews did not indicate that the

identities of the participants were necessarily constructed by the artistic media but the music video “I Fink U Freeky” prompted interviewees to discuss the notion of identity and indicated how an interrogation of identities can be stimulated by media texts. Interviewee 4 stated “...I think that, at least [*Die Antwoord*] opens up a discourse”. In this regard Interviewee 14 stated: “I think it definitely, I mean, whatever people think about it, it does stimulate questioning or thinking, or whatever, ja, it is going to evoke a response basically but you can say what you want”. Interviewee 5 was of the view that the video “does provoke a persona”. Interviewee 14 supported this notion by articulating the following: “They created a really smart persona and you can see that if you look at who they were, Max Normal, and who they are now, *Die Antwoord*, they are very different. They constructed a persona and they are sticking to it and that is smart”.

The participants were of the view that *Die Antwoord* presents their audience with an array of identities with which he or she could identify, reject or use to question the notion identity in general. The response by Interviewee 4 is an example: “I don’t think that *Die Antwoord* portrays one identity. Even though people might think that it is just one identity being shown, [but] there is a lot more. There is a lot more going on behind that”. In this way this interviewee emphasized the constructed nature of identities in the video. Interviewee 23 emphasized the multi-faceted nature of identity by saying: “There is not just one kind of identity you can be...” This notion was supported by Interviewee 33 who stated: “We want to establish a new identity...”

Interviewee 8 emphasized the notion that the post-modern identity is a construction based on a plethora of impulses by stating: “Identity is always sort of seen as a mishmash of different things; you take a bit of everything and form your own identity...” Individuals are capable of configuring a personality. *Die Antwoord* demonstrates this process. In response to the scene where Yolandi is in the bathtub holding a duck, interviewee 15: “*Die Antwoord* is not random, they are very smart, they sit and choose stuff very precisely but they make it look very random and chaotic”. One interviewee, Interviewee 2, went as far as specifically to indicate that individuals in society consciously adopt a persona when she stated: “We are trying to be politically correct. Every single day. It is really a conscious effort we make to be politically correct”. With this statement the interviewee expressed the opinion that at least some contemporary Afrikaans speakers are aware of the fact that they adopt a particular kind of persona which will fit in to the complex post-1994 South Africa.

The answers provided by the participants in the discussion groups amply demonstrated that the global identity has become increasingly “fragmented and fractured” (Hall 1996: 4). The responses furthermore indicated how artistic media could serve as a prompt for the interrogation of the notion of identity.

5.1.1 Afrikaans identity

The music video did not only stimulate an interrogation of the notion of identity in general, but provoked an outburst of views regarding Afrikaans identity in particular. In this regard the responses of the interviewees demonstrated Vestergaard’s description of the post-Apartheid discourse surrounding Afrikaans when he stated: “A cacophony of voices has been raised in debate about what it means to be an Afrikaner” (2001: 22). The discussions emphasized a breakaway from traditional hegemonic notions of being Afrikaans when almost all of the participants indicated their strong identification with the Afrikaans language but at the same time an alienation from some traditional so-called Afrikaans values. This phenomenon validates Marlin-Curiel’s view that Afrikaans people in the new South Africa had to reposition and reinvent themselves (2008: 59). These responses to the music video support Khan’s (2011:20) view that music is capable of generating political debates.

As is indicated in chapter 2, *Die Antwoord* does not pretend to portray a real situation but it is a constructed performance which sets out to provoke a discourse inter alia regarding Afrikaans identity. Some of the respondents interpreted the usage of Afrikaans accents, the way in which the actors appeared to imitate poor-white Afrikaans speakers and the fact that Afrikaans is utilised in an English music video, as indications that this music video inter alia engages with the notion of an Afrikaans identity.

In response to questions regarding Afrikaans identity, Interviewee 2 encapsulated the fluid nature of being Afrikaans in a contemporary South Africa by saying: “I don’t see my Afrikaans culture as stagnant [as] my culture is constantly changing and I think it is good...” Interviewee 23 affirmed the heterogeneity of being Afrikaans by stating: “And I think there are so many avenues of being an Afrikaans person...”

The new possibilities of being Afrikaans as highlighted above, are explained by Interviewee 16: “After apartheid the Afrikaner identity was sort of lost because of the new generation that was coming through. I think we are building a new sort of identity for ourselves”. This notion

of a new Afrikaans identity is supported by the following statements emerging from the discussion groups:

Interviewee 25: “I think the younger generation of Afrikaans speaking individuals have kind of changed the Afrikaner identity a lot and I think it is still going to change a lot and there are going to be those who stick to their more traditional roots, but I think that it is in the process of change”.

Interviewee 20: “We are in a place where we can reject or accept certain things about our identity. I can say ‘I am Afrikaans, but I am not racist, and I am Afrikaans, but I am not a Christian’ whereas before those things were innate, like a package”.

Interviewee 14: “There is not only one Afrikaans identity. Therefore, ‘I am Afrikaans’ includes a lot of different identities. So it is difficult, because generally when you say you are Afrikaans, people have quite a set notion of who you are”.

Interviewee 19: “There are so many different ways to be Afrikaans”.

Interviewee 2: “I think being Afrikaans is so broad. Like you can’t say for sure what it is... Afrikaans is such a broad term and almost everyone can actually fit in that category”.

Interviewee 9: “I like to think of myself as a modern Afrikaner that has adapted through my upbringing, to living a certain lifestyle but still maintaining the raw basic elements of what it is to be an Afrikaans speaking person”.

Interviewee 29: “I think that this is what *Die Antwoord* tries to do and that it is saying we need a new identity, one that is conscious of the past but is trying to transcend the weight that we carry, trying to say what we are, most of us were born, or lived our lives in democracy ultimately but we still carry this stuff and we need something new”.

The quotations above clearly show how Afrikaans student participants in the discussions, while embracing Afrikaans as a language, are eager to explore new ways of being Afrikaans. Interviewee 8 could not identify with the video but formulated the innovative approach to being Afrikaans, underscored by all the interviewees, by stating the following: “I think the term ‘Afrikaanses’ allows us to, instead of reshaping the term ‘Afrikaner’ to break away and create something new”.

Every one of the participants in the discussion groups strongly identified with Afrikaans as a language without necessarily feeling bound to cultural phenomena traditionally associated with Afrikaans. Interviewee 32 verbalised this position by stating:

“I identify as Afrikaans but I don’t carry a whole cultural meaning with that. I love the language, I absolutely love my language and I don’t easily think much about the rest of the culture because culture is just one of those things that have never really made sense to me because it is just, you get the stereotypical view of what my culture is...”

The notion of a new Afrikaans identity strongly emerged from the discussions. Interviewee 29 stated: “...I think they [*Die Antwoord*] are trying to establish something South African that you can identify with”. This view was further spelt out by Interviewee 33 who described the project of *Die Antwoord* as follows: “...It was a constructed, chosen concept to drive the new form of identity and it is not about being weird or about necessarily being ‘zef’ but it is about embracing the fact that we aren’t our conservative parents. We want to establish a new identity...” Interviewee 32 also referred to the “burden of the Apartheid regime” but emphasized the possibility of “a new identity”.

5.2 Whiteness

Whiteness studies, as indicated in chapter 2, have emerged since the beginning of the 1990s and the work done by Richard Dyer (1997) is particularly pertinent in this regard. Scholars such as Fishkin (1995), Frankenberg (1993) and others emphasize that whiteness in the Western world is associated with privilege. Nyanto (2006: 23) points out that despite the political change in South Africa after 1994, economic privilege for whites has not been obliterated. Whiteness is therefore still associated with dominance. Theoreticians such as Fiske (1994: 42) and Frankenberg (1993: 231) convincingly argue that whiteness is the result of social construction. According to Steyn (2004) an important aspect of contemporary whiteness studies is an interrogation of how the white centre constructs itself. In a South Africa still deeply divided along colour lines one might expect that the video “I Fink U Freeky”, which incorporates persons from divergent South African cultures and languages, could provoke intense interest regarding whiteness, particularly so in the light of the fact that Ninja proclaims “I represent South African Culture. In this place, you get a lot of different things... Blacks. Whites. Coloureds. English. Afrikaans. Xhosa. Zulu. Watookal” (Rapport 2012: 1).

Although the discussion groups referred to colour, the notion of “whiteness”, unlike the notion of Afrikaans identity discussed in the previous section of this chapter, did not feature prominently. Interviewee 5 contrasted the images in the video depicting inter alia a semi-naked woman lying on a surface infested with mice, people who look dirty and the man of the house wearing a wife-beater vest, with the traditional white South African “good persona”. Interviewee 1 expressed the opinion that the video attempts to tell the story of “poor whites”. Interviewee 2 also referred to the fact that large numbers of Afrikaans poor whites live in poverty. Interviewee 5 hinted at discrimination against whites which could partly account for the new poor white phenomenon in South Africa. Interviewee 5 referred to a coloured person who, in an acrimonious encounter with the interviewee, claimed to be more of an Afrikaner than the interviewee.

Interviewee 4 emphasized that the video which portrays poor rough working class persons, deconstructs the old notions of whiteness and that the video attempts to be “all encompassing”. Interviewee 3 stressed the fact that young Afrikaans people are now in a position to create their own identity which, by implication, deconstructs the rigid category of whiteness. This implies that some young Afrikaans speaking people no longer cling to whiteness as a marker or identity. During the apartheid era whiteness was associated with progress and success and consequently poor whites were not usually celebrated in art. Interviewee 12 emphasized hinted at this by stating: “...The poor whites were always there, they were just sort of never really expressed in Afrikaans culture...” Interviewee 8 made the point that traditionally whiteness was the norm and glamorised. *Die Antwoord* deconstructs this elitist notion of whiteness by acknowledging that Afrikaans speakers do not only consist of refined upper middle class people.

Interviewee 15 rejected the link between whiteness and superiority by stating: “I like to tell people, yes I am 100% Afrikaans but no, I am not a racist and no, I do not, I am not a Steve Hofmeyr follower”. In the discussions it emerged that whiteness is no longer regarded as a marker of Afrikaansness. Interviewee 13 put it as follows: “...in the Western Cape...more coloured people speak Afrikaans than white people”. He was also of the view that a significant number of “coloured people see themselves as Afrikaners...” Interviewee 16 encapsulated this break between Afrikaans as a language and being white by stating: “Afrikaans is the language we speak”, but “we are South African, that is our true identity...”

Interviewee 17 emphasized the fact that by portraying poor white Afrikaans speakers, the traditional myth which equates whiteness with success, is undermined. Interviewee 17, a black South African woman who speaks several indigenous languages fluently, reversed the notion that being Afrikaans and being white is the same thing by stating: “I am Afrikaans”. Interviewee 18, a self-declared coloured gay man stated: “I actually feel so at home when I am in Afrikaans, I feel so at home, ja true. And that is why I really love it”. Interviewee 33 articulated that there are more coloured speakers of Afrikaans than white speakers of Afrikaans and thereby deconstructed the myth that being Afrikaans and being white are necessarily synonymous. Interviewee 29 underscored the fact that Ninja specifically stated that *Die Antwoord* is a representation of a number of different South African identities.

The idea stated above is reinforced by Interviewee 37 who states: “...there is the blurring of lines between what in our history is seen as very obviously black and white...” She also emphasized that “...you can choose your own culture, you can now take an amalgamation of different things and make that a new culture”. Interviewee 36 stated: “I see myself as Afrikaans” “but I think predominantly I see myself as South African”.

The quotations listed above support Verwey and Quayle (2012: 556) when they state: “South Africans, willingly or unwillingly, successfully or unsuccessfully are engaged in one of the most profound collective psychological adjustments happening in the contemporary world”.

5.3 Class and Race

As the music video “I Fink U Freeky” deals with being “white” and “zef” or “coloured” and “rou”, class and race are significant in a reception study of this video text. As pointed out in chapter 2, the performing subject in this text is not presented as a high-class Afrikaner but rather as a hybrid transcultural phenomenon. While Richard Poplak (2010) regards *Die Antwoord* as a “blackface” phenomenon and while Haupt sees them as creating caricatures of coloured subjects (2012), it could be argued that *Die Antwoord* provides a stimulus for an interrogation of identity and stereotypes. The responses of the members of the discussion groups clearly indicate that they did not regard the video as making specific clear-cut statements and therefore they did not produce a dominant decoding of the text (Hall 1980: 131), but rather produced a negotiated cum oppositional decoding of the text and used the text as a springboard for a critical interrogation of the notions class and race. In this way the responses of the interviewees mirror the work done by Haupt (2012) and Poplak (2010) who are of the view that *Die Antwoord*’s class position enables them to mimic different South

African cultural phenomena. In the old South Africa race was associated with both superiority and success, in the case of white people, or inferiority and backwardness in the case of black people.

Interviewee 5 clearly stated that he regarded this video as a representation of “lower class” Afrikaans speakers. The same interviewee regarded the representation of Afrikaans speakers in this video as a “stereotype, like ‘I am from Brakpan’” but also saw this caricature as designed to deconstruct the stereotypical way in which some overseas citizens view South Africans in general and Afrikaans speakers in particular. Interviewee 1 saw this video as giving a voice to the hidden Afrikaans speaking poor who “don’t really have a voice in society”. Interviewee 2 supported this view by stressing that *Die Antwoord* draws attention to the large number of Afrikaans people living in poverty.

Another interviewee, Interviewee 3, expressed the opinion that *Die Antwoord* attempts to take away the stigma of poverty “and made it cool”. She was also of the view that *Die Antwoord* makes a real attempt at addressing issues which white South Africans found difficult to discuss in the old dispensation as traditionally “you don’t talk about that kind of culture”. Supporting these views, Interviewee 4 stated: “...they challenge you to think of more inclusive ways even if the things you think you include at first might seem quite repulsive”. *Die Antwoord* seems to attempt to normalise discussions and views of race and class. Interviewee 4 referred to this aspect of *Die Antwoord* by stating: “I think you mentioned before that they kind of represent the minority groups in our country and in a way they kind of unite them and show that actually we are the same...”

While not being white and being of a lower class were unacceptable and looked down upon by the white elite in a previous dispensation, Interviewee 8 stressed that for some people “...*Die Antwoord* was absolutely fantastic, glamorised them and everyone set out to be like a ‘zef’”. The discussions brought to the fore that race and class phenomena have now become exposed and partially normalised. In the opinion of Interviewee 8 *Die Antwoord* and Roger Ballen create an image of “people who are so poor that they are living in slums...” In this way traditionally sanitised views of certain sectors of society are obliterated in order to expose aspects of citizenship which were previously regarded as undesirable.

Interviewee 10 found the fact that the subjects in this video appear to be very dirty, rather problematic as she stated: “I know poor people, very poor people and they are not dirty at all”. This indicates that a project of this video might be to attempt to reveal and critique

stereotypes around being poor. The fact that Interviewee 10 was disturbed by the way in which poor people are portrayed, suggests that the way in which poor people are presented might indeed be a way to shock audiences into re-evaluating prejudices regarding race and class. The same interviewee warned that one should not confuse race or class with being bad. Interviewee 9 made the point that the video deconstructs traditional race and class myths by portraying poor people, including poor white people, whom upper class people traditionally refused to “admit to...know”. Interviewee 13 bluntly stated that the video portrays “class and class struggle”. Interviewee 14 saw the project of this video as “portraying working-class, Afrikaans... I guess”. In doing so the middle-class viewer with access to electronic media would be confronted by a situation which could prompt him or her to interrogate Afrikaans identity in general and his or her own identity in particular in relation to class.

Interviewee 13 hastened to warn that *Die Antwoord* did not exclusively portray Afrikaans identity: “...we must just think of the amount of languages they sing in, and all their videos, the people they get involved, themes they explore...” Interviewee 15 was of the view that *Die Antwoord* redefined notions of class by saying: “What *Die Antwoord* managed to do was to make ‘zef’ cool...” and she referred to middle-class people who, in response to *Die Antwoord*, dress “...as though they are from working-class or lower class”.

Interviewee 13 alerted the discussion group to another issue by saying: “... it’s a posed identity...” With this statement she perhaps unwittingly, underscored Scott (2012: 747-748) who described the work of *Die Antwoord* as a “carefully crafted appropriation of a particular mix of marginal South African identities. The video, therefore, stimulates an interrogation of the notions race and culture in general. Interviewee 14 put it as follows: “I think it definitely, I mean, whatever people think about it, it does stimulate questioning or thinking or whatever, ja, it is going to evoke a response, but you can say what you want”.

The problem surrounding the phenomenon “Blackface” as explained in chapter 2, manifested several times with regard to race and colour. Interviewee 19 put it as follows: “...it is really not for them or their culture to make fun or to show another side of Afrikaans people...but it is not really their place to do so”. Interviewee 9 questioned the legitimacy of the representation of the lower classes and regarded it as a “fad”. Interviewee 10 thought the portrayal of the poor people was exaggerated. Another interviewee, Interviewee 20, raised the question as to who should speak on behalf of the voiceless lower classes. This links up with the question in post-colonial studies as to who should be allowed to speak for the subaltern

(Gramsci 1971: 52). Interviewee 17 was very cynical about an outfit making money by portraying the poor: "...when you are poor or you are fragile you really are reluctant to tell people about it but when you are in a position of power you can explore and milk that thing dry". Interviewee 21 referred to the fact that the video does not provide documentation of how subjects portrayed in the video would feel about their own situation. She was of the view that, as indeed was predominantly the case in the discussion groups, it is always the middle-class which interrogates the position of those who are marginalised with regard to race and class.

Interviewee 19 expressed the view that class and race would not normally be regarded as appropriate objects of fun but that in this video where Afrikaans people are portrayed it is presented as an acceptable way of dealing with the issue. The plight of Afrikaans poor people was a matter of great concern to Interviewee 17, a black Xhosa female participant, who said: "It is kind of sad people are not ready to deal with it". According to Interviewee 21 *Die Antwoord* simulates poverty. This would mean that it is a simulation of class and race which could give the viewer a strong impulse to deal with these complex issues. However, she stated: "...it is almost like these guys have the luxury of the class and race privilege of being able to you know, play on the demographic that they are not actually from". This links up with the criticism regarding the "Blackface" phenomenon.

"...I also didn't really see any Afrikaans elements coming through except for maybe their stereotype, but I think they are just artists trying to get across a controversial, shocking image". With this statement Interviewee 26 pointed out that *Die Antwoord* literally plays with notions of class and race in order to provoke a response. Another interviewee, Interviewee 28, agreed that *Die Antwoord* indulges in a stereotypical portrayal of Afrikaans people. Interviewee 25 also strongly agreed with this sentiment regarding stereotypes. However, Interviewee 24 was of the view that these exaggerated images of class compel the viewer to engage with the work by saying: "...it sort of forces you to subconsciously compare yourself..." Interviewee 27 concurred with this statement by saying: "...once again I think that it makes you think about different cultures and different types of people..."

Interviewee 29 was offended by the lower class portrayal of Afrikaans people as she is of the view that: "...we are better than this..." In this way she underscores how this media text can and does confront viewers with complex issues such as class. This view was strongly supported by Interviewee 30 who pointed out that the class aspect was "...necessary to be

shown” as apartheid art to a large extent endeavoured to portray Afrikaans people as cultured and high-class to the exclusion of the marginalised. This view was supported by Interviewee 37 who referred to the “blurring of lines” between the historically traditional way of portraying Afrikaans people and the reality which should also portray poor-white Afrikaans speaking people.

Another interviewee, Interviewee 36, referred to the fact that *Die Antwoord* is “always transgressing boundaries, they are transgressing race boundaries...” which also implies the transgression of class boundaries. “The fact that they are white and that, first of all, the way they speak”, as stated by Interviewee 37, forces the viewer to take cognisance of the portrayal of their class position. The fact that some of the Afrikaans spoken in the text exploits a gangster type Coloured way of speaking, as pointed out by Interviewee 35, equally encourages the viewer to consider the dimensions of class and race in relation to Afrikaans. Interviewee 37 encapsulated the class dimension of the video and the implications for perceptions of citizenship by pointing out that the video is controversial because “what gets to Afrikaans people is knowing that they have a tannie or an oom or cousin somewhere that is just as dodgy and it also confronts one with one’s dodginess...” These comments strongly suggest that *Die Antwoord* satirises existing perceptions of some South African identities.

As *Die Antwoord* generally and “I Fink U Freeky” in particular, overtly registers aspects of class and race, this study anticipated that both these issues would be strongly interrogated by the participants. This expectation was reinforced by the traditional link between race and class in South Africa as pointed out in the introduction to this section. However, the quotations above clearly indicate that the participants strongly engaged with the notion of class but references to race were almost entirely absent. This result of the investigation may point to the fact that the native Afrikaans speakers purposively selected for this study, do not regard race as an important aspect of citizenship. This finding is in sharp contrast to a pre-1994 South Africa where race was a dominant marker of citizenship and where class and race were inextricably linked. Another important conclusion that can be drawn from these responses is the fact that the class dimension elicited vociferous discussion, demonstrates the way in which media texts can and do impact on perceptions of citizenship.

5.4 Hybridity and Creolization

Rowe and Schelling (1991: 231) refer to hybridity as “new forms in new practices”. Bhabha (1994) discusses the notion of a “third space” where in between cultures and intermixing

result in the transformation of cultural forms. Peter Burke (2009: 1) talks about the “crossover, the hybrid, the pot-pourri”. Hybridity is a useful term to describe the mix of cultural transformation which is manifested in the work of *Die Antwoord*. Hybrid cultural forms produce new creole cultural patterns which appear to be stable, albeit it temporary. Hybridization and creolization are indeed two sides of the same coin. With reference to creolization Robert Young (1995: 21) refers to unconscious hybridity. Cohen (2007: 381) describes the process and results of creolization as “two or more cultures, selectively appropriating some elements, rejecting others, and creating new possibilities that transgress and supercede parent cultures...” The discussions in the focus groups highlighted the notions of hybridity and creolization as manifested in the video under discussion.

In a discussion of the notions Afrikaans and Afrikaansness, it is pertinent to consider that Afrikaans people, including those who under apartheid emphasized racial purity, are a product of the intermixing of different European groups, people from the East as well as indigenous African people. This phenomenon of hybridization is discussed in-depth in chapter 3 above. The hybrid group who, in the previous political dispensation in South Africa, called themselves Afrikaners, contributed to the coming into being of yet another hybrid group, namely the Coloureds of South Africa. These so-called Coloureds also happen to be the originators and the custodians of the Afrikaans language, a creolised form of Dutch. The phenomenon creolization is discussed in chapter 3 above.

Interviewee 5 introduced the dynamics and complexity of hybridization and creolization when he related an acrimonious incident where a Coloured man claimed that he was “more of an Afrikaner” than the interviewee. In the discussion it also emerged that *Die Antwoord* phenomenon, while sometimes seen as being Afrikaans, takes the whole process of hybridization and creolization a step further. Interviewee 3 verbalised this by saying: “No I don’t think that they are just an Afrikaans band”. She described them as “very all encompassing”. The same interviewee stated: “*Die Antwoord* mix English and Afrikaans”. Interviewee 28 encapsulated this view above by saying: “I find it quite strange that *Die Antwoord*, they have an Afrikaans name and they kind of put forward this weird Afrikaans identity but most of their songs are in English so I find that kind of strange. Do you classify them as English, Afrikaans or just like multi-cultural, I don’t know”.

A native Afrikaans speaker with a Xhosa background, Interviewee 6, defined her own hybrid situation as follows:

“I find it difficult to define myself as I am this, or even, if somebody asks me, who are you or what kind of person are you I struggle to give an answer. Like with ethnicity I am Xhosa, I follow those traditions but I am also a young person in this modern society and I am at University and I am meeting and experiencing other people from different backgrounds and they also have an influence on a way I do things...”

Another Xhosa interviewee, Interviewee 17, verbalised the complexities of hybridity as follows:

“I would say complicated, people say what are you, what culture, I am complicated because it is complicated and South Africa is such a rich, it is a rainbow nation for goodness sakes and you are allowed to be anything and I am, if I could, I am an African. First and foremost I am a Christian. And then I am an African and then I am Afrikaans. And then I am Xhosa, then I am Zulu and then I am Tswana because of the people I talk with. And then I am English. It is complicated, it is not one thing and it is never going to be one thing...”

In keeping with the complex nature of hybridity, Interviewee 26 stated:

“They have this attachment to the Afrikaner identity in some way but they sing it in English and they feature Coloured and black people so it is this wide variety of audiences that kind of maybe relate to their music, and I just think they are kind of embracing the rainbow nation and not just that but all kinds of people”.

Interviewee 3 verbalised the hybrid nature of *Die Antwoord* by saying: “So that is bringing in a different identity altogether and then they have the black culture, traditional culture, so I think they represent all sorts of people”. Interviewee 20 explained Bhabha’s (1994: 37) notion of a “third space of enunciation” in her own words by saying: “It’s kind of like between things”. Interviewee 24 emphasized this aspect of *Die Antwoord* by saying: “I think there is some form of cultural hybridity in their identity, [because] they incorporate a lot of different races...” Hybridization in the work of *Die Antwoord* was explained by Interviewee 17: “I think they are Afrikaans, let me just take that out there for a minute, I think they are Afrikaans but they are not your conventional Afrikaans and that’s why people can’t identify them as Afrikaans”. Interviewee 28 formulated the complexity of the hybrid nature of being Afrikaans by stating: “I feel like coming here has made me realise that people have a very

mixed idea about what being an Afrikaans person is...” Interviewee 9 explained the process of hybridization: “I think it is very much linked with the times. One hundred years ago if you were British or Xhosa or whatever that was the line. As time progressed, English people became Afrikaans, bilingual with Afrikaans and you know white people started to speak isiXhosa and so we mixed and that makes it a lot more complex and language and culture are linked”.

Interviewee 35, a native Afrikaans speaker, being the product of a process of genetic and cultural hybridization and who literally personifies the creole subject, explained her situation also with regard to her relationship with Afrikaans as follows:

“I think it really has to do with the context and how you have grown up. I have to say my mom’s family speak Afrikaans but my grandfather is Irish so that is where my O’Niell part comes from and then gran is like half-mixed with English and half-mixed with Malay and on my dad’s side it is completely not South African at all. I identify with being American and half Kenyan and half Hispanic so I draw so much from different parts of the world or different facets of my family life. I can’t necessarily say ‘oh because I grew up English and Afrikaans I am not English I am an Afrikaner’. Like I say I am South African and that is what I identify with”.

The hybrid subject could experience his or her creole situation as a comfortable space as formulated by Interviewee 38 when she stated: “You can be hybrid and it is nice. I like it”.

The statements generated by the discussion group and which are recorded above, emphasized a premise formulated in chapter 3, namely that *Die Antwoord* does not set out to provide answers or give directions. It rather generates opportunities for discussion and, in the context of this study, a discussion regarding the relationship between artistic media and citizenship. The discussions as reflected in the responses above amply demonstrate that *Die Antwoord* in general and the music video “I Fink U Freeky” in particular, challenge conceptions regarding citizenship in general and being Afrikaans in particular.

5.5 Citizenship

5.5.1 Cultural Citizenship

Cultural citizenship *inter alia* refers to the way in which cultural patterns influence dimensions of citizenship. It logically follows that globalization inevitably will impact on

modes of citizenship. According to Isin and Wood (1999: 123) the arena of cultural citizenship is “a field of struggle and conflict”. Turner (1997) argues that cultural aspects have become a central part of citizenship studies. While commentators such as Haupt (2012) argue that *Die Antwoord* undermines traditional culture, Krueger (2012) has high praise for the way in which they open up possibilities for new hybrid cultural forms. According to Stuart Hall (1981: 239) the culture of the powerful can be challenged by popular cultural forms. Marshall (1950) views citizenship in terms of common identity. *Die Antwoord* works against cultural exclusion by celebrating difference in a newly configured inclusive cultural pattern. The focus group discussions registered an awareness of cultural modalities amongst the young Afrikaans-speaking participants and indicated considerable insights with regard to dimensions of cultural patterns in contemporary South Africa.

Interviewee 4 disclosed significant popular cultural awareness as she expressed familiarity with the work of Roger Ballen as well as with artistic texts produced by *Die Antwoord*. She emphasized that *Die Antwoord* consciously produce entertainment in order to provoke the audience. Interviewee 5 discussed how he experienced the reaction of Americans to *Die Antwoord*. A black Afrikaans-speaking Xhosa woman, Interviewee 6, summarized the complexities surrounding culture and citizenship in the following way:

“I think. ja, the Afrikaans culture is definitely developing but I definitely don’t define or identify myself as an Afrikaner, I am a Xhosa, and ja, that is who I am, but I am thinking of, I am just an Afrikaans speaker, I am thinking of coloured people and who they see themselves as. Are they Afrikaners? I think it is a definition of Afrikaans that is kind of problematic because in my mind if you say you’re an Afrikaner you are white and you speak Afrikaans, so I don’t know”.

To the statement above Interviewee 4 responded by saying: “I think that is where the term ‘Afrikaanses’ comes from...and you say you would fall under that”.

Interviewee 2 demonstrated her familiarity with the notion of genre in artistic media by stating: “...*Die Heuwels Fantasties* is rock and *Die Antwoord* is more, what does Eminem do, rap, contemporary hip-hop rap...” Interviewee 12 stated that she had watched all *Die Antwoord’s* music videos and indicated that she had even studied their work in one of her university courses. She specifically referred to the fact that *Die Antwoord* has “taken Afrikaans and made it global”. Interviewee 8 had also watched all of *Die Antwoord’s* music and discovered this group while working for TuksFM. While she does not necessarily enjoy

the music, she finds it intriguing and wants “to see more of it”. The same interviewee pointed out the rawness of *Die Antwoord* as opposed to glamorised rock or rap.

Interviewee 9 demonstrated an insight into the dynamics of *Die Antwoord* by saying: “I think it just plays with you a bit and I think that is where their sort of genius lies and that is why they will be controversial...” He furthermore was of the view that *Die Antwoord* “smashes all the limits that you have constructed around you and breaks it apart and says, right, there you go”. Global cultural patterns emerged for example when Interviewee 13 indicated that he had dated an American girl while Interviewee 38 stated that she has a boyfriend in Australia. Worldwide social relations such as this are also reflected by the fact that Interviewee 15 indicated that she had spent two years overseas while Interviewee 5, having spent time in America, could relate how Americans respond to *Die Antwoord*. In a globalised world cultural citizenship operates across traditional and ethnic cultural borders as is demonstrated by these responses.

The problematisation of traditional borders was indicated when Interviewee 21 pointed out that Ninja projecting and Afrikaans/Coloured persona originally was Waddy Tudor Jones. The same interviewee registered an international cultural awareness when she referred to a Swedish television interview in which *Die Antwoord* was asked whether they produce conceptual art and they pretended not to know what conceptual art was. Interviewee 24 compared *Die Antwoord* with another band, *Die Heuwels Fantasties*, and pointed out that *Die Antwoord* functions on a “global map” which clearly breaks the mould of cultural isolation. Interviewee 26 gave evidence of her international cultural awareness by referring to the fact that *Die Antwoord* is “ripping off popular culture”. The same interviewee substantiated this statement by pointing out that one of their songs was in fact a rip-off of Lady Gaga. She went on to articulate that *Die Antwoord* attempts to make a statement to the effect that “all popular culture doesn’t say anything”.

The new complexities of cultural citizenship which transcend traditional borders is clearly indicated by Interviewee 28 when she said “but what I find is that I have two spheres of living”. The same interviewee verbalised her ability to interact in different cultural spheres by stating: “Ja, but I think, there is a very distinct difference being here and being at home. In terms of being in two completely different worlds”. Another interviewee, Interviewee 33, demonstrated that she was able to contextualise *Die Antwoord* internationally by saying:

“...they are doing with a lot more money what hip-hop artists are doing in America, when hip-hop started in the 80s but they are doing that for Afrikaans culture”.

Breaking the traditional cultural mode is clearly indicated by Interviewee 32 who stated: “I identify with Afrikaans but I don’t carry a whole cultural meaning with that. I love the language, I absolutely love my language and I don’t easily think much about the rest of the culture...” This response was prompted by the music video which presented an image of being Afrikaans which markedly differs from traditional high class Afrikaans cultural packages. Interviewee 37 gave evidence of being able to use *Die Antwoord* critically to look at Afrikaans culture from an outside perspective by saying: “...maybe Afrikaans kind of people, speaking in the very generalised sense, don’t really want to, we don’t want your dirty laundry in public”.

Interviewee 35 could also analyse and contextualise *Die Antwoord* by saying the following: “It is just a general thing in society, in every culture you try, you don’t want to disclose what is the shitty side of your culture. Like the same as probably like white Americans. Nobody wants to speak about hillbillies or like the, I don’t know, the trailer trash, or inbreed, ja and those kind of things”. Interviewee 36 was also able to relate *Die Antwoord* to Lady Gaga. Interviewee 37, being internationally culturally aware, could even discover the following: “I never realised in this music video that they smash the beats by Dr Dre”. Interviewee 35 encapsulated a new form of cultural citizenship in sharp contrast to traditional ways of being Afrikaans by saying: “It is like that you say you have the ability to go from the one to the other but at the same time I think that it is so beautiful because we are so unique, we have this common way between us, we are so uniquely like African”. She also added: “...we are uniquely African but at the same time we are this, we are this, and this”.

5.5.2 Media Citizenship

Media citizenship refers to the way in which the individual positions himself or herself in the world via popular media (Hartley 2010: 239). Media entertainment provides and distributes knowledge and facilitates the coming into being of new cultural patterns and new ways of being a citizen. Haupt (2012: 118) thinks *Die Antwoord* became so famous because they were in a position to circumvent mainstream communication such as TV and Radio. This meant that a radically innovative musical outfit could escape the gate-keeping function of mainstream public television and broadcasting. The group presents a new manifestation of Afrikaans identity in contrast to the traditional high-class manufactured Afrikaner identity.

These artistic expressions which since the beginning of radio and later television in South Africa informed traditional Afrikaner identity, were produced by exponents of elitist, sanitised musical expressions. Music in this mould was produced inter alia by artists such as Carike Keuzenkamp, Randall Wicomb and Koos du Plessis. Work by *Die Antwoord* is characterised by strong differences from the music and lyrics produced by traditional artists such as those listed above. Ironically the alternative media utilized by *Die Antwoord* still is only accessible to approximately 10% of the South African population which happens to be largely middle-class. As they set out to challenge traditional middle-class values, this privileged group might indeed be their intended target group. It could be argued that *Die Antwoord* plays to a middle-class audience that consumes these working-class images without really being challenged to confront their own social, race and class position. However, as the exaggerated caricature of working-class existence such as the portrayal of family life for example, does not purport to be a realistic picture of Afrikaans-speaking working-class individuals, it can be argued that their performance is designed to challenge traditional received cultural norms and assumptions. One of these challenged assumptions could be the notion of the solid, healthy, decent, nuclear family. The answers to the questions posed to the focus groups gave some indication of how their understanding and interpretation of *Die Antwoord* was informed by their exposure to media which generates, what Hartley (2010: 239) calls, media citizenship.

Interviewee 2, like all the other participants, had already watched the music video “I Fink U Freeky” before the video was shown to them for the purposes of this interview. This was an indication of the extent to which global media users are exposed to artistic media. The critical connectedness of the interviewees with the work of *Die Antwoord* is an indication of the possibility that the media could influence the way the world is viewed and citizenship is constructed. Interviewee 4 demonstrated, not only her familiarity with *Die Antwoord*, but also the fact that she was familiar with the collaboration between Roger Ballen and the outfit. Interviewee 4, as an astute citizen shaped by the media, indicated her awareness of the fabricated nature of the work of *Die Antwoord* and questioned the ethics of aestheticizing the poverty of other people. She was of the view that poverty and hardship should not be utilised for entertainment. However, her sensitivity and misgivings in this regard are indications of the fact that she was challenged to take cognisance of manifestations of class differences in society. Interviewee 3, while not personally enjoying *Die Antwoord*, indicated how the funky

nature of their work was actually applauded by even non-Afrikaans speakers and in this way demonstrated the power of the media in influencing citizenship.

Interviewee 6, while not being able to relate to *Die Antwoord*, could appreciate the artistic value of their work and demonstrated how citizens become attuned to technical aspects of the media: “I have only watched a few music videos of theirs and from what I have seen I love the quality of their videos and their ideas. I love the artistic [nature of it], the art of it, but I don’t really relate to it but ja, I enjoy their music videos”. Interviewee 1, being aware of the function of media in shaping citizenship, referred to the way in which *Die Antwoord* deals with poverty and class by stating: “I think they are actually trying to tell their story and how they live I suppose”. Interviewee 2 encapsulated the relationship between media and citizenship by stating: “...*Die Antwoord*, are so different from them and that’s a new way of identifying yourself and it is also complex because they touch on social issues that affect all South Africans”. Interviewee 4 compared *Die Antwoord* with other forms of contemporary Afrikaans music and stated: “...it was a radical new thing that came out and obviously it offended a lot of middle-class people...”

Interviewee 8 stressed the fact that she had seen much of the work of *Die Antwoord* and Roger Ballen, but, as an experienced media user, indicated that she could critically interact with the material: “I think they represent a part of Afrikaans music culture that is breaking away from all the sokkie crap... that stereotype... and have created something so otherwise”. Interviewee 12 was not only familiar with *Die Antwoord* but had studied their work in an academic course and underlined how *Die Antwoord* succeeded in globalising South African culture by means of the media. As a media user Interviewee 9 was aware of the “huge debate” generated by *Die Antwoord*.

The power of the media is demonstrated by Interviewee 13 who stated: “They sold themselves to me”. The same interviewee was of the view that *Die Antwoord* uses media specifically designed for their target audiences. The way the media operates and influences citizens was expressed by Interviewee 14 who stated: “...to be honest, I don’t think I have ever heard the song before I have watched the video. I always, like someone will say ‘oh the new *Die Antwoord* video is out’ and I’ll go and watch the video and the song”. The same interviewee encapsulated the way in which *Die Antwoord* consciously provides a social commentary and in doing so potentially contributes to constructing (new) ways of being a citizen. She stated: “...its social commentary on Afrikaans culture in the past where religion

and patriarchy were prominent...social commentary on where we were and where we are now..." This view was echoed by Interviewee 13 who saw *Die Antwoord* as "counter-cultural critique and commentary".

As a global media user aware of the constructed nature of artistic media texts, Interviewee 14 wondered if anyone really believes that *Die Antwoord* and their work are real. This indicates that the global media user could be in a position critically to utilize media texts as prompts for re-evaluating received values and interrogating traditional cultural patterns. The power of the media is emphasized by Interviewee 20 who stated: "I don't want to like them..." but she also wondered: "Why can't I stop watching it?"

The fact that the media is capable of intriguing users and of engaging with them, is verbalised by Interviewee 19 who stated: "...I like the roughness of their lyrics and their shock value". Interviewee 20 demonstrated how the contemporary user of media could construct new forms of citizenship. She stated that she did not like Gé Korsten and the other music that her parents listen to and found *Die Antwoord* something new and captivating. Interviewee 19 stressed the power of the media when she referred to Yolandi by stating: "She captures the attention of the world's men on the internet. It happened for a month". The power of *Die Antwoord* is referred to when Interviewee 20 stated that *Die Antwoord* operated on a "world stage".

The potential influence of the media on the construction of citizenship is referred to by Interviewee 24 who stated: "...the music video specifically subverts the Afrikaner, the typical Afrikaner image I grew up with". The continuing critical value of *Die Antwoord* is referred to by Interviewee 30 who articulated: "I like it because I think they have stuck with their image throughout their career" and she concluded by stating "...I think they are über rad". The exposure of young people to *Die Antwoord* via the media is indicated by Interviewee 31 who stated: "...I love *Die Antwoord* and I listen to them all the time". Interviewee 30 referred to the fact that while it is possible to relate to *Die Antwoord* from a purely entertainment point of view, the stimulating and provocative nature of their work makes it possible academically to interrogate the material. In this way *Die Antwoord* could demonstrate how the media could influence citizenship.

The responses produced by the focus group discussions did not necessarily indicate that *Die Antwoord* presents society with a new template for being. However, the responses amply demonstrated that the media can and do stimulate an interrogation of received values regarding citizenship and therefore is potentially capable of influencing and provoking new

ways of being a citizen. This validates Hartley's view when he states that media citizenship can assist users with "identity formation" (2010: 239). In this way the media could not only stimulate new forms of citizenship, but could also include citizens who were traditionally excluded from significant cultural and socio-political processes.

5.6 Conclusion

In the chapter above the responses of a selected group of Afrikaans-speaking youth audiences to *Die Antwoord* phenomenon are reported. These responses give an indication of how these young Afrikaans-speakers react to *Die Antwoord* and interpret their own identity. The choice of this particular video as a springboard for group discussions was effective as it prompted the interviewees to discuss notions of identity, whiteness, class, race, hybridity, creolization and citizenship. The chapter registers representative responses from the groups which interrogate the notions outlined above. The chapter concludes that the responses give an indication of how artistic media could serve as a prompt for the interrogation of the notion of identity in general and in this case Afrikaans identity in particular. This chapter indicates that the notion of whiteness was not prominent in the discussions and shows that the youth that participated in the study are representative of South Africans who, according to Verwey and Quayle, are engaged in one of the most profound collective psychological adjustments happening in the contemporary world (2012: 556). The chapter discusses hybridity and creolization as reflected in the group discussions and concludes that *Die Antwoord* in general and the music video "I Fink U Freeky" in particular challenge traditional conceptions of being Afrikaans. Responses dealing with class and race demonstrate how media texts can and do impact on citizenship. Regarding citizenship, both cultural and media citizenship are discussed. The responses demonstrate that the media can and does stimulate a critical look at traditional citizenship values. On the basis of the responses it is also reported that the study indicates that the media could stimulate new forms of citizenship and could contribute to the inclusion of previously marginalised citizens.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The main aim of this research project was to investigate how young native Afrikaans-speakers react to the music of *Die Antwoord* and to the music video “I Fink U Freeky” in particular. The purpose of this thesis was to interrogate the relationship between artistic media, citizenship and belonging to a particular group. The thesis reports on the ways in which interviewees in group discussions responded to notions of identity, whiteness, race class, hybridity and creolization registered in the music video which was used to prompt group discussions regarding these issues. Finally the thesis reports on the relationship between the media and citizenship with reference to the above.

The enormous change in the socio-political position of Afrikaners in a post-1994 dispensation provides the social context of the study. The significance of the study lies in the way in which the investigation of responses to the particular music video relates to citizenship studies. The study attempted to determine the relationship between cultural discourses in the media and dimensions of citizenship. At the outset it was the intention of the study to use this particular music video to stimulate group discussions which might reveal reconfigured Afrikaans identities in a democratic South Africa. The assumption of the study was that identity is a consequence of a process of construction.

Chapter 2 of this thesis reviews theories regarding the concepts identity, whiteness, class, race, hybridity and creolization which are central to this investigation. Identity formation is discussed with regard to Jary and Jary (2000: 285) and the constructed nature of identity is investigated with regard to Hall and du Gay (1996: 5), while Hall’s notion of the historically bound, fluid, post-modern identity, capable of constant change, is adopted for the purposes of this project. With reference to Khan (2011: 21), the chapter refers to the socio-political role of music in South Africa. Work by Fishkin (1995), Frankenberg (1993), McIntosh (1992) and Morrison (1992) is used to interrogate the concept whiteness. The notions of class and race are interrogated taking cognisance of views expressed on the music video by Poplak (2010) and Haupt (2012). In response to negative criticism to *Die Antwoord*, it is suggested in chapter 2 that this musical outfit could be capable of providing new possibilities for identity construction. It is postulated that *Die Antwoord*, as part of the artistic media, provides a discursive site within which audiences could generate their own innovative meanings

regarding so-called Afrikaansness. In this way the crucial link between the media and aspects of citizenship is demonstrated.

Chapter 3 sketches the South African social context within which *Die Antwoord* operates. In an attempt to describe *Die Antwoord* phenomenon and particularly the music video “I Fink U Freeky”, Bhabha’s (1994) notion of hybridity and third spaces and the concept of creolization, as outlined by Ashcroft et al (1995), are utilised. Cognisance is taken of citizenship studies with reference to Marshall (1950), Isin and Turner (1998) and Kymlicka and Norman (1994). Specific attention is given to cultural citizenship (Ommundsen 2010) and media citizenship (Hartley 2010). In conclusion the chapter postulates that *Die Antwoord* has played a significant role in questioning traditional views of South African citizenship in general and being Afrikaans in particular.

Chapter 4 of the thesis explicates the methodology and the procedures utilised in the study. As the aim of the study was to determine student reactions to the music video, it was decided to conduct a reception analysis. The chapter differentiates between scientific knowledge and so-called ordinary knowledge as outlined by Babbie and Mouton (2004: 5). Qualitative research is explained with reference to Babbie and Mouton (2004: 270) and Bryman (1984: 107). As the project utilises “thick descriptions”, attempting to understand the contextual behaviour of participants, the work of Geertz (1973: 5) in this regard, is explicated. The focus group method utilised in the study is explained with reference to Lunt and Livingstone (1996: 80). Finally the chapter provides an explanation regarding sampling and recruitment for the purpose of this investigation, the role of the moderator is discussed; an indication of how the data was recorded is given and the chapter indicates that the interview guide is provided as an annexure to the thesis.

Chapter 5 records ways in which a purposively selected group of young Afrikaans speakers, responded to and interpreted the music video “I Fink U Freeky” and registered their views on being Afrikaans. The particular video was specifically chosen to act as a prompt for discussions regarding identity, whiteness, class, race, hybridity and creolization.

Hall and du Gay (1996: 5), as stated above, argue that identities are constructed. The fluid nature of the post-modern identity as indicated by Hall (1998: 277), clearly emerged from the responses of the focus groups. While there was no clear indication that the identities of the participants were necessarily constructed by the artistic media, the video prompted discussions regarding identity and provided evidence that media texts are capable of

stimulating an interrogation of identities. With regard to identity, responses from participants clearly revealed the “fragmented and fractured” (Hall 1996:4) nature of the global identity.

Regarding Afrikaans identity in particular, the student participants demonstrated Vestergaard’s (2001: 22) description of the intense post-Apartheid debate regarding being Afrikaans. The findings of the investigation listed in chapter 5 above provided strong indications that the participants in the discussion groups were eager to explore new ways of being Afrikaans and that they rejected many elements previously regarded as being integral to being an Afrikaner. A very pertinent aspect that emerged, was the fact that all student participants, while abandoning some aspects of Afrikaans culture, strongly embraced and highly valued the Afrikaans language.

Chapter 5 also reports on findings regarding whiteness. Nyanto (2006: 23) points out that even in a post-Apartheid South Africa whiteness is still associated with dominance. It was interesting that the notion of whiteness did not feature prominently in the discussions. The findings as outlined in the chapter above, support Verwey and Quayle (2012: 556) when they indicate that South Africans are engaged in “one of the most profound collective psychological adjustments happening in the contemporary world”. The lack of race consciousness in the responses might well be a consequence of the adjustment referred to by Verwey and Quayle.

The report registers how views on class and race emerged in discussions of the video. Despite the fact that Poplak (2010) regards the video as a “Blackface phenomenon” and despite the fact that Haupt (2012) is of the view that they create caricatures, it is argued above that *Die Antwoord* can provide a stimulus for an interrogation of identity stereotypes. It is recorded how the students used the text as a springboard for a critical discussion of notions of class and race. The findings indicate that the participants strongly engaged with the notion of class but references to race were almost entirely absent. It is suggested above that this result of the investigation may point to the fact that the young Afrikaans speakers included in the study, do not regard race as an important aspect of citizenship. Another important conclusion in this regard was that the vociferous discussion regarding class, demonstrates the way in which media texts can influence notions of citizenship.

In chapter 3 of this thesis the phenomena of hybridity and creolization are discussed with reference to Rowe and Schelling (1991: 231), Bhabha (1994), Burke (2009:1), Young (1995: 21) and Cohen (2007: 381). In that chapter it is explained how hybridity comes into being

when “two or more cultures, selectively appropriating some elements, rejecting others, and creating new possibilities that transgress and supersede parent cultures” (Cohen 2007: 381). These hybrid cultural forms result in new creole cultural patterns which appear to be stable, albeit temporary. The findings in chapter 5 report how the focus groups highlighted the notions of hybridity and creolization as these phenomena are manifested in the video under discussion. The complex cultural patterns which emerged in South Africa are referred to and it is indicated that Afrikaners, who in the previous political dispensation in South Africa emphasized racial purity, ironically are themselves a hybrid, cultural group. It is furthermore indicated that these Afrikaners contributed to the coming into being of yet another hybrid group, the so-called Coloureds whose ancestors happen to be the originators of the Afrikaans language, a creolised form of Dutch. Chapter 5 reports that the responses regarding hybridization and creolization amply demonstrate that *Die Antwoord* in general, and the music video “I Fink U Freeky” in particular, challenge conceptions regarding citizenship in general and being Afrikaans in particular.

The chapter which records the findings of the project, also reports on aspects of cultural citizenship as outlined by Isin and Wood (1999: 123) and media citizenship as described by Hartley (2010: 239). Regarding cultural citizenship the responses supported Hall (1981: 239) who argues that popular culture can challenge the culture of the dominant group in society. It is reported in this chapter how *Die Antwoord* resists cultural exclusion by celebrating difference. The focus group discussions revealed an awareness of cultural modalities and it is reported that the interviewees registered considerable insights regarding contemporary South African cultural patterns. Regarding media citizenship, it is reported how the citizens involved in the discussion groups, position themselves in society via popular media. The answers provided by the interviewees gave some indication of how their handling of the work of *Die Antwoord* was influenced by media exposure which, according to Hartley (2010: 239), generates media citizenship. While it is indicated that the responses did not necessarily show that *Die Antwoord* provides a new template for citizenship, the responses did, however, demonstrate that the media can and do stimulate an interrogation of received values. In this way, according to Hartley (2010: 239), media citizenship can influence identity formation. The responses by the interviewees gave evidence to the effect that the media could stimulate new forms of citizenship and could contribute to the inclusion of citizens who were previously excluded from significant cultural and socio-political processes.

The research findings recorded above, clearly demonstrate the links between artistic media, citizenship and belonging to a particular group which, in the instance of this project, demonstrates new dimensions of belonging to a group of *Afrikaanses* rather than *Afrikaners*. This aspect of the project corresponds with Hartley's notion of "identity formation" (2010: 239) informed by media citizenship. The post-1994 young Afrikaans persons who participated in this study provided clear evidence of how they, in the words of Nuttall and Michael (2002: 2) explore "new forms of imagining" their Afrikaans identity.

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ANNEXURE 1

Focus Group Questions

Questions on Die Antwoord:

- Having watched “I Fink U Freeky” by *Die Antwoord* – what do you think of the music video?
- Is this the first time you’ve seen or heard *Die Antwoord*’s music?
- If you have heard it before, did you also listen to other music of theirs – why/why not?
- If you are a fan of their music, what is it that appeals to you?
- What story do you think they are trying to tell through this video?
- Do you find the video intriguing/captivating?
 - If yes – why?
 - If no – why?
- What themes do you think are highlighted through the music video?
- Why are *Die Antwoord* interesting to watch?
- Why do you think *Die Antwoord* is so controversial?
- In your opinion what identity or identities do *Die Antwoord* portray
- What did you feel while watching the video?
- Do you think *Die Antwoord* stimulates people in South Africa to think about our society and the different people in the South African mix?
- Can you personally identify with *Die Antwoord*?
- Do you think *Die Antwoord* provide a space from which conversations about identity can take place?

Identity Questions:

- Do you see yourself as being Afrikaans?
 - If yes – what do you mean by that?
 - If not – how would you describe your cultural identity?
- Would you prefer to see yourself as an Afrikaner or an Afrikaans?
- Do you regard Die Antwoord as an Afrikaans band and if so why?
- Do you think this band presents Afrikaner identity in a new way/or in a more complex way?
- What do you regard as typical or characteristic of being
 - a) An Afrikaner? or
 - b) An Afrikaanse (merely being Afrikaans)
- Are you comfortable with being Afrikaans
 - If no – why?
 - If yes – why?
- What do you understand by a person's language/cultural identity?
- How would you describe your own identity?
- Are you comfortable with that identity?
 - If yes – why?
 - If no – why?
- What do you think are the factors which shaped your identity?