A problematisation of Afrikaner identity subject positions as found in the coverage of contemporary Afrikaans music in *HUISGENOOT* magazine discourse.

L. Hughes

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A problematisation of Afrikaner identity subject positions as found in the coverage of contemporary Afrikaans music in HUISGENOOT magazine discourse.

By

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Promoter: Prof Zelda Potgieter

Co-Promoter: Prof Adrian Konik

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A PROBLEMATISATION OF AFRIKANER IDENTITY SUBJECT POSITIONS AS FOUND IN THE COVERAGE OF CONTEMPORARY AFRIKAANS MUSIC IN HUISGENOOT MAGAZINE DISCOURSE

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SUMMARY

Through the lens of Foucauldian genealogy, this thesis problematises the subject positions towards Afrikaner identity reflected in contemporary Afrikaans songs covered by *Huisgenoot* magazine. Such a genealogical exploration thematises the games of truth underpinning the formation of *Huisgenoot*, highlights its role in solidifying white Afrikaner Nationalist discourse of apartheid, observes its more populist, profit-oriented approach from the 1970s onwards and considers the residual echoing of its former discursive orientation. The song analysis of selected Afrikaans songs/music videos covered in *Huisgenoot* is guided by the semiotics of Nicholas Cook, such that it frames the analytical question of how such music is driven by conformance, contest and complementation between multi-media elements in ways that make meaning possible. Accordingly, this methodology resonates with the non-essentialising focus of Foucauldian problematisation, premised on critical resistance that makes new responses simultaneously possible. The self-reflexive autoethnographical approach employed, entailing the author's dialogical engagement with her own 'Afrikaner self', similarly facilitates the dynamic interplay between multiplicities. Correlatively, on the one hand, more 'closed' and more 'open' Afrikaner identity positions reflected within the songs are analysed, as well as seemingly 'reconciliatory' / collaborative' musical manifestations which ultimately revert back to more 'closed' identity constructs. But on the other hand, observation of adherence to a 'white-black' dichotomy within songs that manifest more 'closed' identity positions also leads to consideration of the parallels between the goals of white Afrikaner Nationalism and the current Decolonisation narrative, which is informed by Black Consciousness thought and generated by the 'Colonisation of a Special Kind' ANC policy. Both such Decolonisation rhetoric and the countering rhetoric of the Neo-Afrikaner Protest Movement (NAP) are thus identified as metanarratives, underpinned by a 'white-black' dichotomy. In this regard, while *Huisgenoot's* predisposition towards songs manifesting more 'closed' Afrikaner identity positions is considered in terms of its aforementioned profit-oriented endeavour to appeal to its ostensible primary readership, an encouraging increase in coverage of coloured artists is both noted and occasionally seen to overlap with its coverage of songs manifesting more 'open' Afrikaner identity positions. Among the latter one may – again in Foucauldian terms – differentiate between songs focussed on an engagement in cross-cultural relations of power, and songs intent on shattering states of domination of

power blocks, often through shocking juxtaposition of disparate elements. These more violently dismantling endeavours, it is argued, comprise examples of Foucauldian transversal struggles, although their coverage in *Huisgenoot* is also attributed to their shock value and/or record sales, rather than their transformational potential. Furthermore, such *Huisgenoot* coverage is also seen to place more transformationally oriented artists at risk of media 'domestication', with its concomitant inhibiting of creativity. Finally, the researcher's commitment to creative problematisation of her own Afrikaner identity, coupled with acknowledgement of her inescapable textual entrapment, culminates in her acceptance of the continual flux characterising dialogical power relations, before she – in accordance with the Foucauldian methodology employed – presents all 'conclusions' in a non-dictatorial spirit of 'truth creation', desirous of continual self/other dialogue.

KEY WORDS

Huisgenoot

Contemporary Afrikaans songs

Identity

Metanarratives

Genealogy

Problematisation

Autoethnography

Michel Foucault

Friedrich Nietzsche

Musical Multimedia

Conformance

Contest

Complementation

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PRELUDE

While doing research towards this thesis, I was intrigued by mention of a masters' dissertation by Elizabeth Schoombee, completed in 1924, on the subject of Huisgenoot magazine[1]*. Elizabeth Schoombee, as it turns out, was to become the wife of Hendrik Verwoerd and was later better known as Betsie Verwoerd.*

Prior to becoming aware of this study, I had mainly perceived Betsie Verwoerd as existing in relation to powerful men. She was the wife/widow of a notorious statesman, widely known as the architect of the dehumanising apartheid-system. She was also one of the widows of National Party politicians with whom Nelson Mandela had tea, as a reconciliatory gesture. The historical persona of Betsie Verwoerd consequently revealed itself to me as somewhat of a 'half-figure': as a source of sustenance to her husband in his quest to build a white Afrikaner nation and as a means through which Nelson Mandela could display forgiveness.

In 2015 I managed to procure a copy of her thesis through Stellenbosch University. While reading through this 154-page hand-written account I was increasingly struck by the individualising presence of her academic rigour. One should, in this regard, not lose sight of her status as master's student at a time when Standard 8 (Grade 10) – the highest qualification obtained by both of my grandmothers, belonging to the same generation of Afrikaners – seemingly constituted a fine level of female academic achievement.

Her handwriting also bore an unexpectedly disarming quality. In front of me was the vulnerable, probably still developing, tidy feminine handwriting of the young Elizabeth Schoombee. I could, perhaps, best describe the personalising effect of these pen strokes by likening them to faint timbres of an unknown voice. This voice, aided by excerpts from her diaries within her grandson Wilhelm Verwoerd's book Bloedbande*, has come to echo though my thesis quite irrepressibly.*

Betsie Verwoerd's voice does not carry an apologetic message regarding the apartheid policy intertwined with Afrikaner Nationalism, although a shadow of doubt regarding her continued absolute trust in this system does appear in the final diary entry included. However, if asked

[1] *'n Beoordeling van Die Huisgenoot as Tydskrif, gedurende sy Bestaan as Maandblad, (Mei, 1916 – Oktober, 1923).* [A critique of *Huisgenoot* as magazine during its establishment as monthly publication (May 1916 – October 1923)].

to justify her prevailing presence in this thesis, I would, perhaps, be inclined to place the significance of a possible transformation within her perspective on apartheid secondary to a more personal – albeit, as to yet undefined – 'purpose'.

My brother and I recently packed up my mother's house. This process reminded both of us of the strong links between Afrikaner Nationalism and our family. For instance, we stumbled upon a 1960 newspaper clipping from 'Die Burger' of students from the Teachers' Training College in Paarl, including my mother, on their way to vote for a (white) South African Republic (see Addendum, Figure 8). *A telegram of condolences from Hendrik Verwoerd upon the passing of my paternal grandfather* (see Addendum, Figure 6)*, vinyl records with Verwoerd's speeches and a treasured copy of the* Huisgenoot *of 8 September 1964, with Hendrik and Betsie Verwoerd and their grandchildren on the cover, enforced the connection. A card "from Betsie and all the children", recognising my family's condolences after Verwoerd's assassination, added a sense of poignancy* (Addendum, Figure 7).

I have pondered upon Betsie Verwoerd's 'presence' within this thesis. Perhaps – in a curiously 'non-Protestant' twist – she is the 'Mother' figure with whom I, as 'traitor', intercede to plead forgiveness from the 'Fathers' of apartheid; forgiveness for rejecting their ideologies through the propelling desire of this critical investigation to expose and 'explode' possible remaining manifestations of white-black demarcation within the 'Huisgenoot' text.

Then again: It might simply be my surprise at 'meeting' this hitherto unknown human being through encounters with her handwritten thoughts and feelings that has prompted me to invite Elizabeth Verwoerd (nèe Schoombee) into my thesis. Given the way in which history tends to write her as a means to an end, I also hope that I have succeeded in inviting her as a person, notwithstanding the potentially purposeful aspects of her presence.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction to this Study

"Deep down everything I know belongs to me – was the sense of being myself not forged here? – but now it is a deceased sense, a kind of apocryphal subconsciousness which shrivels my dreams and gives an absent-minded resonance to whatever my hand finds to do."[2]

1.1 Aim

This study grew out of an awareness of the increase in the coverage of contemporary Afrikaans music in *Huisgenoot* magazine, and out of a concomitant belief that, given the close association between *Huisgenoot* and Afrikaner culture, Afrikaner identity positions forged in response to the transition from white apartheid rule to ANC governance are bound to be reflected in such coverage. Accordingly, it aims primarily to both underscore musical manifestations of adherence to dialogically open 'Afrikaner' identity constructs, and to provide sensitisation to stagnant 'Afrikaner' constructs which are upheld and perpetuated by demarcation from the 'other' That is, it is a qualitative post-structural study that grapples with the extent to which the Afrikaans contemporary musical material currently enjoying coverage and promotion not only within *Huisgenoot* magazine, but also through *Huisgenoot's* various music projects, engenders both

- an essentialist version of 'Afrikaner identity', premised on a 'self-other' dichotomy or 'laager' mentality;
- and a potentially transformative cultural 'openness', conducive to communication, healing and reconciliation within South Africa.

Consequently the "presence" of fluctuations between these two extreme positions is understood in Foucauldian terms as inextricably intertwined with "what is not", a notion that may, in part,

[2] Excerpt from "Fragments from a Growing Awareness of Unfinished Truths" in *The Memory of Birds in Times of Revolution* (Breytenbach 1996:25).

be traced to Nietzsche's metaphysical conception of the Dionysian against which the Apollonian impetus asserts itself, as valorised by Foucault (Seaford 2006:9 in Tirkkonen 2015:306). However, it may also be more directly linked to power-driven attempts at exclusion, which lie at the heart of Foucault's interest both in the emergence of truth games, and in the processes of their problematisation, as reflected in his following question:

> What were the conditions of this emergence; what price, of sorts, was paid for this; what has been the effects on the real; what has been the manner in which, by linking a certain type of object to specific modalities of the subject, the historical 'a priori' of a possible experience has been constituted for a time, a climate and specific individuals? (Foucault/Maurice Florence[3] 1988: 941-942 in Scott 1988: 14).

Given these considerations, the ensuing problematisation of the subject positions that are created and maintained by executive decisions regarding the coverage of contemporary Afrikaans music in *Huisgenoot*, of necessity also extend to consideration of the absence of certain musicians and their work from *Huisgenoot*. Furthermore, the investigation will include a personal journey of critical 'self - other' problemisation, predicated on an understanding of my own inexorable textual entrapment, and involving my challenging and correlative re-invention of my own Afrikaner identity.

1.2 Context

As an Afrikaans-speaking, *Huisgenoot*-reading music teacher, I have become aware of a dramatic, and relatively recent, increase both in *Huisgenoot's* coverage of contemporary music, and in its general involvement with the promotion of such music – through events like *Skouspel* and publications such as *Huisgenoot Tempo* magazine. This was not the case 25 years ago, although considerable growth in the South African music scene was already evident in the period directly following the 1994-elections.

[3] This (auto)biographical sketch was taken from "Dictionaire des philosophes" (Paris:PUF, 1984), vol. I: 941-944. "Maurice Florence, écrivain", the supposed author of the essay, is, in fact, Michel Foucault himself. Foucault wrote the essay at the request of the editor of the "Dictionaire", Denis Huisman.

The many current internet debates regarding Afrikaner-identity and the survival of Afrikaans language and culture, prompts the drawing of a parallel between *Huisgenoot's* 'new' focus on contemporary music and the focus on folk songs in the Afrikaner community of the late 1930s and 1940s, to which the prominent coverage of folk songs in Volume 1 of *Kultuurgeskiedenis van die Afrikaner* attests (Van den Heever & Pienaar 1950: 252-254, 394-398). This pre-occupation with folk songs formed part of the surge of Afrikaner Nationalism accompanying the re-enactment of the Great Trek in 1938. The *FAK Sangbundel*[4], an anthology with supposedly Afrikaans folk songs, was compiled to strengthen the idea of a separate, united Afrikaner-*volk* (Afrikaner nation) during those years. Yet most of the songs were European or American melodies with Afrikaans words. Similarly, in his article "Riool-tsoenami van Treffers toe nié so Afrikaans" (2015) on *Network 24*, Herman Scholtz takes issue with the related practice among certain popular *Huisgenoot* artists – like Karlien van Jaarsveld and Patricia Lewis – to set the melodies of songs submitted for the *Eurovision Song Contest* to Afrikaans lyrics. Along with artistic 'laziness', this practice may also perhaps be interpreted as reflecting a Eurocentric rather than South African focus, similar to that found among the compilers of the *FAK* anthology, as mentioned above.

The personal lives of the artists who enjoy frequent coverage, both in *Huisgenoot* and through its various musical projects, tend to be covered extensively and subtle moralising is often evident: The most popular artists (for example, Juanita du Plessis and Bobby van Jaarsveld) project a very wholesome image, frequently pictured as they are at home with their children, in ways that allude to a 'mother/father of the nation' image[5], and in keeping with this image they normally extend their repertoire to include a gospel album or two. On the other hand, mainstream Afrikaans pop artists who abandon their partners and/or children are wrapped across the

[4] The *FAK* or *Federasie vir Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings* (Federation for Afrikaans Cultural Organisations) was formed in Bloemfontein in December 1929, as an umbrella body for all Afrikaans cultural organisations in South Africa. Its purpose is to foster appreciation of Afrikaans culture and to assist in the co-ordination of cultural activities. One of its notable achievements has been the compilation of the *FAK Sangbundel* (Songbook), first published in 1937, with a second revised and expanded edition being released in 1961 (the year of the formation of the Republic of South Africa), and a third edition in 1979. The most recent edition, the fourth, released in 2012, has been expanded to two volumes in order to incorporate not only the content of the previous edition, but also approximately 400 more recent, popular Afrikaans songs composed since the edition of 1979.

[5] Concepts on which I will elaborate in chapter 2.

knuckles, both by the journalists and the readers. Through such dynamics there seems to exist in *Huisgenoot* coverage of music what may perhaps best be described as an exclusively Afrikaans 'laager' mentality, with place reserved for both heroes and (adorable) bad boys. In this regard, rugby, a sport strongly associated with Afrikaners, also readily enters the *Huisgenoot* music laager, through the romantic attachments of popular female vocalists like Karlien van Jaarsveld and Amore Vittone.[6] An alarming additional component to *Huisgenoot's* musical coverage is the presence of figures who openly sing about how the Afrikaner's spirit will never be broken,[7] and how Afrikaners will instead continue to fight for survival. Steve Hofmeyr and Bok van Blerk are particularly notable examples of this latter group of singers.

However, observing this general picture, it does therefore seem curious that, every now and then, an 'alternative', angry artist or group is allowed entry into the laager and given an opportunity to express themselves. But interestingly, it also appears as if the image and music of some of these initially 'alternative' artists gradually become tamer and/or more domesticated as they start to enjoy more coverage in *Huisgenoot.* And one question that therefore arises is whether or not these artists are given access into *Huisgenoot's* fold to allow the magazine the opportunity to 'clean up' the image of the Afrikaner, as it were. A consideration of the lyrics of 'alternative' groups allowed access into the magazine also generally reveals *angst* based on feelings of displacement in the post-1994 South Africa, which sometimes tends to be projected in confused/ambivalent ways involving a hankering after the more secure (apartheid) days, when the Afrikaner was a privileged group and when apartheid 'values' were not questioned. For example, the controversial, X-rated rapper Jack Parow openly longs for his grandfather's farm in the song "Tussen Stasies" (Between Stations), which involved his collaboration with the band *Die Heuwels Fantasties*. And insofar as this protest remains in line both with a conception of the

[6] Whereas Karlien van Jaarsveld was formerly married to the *Springbok* rugby player Derick Hougaard, she is now married to the South African rugby union player Joe Breytenbach. In turn, Amor Vittone was married to the late *Springbok* rugby player Joost van der Westhuizen.

[7] This must be understood within the context of current political circumstances in South Africa, which will be discussed in chapter 6 and 7.

'white' Afrikaner as a separate group, and with nostalgia for the 'good old days' of apartheid, it raises other questions concerning the underlying political orientation of *Huisgenoot.*

Conversely artists like *Die Antwoord*, David Kramer and Gert Vlok Nel enjoy very little coverage, which, in turn, prompts questions of whether their exclusion is the result of their respective artistic visions – visions which, although they are very different from each other, remain progressive and transformative, such that they perhaps exceed the conception of Afrikaner identity held by *Huisgenoot* and its readers.

1.3 Rationale

Against the backdrop of this context, and the various questions it has precipitated, the first reason for undertaking this investigation stems from a wish to acquire a better understanding of the notions of Afrikaner-identity forged, promoted and projected by *Huisgenoot's* current coverage of contemporary Afrikaans music. By working towards such an understanding, I hope to contribute to the body of research focused on prominent 'identity-forging' discourses in the post-1994 South Africa. Whereas it is important to applaud and encourage increasingly open (albeit inescapably textually entrapped) constructs, it is equally crucial to the reconciliatory process in South Africa, and to potentially transformative communication in the country in general, to acknowledge both obstacles to such transformation in the form of 'self-other' constructs which are dependent on demarcation from the other for their very existence, and the myopic essentialist concepts on which they feed.

After all, within the South African political context, such constructs – in their most conservative guises – may be understood as serving both the divisive agendas of the racially based Colonisation of a Special Kind (CTS) principle of the African National Congress, and the defensive, nostalgia-driven Neo-Afrikaner Protest Movement (NAP). CTS holds that an internal colonialism "without any territorial separation between the colonisers and the colonised" (Ballantine 2009: 122), characterised economic and political relations in apartheid South Africa. However, the organising principle of the CTS-approach towards this historical analysis is race. Hence democracy also comes to be racialised, with the consequence that democracy after 1994 is understood as the

victory of a 'race' majority in the country (Ibid: 123). A metanarrative of African essentialism based on a 'black-white' dichotomy results, which Maré describes in terms of a 'democracy' which is based on "the 'demographics of society' and not political choice – unless, of course, political choice has been racialised effectively" (2003:9 in Ballantine 2009:122). Of equal concern is the campaign of NAP, the Neo-Afrikaner-Protest movement. NAP advocates profess to speak for the intelligent, 'new' Afrikaans-speaking South African, and direct the post-apartheid Afrikaner discourse that they artificially create for all Afrikaners directly to the government. Newspaper articles focused on language and culture proliferate in the strengthening of this discourse, which is fed by defensive battle rhetoric premised on the supposed victimisation of the post-1994 Afrikaner. (Lambrechts and Viljoen 2010:139-140). NAP also incites Afrikaners to fight for the rights of their culture by focusing on the Afrikaner's noble history as represented by the Anglo-Boer War/Great South African War (Lambrechts and Visagie 2009:75). Yet the fact that the term *Boer* (which referred to the *white* farmers during the Anglo-Boer War, and which came to signify the white oppressor during apartheid) plays such an important role in this call for the valorisation and demarcation of the Afrikaner culture, indicates that a 'white-black' dichotomy is similarly at play in this metanarrative of Afrikaans essentialism.[8]

In relation to the above, it should be noted that my choice of *Huisgenoot* as the focus of this investigation is not a random one, for a number of reasons: not only is this magazine's extensive current coverage of contemporary Afrikaans music – my chosen field of study – very noticeable, but , according to the *media24* webpage, *Huisgenoot* is the magazine with the highest circulation in South Africa (https://www.media24.com/magazines/huisgenoot/). Consequently, the type of

[8] There are, of course, not only conservative Afrikaner-identity formations at play in the country, and not all of them are constructed along the lines of race. Theuns Eloff, for instance, takes a group's attitude towards the Afrikaans language and culture as a yardstick for differentiating between Active Opposers, Passive Opposers, Inclusive Supporters and Active Supporters (De Vries 2012: 10-11). Along similar lines, Bert Olivier cites Johan Rossouw as distinguishing between Old Afrikaners, New Afrikaners and Self-Effacing Afrikaners. Olivier's article "Die kompleksiteit van identiteit in demokrasie" subsequently utilises Lacan's theory of the subject to question the validity of delineating any 'identity' groups (2006: 482-497), and to show such identity formations as essentialist constructs built on pre-suppositions regarding Afrikaners, Afrikaner identity and Afrikaner culture, which are, as such, potentially limiting and divisive. Subscription to such distinct categories based on supposedly essential characteristics would, understandably, also be at odds with the post-structuralist, Foucauldian rejection of absolute, 'real' concepts, which informs the methodology of this thesis.

discourse generated by this publication stands to be an important orientating mechanism in issues pertaining to Afrikaans-speaking South Africans. *Huisgenoot* has, in fact, been an important voice in Afrikaner culture since 1916, with even a cursory overview of the magazine's history – sourced from *Huisgenoot*: *90 Jaar Gedenkboek*, compiled by Esmaré Weideman (2006: 12-15) – showing close association of the publication with nationalism-related issues during the apartheid years:

- *De Huisgenoot* (the magazine's original name), initially a monthly and later a weekly magazine, came into being as a means to raise funds for the establishment of the newspaper *Die Burger* (The Citizen), which proved a pivotal propagandistic tool in the establishment of Afrikaner Nationalism;
- President Kruger was on the cover of *De Huisgenoot's* first issue;
- The words of a proposed new national anthem, *Uit die Blou van Onse Hemel*, by C. J. Langenhoven (see Addendum, Figure 12), appeared in the issue of March 1919;
- In April 1918 *De Huisgenoot* announced Afrikaans as one of the country's official languages;
- In 1924, as previously mentioned, Elizabeth Schoombee completed a master's degree at Stellenbosch University entitled '*n Beoordeling van Die Huisgenoot as Tydskrif, gedurende sy bestaan as Maandblad: Mei, 1916 – Oktober 1923* (A Critique of *Die Huisgenoot* as Magazine, during its existence as a Monthly Publication: May, 1916 – October 1923).[9];
- The name of *De Huisgenoot* was subsequently changed to the more Afrikaans-sounding *Die Huisgenoot* (which, when the magazine become more 'populist-oriented' in the 1970s, changed yet again to the more 'punchy' *Huisgenoot*);

[9] Despite the various points of criticism she launched at the magazine, including an observation that it does not cover Afrikaans musical development effectively enough (1924:147), Schoombee concludes by commending it for (1) treating sensitive issues tactfully; (2) displaying good leadership by providing discussions countering prejudice, for example regarding language issues; (3) offering specialised information regarding health, the development of Afrikaans, and reviews of scientific and historical works; and (4) for not shying away from free discussions regarding contentious topics, such as literary criticism and alcohol prohibition. On the grounds of these points, she praises its staff for their enlightened endeavours in service of the Afrikaner community life and development, during a difficult time in which Afrikaners are grappling with identity formation (1924:149). Regarding her concerns about the magazine as a source of information, Giliomee's statement that *De Huisgenoot* was viewed as "the nation's university" (2018:97), is illuminating.

- In aid of a competition launched in July 1948, readers were invited to tell how they felt about getting married to English-speaking South Africans;
- After the assassination of H.F. Verwoerd, various front covers of the magazine were dedicated to him. Whereas Johannes Froneman concedes that profit concerns were unlikely to be absent in the prominence given to this controversial event, he also perceives ideological considerations in the strong focus on Verwoerd as person and family man (Froneman 2004: 73).

The second reason for this investigation is more personal, borne as it is out of the belief that this investigative process itself will assist me, as an Afrikaner in the post-1994 South Africa, in sharpening the critical faculties necessary to remain conscious of the reification[10] of the concept 'truth' but, nonetheless, hopeful of achieving potentially transformative truthfulness in relation to my ontology – a process I understand to be in keeping both with Foucauldian genealogy and with Foucault's later focus on subjectivity, and indeed, desubjectification.

I have been buying *Huisgenoot* from the age of 7(!), initially for my mother and later for myself, mostly out of habit. Like many Afrikaans-speaking South-Africans of my generation, I therefore share a journey with *Huisgenoot* from the 1970s into the post-1994 South Africa. The objection might, of course, be raised that my intended 'journey' away from possible stultifying conceptual formations in *Huisgenoot* could be bedevilled by the fact that I have chosen such a familiar text as my field of study, potentially inviting subjective associations. However, in this regard, Foucault's later thought comes to my rescue: The second volume of Foucault's *History of Sexuality, The Use of Pleasure* (1990), in fact 'recommends' thought and writing informed by a close study of the histories of those portions of subjectivity that most inform one (1990: 25). This is because one requires a sound knowledge of these histories to 'unwrite' them effectively. During such 'unwriting', each attempt at understanding, each re-thinking, results in a better approximation of 'the Truth' by allowing articulation of what was previously mute or inarticulate (Brown 2000: 65).

[10] This term, as it is understood within the context of this thesis, will be defined further within the discussion of the "Methodology" to be employed, in section 1.3.5.

1.4 Research Design

1.4.1 Theoretical Underpinning

Rejecting any forms of absolutisation, including the universals of a humanism which valorises "the rights, privileges and nature of a human being as the immediate and timeless truth of the subject" (Foucault / Florence 1988:14)[11], Foucault does not conceive of 'truth' as existing outside of discourse, a term which, to him, does not mean language in the ordinary sense of the word, but rather, language perceived as a world-creating work of art (Megill 1985:223), as articulated in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969). Accordingly, this 'work of art' consists not of real (empirical) facts, but only of intertextual interpretations (Megill 1985:223).

Foucault states that "with the term archaeological research what I want to say is that what I am dealing with is a set of discourses, which has to be analysed as an event or a set of events" (Foucault 1983 in Tirkkonen 2015: 305). And in relation to this, O'Farrell defines 'archaeology' as constituting a level where 'things' (namely a set of discourses, to be analysed as a set of events) are organised to produce manageable forms of knowledge (https://michel-foucault.com/key-concepts/). In turn, O'Farrell explains that the genealogy Foucault subsequently comes to employ deals with the same substrata of knowledge and culture, but operates at a level where the grounds of the true and the false, within Foucault's conception of fictionalised reality, come to be distinguished through mechanisms of power (https://michel-foucault.com/key-concepts/). This is borne out by Foucault's own statement that "genealogy is both the reason and the target of the analysis of discourses as events, and what I try to show is how those discursive events have determined in a certain way what constitutes our present and what constitutes ourselves; our knowledge, our practices, our type of rationality, our relationships to ourselves and to the others" (Foucault 1983 in Tirkkonen 2015:305).

[11] Michel Foucault wrote an essay summarising his thought using the *nom de plume* "Marcel Florence". This essay was originally published in the *Dictionaire des philosophies* (Paris: PUF, 1984), vol. 1, pp 941-944, and was furnished at the request of the *Dictionaire*, Denis Huisman. The quotation above was taken from a translation of the essay by Jackie Urla, published in *History of the Present* (1988), Joan Wallach Scott (ed), vol. 4: 13-15.

The "useful myth" (Megill 1985: 235) resulting from Foucauldian genealogy, which will be employed in this investigation, thus stakes no claim to being 'objective truth'. However, its acquired knowledge, which Foucault equates to "perspective" (Ibid: 156), generates a perpetual process of production. Put differently: employing the principle of fiction, Foucault perceives truth (of power in appearance) as an effect that is created in which the fictitious is not in things, nor in people, but in the appearance of truth that lies between them (Tirkkonen 2015:309). The power of this process, ironically, also lies in the continual acquisition of 'new' knowledge, which dismantles the repression it helps to produce (Merquior 1985: 108-111).

Sanna Tirkkonen describes such power relations, explained by Foucault in his *History of Sexuality*, not as "a power that is possessed by someone and exercised on someone else, but as a name of a strategic situation in which power is exercised through multiple points that constitute a whole network of differentiations and divisions" (2015:303-304). In the 1984 interview "The Ethic of Care for the Self as a Practice of Freedom", Foucault refers to these relations as taking place within 'games of truth', and emphasises that power, as such, should not be perceived as being negative. Rather, it is in fact a crucial ingredient of the 'self'-formation of the subject, a potentially liberating process intent on self-transformation which Foucault refers to as 'ascetics' (1987:112-113). Power does, however, take on a negative guise when a state of domination is created, in which the blocking of a field of power relations denies some 'players' access to self-determining strategies (1987:123). And when such subjectification through discourse occurs, it requires contestation through the implementation of a genealogical approach, guided by problematisation – an approach Foucault himself followed regarding madness, delinquency and sexuality, thereby undermining "grand narratives of inevitable progress by tracing the origins and practices of institutions from a congeries of contingent *petty causes* (emphasis his)'" (Gutting 1994:14).

1.4.2 Research Problem Statement

This qualitative, post-structuralist problematisation seeks to determine the relative cultural openness or closedness of the subject positions pertaining to Afrikaner identity that are

projected by contemporary Afrikaans music coverage in *Huisgenoot* magazine, and the reasons for the degrees of dialogical connectivity or monological exclusivist demarcation, characterising such positions.

1.4.3 Methodology

This thesis relies on the 'anti-methodology' pivotal to Foucault's previously mentioned fictionalisation of Western philosophical 'reality', described by him as 'games of truth'. And through his critical approach to the history of thought, he seeks to interrogate and to problematise the gestures by which discourses are constituted through power within such games of truth.

For problematisation to result, "a domain of action or behaviour" needs "to enter the field of thought" (Foucault 1987:385), due to a loss of familiarity or the provocation of difficulties in social, economic or political processes (Ibid). The thought required for Foucauldian problematisation, then, needs to be "distanced from the thinking self" (Ibid) to provide a level of objectivity. In this regard, the required distance between the 'self', as it has hitherto been formed, and its thinking 'self' engaging in the problematisation of society described above, correlates both with the 'care of the self' within Greco-Roman philosophy (1987: 115-116), and with the previously mentioned 'ascetic' (1987:112-113) process of transformation which Foucault advocates in his later work. In his *History of Sexuality*, the process of entering into a dialogical relationship with the object of one's thought is, furthermore, described as one of constant detachment from such objectified thought, in service of continual rejuvenation (1985:11); a process that correlates, in turn, with Foucault's advocacy of a perpetual process of production in the discussion of the theoretical underpinnings of the investigation (Tirkkonen 2015:302).

Understandably, this approach is at odds with the array of essentialist discursive constructs which otherwise characterise the production of docile subjectivity. Foucault furthermore reminds us that "a problematization is…[itself] a creation in the sense that, given a certain situation, you cannot infer that this [or that] kind of problematization will follow" (Foucault 1983 in Scott 1988:

17), and so must instead suspend any presuppositions or *a priori* categorisations during the investigative process (Brown 2000:200). In this regard, Tirkkonen indicates how Foucault, "instead of presupposing historical continuities…seeks to make events visible as singularities". These singularities are, however, connected to other singularities, and the aim of his research is to discover their connections (Foucault 2000:226-227 in Tirkkonen 2015: 304).

A heeding of such Foucauldian caution regarding presuppositions will inform the treatment of all data procured through literature study, data-collection from *Huisgenoot* magazine, and music/video analysis within this investigation / problematisation. Hence treatment of data will be conceptualised as a continually evolving process which could, perhaps, be described as resulting in an *arabesque* [12]. The conclusion will, similarly, be formulated in a Dionysian spirit, involving acceptance both of its own inevitable textual entrapment as a consequence of inexorable Apollonian "truth" bearing illusion, and of its possible subsequent modification in aid of future transformative endeavours.

Note that, given my acceptance of i) ontological confinement and ii) subject-object interchangeability, as unpacked above in the discussion of Foucault's fictionalisation of reality, the term 'reification' as it is used within the context of this investigation, should be understood as referring to a two-fold process. This process consists of i) the (false) claim of having arrested the perceptual chain of signification within one's own text/ontology in a manner conducive to subject/object equivalence and ii) the domineering attempt to impose this claim, and its supposed "fixed" results, upon the texts of others (Hughes 2000:19).

As this investigation extends to a concurrent personal journey, in pursuit of self-transformation, it may, additionally, be perceived as falling within the domain of autoethnography, as posited by

[12] The *arabesque* metaphor is indebted to Ximitri Erasmus, who uses this term to describe the structure of her book *Race Otherwise: Forging a New Humanism for South Africa* (2012:23). The *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* describes an *arabesque* as either "an elaborate or intricate pattern" or "a posture (as in ballet) in which the body is bent forward from the hip on one leg with one arm extended forward and the other arm and leg backward" (https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/arabesque). Whereas both definitions lend themselves to the Foucauldian description of 'truth' creation as a 'work of art', I perceive the second definition as, additionally, reflecting the poised, transient moment of arrival at a 'truth', which invariable dissolves into the continuation of dance movement.

Tami Spry in her 2001 article "Performing Autoethnography". Autoethnography refers to a form of qualitative research in which the author's autobiographical story, told through self-reflection and exploration of anecdotal and personal experience, is connected to wider cultural and socio-political texts. The aesthetic orientation of such autoethnography does, therefore, readily invite association with Foucault's perception of language as a work of art in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, as mentioned above.

Another research method on which this thesis relies is the semiotic reading of musical and visual codes in *Huisgenoot* and in its musical projects, *Tempo* magazine and *Skouspel* concert productions. The field of musical semiotics is an extremely broad one, ranging from various structuralist approaches in the analysis of both Western art music and popular music, to the more recent turn in musical semiotics away from what Kofi Agawu describes as the "syntactic"/"taxonomic-empiricist" approach – which is structuralist in orientation – towards a post-structuralist "semantic" semiotics; a semiotics that concerns itself with how meaning is created (Agawu 1991:11), incorporating both intraopus and extraopus signs (with *opus* meaning work). In this thesis, the latter approach to semiotics is taken. A particularly helpful additional insight into the reading of the interaction between musical and visual codes is provided in Nicholas Cook's *Analysing Musical Multimedia* (1998), in so far as Cook points to the need to understand this process as one that may lead to "conformance", "contest" or "complementation" (Cook 1998: 103-104).

1.5 Outline of Chapters

Following this introductory chapter, chapter 2 will elaborate on the Foucauldian methodology underpinning this investigation and will also briefly consider the autoethnographical thread woven through its text. The chapter will extend to a discussion of the semiological approach to be implemented in the analysis of selected musical material covered within *Huisgenoot.* In this regard Nicholas Cook's semiological stance, which steers away from the rigid and essentialising system imposed by semioticians such as Nattiez, Dunsby, Middleton and Tagg, is favoured.

Chapter 3 will then present a reconstruction of the history of *Die Huisgenoot/Huisgenoot*, with particular focus on the coverage of musical material within the discourse of this publication. In

Foucauldian terms, "discourse" should here be understood as "a system of rules regulating the flow of power (both positive and juridical) which serves as a function of promoting interests in a battle of power and desires" (Brown 2000:31). As such, the historical reconstruction in chapter 3 extends to socio-political considerations, of which the surge in Afrikaner Nationalism during the twentieth century forms no small part. However, honouring Foucault's view that all 'facts' are caught up within the 'text', this chapter does not stake any claims to objectivity.

Chapter 4 concerns itself with the symbols associated with the forging of Afrikaner Nationalism during the twentieth century. Subsequently, in chapter 5, the analysis/interpretation of selected songs that received coverage in *Huisgenoot* magazine during 2018 and 2019 – and of related Afrikaans songs falling outside the scope of this time frame, where relevant – remains 'cognisant' of the static, conceptual grounding of Western theory that the very act of categorisation and related analysis entails. Nevertheless, through its openness to counterattack, in the interest of a continual knowledge-generating dialogue, it does arguably serve as a 'useful myth'. That is, although it is informed by historical 'facts' regarding *Huisgenoot*, drawn from chapter 3, and 'facts' regarding the symbols associated with essentialising white Afrikaner constructs explored in chapter 4, it remains innocent of any absolutising claims. Chapter 6, foregrounding the final chapter, serves as another 'useful myth' by re-enforcing the suspicion of any 'truth'-bearing metanarratives through its critical consideration of the dichotomy-driven hierarchies of 'truth' governing the current socio-political South African landscape. Chapter 7, the 'synthesis' of all research 'findings', supports the (anti)logic underlying this thesis, through its openness to the inclusion of 'newly evolving' material, in service of premature closure. In "Journey's End', the conclusion, the 'findings' of this journey are summarised in a spirit that remains accepting, and even desirous, of their countering – of their potential to serve as the *padkos* (food for the road) for subsequent travels.

The chapter outlay described above is framed and supported by a Prelude, Postlude and two Interludes, that honour the autoethnographic aspect of the thesis, borne from my hope that personal transformation will 'prove' to be a by-product of this investigative process.

CHAPTER 2

Theory and / as Methodology

"Look to the rock from which you were cut".[13]

2.1 Introduction

While growing up in apartheid South Africa during the 1980s, I experienced Jan van Elfen's 1977 book, *Wat Meisies Wil Weet* (What Girls Want to Know), as an important morality-enforcing agent, on account of its prescriptions regarding the ideal mode of living within Calvinistic Afrikaner society. This much is neatly evinced in the extract below.

> But you will not find happiness if you try too hard to break out of the rock from which you were chiselled […] A person who loosens himself from his own, is swallowed by life. It is very important to protect your identity (the person that you are) […] The religious and cultural values in which you were drenched: the views on life that you were taught and the life lessons that you internalised as a teenager become a permanent part of your personality. These things make you a good person, a person welcomed into society"(Van Elfen 1977: 6).[14]

Notably Van Elfen's recommendations for conformity are couched in deontological terms linked to the Bible, specifically Isiah 51.1, in which the prophet Isiah advises the Israelites to turn towards God, the rock of their salvation, through the following directive: "Listen to me, you who pursue righteousness and who seek the Lord: Look to the rock from which you were cut and to the quarry from which you were hewn." Through direct association of the rock metaphor, suggestive of God, with Afrikaner identity, Van Elfen not only advances the grounding importance of a conservative socio-cultural framework, but also gives a nod to the notion of white Afrikaners as God's chosen people, like the Israelites of old (Giliomee 2018:52). This notion was precipitated by memorial events like Voortrekker leader Andries Pretorius's covenant with God – compiled by Sarel Cilliers – on the eve of the Battle of Blood River (Giliomee 2018:50), which subsequent

[13] Translated inscription by Betsie Verwoerd (nèe Schoombee) in copies of a glowing biography, *Dr. Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd 1901 – 1966,* given to her grandchildren (Verwoerd 2018:27).
[14]Own translation.

generations of Afrikaners continued to reify as founding historical moments that established the parameters of their present, and indeed future, cultural thought and activity.

I have tried very hard to break out of this rock. Sitting in the bare, stoic interior of the Dutch Reformed Church as a young child, I fantasised about the imagined interior of the Roman Catholic convent across the road from my grandmother's apartment – a fantasy prompted by the magnificent swirl of colour that darkness offered its stained-glass windows. Not only did the Dutch Reformed Church building disappoint my young aesthetic sensibilities but, through sermons and Calvinistic catechism, supplemented by guides for good Afrikaner living like Van Elfen's, I also gradually came to realise that membership of this church entailed a forfeiting of cultural experiences that fell outside of the 'safe' parameters of Afrikaner establishment. Roman-Catholic church ritual and ambience most certainly fell outside these parameters, due to active Roman-Catholic resistance against apartheid. Frustration at my cultural stultification became anger when my mother's suggestion that a coloured church choir participate in a service, was met with indignant protestations from within our entirely white congregation. Moreover, disenchantment grew as the 'dominee' (minister of religion) commanded that teenagers of the congregation take all their records by artists whom *he* considered to be communist / evil / 'New Age' and throw them on a bonfire in the church yard. Consequently, I left the Dutch Reformed Church shortly after matriculating.

A few years ago, I again found myself in a Dutch Reformed Church, attending the funeral of a family friend and pillar of the local 1970s and 80s Afrikaner community. The hymns and the formulary – still so familiar that it seemed as if they had been the 'white noise' of my silences during the past thirty years – along with the staunch, if still sentimental, slant of the sermon, and the traditional fare of *koeksisters* and *milktart* at the tea afterwards, all served to ignite an almost painful longing for the community from which I had consciously ejected myself as a young adult. But this *de facto* dialogue with nostalgia, made possible by my earlier break with Afrikaner cultural polemics, failed to numb the sense that I had very little in common with the members of this community; a lack of common ground further intensified by my early agentic departure from

the Afrikaner world while it was still turning on the axis of the apartheid principle. Relatedly, while having tea in the hall afterwards, I began to suspect that remnants of the segregationist and chauvinistic thought underpinning this world were still colouring some of the conversations around me – at certain moments the result of habit, at other times the product of careful curation. Irrespective of this suspicion, though, I was at the same time saddened by my inability to lose myself in the tea chatter of 'my' people, as they gathered to pay homage to someone whose life work as bank manager and church elder affirmed the values of apartheid society, but whose presence during my childhood had also evinced a sweet, personal sense of safety and security. In certain respects, the current investigation is strongly fuelled by such ambivalent feelings – on this occasion and others – coupled with a yearning to gain a better understanding of past and currently-held Afrikaner subject positions, including those of my 'self'. This is because, gaining such understanding, both of my 'self' and my 'people', might help me to begin a 'project of the self', so to speak; one capable of integrating valued aspects of my Afrikaner past with my ever-evolving self, as I seek to engage in positive and creative dialogue with my current surroundings.

2.2 Foucault, Discourse and Subjectivity

My momentary wish to 'disappear' within the conversation-guiding Afrikaner text at this funeral – a text of which I am deeply critical, despite its (rather comforting) familiarity – is not dissimilar to an analogous yearning, expressed by Michel Foucault, in the opening lines of his Inaugural Lecture at the Collège de France.

> I wish I could have slipped surreptitiously into this discourse which I must present today…I should have preferred to be enveloped by speech, and carried away well beyond all possible beginnings, rather than have to begin it myself. I should have preferred to become aware that a nameless voice was already speaking long before me, so that I should only have needed to join in, to continue the sentence it had started, and lodge myself, without really being noticed, in its interstices, as if it had signalled to me by pausing, for an instant, in suspense. Thus there would be no beginning, and instead of being the one from whom discourse proceeded, I should be at the mercy of its chance unfolding (Foucault 1970 in Young 1981:51).

My similar inadvertent yearning to be enveloped within a blanket of Afrikaner 'small talk' co-generated the problematising ambivalence which initiated this investigation, even as I shared the fear of inertia professed by Foucault. In Foucault's case, such tensions precipitated his dismantling of the modernist thought of his mentors, including that of his predecessor Jean Hippolyte, and saw Foucault contend instead with the modernist fear of a proliferation of texts through his post-modern advocacy of micro-narratives that multiply exponentially. And in many ways, as will be discussed, a similar dynamic informs my critical engagement with *Huisgenoot*, the Afrikaans text serving as a focal point in this investigation, and its partisan efforts to represent certain types of Afrikaner music that comport with the cultural conservatism already mentioned. Accordingly, the Foucauldian post-structuralist engagement with the erstwhile coercive power of metanarratives,[15] which is reflected in his Inaugural Lecture and, indeed, all of his work, help motivate my decision to approach the thesis in terms of subject positions informed and affected by the apartheid metanarrative and its reactionary counter-discourses.

The dual purpose of this thesis has, of course, already been described as an investigation of the subject positions at play within *Huisgenoot's* coverage of contemporary Afrikaans music, and as a concurrent quest for a potential repositioning of the author's subjectivity in relation to such discourses. Thus, the greater part of chapter 2 will subsequently seek to indicate how Foucault's thought regarding the self-formation of the subject, or the care of self, ties up with and indeed serves as a culmination of his life's work. It will also, very importantly, indicate how Foucault's 'care of the self' links with the dual purpose of the thesis.

In the 1984 interview "The Ethic of Care for the Self as a Practice of Freedom," Foucault describes the overriding focus of his thought as 'games of truth', and how these contribute in different historical epochs to the formation of various subject positions, but also how through critical engagement with such 'games of truth' a repositioning of subjectivity in relation to received

[15] In "The Postmodern Condition", Jean-Francois Lyotard explains that he "use[s] the term 'modern' to designate any science that legitimates itself with reference to a metadiscourse of this kind [i.e. a discourse of legitimation with respect to its own status, a discourse called 'philosophy']" that makes an explicit appeal to "some grand narrative, such as the dialectics of the Spirit, the hermeneutics of meaning, the emancipation of the rational or working subject, or the creation of wealth". He subsequently defines the "postmodern" as informed by an attitude "incredulous towards metanarrative" (1984: xxiv).

discourses becomes possible. He subsequently relates this problem to his entire creative output during the 1960s and 70s, by linking it to his concerns regarding the coercive practices of disciplinary/bio-power (such as the penitentiary system and psychiatry), and his investigations of no less coercive theoretical or scientific games, which manifested in modern analyses of language and the living being. Foucault then addresses the shift in his focus, by stating that, within his current (and what proved to be his final) philosophical endeavours, such 'games of truth' are no longer viewed predominantly as coercive practices that result in the production of various subjectivities. Rather, they are now also viewed as imbricated with the 'self'-formation of the subject, in a practice which he describes as 'ascetics'. Foucault then defines such ascetism as an "exercise of self upon self by which one tries to work out, to transform one's 'self' and to attain a certain mode of being" (1987:112-113).

Crucial to this is the element of care, and the related 'care of the self', which is the focus of Foucault's later work and a concept indebted to Ancient Greek and Roman thought; to be sure, Foucault explicates such care as 'games of truth' in their own right, but he also identifies how they sought not the progressive infantilisation of subjects – in a manner akin to modern, disciplinary power – because of the value placed on the exemplar of the sage, which in Plato's context was inspired by the figure of Socrates. For Plato, care of the self is primarily self-knowledge (2005:82), within a paradoxical relationship in which, when you take care of the thing that you are, this self is both the subject of the care, and the object of the care, undertaken to advance wisdom and maturity. That is, in "Alcibiades", Plato's concerns (expressed via Socrates) about the care of the self are focused on young Athenian aristocrats, who are hampered by an unsatisfactory education system, but who nevertheless need to learn how to rule the city (2005:43-44). Hence the care of the self, as envisaged by Plato, must provide the self with the art (*tekhne*, *holics* or knowhow) that will enable a young man to govern himself, so that he can subsequently govern others well (2005:51). With the rise of the Roman Empire, however, Foucault identifies – in relation to the earlier work of Pierre Hadot – a gradual shift away from the idea of care of the self as a remedy for the flawed education of young Athenian adults to effect good governance, and towards the conception of such care as a life-long concern for self-improvement. According to Foucault, this continual, practical approach to care of the self, which

became synonymous with the art of living, was especially evident in the Stoic, Epicurean and Cynic ethics during Roman-Hellenistic times (2005:87,88).[16]

However, this focus on personal ethics is not to assert that such 'care of self' – even as an art of living – is devoid of political dimensions; on the contrary, as evinced in the "Ethic of Care of the Self", Foucault links 'care of self' with societal ethics, which he describes as "the deliberate form assumed by liberty" (1987:115), in the sense that ethical interaction with others is only possible when one is not a slave to one's own desires. Indeed, he points out that 'care of the self', as practised among Ancient Greeks and Romans, entailed 'self-love', but that it did not advocate such love in any bloated, self-centred form – as the pejorative impression created during the subsequent Christian era suggests. In this regard, Foucault instead indicates how, since Plato's 'care of the self', being free entailed not being subject to one's appetites, but rather establishing over the self a certain relation of mastery, which, in turn, would spill over into one's relations with others and society, to the benefit of all (1987:115-116). Note, however, that care of the self does not 'become' ethical because it includes others but is rather ethical without this consideration through its focus on acquiring self-knowledge, and, for that matter, knowledge of the rules and principles necessary for self-mastery (1987:118). Crucial for Foucault, too, is the malleability of subjectivity, which renders such transformation possible in the first place.

As he underscores within *Hermeneutics of the Self,* the Greco-Roman 'self' discussed above is one's soul, but one's soul understood as a subject, not a substance, the latter conception of which only emerged in the 4th century BCE with the Christian tenet concerning the immortal soul (2005:57). And in "The Ethic of Care of the Self" (1987:121), Foucault describes this non-substantive subject as a form that is not always identical to itself, and hence open to transformation through focussed exercise, undertaken as a means to such an end during the Hellenistic-Roman era. But even in the absence of such focused attention, for Foucault, such malleability is still readily evinced today by how one does not constitute oneself as a political

[16] In "Pleasure and Transcendence of the self: Notes on a 'dialogue too soon interrupted' between Michel Foucault and Pierre Hadot'' (2010), Orazio Irrera elaborates on Hadot's criticism of Foucault on the grounds of the latter's lack of distinction between joy and pleasure, and because of how Foucault does not underscore that any practice (or spiritual exercise) of the individual Self must ultimately be tied to universal considerations of logos, physics and ethics; instead Foucault advances that it can rest on ethics alone.

subject, in the same way that one constitutes oneself as a desiring subject in an intimate relationship. There are, of course, potentially points of interface between these kinds of subject constitutions, but in each case one ultimately establishes one's 'self' differently, in relation to different forms of relationship. Foucault's interest, however, lies in the historical constitution of these different forms of subjectivity, in relation to his previously mentioned focal point of 'games of truth'.

My interest, similarly, concerns how the 'game of truth' operative at different historical junctures in a major popular publication can contribute to the formation of a particular subject position, and how, correlatively, this subject position is open to transformation among those willing to engage in the creative askesis of aesthetic innovation, beyond the parameters of normative conservatism. In this regard, I would like to venture an account of the discursive formation I experienced, since this has a bearing on the discursive dynamics that will be focused on in the subsequent analysis of *Huisgenoot.*

As a white, middle-aged, Afrikaans-speaking, *Huisgenoot* reading musician, apartheid-propaganda coloured my childhood-experiences. During my adult years I have, in turn, experienced both the euphoria of the 'Rainbow Nation' ideology, and the career frustrations resulting from Affirmative Action, all of which played out against the backdrop of the 'Anglo-Boer War' Afrikaner mythology that had very much been part of my formative years – especially as my maternal grandmother was born in 1901. But while patriotic allusions to the 'plight' of the *Boere*, ever present within the new media tools employed by the Neo-Afrikaner Protest Movement, do sometimes still evoke inadvertent feelings of nostalgia in me, I have effectively severed ties with family and community members pre-disposed to the related brand of politico-cultural essentialism.

Part of this process was a consequence of how, despite the fact that my grandmother's sympathies lay with the plight of the *Boere*, she proved susceptible to the anglicising campaign, to which Afrikaans-speaking children were subjected after the Boer War. Her projection of the 'it is so nice if one can speak English well' idea – most likely inspired by my great-grandmother, who was known for her excellent mastery of English – instilled in me a positive association with

British culture. British colonial discourse furthermore continued to play an important role in my life during my 16 years as music teacher at a school with a strong colonial orientation. (See Addendum, Figures 13 and14, for photographs of my great-grandmother and grandmother). While a subsequent career opportunity exposed me to Roman Catholic discourse, which remains in tension with Dutch Reformed discourse, my master's dissertation – in which I explored the social significance of a township jazz musician's work – made for a fleeting experience of township culture. This proved catalytic for me because of the cultural differences I discovered and became acquainted with. I am, additionally, a contract lecturer in 'Contemporary South African Music' at Nelson Mandela University, where I have, during the past few years, become increasingly sensitised to the call for cultural decolonisation. Concurrent with all these experiences runs my classical music training, resulting in a strong professional link with European culture, which resonates with both British cultural influence in South Africa, and with certain Eurocentric notions reflected in the nationalism-infused forging of an Afrikaner cultural identity.

Notwithstanding the heterogeneity of these various contributors to my discursive formation, namely Afrikaner Nationalism, British Imperialism, Roman-Catholicism and Township Jazz, the prohibition of self-developing dialogue with those deemed 'other' – which served as the nexus governing the good conduct of Dutch-Reformed congregants during the 1970s and 80s – remained a significant limiting experience to me. Allusion has also been made to how such exclusivist thinking, premised on the notion of the (white) Afrikaners as God's chosen people, had come to feed the apartheid discourse central to Afrikaner Nationalism. Of course, the emergence of Afrikaner Nationalism can, to a large extent, be connected to the colonisation campaign conducted under the auspices of British Imperialist policy. In particular, two of the events that have evolved into 'myths' central to Afrikaner Nationalism constructs, namely the Great Trek and the Anglo-Boer War, can, at least in part, be understood as reactions to the assertion of British colonial rule. And whereas the Roman-Catholic Church may have offered strong resistance to the apartheid discourse, it also contributed fervently to the colonisation campaign in Africa during the 19th century, by seeking to establish 'civilization' through missionary work (Mudimbe 1988:153). In fact, following Kalu (1977), Mudimbe maintains that

"the missionary was…paradoxically, the best symbol of the colonial enterprise. He devoted himself sincerely to the ideals of colonialism: the expansion of Civilization, the dissemination of Christianity, and the advance of Progress" (1988:105) [17]. But Christianity was also the site of contestation. According to the African philosopher L.S. Senghor, the African theologian Edward Wilmot Blydon may be perceived as the "foremost precursor" of 'Négritude' (1988:206), one of the philosophies underpinning the Black Consciousness movement. And the latter discourse exerted strong influence on the liberation struggle against apartheid, for which township jazz served as a cultural agent. Indeed, Blydon, as a permanent citizen of Liberia and Sierra-Leone, experienced first-hand the 'scramble for Africa' during the latter half of the 19th century (2020:208). In response, calling for the return of Black Americans to Africa, Blydon compared them to the Hebrews (CINR:120 in Mudimbe 1988:245), subsequently likening the possibility of their return to Africa to their attainment of the promised land (1988:245). As such, the similarity between Blydon's polemic of the colonised, and that of the colonised Afrikaner people against their British oppressors, emerged with clarity to provoke critical consideration in me. Accordingly, one of the key institutions that I have engaged with is that of the pastorate, which continues to feature prominently in the South African context, where conversion and confessionalism of various sorts remain acceptable socio-cultural, and indeed, poietical, practice. To elaborate, in the Christian doctrine, the seeking of salvation is deemed pivotal to existence, and also entails a variant of care of the self. There is, however, a paradox here, insofar as this salvation both entails self-renunciation – instead of the self-finalisation found within Greek and Roman care of the self – and must occur at the behest of others, who encourage one to convert and to conform; encouragement that for the Greeks and Romans would rob the act of conversion of its status as a mature, agentic milestone.

In *The Hermeneutics of the Self* Foucault indicates that the theme of conversion is closely linked with the care of the self, but that it finds different accents within Greek, Hellenistic-Roman and Christian contexts. In Plato's thought, one finds this theme within his 'epistrophe', which is a

[17] Mudimbe furthermore indicates that the Roman-Catholic Church continued flourishing in Africa: "Monasteries are being built, new religious movements, both activist and charismatic, are appearing and organizing themselves successfully; there are not enough schools for potential catechists, nor are there sufficient convents for nuns" (1988:251).

turning towards the 'self' undertaken by the 'self' that leads to recollection, involving the return to one's ontological homeland, the homeland of essences, truth and Being (2005:209). In short, "To know oneself is to know the true. To know the true is to free oneself" (2005:210). Plato's epistrophe therefore draws a line between life down below and life above, as it were, with the conversion to the latter being a mark of maturity, if not sagacity. In contrast, the conversion of the self to the self of the Stoics during Roman-Hellenistic times, did not involve any such radical rupture / break, but rather concerned the development of an adequate relationship of self to self, based on one shifting one's gaze from others to the self, in the pursuit of one's goals; it was also less concerned with the afterlife and more focused on the here and now – with the notion of exercising control over what one can control taking precedence (2005:212). However, like with Plato's epistrophe, Hellenistic-Roman conversion required agency, since to turn inward at the behest of another was deeply problematic, insofar as it lacked the requisite underpinnings of maturity, which made such a move necessary and unavoidable when the time of realisation was right. What struck me, accordingly, was the marked difference between the relations of power operative in the dynamic approach of Platonic and Hellenistic-Roman conversion – albeit also modelled on culturally determined ethics – and the state of domination reflected by Van Elfen's "rock", where the self does not gaze upon the self as object but at the rock, which, moreover, dictates to the self that it has been chiselled from this rock, and that consequently it may not explore beyond the supremacy of its text.

Furthermore, such Christian Metanoia – the conversion theme of the early Christian Church – only developed in the 3rd / 4th century BCE (2005:211), where it was inextricably tied to a new 'game of truth' involving the act of confession. Here, the subject deciphered the self in order to tell another what they had found, since only through such discursive exchange could their self-reflection attain spiritual meaning. This not only contrasted with the dynamics of Hellenistic-Roman conversion, where it was sufficient to silently recognise one's enslavement to the passions. In addition, it also set in motion a process of infantilisation, insofar as the self-transparency of Platonic epistrophe and Hellenistic-Roman conversion gave way to self-decipherment and disclosure to another, who was moreover deemed morally superior and

possessed of the power to prescribe penance and to forgive, predicated on their individualising knowledge of the one who confessed.

Consequently, within "The Subject and Power", Foucault describes the resulting pastoral power as a form of individualising power having, as its ultimate aim, the assuring of individual salvation in the next world. Moreover, he adds that while this type of power not only commands but must also be prepared to sacrifice itself for the salvation of the flock, by way of corollary, it looks after both the whole community and each individual during their entire life – like Van Elfen's "rock" which remains a fixture within white Afrikaner culture. However, because such pastoral power cannot be exercised without knowing the inside of people's minds, without exploring their souls and making them reveal their secrets, it implies both a knowledge of the conscience and an ability to direct it (2000:333), which entails the foundation of a potential state of domination. In this regard, in his article "Foucault's critique of Political Reason", Paolo Savoia reiterates Foucault claims that the history of pastoral power begins with Christian confession, but also points to its role in modern society. That is, together with the previously mentioned focus on salvation in an afterlife, obedience and the belief in one truth comprise three innovations around which the Christian pastorate revolves. Here, penitence requires that the confessing individual tells the (ostensible) truth about him/herself – or rather, formulate a kind of truth – but the effect of this is the intensification of a power / knowledge relation, within which the confessing individual is subordinate. Foucault describes the latter specifically as the process of individualisation, which produces a particular kind of docile subjectivity, through mechanisms and institutions, which appropriated and modified certain Greek and Hellenistic-Roman techniques of direction for the purposes of such subjection. In short, he perceives the history of the Christian pastorate as the history of procedures instrumental to the subjectification of the self in modern Western thought (2012:17).

To elaborate, in "The Subject and Power" Foucault indicates that one should distinguish between pastoral power within the actual church institution, and its function, which spread and multiplied outside church institutions from the 18th century onwards, taking over prisons, the medical profession, schools, the police, hospitals, the army, and many other structures. To be sure, contrary to the focus of pastoral power within the church institution on salvation in the next

world, from the 18th century onwards this shifted to focus on salvation in this world, through pursuing the most efficient, and healthy, social body possible (2000:333-334).

Accordingly, this growing importance of the function of pastoral power within modern society, as opposed to its role within the context of the church specifically, should be understood within the historical context of the Enlightenment, with its desacralisation of thought prompted by a belief in the unlimited potential of human reason. Descartes's phrase "I think, therefore I am" serves as one of the best exemplifications of such "glorification of rationality" (Timascheff and Theodorsen 1976:105). In fact, Halfpenny even suggests that such desacralisation of thought was already evident in the growing Renaissance differentiation between the scientific and the theological, which manifested, for example, in the political works of Machiavelli (1982:16 in Hughes 2 000). But regardless, the move towards a modern, expanded form of pastoral power was only achieved through the usurpation of the *self-decipherment* so crucial to Christian confession, and its replacement by the *decipherment of the subject*.

Foucault's likening of the process of penitence and directive mechanisms within the Christian pastorate, to the modern pastorate function process of (objectifying) individualisation from the 18th century onward, is key to unlocking the thought governing his *Discipline and Punish* (1975). In *Discipline and Punish* he indicates how, during the 18th century, discipline within prisons, hospitals, army institutions, factories, schools, and the like, firstly came to operate by means of the procedures of enclosure, partitioning, the creation of functional sites, and a continuous ranking system, dependent on the interchangeability of elements (1977:141-145). Secondly, it came to rely on disciplinary surveillance and monitoring tactics within these confines that allowed for the characterisation of the individual *qua* individual, in polemical terms, through decipherment of the subject. Such control of activity had as its goal the bringing about of conditions conducive to an ever-growing, productive, and economical use of time, and it thus came to be exercised through timetables, and through elaborate mechanisms of temporal control, including focus on the relation of a gesture and the overall position of the body that would be most conducive to efficiency and speed, and on the best possible body-object articulations (1977:149-156). But while the industrial rationale for such measures is clear, the subjugating effects of such measures can also scarcely be missed.

An important link between the above disciplinary power and the pastoral power which preceded it also lies in how it is exercised through the relative invisibility of authority, while it imposes on those that it subjects a principle of compulsory and maximum visibility, thereby individualising them (1977:187). Indeed, according to Foucault, the disciplinary examination "turns each individual into 'a case', which simultaneously constitutes an object for a branch of knowledge and a hold for a branch of power. The 'case' is the individual as he may be described, judged, measured and compared with others, in his very individuality" (1977:191). Moreover, due to the architectural design of the panopticon, or a building that makes surveillance maximally possible, 'cases' – or inmates – are subject to the effects of constant surveillance (whether in aid of description, judgement, measurement or comparison), despite the actual but invisible discontinuity of the surveillance actions of this device. Inmates are therefore effectively caught up in a state of domination which they are the bearers of, until they habitually subscribe to the principles of their own subjection (1977:200-205), in an ultimate act of acquiescence.

Having considered the links between disciplinary power and pastoral power, one must also consider Foucault's added claim, in "Pastoral Power and Political Reason", concerning the origins of bio-power. A term coined by him, which also serves as the central concept in his 1978 lecture "Security, Territory and Populations" (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AXyr4Zasdkg), bio-power can be defined as the power that manages the births, deaths, reproduction and illnesses of a population, and which operates in conjunction with certain aspects of disciplinary power that are, in turn, consigned to the training of the actions of bodies (https://michel-foucault.com/key-concepts/).

Similarly, Arnason (2012:295) describes Foucault's bio-power as emerging in Western societies from the late 17th century onwards, in relation to the transformation of power formations then underway, with the most drastic transformation taking place during the 19th century. This transformation was, in part, brought about by an encroachment on the principle of absolute sovereignty by Enlightenment writers like Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau who considered crucial questions such as 'why' and 'how' the king should rule (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AXyr4Zasdkg). Accordingly, the king's absolute right over life and death – symbolized by the sword – gradually came to be challenged by 'reason', as focus

increasingly fell on society's power to manage life in a caring, but also at times limiting way. Arnasan furthermore describes bio-power as consisting of two components, namely an anatomo-politics of the human body and a bio-politics of the population. The former gradually emerged during the 18th century, such that anatomo-politics links directly to Foucault's perception of the docile body, turned into a machine through the power technologies of discipline described above (Arnason 2012: 295-299). In turn, Foucault's "Subject and Power" (1982) verifies the singular / plural interplay highlighted within Arnasan's interpretation of bio-power, by expressing the development of 'modern man' as a being at once globalising and quantitative, and analytical in its concern with the individual. Paulo Savoia also explores the disciplining power exercised on the singular (human body) and plural (population) under the auspices of bio-power and explains that bio-power resides with government for the regulation of totalities, while discipline concerns the regulation of individualities (2012:14).

Savoia further emphasizes that one of the aspects attributed to the term "government" in Foucault's *Abnormal* is "a general technique of the exercise of power that has discipline as its main exemplification and that aims to produce a global effect of normalization of men and women" (Foucault:2003 in Savoia: 2012). Accordingly, the relationship between government and discipline is made possible by a logic of strategy. This is because, while "'Government' refers to notions of movement in space, of material subsistence, of medical and spiritual direction towards health and salvation", it is nevertheless "linked to discipline through a directive and corrective process of exchange between individuals / groups that enforce and realise the notions of government" (Savoia:2012).

This much is clear in *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1*: *The Will to Knowledge* where Foucault applies the concept of bio-power to sex by indicating how the 'privileged' position given to sex as a theme within the Christian confessional had, from the 18th century onward, been transmuted into the obligation to contribute to the discourse on sexuality through confession about sexual 'transgressions'(1978: 61). That is, Foucault explains how, up to the 18th century, prohibitions bearing on sex – derived from the Christian pastorate and its valorisation of (heterosexual) marriage, and concerning deviations as diverse as homosexuality, infidelity, marriage without consent, improper conduct within marriage and bestiality – were dealt with juridically as acts

whose significance was limited to their status as error (1978:38). In contrast, he perceives the discursive explosion of the 18th and 19th century deployment of sexuality as permitting the notion of latency, which rendered erstwhile error now as a sign of profound but elusive illness, with serious implications for the whole of society were it to remain unhealed. With marriage now cemented as the norm, more discretion with regard to its internal features became instantiated – premised on the condition that sex either maintains and perpetuates society or erodes its well-being. Foucault concurrently points at a growing pre-occupation with the extracting of confessions from sexual figures falling outside this norm, the likes of the mad, criminals and homosexuals (1978:38-39).

Hence Foucault considers the "transformation of sex into discourse" and the "dissemination and reinforcement of heterogenous sexualities" as "two elements of the same deployment" of sexuality, "linked together with the help of the central element of a confession that compels individuals to articulate their sexual peculiarity" (1978:61). In this regard, he highlights four anchorage points of the deployment of sexuality, namely the hysterical woman, the perverse adult and the masturbating child, which stood in contrast to the normative benchmark of the Malthusian couple. Moreover, the questions which orbited around the four anchorage points were informed by a constellation of five new principles. Sexuality, firstly, came to be deployed discursively through a clinical codification of confession. This is done by combining it with the notion of an examination; premised on scientifically acceptable observation; exercised through interrogation, questionnaires, and hypnosis, and guided by decipherable signs and observable symptoms. A second principle for such deployment entailed endowing sex with tremendous causal power, whereby one's sexual behaviour was now "deemed capable of entailing the most varied consequences throughout one's existence" (1978: 65). Thirdly the attributing of an intrinsic latency to sexuality, premised on the notion that the truth that sex holds is an elusive one, which largely remains hidden, served to justify its reliance on coercive practices for the procuring of confession. This was because, fourthly, the truth procured through confession was portrayed as being obscured from the confessing individual, such that it could "only reach completion in the one who assimilated and recorded it" and whose role it was to bring this truth to light (1978:66). Finally, through the medicalising of the effects of confession about sex, the

sexual domain – formerly more closely connected to sin and transgression under pastoral power – now came to be placed under the rule of the normal and the pathological beneath the auspices of bio-power. Accordingly, given the scientific knowledge of the medical practitioner, who interpreted such truths derived at through confession, he was imbued with the power to heal rather than to forgive. Correlatively, through the decipherment of the confessing subject, s/he became the object of sexual discourse, through power exercised by the medical extractor of confession (1978:66).

Within the nexus of discourses informing and underpinning the conservative Afrikaans cultural context of my youth, interwoven manifestations of pastoral, disciplinary and bio-power abound. The most striking manifestation of bio-power within the "foreign country" of "my past" – to borrow from the first line of L.P. Hartley's novel *The Go-Between* – resided in the workings of the coercive apartheid regime.

By way of context, it must be remembered that, since its inception, the National Party's forging of Afrikaner Nationalism had been based on a segregationist stance, focused on serving the best interests of the Afrikaner. In 1922, in the wake of the post-World War 1 Depression, the National Party, for instance, fought for the rights of white mine workers, and made issue with the perceived threat non-whites held for the job prospects of white railway workers (Malan 1964: 76 and 269). [18] Some 7 years later the word 'apartheid' first appeared in print in a speech by Dutch Reformed minister of religion, Rev. Jan Christoffel du Plessis, of Bethlehem in the Free State Province, presented at a missionary conference during which he called for separate churches for black congregants (Giliomee 2018: 140). This pioneering role of the pastorate in formalising the apartheid concept is also borne out by the subsequent prominence of the Dutch Reformed Church within the solidification of the apartheid state, to the extent that opposition parties

[18] In this regard, it should be noted that not all Afrikaners holding nationalist views were driven by a similar defensiveness regarding race. On the contrary, the following statement from the booklet "The Achievement of Afrikaans", by T.J. Haarhof and C.M. van den Heever, reflects criticism both of the Afrikaner's exclusivist stance regarding culture, and of his separatist leanings, despite the specification that the proceeds of the booklet would go to the funds for the Voortrekker Monument: "We hear much of the traditional and illiberal attitude of the Afrikaner to the Native and the question can not be discussed here; but there is this point to be borne in mind. If you release the Afrikaner at the present time from his defensive attitude, his preoccupation with 'kultuur', you have at least a chance that you will set the younger generation free for liberal and generous views on other matters. This is already happening in theology: it *may* happen in politics" (1934: 94).

jeeringly referred to this church as "the National Party in prayer" (https://hts.org.za/index.php/hts/article/view/5445/13508). This was largely because of John Calvin, the church reformer whose thought served as the basis of Afrikaner religion, who held that all life's compartments needed to be permeated with religion, in service of spiritual purification. According to his doctrine, God had foreordained the 'Elect' of mankind to eternal life, and condemned others to damnation, with Calvin's followers, naturally, belonging to the former group of chosen people (Wilkins and Strydom 2012:292). Building on this exclusivist notion, a commission of the Dutch Reformed Church in the 1950s expressed the view that "every nation and race will be able to perform the greatest service to God and the world if it keeps its own national attributes, received from God's own hand, pure with honour and gratitude" (Wilkins and Strydom 2012: 292). And in 1954 Article Three in the Church constitution came to stipulate strict segregation on racial grounds (Wilkins and Strydom 2012: 297). De Gruchy expounds on such distortion of the doctrine of providence by nationalism, evident in claims that God created various nations and ethnic groups as part of a providence that needs to be obeyed through the act of segregation. He calls this mindset "a piously disguised form of self-justification" (1986:202), based on what he perceives as its additional attribution of a "quasi-sacred" character (1986:201) to its national history, and its claim to have a divine calling to save the other, from a position of power.

Intertwined with the political success of the National Party, and the compliance of the Dutch Reformed Church with the apartheid doctrine, was the influence of the *Broederbond* (Bond of Brothers), a secret organization of about 12 000 members, which was founded in 1918 in aid of the social, cultural, political and economic upliftment of the Afrikaner. This saw cultural organisations such as the *FAK*, and giants within the apartheid business world, such as *Federale Volksbeleggings* (Federal Nation Investments), which moreover established *Federale Mynbou* (Federal Mining), being formed under the auspices of the *Broederbond* (Wilkins and Strydom 2012: 419, 427). Membership of the organization was reserved for Afrikaans-speaking males who were members of both the National Party and of the Dutch Reformed Church (Wilkins and Strydom 2012: xxxiii).

In turn, the apartheid discourse, premised on racial segregation, amounted to governmental disciplinary determination of the privileges and scopes of expectation of individuals, on the grounds of their racial classification. Driven by the Afrikaner National Party, which came into power in South Africa in 1948, apartheid was institutionalized through various laws (Owen 1994: 18-19), such as the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949), Population Registration Act (1950), the Group Areas Act (1950), and the Immorality Amendment Act (1950), which all focused on the forced separation of white and black bodies (see Addendum, figure for a photograph of my paternal grandfather at a 1948 voting station). Whereas the forced geographical and sexual separation of races stipulated by all these laws proved generally humiliating, and caused severe hardships, the procedures surrounding enforcement of the Immorality Amendment Act proved particularly demeaning. This was because, in order to prosecute people in accordance with this law, guilt had to be proven, which entailed police spying on couples, bursting into their bedrooms to apprehend them, and then subjecting them to invasive medical examinations in search of the required evidence (Giliomee 2018:146); evidence that was then used to effect convictions for transgressions against biopower dictates in the country.

Indeed, the all-male membership of the very powerful *Broederbond,* coupled with a belief in God the Father – as filtered through the lens of John Calvin – evinces the particularly strong patriarchal underpinnings of pastoral power, disciplinary power and bio-power driving the nationalism of the young apartheid state. In this regard Cynthia Enloe's phrase "nationalism has sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope" (1989:44 in Lewis 2008:104), which Desiree Lewis refers to in "Rethinking Nationalism in Relation to Foucault's *History of Sexuality* and Adrienne Rich's 'Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence'" is important to note. This is because Lewis's article, which examines Foucault's contention that "the anonymous dispersal of power for controlling sexualized bodies identifies new coercive regimes", is as relevant to the apartheid regime as it is to the power abuses driven by heteronormativity in post-1994 South Africa. In terms of this, she perceives post-1994 South Africa as exemplifying "the dynamics of many neo-colonial contexts, where nation-building is firmly yoked to heterosexist relations and discourses" (2008:104), thereby alluding to the

analogous orientation of the apartheid state, even though the latter itself represented a post-colonial context as recently as 1961.

Certainly, such bio-power oriented around masculinised memory, humiliation, and hope, thwarted my mother's professional aspirations within the young apartheid nation state, as her decision to marry precluded her from the possibility of a permanent teaching position. Permanent posts were at the time not available to married women, due to the consideration that these potential mothers of the nation would be of greater value serving their families. Brink describes the 'mother of the nation' concept as an important component of the propaganda-arsenal of Afrikaner nationalism (2008:9). The concept solidified in 1918 through Dr Willem Postma's book "Die boervrouw, moeder van haar volk" (The 'Boer' woman, mother of her nation), which he wrote under the *nom-de-plume* Dr. Okulis. He devoted a chapter to the character of the 'Boer' woman, in which he described her piety, yearning for liberation (of her nation), nobility, independence, sacrificial nature, domestic orientation and inspirational role. She is also brave, friendly, hardworking, honest, hospitable, peace-loving, frugal, and satisfied with her plight (Ibid). Brink describes this plight of the 'Boer woman' as her calling to be in service of her family and nation (2008:7). Hence the independently minded, strong nature of the mother of the nation was celebrated on this condition of servitude. Note, as well, how the expectation of such dual subservience from the Afrikaner woman solidified a patriarchal pastorate in which the Afrikaner man was not only the head of the heteronormative family structure but also 'father of the nation'. The hyper-masculine, and increasingly militant image of father and protector of the nation found reflection in the rugby player stereotype, to the extent that 1981 SABC commentary, at the height of the South African Border War[19], linked the triumphing *Springbok* rugby team and soldiers of the South African Defence Force as follows: *"*As over the weekend, South Africans rejoiced at the splendid victory of the Springboks in New Zealand, other of the country's representatives were returning from the battlefield in Angola. Their mission, too, was

[19] Carol Hardijzer describes the South African Border War as "a largely asymmetric conflict (a war between a standing professional army and an insurgency or resistance movement) that occurred in Namibia (the then South West Africa), Zambia and Angola between 26 August 1966 and 21 March 1990 (http://www.theheritageportal.co.za/article/forbidden-images-1960s-1980s-illegal-photographs-captured-young-men-conscripted-south).

splendidly accomplished…There is good cause for pride in the performance of our men in New Zealand and Angola*"* (2012:74). Unsurprisingly the post-1994 TRC[20] "considered white masculinities in particular to be 'a critical factor in the legitimation of apartheid and its brutal hold onto power' (1998 in Conway 2012:8). Conversely Froneman highlights Büchner's (2008) assertion that the notion of the 'mother of the nation' was expanded around the time of the Great Trek Centenary celebrations to transform "Afrikaner women into symbols for the racial purity of the Afrikaner *volk*"(2012:59). By becoming emblematic of racial purity, the 'mother of the nation' was now, additionally, placed in direct servitude of the segregationist stance, pivotal to apartheid. Such subjectification of the Afrikaner woman to the Nationalist narrative was mirrored in the reduction of National Christian education within Afrikaans schools to a quantification of the achievements of the white Afrikaner youth. Equally coercive was the lack of tolerance for deviations from the heterosexual norm.[21]

Under the influence of John Calvin's austere doctrine, young Afrikaner bodies were also shielded, in disciplinary fashion, from illicit desires by a discouragement of, and at times even prohibition on,[22] dancing to contemporary music generated by the Western mass media, on account of the transgressions of bio-power tenets which their lyrics and rhythms were seen to entail. I experienced a waiver from this restriction during my Matric year, when a new principal extended the activities permitted in the school hall to dancing – thereby countering the stipulations of the Calvinistic benefactor who had financed the hall. Consequently "We Can Dance If We Want To" by *Men Without Hats*,[23] amplified by 1985 ghetto-blasters, became my class group's version of a Dionysian chant, with which we celebrated our moment of freedom, albeit to the formulaic

[20] The TRC (Truth and Reconciliation Commission) was a court-like body assembled after the demise of apartheid to afford victims of apartheid violence the opportunity to be heard, and perpetrators of such violence an opportunity to give testimony and request amnesty from prosecution.
https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/truth-and-reconciliation-commission-trc

[21] The poignant 2018 film *Kanarie*, which is based on the experiences of the young gay musician Charl Johan Lingenfelder during army conscription, attests to this situation.

[22] However, dancing to the nationalism inducing *Volkspele*, a type of folk dancing based on European models, to which I allude in chapter 7, was in order.

[23] The reader may access the music video of the song at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0QDKLglEP5Y. Note how "Safety Dance", the alternative name of this song, ironically serves to underscore the modest extent of our Dionysian efforts.

pattern of a pop song. At the same time, this light-hearted refrain dovetailed with deeper reflections on personal integrity and openness to change, which years later I was to understand as dialogical in a Foucauldian sense.

2.3 Problematisation and Care of the Self

Shortly before his death, in a May 1984 interview entitled "Polemics, Politics and Problematizations", Foucault comments on the way in which conflicting philosophical positions have tended to be attributed to him because of how he approaches political problems. But he explains that the reasons for his seemingly 'chameleon' status in this regard are the result of his way of approaching political questions, which does not take "the form of critique that claims to be a methodical examination in order to reject all possible solutions except for the valid one", but instead "is more on the order of problematisation"(1998: 383). That is, his understanding of politics as a pervasive force in the establishment of societal constructs, like madness, delinquency and sexuality, led him to question how scientific, political and ethical processes may have interfered with each other in the formation of a [discursive] domain, in which such constructs feature as conceptual cornerstones. And by way of response, he problematises madness, delinquency and sexuality by questioning how a certain type of objectivity towards each was established, how a politics was developed, and how a particular type of government of the self, with regard to ethics and practices, came into being. And this is important to consider because, for Foucault, these three questions cover the three fundamental elements implicated in any experience, namely "a game of truth, relations of power, and forms of relation to oneself and to others" (1998:385 – 386).

Foucault thus views problematisation as the sole element capable of describing the history of thought, which he distinguishes from the history of ideas and the history of mentalities. This is because, whereas the history of ideas involves the analysis of systems / constructs of representation, and the history of mentalities entails the analysis of types of actions and attitudes, the history of thought is neither the set of (culturally / societally constructed) representations underlying a certain behaviour, nor the attitudes determining this behaviour

(1998:385). Thought is also not some quasi-mystical 'essence' that inhabits a certain action and renders it meaningful. This Foucauldian perception is pivotal to his disagreements with Noam Chomsky in their 1971 debate in which he problematised Chomsky's recourse to the Marxist notion of the human essence – involving autonomy, sociality and aesthetic expression – as the basis for advancing a theory of justice, and instead argued the very notion of this ostensible essence to be a bourgeois construct; one whose universalisation amounted to an exercise in power (2006:62). Rather, for Foucault, thought is that which permits the stepping back from one's actions or reactions, which thereby presents these actions / reactions, and their meaning and conditions, to one as an object of dialogic thought (1998:386).

To elaborate, Foucault advances that thought occurs when a 'domain of action', or a type of behaviour, is defamiliarised, potentially through being presented with a number of difficulties resulting from social, cultural, economic and/or political processes, at which point the intervening thought regarding such difficulties presents itself as an original response. To be sure, such problematisation is not without its challenges, as it may sometimes, due to the defining situational or contextual factors bearing on it, contradict itself, while a single set of difficulties may also prompt several responses; nevertheless, such problematisation is focused on the point that makes them all possible (1998:386), and the new thought which thereby emerges through dialogic engagement with them.

Earlier in this chapter, mention was made of Foucault's statement in the 1984 interview "The Ethic of Care of the Self" that his focus regarding the relationship between games of truth and the subject had shifted, from a concern with coercive practices that form the subject, to the practice of self-formation of the subject: a shift in focus that might also be expressed as moving from concerns regarding 'states of domination' to questions of how the 'relations of power' necessary to dismantle such states of domination may be created. And if one relates this to his subsequent description of dialogical thought as the process of problematisation, what emerges is that thought – as the process of problematisation – is the driving element in his practice of self-formation, modelled on the 'care of the self' of Greco-Roman philosophy. This is moreover supported by the emphasis placed in such 'care of the self' on self-knowledge and resultant relative freedom, pursued in the interests of not being blinded by one's ignorance or a slave to

one's appetites (1987:115-116). After all, significant similarities exist between this principle of dialogically looking back on oneself and one's desires, in search of wisdom, and Foucault's rather beautiful definition of thought, in "Polemics, Politics and Problematizations", as "freedom in relation to what one does, the motion by which one detaches from it, establishes it as an object and reflects on it" (1998:386-387). Furthermore, in *The Use of Pleasure*, Foucault describes his genealogical project in analogous terms, as "an analysis of 'the games of truth', the games of truth and error through which being is historically constituted as experience; that is, as something that can and must be thought" (1985:6-7).

However, neither the self nor thought are free of social context, as my earlier account of the interplay of experiences within my own discursive formation, in relation to "The Ethics of Care for the Self", served to indicate. As Foucault maintains, although the subject constitutes himself in an active fashion, by practices of 'care of the self', these practices are not something that the individual invents himself. Rather, they are patterns that he finds in his culture, and which are proposed, suggested, and imposed on him by his culture, his society, and his social group, but which he can also appropriate dialogically in his articulation of an ethos of freedom (1987:122).

2.4 Care of the Self and Death of the Author

At this point it is important to highlight Foucault's assertion, in "Ethic of Care for the Self", that power exerted upon the subject is not, in itself, something negative, but instead involves 'games of truth' being put in place in ways that are linked to relations of power. Of course, this situation can become negative and repressive when an individual or social group, through polemical means that negate dialogue, blocks a field of relations of power, thereby denying other partners / players access to self-altering strategies, at which point a state of domination results (1987: 123). And as modern power relations function by polemically integrating individuals into collectivities – the largest of which is the nation-state – Foucault suggests that resisting disciplinary bio-power would involve questioning the alternative between the individual and the collective. This call for a (transformative) working towards a dialogical ethics of the self, as compared to polemical governability, is expressed as follows in "The Subject and Power": "We

have to imagine and to build up what we could be to get rid of this kind of political 'double bind' which is the simultaneous individualization and totalization of modern power structures" (2000:336).

Within this context, problematisation is both one's tool to navigate the ever-shifting games of truth, and one's weapon to combat states of domination where they occur. Such problematisation should, however, constantly detach itself from itself as an object of thought, to remain dynamic and open in its response to the social, cultural, economic and/or political difficulties generating the problematisation process at hand. Echoes of this process of thinking are found in Foucault's *The Use of Pleasure,* where he maintains that "The journey rejuvenates things, and ages the relationship with oneself. I seemed to have gained a better perspective on the way I worked – gropingly, and by means of different or successive fragments – on this project, whose goal is a history of the truth" (1985:11)[24]. Similarly, in "Politics, Philosophy, Culture" (1988:7), Foucault describes this process of cautious questioning and reflection as "a means of surviving by understanding", which paradoxically amounts to a constant overcoming, unwriting, or death of the self, because the self, as stated in "Foucault Live", can no longer be perceived as "an absolute origin but [emerges instead as] a function ceaselessly modified" (1989:61). The importance of such considerations in Foucault's work is constantly evident. Indeed, Foucault's Inaugural Lecture, entitled "Discourse on Language" (1970), which I alluded to at the beginning of this chapter, is clearly premised on the limitations imposed on thought through various polemical discourse, and on how he proposes to combat such limitation through dialogue. Here Foucault holds that dominant discourses tend to limit the proliferation of new texts in the interest of ensuring their continued supremacy, and to this end rely on a constant regurgitation / re-

[24] This continual journey from notions of essentialism towards the acquisition of truth / care of the self finds a certain, albeit less nuanced, resonance in Edward Said's differentiation between the concepts "origin" and "beginning". For Said, the founder of the field of Postcolonial Studies, an origin has "divine, mythical and privileged" associations whereas a beginning is "secular, humanly produced…ceaselessly re-examined…[and] historical" (Said 1997: xix in Erasmus 2017:222). It is "something one does…something one thinks about" (Said 1997: xxi in Erasmus 2017: 222). Hence "beginning and beginning again are historical acts. Beginning is something one lives again and again. It is the constant (re-)making of ideas and practices by setting in conversation the customary with the historically sidelined, and with the new and the possible" (Said 1997: xxiii in Erasmus 2017: 222).

enforcement of what has already been said, even though this may be treated as new thought by the uncritical.

In the essay "Intellectuals and Power", Foucault similarly states that the 'self as a function' needs to struggle against the forms of power that threaten to transform 'the self' into their object "and [their] instrument in the [given] sphere of knowledge, truth, consciousness and discourse" (1977:207-8). To be sure, the struggle requires considerable bravery, as one lays any essentialist polemical notions of the self to rest, and in the process, opens up to endless possibilities of dialogical proliferation. Foucault specifically addresses this obliteration of the self in the essay "What is an Author?", by stating that "[w]riting is now linked to sacrifice and to the sacrifice of life itself" (Ibid: 117). The courage required for such writing, as a potential catalyst of freedom within 'games of truth', thus differs vastly from sterilising attempts to protect the perceived supremacy of a narrative and its defined subjectivity, in a non-transformative way[25]. And by way of example, drawing on the subject matter of this investigation, one could compare Foucault's proposed self-effacing dialogic fearlessness with the self-instantiating polemics of singer Steve Hofmeyr during a concert in Pretoria in November 2013, where he used the title of his song "Ons sal dit oorleef" (We shall overcome) as a chant. Here Hofmeyr spoke out against the farm murder issue in South Africa in highly emotive terms – which polemically negated dialogue – and advanced a particularly narrow perception of an essentialist Afrikaner identity, one which drew circularly on the embattled minority status that the white Afrikaner has always had, while at the same time thematising how he has always overcome, and how through such triumphalism he remains unchanged.

[25] Within the era of globalisation, underpinned by forces the likes of social media, Foucault's thought regarding the supremacy of reigning texts finds a certain resonance in the work of the anthropologist and sociologist Bruno Latour. In a 2018 interview with Ava Kofman, for the *New York Times Magazine*, Latour contends that "with the rise of alternative facts [fake news] it has become clear that whether or not a statement is believed depends far less on its veracity than on the conditions of its 'construction' – that is, who is making it, to whom it's being addressed and from which institutions it emerges and is made visible" (https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/25/magazine/bruno-latour-post-truth-philosopher-science.html).

Distancing himself from polemics, Foucault explains that he has "never tried to analyse anything whatsoever from the point of view of politics" and that he, consequently, does not ask politics to determine the theory of what he does (1998:384). He does, however, "question it about what it has to say about experiences that ask questions of it", and through such means, probe it about "the positions it takes and the reasons it gives for this" (Ibid). Indeed, applauding the posing of a plurality of questions to politics, as stimulated by inflammatory socio-political situations like the civil unrest in France during May 1968, he underscores the importance of preventing "the re-inscription of the act of questioning in the framework of a political doctrine" (Ibid). Put differently: he sets out by asking different questions to the ones that are protecting the validity and consequent power of the political doctrine, and that have consequently had a potentially sterilising effect on it (1984:384).

With regard to the accompanying sacrificial death of the self, indissociable from such new thought, in *The Use of Pleasure*, Foucault describes the process as being "motivated by curiosity…not the curiosity that seeks to assimilate what is proper for one to know, but that which enables one to get free of oneself"(1990: 11). This rupture of the 'self' is arguably reflected on various occasions in Foucault's life. For example, Afary and Anderson's "Foucault and the Iranian Revolution: Gender and the Seduction of Islamism", details how Foucault's valorisation of the related 'limit' or 'death' experience extended well beyond artistic, musical, and literary work that grappled with the concept of death, to include his own youthful suicide attempts, his involvement with sado-masochism, and even his description of a near fatal car accident as "one of the most intense pleasure(s) of his life" (Miller 1993:36 in Avary and Anderson 2005:41). Such Foucauldian valorisation of death as a process of overcoming is of significance to the (anti-)methodology underpinning the investigative journey at hand, which draws inspiration from Foucault's transgressive pushing of discursive boundaries, fully cognisant of the irrevocable death of subjectivity indissociable from such processes (Avary and Anderson 2005: 41). And in the service of effecting the latter demise, sensitisation to Foucauldian 'limit experience' is of immense value in the ensuing appraisal of Afrikaans songs, as ranging between those that seek to negate such rupture, and those that seek to effect it.

2.5 *Huisgenoot* as Commentary

When considering *Huisgenoot* as a primary source of commentary on these songs, what one frequently encounters, is the publication's role as a limiting factor upon proliferation of discourse, such that it often serves to maintain, and at times even bolster, conservative Afrikaans subjectivity, instead of opening the possibility for its sacrifice. In discussing such commentary, Foucault, firstly, differentiates between major narratives and secondary texts, with major narratives being those "which are recounted, repeated and varied; formulae, texts, and ritualized sets of discourse which are recited in well-defined circumstances; things said once and preserved because it is suspected that behind them there is a secret or treasure"(1970 in Young 1981:57-58). Conversely commentary occurs in secondary texts when the primary discourses are elaborated upon, but not in ways that challenge their integrity. That is, "commentary exorcises the chance element of discourse by giving it its due; it allows us to say something other than the text itself but on the condition that it is this text itself which is said, and in a sense completed… the new thing here lies not in what is said but in the event of its return" (1970 in Young 1981:58).

The history of the development of Afrikaans as a propagandistic tool for white Afrikaner Nationalism will be discussed in subsequent chapters, but for now it will suffice to consider the role of *Huisgenoot* in this paradigm. Formed in to assist in the fostering of such nationalism – albeit as a secondary text confined to what Foucault describes above as commentary – *De Huisgenoot* developed within a climate intent on solidifying white Afrikaans as a religious, philosophical, and political force; the language embodying the discursive "truth" which, according to Foucault, is seen to lie behind major narratives (1970 in Young 1981:57-58). A contextualisation of the ideological function attributed to the magazine further emerges when it is remembered that, in 1925, a law was passed allowing the use of Afrikaans for laws and parliamentary texts and, in 1933, for the publishing of the Bible in Afrikaans (Giliomee 1918:114). Of course, cognisance of the development of a more profit-based orientation within the magazine from the 1970s onwards does necessitate consideration of whether the perceived identity formations thematised in the magazine, and reflected by the songs, derived from ideological motives, materialistic motives, or a mixture of the two. Yet this additional dimension, methodologically speaking, is not particularly problematic, as Foucault recognises economic

considerations of this sort in his discussion of the coercive power of discourse, especially when he includes "the series of discourses which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries dealt with wealth and poverty, money, production, [and] commerce", among those worthy of future genealogical treatment. Admittedly, given Foucault's criticism of Marxism as an absolutist discourse, and his related points of disagreement with Chomsky (highlighted earlier) his acknowledgement of economic considerations may seem ironic. And this is all the more so when the similarities between Foucault's "Discourse on Language", and Chomsky and Herman's "Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media" (1988), on the processes of discursive coercion, are recalled. In the latter, Chomsky and Herman contend that "the mass media serves as a system for communicating messages and symbols to the general populace," and that "[i]t is their function to amuse, entertain and inform and to inculcate individuals with the values, beliefs and codes of behaviour that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society" (1988:1). They consequently ascribe a similar role to the mass media that Foucault ascribes to commentary, particularly when they place strong emphasis on economic factors, and hold that the fulfilling of this role in a world of concentrated wealth 'requires' propaganda (1988:1). That is, viewing concentrated ownership and owner wealth as essential ingredients of this media- focused model (1988:4), they consider advertising as the primary income source of the model (1988:14-15), and profitability as the prime objective (1988:5-11). Correlatively Chomsky and Herman hold that the media is tiered and measured by prestige, resources, and outreach, and that because of this, it "is the top tier, along with governmental services, that defines the news agency and supplies much of the national and international news to the lower tiers of the media and thus to the general public" (1988:5). Given their stronger economic orientation, they subsequently argue that the media is mainly interested in attracting affluent audiences, and that advertisers, similarly, seek to maintain the status quo by associating with culturally and politically conservative media programmes that do not negatively affect the buying mood (1988:17). By way of corollary, they conclude that advertisers often discriminate against the working class and radical media (1988:16) because of their limited involvement with, and adversarial stance towards, consumerism. Placing Foucault's contentions regarding the fear of text proliferation within a quasi-Marxist discourse does carry with it a

limitation as far as the creation of new subjectivities is concerned, because of the Marxist concept of a human essence which anchors Chomsky and Herman's understanding, but which a Foucauldian approach can easily move beyond. Thus, in this thesis, the latter has been chosen as the primary methodology. This, in turn, contributes to the tenor of this thesis, which accordingly concerns not the description of an exact subjectivity, but rather a series of reflections on its sacrificial passing that open possibilities for difference.

2.6 Autoethnography

Louise Viljoen's interpretation of Breyten Breytenbach's poem "Tuin" (2001:15-16) includes consideration of the colonisation process, which at various points saw the Afrikaner as both the colonised and the coloniser, and accordingly illustrates the process of Foucauldian 'truth finding' through the 'unwriting' of the self.

According to Viljoen, the poem describes Africa as a wild, unrestricted garden, and the European as the snake that invades it, possesses it, cultivates it and controls it, not least through laying claim to 'discovering' its plants and flowers, which the European names and classifies. However, the European subsequently discovers that s/he has not, in fact, conquered his/her own fear (2001:15). Viljoen thus sees this poem as "universalizing the 'story' of Africa's colonisation to make a point about the human condition: the human being as the coloniser of a strange world which is finally inside himself and which he cannot fully master" (2001:15). Similarly, if one considers Breytenbach's preference for "the position of the exile, migrant, the refugee or foreigner" (Ibid), a position described as "uniquely privileged in terms of [its capacity for] social transgression and renewal" (Grosz cited in Viljoen 2001: 7), profound parallels with Foucault's continual but rejuvenating genealogical journey in search of 'truth', results. Moreover, Viljoen's text also serves to tie Foucault's genealogical approach to my investigation, insofar as her interpretation is couched in analogous investigation-generating 'reasons' to those expressed in my Rationale, namely (1) the exposure to and recognition of 'power hungry' attempts at categorization, which feed on a belief in the existence of some unchanging, universal 'truth', and (2) the desire for transformation that leads to a process which willingly sacrifices the self, in

favour of a 'selfless' search for better approximations of truth, supported by a continual openness to modification/renewal.

For the purposes of such (self)transformation, the autoethnographic method presents itself as a useful tool. Following Reed-Danahay (1997), Spry (2001: 710) describes autoethnography as "a self-narrative that critiques the situatedness of self with others in social contexts", and which is hence "both a method and a text of diverse interdisciplinary praxes." She furthermore explains that it serves as a radical reaction to realist agendas in ethnography and sociology, and refers, in quoting Denzin (1992), to its criticisms of "outmoded conceptions of validity, truth and generalizability." And for all these reasons, Spry places autoethnography within the ambit of post-structuralism.

That is, Spry views autoethnographic performance, "represented through movement and critical self-reflexive discourse in performance", as "articulating the innersanctions of the always migratory identity"(2001: 706), such that it refers not to a concrete identity, but rather to identity as an interminable work in progress. As such, it relates well to a Foucauldian approach involving the dynamic sacrifice of the self through writing, which Brown expresses as follows: "In the rumbling that shakes us today, perhaps we have to recognize the birth of a world where the subject is not one but split, not sovereign but dependent, not an absolute origin but a function ceaselessly modified" (2000:58).

In keeping with the Foucauldian understanding of the interdependent split self as a "function" that is "ceaselessly modified", Spry delineates the performance of autoethnography as an encouragement to "dialogically look back upon my self as other, generating critical agency in the stories of my life, as the polyglot facets of self and other engage, interrogate, and embrace" (2001:708). Moreover, her statement that while "emotion and poetics constitute scholarly 'treason', it is heresy put to good use" (2001:709), echoes not only Foucault's but also Nietzsche's thought, regarding a necessary, but unavoidably conflict-ridden, interdependence between Apollonian illusion (the 'foundation' of rational Western culture, and hence scholarship/theory) and radicalising, fantasy-oriented Dionysian experimentation. Foregrounding the song analyses of this thesis, chapter 4 will offer a more detailed account of these Nietzschean concepts, which

will serve to attribute a language confounding/defying role to the Dionysian, and to highlight the demarcating (labelling) role of the Apollonian. But this also has a bearing on the process of autoethnography itself.

Prominent within my own application of the autoethnographic method is the voice of Elizabeth Verwoerd (née Schoombee), which features as an Apollonian constraint at certain times, as well as a point of departure into Dionysian considerations at other moments. The Prelude, which serves as an autoethnographic component of the thesis, explains her inclusion in terms of Foucault's "game" of writing, which "is primarily concerned with creating an opening where the writing subject [can] endlessly disappear" (Gutting 1994:22), so that I – much like the author in Foucault's *The Archaelogy of Knowledge* – ultimately emerge as having no face (1972:40). Indeed, given my upbringing in a household endorsing Afrikaner Nationalism, I can only speculate that her 'presence' is part of the "groupsicule"(Brown 2000:71) of my 'self', with whom I, as the non-substantive subject, enter into dialogue. In fact, on account of her commitment to the apartheid metanarrative, the purpose of her 'presence' in this thesis may well lie in generating a collision between 'her' discourse and other discourses introduced in the text – a collision aimed at creating the rupture of a limit experience. As such, her 'presence' does hold transformative significance, insofar as it helps me to "free (my) thought from what it silently thinks, and so" enable "it to think differently" (Brown 2000: 64).

In short, the 'self' is here to be understood as a cultural / social formation, engaged both with games of truth and with the potentially transformative process of their problematisation, all of which is generated by a looking upon the self as an object of thought, in a process that Foucault intensified to the point of a 'limit experience'. Having established such problematising / "(un)thinking" as the (anti-)methodology driving this thesis, I will now turn my attention to the semiological tools to be employed in the various analyses of selected *Huisgenoot* songs.

2.7 Semiotics and Multimedia Analysis

The field of musical semiotics is an extremely broad one, including various structuralist approaches to the analysis of both western art music and popular music. Examples of the former

include, among many others, those of Jean-Jacques Nattiez[26] and Jonathan Dunsby,[27] while examples of the latter can be found among pioneering scholars in the field of popular music studies, like Richard Middleton (1993)[28] and Philip Tagg (1987).[29] Scholars such as Middleton and Tagg set out in great earnest during the mid-to late-1900s to establish analytical methods that could give an account of the structural properties of popular music, because they found such a method lacking in the established, traditional (Western-art-music-oriented) structuralist methods of musical analysis.

In this regard, Middleton proposes a complex alternative system for the analysis of musical structure which he bases on the recognition of "gestures", understood as units of musical structure of varying degrees, substance and length, which are derived from perceptions of movement. Although not exclusively so, such an approach to the analysis of musical structure is ideally suited to popular music, says Middleton,

> simply because, as common-sense interpretation tells us, 'movement' is usually so important here. More clearly than in, say, classical symphony or chamber music, this music is unquestionably rooted in the structures, inner processes and operational patterns of the secular human body. Even with pieces not intended for dancing, listeners usually find themselves moving, really or in imagination. And certainly rhythm is a key – but, as I have already implied, not solely in the strict sense of the term. There are vital roles too for the rhythms governing phraseology; chord and textural change; patterns of accent and intensity, of vocal 'breathing', vibrato and sustain; not to mention the micro-rhythms responsible for the inner life of sounds themselves, and the quasi-'spatial' rhythms organising the hierarchies of relative pitch strength and tonal tension, both in melodic contour and in harmonic sequences (1993: 178-179).

Tagg's semiotics for popular musical structure is an equally complex alternative to traditional structuralist analysis, comprising, as it does, a labyrinth of relationships between the Analysis Object (AO), Interobjective Comparison (IOC), and the Interobjective Comparison Material

[26] See, for example, *Foédameéts dúne sémiologie de la musique* (Paris, 1975), which is translated and broadened upon in *Music and Discourse: Towards a Semiology of Music* (translated by Carolyn Abbate, Princeton, 1990); see also "Varèse's "Density 21.5': A Study in Semiological Analysis" (*Music Analysis* 1(3), 1982).
[27] See, for example, "A Hitch Hiker's Guide to Semiotic Music Analysis" (*Music Analysis* 1(3); 1982); and "Music and Semiotics: The Nattiez Phase"(*Musical Quarterly* 69(1), 1983).
[28] See, for example, "Popular Music Analysis and Musicology: Bridging the Gap" (*Popular Music* 12(2), 1993).
[29] See, for example, "Musicology and the semiotics of popular culture" (*Semiotica* 66-1(3), 1987).

(IOCM). From these follow the search for paramusical associations, which may lead to Paramusical Fields of Association (PMFA), and the corresponding musical structural elements known as Items of Musical Code (IMC). As Tagg explains: "If objective structural correspondences are established between the AO and the IOCM and if there is demonstrable correspondence between the IOCM and its PMFAs, then the structural elements of the AO corresponding to those of the IOCM may also be considered as IMCs and the relationship between these and the PMFAs of the IOCM may be regarded as similar to that between the IMCs and the PFMAs of the IOCM" (Tagg 1987: 289).

To be sure, popular musical scholarship suffered an initial period of over-zealousness in its search for a semiotics to account for such musical structure because the terms became so complex that they effectively began to befuddle even the most practiced and proficient of 'mainstream' music theorists. Fortunately, both Middleton and Tagg had the good sense to recognise that a semiotic system for popular music – or any music for that matter – could not be accounted for in such complex intraopus systems only, because of how meaning also derived from extraopus factors. In particular, while Middleton thus admits that a semiotic reading must take as much cognisance of extraopus "connotation" as it must of intraopus "gesture" (Middleton 1993: 186), Tagg adds to this – albeit as an afterthought – that semiotics must include an "understanding [of] music's references to and interpretations of experiences caused by phenomena in the larger sociocultural set of reality of which music is an integral part" (Tagg 1987: 296).

Although more recent tendencies toward a post-structuralist semiotics refrain from recourse to the prescriptive and essentialising categories of musical structure, imposed by semioticians such as Nattiez, Dunsby, Middleton and Tagg, they nevertheless do find common ground with earlier scholars in agreeing that musical semiotics must deal with two kinds of codes. Peter Dunbar-Hall refers to these as the etic (intraopus) and the emic (extraopus), and concludes that, "translated into etic and emic levels, the analytical and interpretative styles of musical semiotics become a possible model for the study of popular music" (Dunbar-Hall 1991: 131).

In line with this, and following Roman Jacobson, Kofi Agawu proposes that musical signs may be introversive (self-referential) or extroversive (pointing to something outside of themselves, or

outside of music). And for these two functions, he suggests the terms "structural" musical signs and "topical" musical signs, respectively (Agawu 1991: 23), but without prescribing a rigid and essentialising system for the reading of either. Such semiotic reading – that is, the musical work understood as a configuration of signs – provides a basis upon which one may begin to attempt to solve the 'problem' of meaning, by showing not so much *what* musical signs mean as *how* those signs become meaningful. In so doing Agawu adroitly navigates his way between post-structuralist insistence on music as "an inexhaustible source of possible meaning" (Treitler 1982: 156), and the kinds of meanings that, on account of their idiosyncrasy, hold little or no social significance whatsoever. He thus concludes that

> it seems more useful, in the face of the multiplicity of potential meanings of a single work, to frame the analytical question in terms of the dimensions that make meaning possible; only then can we hope to reduce away fanciful meanings that are likely to crop up in an unbridled discussion of the phenomenon, and to approach the preferred meanings dictated by both historical and theoretical limitations (Agawu 1991: 5).

It is for these reasons that I take my cue from Agawu in the analyses that are presented in this thesis.

This study will also rely on concepts drawn from Nicholas Cook's *Analysing Musical Multimedia* (1998), in order to consider the meaningful interaction between musical and visual codes that are presented by – or sometimes merely assumed within the all-embracing fold of – *Huisgenoot* and its various musical projects. From this point of view, it should be understood that the multimedia analyses offered here do not involve descriptions or interpretations that claim to be canonical. Rather, Nicholas Cook has aptly described such analytical work as that from which no "general principle" can be concluded, because of how "it is a matter of the individual context – a matter of composition" (Cook 1998: 61). Furthermore, this thesis should be understood as couched in "the plane of reception rather than…of production" (Ibid: 33), which renders meaning dependent on "the orientation of the recipient" (Ibid: 113).

Given such contingencies, Cook suggests that in the case of such musical multimedia analysis, methodology requires researchers to begin by locating their orientation accordingly, by choosing a focus either on (1) "music's internal structure", or (2) on "the assumption that music acquires

meaning through its mediation of society", or (3) a decision to "oscillate between these two viewpoints" (Ibid: 3). It should be noted that, in keeping with the complexity logic of poststructuralism, the analyses conducted in this thesis are oriented towards the third of these three options, as is frequently the case in current popular music studies.[30] The analytical method Cook proposes requires that the analyst subjects the "instance of multimedia" (IMM) (Ibid: 100) to three basic models: First, a "similarity test" (Ibid.: 98) to determine the extent to which its component media are "coherent", "consistent" and "conformant" (Ibid: 98-100); Second, a "difference test" to establish either "contrariety", "undifferentiated difference" or "collision", which implies "an element of confrontation between the opposed terms" that, in turn, may lead to "contest" (Ibid: 102-103); And third, consideration of "complementation", where the different media of the IMM "are seen as occupying the same terrain, but conflict is avoided through the existence of what might be called mutual gaps", because of how the latter lend themselves to a process of "attribute transfer" and "the emergence of new meaning" (Ibid: 103-104; 115). Importantly, as Cook further notes, it is music that acts as the catalyst for complementation, enabling the emergence of new meaning. That is, "it is as if the music provided a kind of ready-made truth table, a logical framework into which any message could be inserted and made to seem persuasive or even inevitable" (Ibid).

[30] Covach notes that while, traditionally-speaking, "popular music studies have been dominated by cultural critics and sociologists", more recently there has been "movement toward the centre and away from these established disciplinary poles on the part of both musicologists and popular music scholars" (1999:454-455). Thus, in as much as sociology has embraced musicology, so musicology has embraced sociology, and today this tendency extends way beyond popular music studies, insofar as it has become symptomatic of the so-called "New Musicology" as a whole.

CHAPTER 3

A Brief History of Huisgenoot

> *Apart from the high demands which were – everything taken into consideration – met with excellence, the study of* Die Huisgenoot*, with which I was familiar as a general reader, served as a realisation of the scope and capable execution of the task that the founders took upon themselves. They have made a giant contribution to the means for nation development, which demands my honest admiration and deep appreciation.*[31]

This chapter entails my implementation of a Foucauldian approach i) to reconstruct a general history of *Huisgenoot* magazine during the past century, and (ii) to place the magazine's coverage of musical material within this broader picture, with these efforts extending to socio-political considerations.

In line with Foucault's view that all 'facts' are caught up within the text (the conceptual constructs of those stating these facts, to which the latter are also, it should be noted, subject), such that they are ultimately always interpretations, this chapter stakes no claim at being an objective historical account. Not only are the 'facts' obtained subject to the discursive situation which produced them, but they have also, inevitably, been filtered through my own discursive situation, while also being subject to my own intentions. Thus, against the backdrop of Foucault's *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1977: 138-139) and related works, this chapter should consequently not be viewed as a "document", in the sense of "an element that ought to be transparent" but should rather be perceived as a "monument"; that is, as "something that has its own inherent interesting volume."

[31] Verwoerd née Schoombee (1924). In its original Afrikaans this paragraph reads as follows: "Apart van die hoë eise, egter, waaraan, alles in aanmerking geneem, op 'n uitstekende wyse voldoen is, het die studie van Die Huisgenoot, waarmee ek wel deur gewone deurlees bekend was, gedien as 'n ontnugtering omtrent die omvang en bekwame uitvoering van die taak deur die oprigters op hul geneem. Hulle het 'n reuseaandeel tot die middels vir die volksontwikkeling bygebring, wat my eerlike bewondering en hartlike waardering afdwing".

3.1 An Overview of the Period 1916 – 1994

De Huisgenoot, as it was originally titled, has been in existence since May 1916, when 3 000 copies of this magazine (Hugo 2009: 134) were printed by *Nasionale Pers*. Other magazines aimed at the Afrikaner market during this period were *De Goede Hoop, Die Brandwag* and *Die Boerevrou*, established in 1903, 1910 and 1919, respectively.

Both chapters 1 and 2 have underscored the general expectation at the time that *De Huisgenoot* would be nationalistic in orientation, despite the editor's statement, in the 2 September 1927 issue, that it was not a political magazine (Weidemann 2006: 12). Correlatively, when one considers the publication's glowing articles about the heroic deeds of the Voortrekkers and of the *Boere* against the British during the Anglo-Boer War, it does seem as if no meaningful effort was made to extend the target group of *De Huisgenoot*, and by implication the sense of Afrikaner Nationalism, to Afrikaans-speaking 'coloured' people (Hugo 2009:65).

Relatedly, in both the Prelude to this thesis and chapter 1, mention was made of how Elizabeth Schoombee (who was later to marry Hendrik Verwoerd) completed a master's dissertation on *De Huisgenoot* in 1924, which was strongly focused on the extent to which *De Huisgenoot* was succeeding in fostering nationalistic ideals among Afrikaners. However, while implying that increasingly nationalistically minded Afrikaners are the ideal consequence of such efforts, she also distinguishes them from the following three groups, which she deems as in need of cultural guidance by *De Huisgenoot:* (i) ignorant Afrikaners, (ii) partially anglicised Afrikaners, and (iii) 'conservative' Afrikaners, who cling to Dutch traditions and the Dutch language (1924:29).

In her dissertation, Schoombee describes *De Goede Hoop* as gradually becoming the voice of the 'conservative minority' who wished to maintain Dutch as the written language in the country, and praises *Die Brandwag* for offering educated Afrikaners an alternative to British and American magazines (1924:19). In turn, she describes how *De Huisgenoot* initially used Dutch as its medium of expression, to win the favour of the more conservative Dutch-venerating Afrikaners. Indeed, the introductory article to its first edition, with Prof. J.J. Smith as editor (Hugo 2009: 74), uses Dutch to express the goals of the magazine, namely, to contribute to the development of the Afrikaner's national life ("te arbeider aan de opbouw van ons national leven") and own culture

("eigen kultuur"). But thereafter she neatly shows how, gradually, the magazine moved over to an exclusive use of Afrikaans (Schoombee 1924: 30-31).

In this regard Hugo (2009: 74) concurs that only a quarter of the initial content of the magazine was in Afrikaans and advances the following statement by the historian C.F.J. Muller as encapsulating the reason for this language preference: "The use of Dutch in a large percentage of the publication's material during the beginning years was apparently to facilitate a smoother and more gradual transition for people used to reading and writing Dutch. And among them was the best educated sector of the Afrikaans public." Note how the concern with attracting the readership of 'educated' Afrikaners for an Afrikaans-orientated publication – similarly found in Schoombee's praise of *Die Brandwag* – also finds expression in Muller's assessment of the initial language policy of *De Huisgenoot.*

Returning to Schoombee's dissertation, it is noteworthy that, while she is pleased to observe considerable magazine coverage of articles regarding Afrikaans literature (1924: 67-86), and of works by Afrikaners in the realm of the Visual Arts (Ibid: 86-93), she also bemoans the lack of constructive discussion on musical development in Afrikaner society (Ibid: 93), both within *De Huisgenoot* in particular and among Afrikaners in general. Considering her specific concern over the extent to which *De Huisgenoot* managed to foster nationalistic awareness, she therefore clearly perceives music as an important vehicle for such awareness.

To elaborate, Schoombee supports her concern by referring to the first general article in the edition of August 1921, entitled "Ons Musiek" (Our Music), by C. F. Visser, in which both the perceived apathy surrounding the generation of a musical culture, and the low educational qualifications required from professional musicians, are criticised (Ibid). And while she does concede that the publication of song anthologies is announced in *De Huisgenoot*, she nevertheless notes that these announcements are few and far between. Moreover, she maintains that the anthologies promoted are also, mainly, of existing songs, although some original settings by M.L. de Villiers, Eyssen, Spiethoff and Endler, amongst others, had received coverage (Ibid: 94). She finally refers to reviews of song settings by a certain *Nareda*, elaborating on his negative critique of song settings by K.R.N. and Nico Hofmeyr (Ibid).

My research into the music-related articles published in *Die Huisgenoot* in the period subsequent to Schoombee's completion of her dissertation until about 1950, was greatly facilitated by the database on the history of South African music (History of music in South Africa-mirage repository.up.ac.za/handle/2263/17223), which served as an adjunct to Annemie Stimie's master's dissertation, *Cosmopolitanism in early Afrikaans music historiography, 1910-1948*, and which was digitalised by the University of Pretoria in 2012. Themes most prevalent in these articles are i) the Cape Town Orchestra (11 articles), ii) the beginning and growth of the Afrikaans Eisteddfod in Cape Town (29 articles), (iii) Afrikaans folk songs (at least 16 articles), (iv) Afrikaans musicians (including a series of 10 articles appearing between 1946 and 1950), (v) the development of the Afrikaans national anthem, "Die Stem"[32] (9 articles), and (vi) church music (at least 19 articles). A general concern with music education, both towards the development of national composers, musicians and concertgoers, and in the interest of generating more enthusiastic communal singing, permeates all these themes and is therefore not considered as a separate theme. The *Huisgenoot* articles' treatment of these main themes will be discussed in what follows, with constant consideration of possible nationalistic underpinnings to the texts in question.

The articles on the Cape Town orchestra generally appear devoid of the nationalistic concerns characterising the formation and aim of *Die Huisgenoot*. The focal points of 'orchestra' related articles are as follows:

- Inadequate support of concerts and subsequent financial difficulties (21 August 1925: "Die Benarde Toestand van die Kaapse Orkes: Hoe kan ons die orkes behou? 'n Unie-orkes as oplossing" (The dire circumstances of the Cape Town Orchestra: How can it be salvaged? A Union orchestra as solution-Joh. Luijt);[33]
- Orchestral activities, sometimes promoted through the provision of biographies of composers whose works are to be performed (8 March 1929: "Musiekfees vir die Kaapse

[32] The new national anthem; in full *Die Stem van Suid Afrika* (The Call of South Africa).
[33] Joh. Luijt/Luyt was the *nome de plume* of a writer who contributed music related articles to *Die Burger* and who was also known as *Toonkunst van die Burger* (https://www.yumpu.com/nl/document/view/13955820/die-afrikaanse-eisteddfod-van-kaapstad-het-vanjaar-sy-).

Orkes" [Music Festival for the Cape Town Orchestra]-Joh. Luijt), and related historical reports (1 March 1935: "Die Kaapstadse Orkes word Mondig"[The Cape Town Orchestra comes of age"] – C.H.W.);

- Biographical information on musicians/conductors.

Arguably, Luijt's interview with William Pickerill (22 August 1930), the conductor of the orchestra who is remembered for initiating highly successful educational concerts at schools in the Cape Peninsula, bears traces of Afrikaner Nationalism, insofar as it mentions Pickerill's adaptation of Leslie Heward's orchestration of *Pieknieklied jies* (Picnic Songs), with the aim of including "Sarie Marais" in future. Pickerill's opinion on the worth of the Chappell Competition, launched to generate the composition of Afrikaans songs, is also sought. However, the over-riding concern, even when referring to folk-song-promoting endeavours in service of the nationalistic Centenary Celebrations of the Great Trek, still effectively amounts to the promotion of western classical music (10 March 1939: "Jubilum van die Kaapstadse Orkes" [Cape Town Orchestra's Jubilee]).

In addition to the many articles regarding the *Afrikaans Eisteddfod* within the adjunct to Stimie's dissertation, Magdalena Oosthuizen's doctoral thesis (2014), also makes passing reference to the magazine's coverage of musical content affiliated with the *Afrikaanse Eisteddfod.* For example, Oosthuizen refers to the magazine's publication of the sheet music of prescribed Afrikaans songs for performance at the Eisteddfod, and also alludes to the magazine's 1927 publication of the two poems prescribed as options within the Eisteddfod's compositional category, namely "As Saans" by A.D. Keet and "Lied van die Wonderboom" by A.G. Visser. Accordingly, her observations underscore the concern over the need to foster and develop an Afrikaans song heritage that finds reflection in the many articles devoted to the promoting of the event in *Die Huisgenoot*.

An article in *Die Huisgenoot* of 3 October 1947 by Essie Malan, commemorating the 'coming of age' of *Die Afrikaanse Eisteddfod,* and the role of *Die Huisgenoot* therein, sketches its historical development from a subsection of *The South African Eisteddfod*, initiated by Joh. Luijt. This sub-section was primarily devoted to Afrikaans thespian endeavours, but it was soon felt that an

eisteddfod organised without the direct input of Afrikaans representatives would be unable to promote the cultural interests of the Afrikaner.

Endeavouring to gain greater recognition for Afrikaans within the *South African Eisteddfod*, Fasie de Wet of the *Nasionale Pers* sponsored *Die Huisgenoot-skild*, an award for Afrikaans choral singing, to which Joh. Luijt refers in her article "Die Suid-Afrikaanse Eisteddfod", published in *Die Huisgenoot* of 24 April 1925. Such increased effort towards the establishing of a competitive Afrikaans cultural platform reached fruition when, owing to an organisational obstacle, the *South African Eisteddfod* failed to be held in 1927, and the *Afrikaanse Eisteddfod* came to be initiated in response.

(https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/21239/1925_24apr_p003.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y).

The *Afrikaans Eisteddfod* subsequently maintained independence from its English counterpart, and an editorial article of 22 April 1949 expresses pride in what is viewed as *Die Huisgenoot's* continued guardianship of this exclusively Afrikaans event, which it describes as one of the greatest forces working towards the promotion of Afrikaans culture.

(https://www.yumpu.com/nl/document/view/13955820/die-afrikaanse-eisteddfod-van-kaapstad-het-vanjaar-sy-).

As mentioned, articles about the Cape Town orchestra in *Die Huisgenoot* are generally not characterised by outpourings of nationalism but are instead mainly concerned with the development of an interest in classical music. Joh.Luijt was responsible for many of these articles, and she focussed on the above-mentioned efforts towards generating awareness and appreciation of classical music. In contrast, florid expressions of nationalism abound when Luijt writes about the *Afrikaans Eisteddfod*, which may be attributed to the pivotal role that the Afrikaans language played in nationalistic concerns, and which rendered the formation of an exclusively Afrikaans eisteddfod an excellent vehicle for nationalistic propaganda. The summarised history of the *Afrikaans Eisteddfod* above also alludes to Luijt's role in the formation of this event, while my translation of one of her most nationalistic articles, published in *Die Huisgenoot* of 15 July 1927, reads as follows:

> Let us turn this Afrikaans Eisteddfod into a stronghold of our cultural and artistic life. If we all join forces, a strength may be generated by this movement which will move through our nation like dough, and awaken a sensitivity towards the Arts…Let us organise throughout the length and width of our country, in order to discover the best talents, that 15 October may prove a great day for the Afrikaans language and culture…The growth and blossoming of our language and art escalates daily. May 15 October be a great day for the display of the Afrikaner's spiritual weaponry, and do not forget to attend this memorable event.

Her article is also supported by A. D. Keet's poem *Ons, Afrikaners!* (We, Afrikaners!), which may be translated as follows:

> We, the Afrikaners, are a nation.
>
> We have our own language, born with us, here in South Africa.
>
> We have our own history.
>
> We have our own religion and traditions.
>
> We have our own calling.
>
> God did not place us under the Southern Cross in vain.
>
> He had a purpose with the Huguenots, with the Portuguese, with the Voortrekkers and the Boer War; with Botha and with Hertzog.
>
> Today he also has a purpose with us,
>
> The only, biggest, remaining white community in Africa.
>
> We shall carry the Cross joyfully,
>
> Onwards, Dutch-South Africa!'

Keet's poem treats Afrikaans as an exclusively white language. In *Halala Afrikaans*, Hugo (2009:40) quotes C. J. Langenhoven – 'father' of "Uit die Blou van Onse Hemel", the poem that came to steer the anthem of nationalist South Africa – as doing much the same: "Afrikaans is the one and only white man's language that was made in South-Africa and did not come from overseas...the one tie that binds us as a nation; the expression of the soul of our nation." Hugo does, however, also point to a curious ambivalence in Langenhoven's perception by referring to an incident sketched in Prof. F.E.J. Malherbe's autobiography:[34] Apparently, the preponderance

[34] Prof. F.E.J. Malherbe was a professor of Dutch-Afrikaans at Stellenbosch University during the period 1930 to 1959. His autobiography "Agter die Oomblik: Herinneringe" was published by *Perskor* in 1977.

of English poems recited at the cultural evening of a 'Coloured College' in the 1920s, which was attended by Malherbe and Langenhoven, caused the latter to make the following (loosely translated) statement: "There are a million, yes a million, potential readers of *Die Huisgenoot,* and what do we do for these people; what is our attitude towards them? How do we prevent them from becoming strangers to their mother tongue?"(2009:65) In a similar vein, Hugo (2009: 39) points to Langenhoven's acknowledgement of the humble beginnings of Afrikaans in his autobiography *U dienswillige dienaar* (1932), written close to his death, where the cattle herder and servant are included as co-authors of the language. However, regrettably, it was around this very juncture in history when, according to Herman Giliomee (2018: 236), a definite rift was created between white and coloured speakers of Afrikaans. In the 1920s, the National Party candidates in the Cape were still intent on viewing coloured voters as fellow Afrikaners; indeed, as late as 1929 a group of jubilant coloured people in Stellenbosch even carried the triumphing National Party candidate, Bruckner de Villiers, out of parliament on their shoulders. Yet in the early 1930s, a deciding blow was delivered to the nascent notion of this racial group as fellow Afrikaners when white women but not coloured women, were given the vote.[35] This, in turn, served as the prelude to the Law on Separate Representation of Voters, adopted by the National Party in 1952, which placed coloured voters on separate voting lists.

It is therefore not surprising that the articles in *Die Huisgenoot* devoted to *Uit die Blou van Onse Hemel* sketch the search for its appropriate melody (11 August 1933, 8 March 1935), and its suitability as the text of the anthem of the Afrikaner (17 November 1933, 17 July 1936), in nationalistic terms that are embedded in the very white exclusivity that came to plague Langenhoven during his final years. While it is perhaps only the reference to "*ossewaens*" (ox wagons), and by implication *Voortrekkers*, in verse one of Langenhoven's poem, that ties the text directly to an exclusively white historical perspective, the *Huisgenoot* article concerning appropriate events for the singing of the anthem (18 November 1938) clearly places it within a thoroughly white Afrikaner world. In fact, this article even recommends that the singing of the

[35] In this regard, it is interesting that white English speakers who placed South Africa first (as opposed to Britain, one might surmise), were called Afrikaners by certain leaders of the United Party, formed in 1933, under leadership which included the likes of Genl. JBM Hertzog. Thus, it was only after 1945 that the term 'Afrikaner' was consistently used with exclusive reference to white Afrikaans speaking persons (Giliomee: 236).

anthem be restricted to public festivals of a formal nature; for example, those over which a head of state presides, festivals related to the Great Trek, the celebration of *Heldedag* (The Day of the Heroes, as drawn from a 'white' history book, one may add), Dingaan's Day (the day commemorating the victory of the *Voortrekkers* over Dingaan's Zulu warriors at Blood River), and Culture Day or other gatherings of a purely cultural nature. The article also states that the *FAK* (*Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge* / Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Organisations – See footnote 4) would, in due course, give clearer guidelines in this regard. Accordingly, this body, founded on 18 and 19 December 1929 at a congress in Bloemfontein, had as its main function the prevention of neglect and distortion of the Afrikaans language (Hugo 2009: 103).

Indeed, the *FAK* was to play quite a significant role in many of the articles in *Die Huisgenoot* concerning Afrikaans folk songs, as will soon become evident. That is, the concern with the development of an Afrikaans musical culture was already reflected in *De Huisgenoot* as early as 1918, in the competition seeking lyrics worthy of a national anthem, which saw "Uit die Blou van onse Hemel" emerge as the winning entry. This concern is also pivotal to the article of M.L. de Villiers entitled "Schubert en Ons" (Schubert and Us), in the November issue of 1923, in which he ponders on the possibility of producing an Afrikaans song writer of international stature – someone capable of giving full expression to the national ideals of the Afrikaner. The quest for an Afrikaans musical culture to augment the legitimacy of the separate white Afrikaner identity promoted by nationalist aspirations became even more pressing during the 1930s, particularly as the Centenary Celebration of the Great Trek was drawing near. Accordingly, quantifiable evidence of an Afrikaans musical culture was needed, and folk songs – as opposed to the art songs of an 'Afrikaans Schubert' – rapidly became a focal point. In service of this concern, *Die Huisgenoot* of 29 January 1932 contained a copy of an address delivered by W.J. du P Erlank, on behalf of the *FAK*-board, at the Cultural Congress in Cape Town, and in this culturally essentialist speech, he reflects a belief in a musical culture that grows out of a nation, and which comes to reflect the inherent sentiments of each individual therein.

Given the ideological nature of Erlank's address, the use of a multitude of European melodies set to Afrikaans texts in the *FAK Volksangbundel* (Folk Song Anthology), which was released in Bloemfontein on 7 July 1937, seems surprising (Roggeband 2012: 22). This is not least because

of how a cursory overview of this first edition of the *FAK* reveals multiple acknowledgements of the European origin of those melodies used for *FAK* songs. "Land, Volk en Taal" (based on a Finnish melody), "My Liedjie van Verlange" (based on a Moravian melody), "Ek wou dat een enkel woordjie" (based on a melody by Mendelssohn) and "Slaap hartediefie, my liefling is jy " (based on a melody by C.M. von Weber") are just a few prominent cases in point. Martjie Bosman additionally points to the American origin of a number of *FAK* songs (2004: 24), which details how these songs were brought to South Africa by travelling minstrel groups and were thereafter supplied with Afrikaans words by the first *Afrikaanse Taalbeweging* (Afrikaans Language Movement). By way of example she offers "Just before the battle, mother" ("Wanneer kom ons troudag, Gertjie?"), "Ellie Rhee" ("Sarie Marais"), "Sweet Genevieve" ("Lief Annatjie"), and "Where did you get that hat?"("Waar het jy daardie hoed gekry?").

Of course, an argument justifying the use of European (and American) melodies was presented in a review of this anthology by C.G.S. de Villiers, which appeared in *Die Huisgenoot* of 26 November 1937, a translation of which runs as follows: "Until the existing core/ancient Afrikaans melodies have been collected and published, it proved sensible to the editorial committee to draw from the rich folk song treasury of Europe, especially Germany, where most of the important collecting had already been completed by the middle of the previous century." Admittedly, not all of the songs in the *FAK* with European melodies were merely created for this anthology, but that quite a few well-known Afrikaans songs of the time had melodies originating in Europe is evident from B. F. Kotze's article "Ons Eie Musiek" (Our own Music) (17 February 1933). Nevertheless, it remains curious that an *FAK*-committee – of which the ideologically-minded Erlank formed part – could have been content with a supposed representation of Afrikaans musical culture containing so many foreign melodies. Perhaps this can be accounted for in terms of a perception among the committee members that Europe still served as the 'spiritual home' of the white Afrikaner, which allowed them to be unperturbed by the proliferation of these melodies as the basis for Afrikaans lyrics. (In chapter 1 a similar speculation was offered regarding the current practice among contemporary Afrikaans artists of simply adding Afrikaans words to melodies belonging to entries for the *Eurovision Song Contest.* This issue will be further explored in chapter 7.) Alternatively, the impending Centenary Celebrations,

which were due to start on 8 August 1938, may have required an 'instant' white Afrikaner musical culture, which left the committee with no alternatives.[36]

At any rate, the very conscious white exclusivity permeating the efforts of the *FAK* is obvious when one considers, for instance, that I. D. du Plessis's thesis, *Die Bydrae van die Kaapse Maleier tot die Afrikaanse Volkslied* (The Contribution of the Cape Malay to Afrikaans Folk Song) had already been completed by 1935. Similarly, in an article by the Dutch writer Willem van Warmelo, entitled "Volksmusiek in Suid-Afrika: 'n Unieke Improvisasie-kuns aan die Verdwyn" (Folk Music in South Africa: A Unique Improvisation Art Disappearing), which appeared in *Die Huisgenoot* of 21 February 1941, the author mentions the treasury of unpublished Afrikaans and Afrikaans-Dutch songs forming part of his study, and also refers to Dutch songs unknown within the Netherlands but which may be found within, for example, songs that developed on African soil (hence which might, hypothetically, be of slave origin).

Another salient recognition of potentially non-white Afrikaans musical contribution is an acknowledgement of the coloured contribution to picnic songs, in the article "Iets oor Ou Afrikaanse Liedjies" (16 March 1928). And it is to these Afrikaans songs – often non-white in origin – that B. J. Kotze turns in his previously mentioned article "Ons Eie Musiek" (Our own Music) (17 February 1933), when asked by a German lady where original Afrikaans melodies may be found. However, he does not go so far as to credit their mainly non-white origin. Nevertheless, the important cultural role fulfilled by these songs is also highlighted by T. J. Nienaber's *Huisgenoot* article on P. Imker Hoogenhout (3 October 1941), in which he refers to Hoogenhout's comment, in the March 1908 edition of *De Goede Hoop*, that the Afrikaner loves singing on condition that the songs are in his own language and spirit – like the picnic songs that had proved to be so popular. Despite their (mostly unacknowledged) origin, these songs therefore meet perfectly with Erlank's notion of folk songs as growing out of the nation, as it were, which was expressed in his previously mentioned address.

[36] In this regard, it is interesting to note that no reference to musical culture is made in the *Huisgenoot* of December 1938 that commemorates the Great Trek; rather, there is only an advertisement for theatrical productions, featuring the actors Anton Ackermann and Pikkie Uys, on page 168 of this issue.

The discussion above, then, clearly indicates that the coverage of folk songs in *Die Huisgenoot* from 1924 into the 1940s, stood firmly in service of white nationalist Afrikaner ideology. Moreover, if one takes into consideration that the nationalism-enhancing Centenary Celebrations of the Great Trek took place during the latter half of 1938, it is not at all surprising that a new 'culture building' Psalm book, using the texts of Totius (who was responsible for the translation of the Bible into Afrikaans in 1933), also appeared in 1937. Indeed, a highly positive review of this endeavour by J. Dekker, in *Die Huisgenoot* of 16 July 1937, does not fail to borrow from nationalist rhetoric by viewing the Psalm book as the crowning glory, after a very important but difficult period in the life of the Afrikaner nation. Other *Huisgenoot* articles, among the approximately 20 on liturgical music featured in the magazine up to about 1950, include related discussion of the *Afrikaanse Gesangeboek* (Afrikaans Hymn Book), by G.G. Cillie; an article on how the music of the *Psalm-en Gesangeboek* was chosen, by J.V. Coetzee (22 June 1945), and an article on the *Psalm* and *Gesang* melodies, by P.K. de Villiers (19 October 1945). A highly conservative and purist approach to Calvinistic liturgical music, which displays a strong distrust of influences foreign to 'the nation', is also particularly evident in H. Kaldenberg's article, "Ons Kerkmusiek op die breë weg" (Our church music on the broad way),[37] which appeared in *Die Huisgenoot* of 6 January 1950. In this article, Kaldenberg goes so far as to condemn even the use of Handel's 'Hallelujah Chorus' in church, on the premise that it was written for the concert hall.

During the period 1946-1948, which were notably the years directly preceding and following the victory of Hertzog's National Party in the 1948 elections, a set of ten articles on musicians appeared in *Die Huisgenoot.* The dates of publication of these articles, the musicians featured, and the authors (in brackets) are as follows:

- 22 March 1946: Gladys Hugo (J.C. De.W.Steyn)
- 13 December 1946: Arnold van Wyk (Jan Bouws)
- 17 January 1947: Stefans Grové (J.H. Uys)
- 19 March 1948: Else Louwrens (Elsabé Sauer)

[37] The biblical reference in this title alludes to Matthew 7, verses 13 and 14: "Enter by the narrow gate; for wide is the gate and broad is the way that leads to destruction, and there are many who go in by it. Because narrow is the gate and difficult is the way which leads to life".

- 18 March 1949 Inge Sarauw (Juliet König)
- 8 April 1949: Mr van der Geest (M.M.Sadie)
- 24 June 1949: Arnold van Wyk (Editorial)
- 29 July 1949: Cecilia Wessels (P.du P. Snyman)
- 21 October 1949: Hendrik Susan (Jan Scannell)
- 12 May 1950: Paul Dorfling (Pierre de Villiers)

Interestingly, a number of these articles employ either overt or covert means of invoking nationalism. That is, both J. H. Uys's article on Stefans Grové, and Jan Bouws's article on Arnold van Wyk, are free of nationalistic propaganda, with the latter even concluding with the assertion that a composer creates the future, and that because of this his style should not be limited by any nationalistic expectations of the present. However, in contrast, the editorial article reporting on the *Erepenning* of the Cultural Board being conferred on Van Wyk, certainly holds him captive to future nationalistic cultural contributions. In turn, Louwrens's eulogy is *only* nationalistic in its praises for her appreciation of local art, while the article about Mr van der Geest primarily rejoices over his newly acquired citizenship, and what his legacy – in the person of his son – could mean for future generations.

The prominent photographs in the remainder of these articles also prompt related consideration guided by insights derived from the observations and conclusions of Stella Viljoen's "'Imagined Community': 1950s 'kiekies' of the 'volk': a study focused on the female images on 'Huisgenoot' covers of the 1950's" (2006).

Viljoen's study concerns the conflict/interplay between the globalised post-World War II demands of consumerism, mainly projected through images, and nationalistic ideology, mainly projected through text. Drawing on a dichotomy suggested by Andreas Huysen, which places the male in the public domain and the female in the private domain[38], and which associates the male with high culture and the female with low or popular culture, Viljoen shows how the media of

[38] This gendered public/private dichotomy is underscored by Michael Drewett in his article "Battling over Borders: Narratives of Resistance to the Border War Voiced through Popular Music" (2003: 88), in which he employs "'the border' as a trope for situating ideological and political contests arising out of the border war and conscription into the South African Defence Force" (2003:78).

the 1950s promoted post-war economic progress by employing magazine images intent on maximizing the consumer potential of housewives. According to Viljoen's study, a tension between idealism and profit, which subsequently "played out on the covers of *Die Huisgenoot* in the 1950's, situated the magazine at the point of intersection faced by the Afrikaner community between a vernacular politics of identity and a secular, globalised paradigm" (2006:27).

In terms of this, the placing of the female within the private domain, in service of her family/nation as a 'mother of the nation' (Brink 2008: 7), was as crucial to Afrikaner nationalist propaganda, as was a defiant 'self-other' demarcation that prompted scepticism towards 'the other'. Prior allusion to analogous *volksmoeder* imagery has described how pivotal notions of heteronormativity – framed within the context of the pastorate – were to the forging of nationalism. Both these propaganda-bearing elements may be found in the articles on Gladys Hugo and Cecilia Wessels.

On the one hand, a 'mother of the nation' status is secured for Hugo through the introductory paragraph of the article devoted to her. This paragraph contains the rationalisation that the availability of home appliances enables the modern woman to develop herself, and thereby to enter the world in which her husband functions but without neglecting her calling as housewife and mother of the future generation. In both articles, accounts of the careers of these 'mothers of the nation' within the 'masculine' public domain of high art are subsequently 'justified' by including their favourite recipes, and through ample references to their domestic skills – proof that they are not neglecting their true calling. On the other hand, in Wessels's article, the domestic references are accompanied by photographs of her busying herself in the kitchen and arranging flowers.

Hugo's 'mother of the nation' status is strengthened by an accompanying photograph of her wearing a *Voortrekker* bonnet, suggesting that she remains an untarnished Afrikaner *volksmoeder*, despite exotic artistic pursuits in 'foreign' Italy. Similarly, the article on Wessels keeps the threatening foreign 'other' at bay by describing at length her unpretentious nature, despite 18 overseas trips. The title of the article, "Vrystaatse Boernooi het deur haar stem faam vir Suid-Afrika verwerf" (Free State Farm Girl Achieved fame for South Africa with her voice), also

attributes a greater, nationalistic purpose to her musical endeavours. However, despite the overt nationalistic leanings of both articles, it is nevertheless interesting to note how both the strong use of photographs, and the references to the crockery and furniture collections of these sopranos, seem to point to the increasing tension between text-driven ideological concerns and image-driven profit concerns in *Die Huisgenoot.* Consumerism is also evidently at play in the introductory paragraph of Hugo's article, through the suggestion that modern appliances afford one the luxury of self-improvement.

The use of the image for ideological purposes,[39] as observed above, is not at odds with Viljoen's study, although she suggests a strong association of the image with consumerism. In fact, her study points to the tension – and even the occasional fissure – between idealism/the public domain/high art, and profit/the private domain/low art on the 1950s covers of the magazine[40]. She also acknowledges the nationalistic use of images of statesmen and monuments on earlier covers. Viljoen additionally points at public/private ambivalence inherent in the use of private snapshots of readers as magazine covers, commenting on the propagandistic potential inherent in images of exclusively ''white readers'' pictured against South African landscapes. She indicates how these images have the potential to conjure up a sense of membership to an 'imaged community' of white Afrikaners. This imagined (white Afrikaner) community does, of course, have South Africa with its great natural beauty as home. Hence nature also becomes politicised (2006:20).

It is to this 'imagined', politicised white ownership of nature, and, by implication, of the farmstead, that I wish to turn now, by considering both the image- and text-driven nationalism inherent in the *Huisgenoot* articles on Inge Sarauw, Paul Dorfling and Hendrik Susan. An allusion

[39] Which is, of course, in Nietzschean terms, associated with the form-giving and self-other demarcating Apollonian orientation (Megill 1985:39).

[40] In this regard, Froneman points at a period in the early 1950s when advertisements served as front covers for the magazine and highlights the particularly poor taste, and awkard merger between patriotism and consumerism, displayed by the Van Riebeeck Festival edition of the magazine on 7 March 1952. An illustration of Jan Van Riebeeck, who founded a halfway station for the *Dutch East Indian Company* at the Cape in 1652, graced this cover. It was, however, accompanied by a caption which linked Van Riebeeck with *Rembrandt van Rijn*, a cigarette brand named after the Dutch painter, in the following way: "Jan van Riebeeck and Rembrandt van Riijn were contemporaries. Both form part of our tradition. Van Riebeeck appears on our bank notes and Rembrandt on our cigarettes" (2004: 71). (See Addendum, Figure 10 for a photograph of my paternal grandfather at the Van Riebeeck Festival in 1952).

to pure and simple farm life (as part of the imagined Afrikaner community), is readily found in the article on Paul Dorfling, who as a violin maker practised his craft with a pocket-knife. The very vivid ensuing description of this barefoot, pipe-smoking craftsman, clad in a khaki shirt and shorts, additionally conjures up the image of an unpretentious farm boy who is nevertheless possessed by immense talent. Following this, the article on Sarauw, a German opera singer who settled in South Africa in 1939 and went on to become a chicken farmer, romanticises the pre-World War II 'glory days' of Germany, the 'blood and soil' rhetoric of which informed Hitler's nationalistic propaganda, and resulted in characterisation of the South African landscape along similar lines, which accordingly attracted Sarauw. In turn, Hendrik Susan was an acclaimed *boere-orkes* leader and violinist, who started his music career in Lourenço Marques and Salisbury (now Bulawayo) in the 1920s, before returning to South Africa to play in hotels and dance halls. After placing his music career on hold between 1929 and 1932, in order to farm, he returned to the music world in 1933, to make his first recording for Columbia. In collaboration with Gideon de Waal, Susan modernised the *boeremusiek*[41] sound – previously characterised by banjo, concertina and violin – by adding instruments like the piano, saxophone, and electric guitar (Van der Merwe 2019:49-50). In the 1949 article, for which he was interviewed on his newly acquired farm, the mildly derogatory references to farm labourers soon make way for highly derogatory humour, based on the perceived ignorance of a farm worker who cannot distinguish a violin from a guitar. Use of deeply racist terms occurs throughout, and strong lines are drawn between the white and non-white inhabitants of the farm, with photographs only including the former. The title of the article, "Strykstok bou 'n plaas: Boerehart van Hendrik Susan hunker na Haarlem" also suggests that the core of Afrikanership lies in being a farmer at heart. Through such means, the God-fearing, Calvinistic status of this farmer is also implied, by emphasising that Susan's acquisition of his farm was the hard-won consequence of his indefatigable labour. Reference to the immense hospitality of farmers then concludes the essentialising construct. Interestingly, the pull of consumerism to which Viljoen refers, is also palpable in this article in both (i) the ample references to modern home appliances and farming equipment, and ii) the fact that Susan, unlike

[41] Froneman defines *Boeremusiek* as "a genre of mostly white Afrikaans instrumental folk music primarily intended to accompany social dancing" (2012:55).

the artists covered in *Die Huisgenoot* thus far, belonged mainly to the genre of contemporary music/mass culture.

The above thus points increasingly to the demands of consumer culture, especially in the articles on Gladys Hugo, Cecilia Wessels, and Hendrik Susan, and the corresponding influence of mass culture began to be felt more and more by *Die Huisgenoot* during the 1950s, as suggested by the previous references to Viljoen's study. In this regard, Viljoen quotes Spies as explaining, in "Tydskrifte in 'n ander wêreld" (Magazines in another world), that *Die Huisgenoot* started to lose its readership from the 1950s onwards, since it was increasingly experienced as "too distant, too exclusive, too set on dignity and good taste and intellectual curiosity, too formal" (1992:353 in 2006:26). All these attributes may, of course, be traced back to its origin as an educational tool within a nationalistic context. But the main reason for the sharp drop in its sales may be attributed to the fact that its reader profile changed dramatically during the 1960s, mainly due to urbanisation and the sharpened exposure to mass media that urban life provided. As Hugo points out, whereas there were only about half a million Afrikaners in the cities in 1936, 1.5 million Afrikaners had urbanised by 1961 (2009:134). And for these people, educational articles gradually paled into insignificance in comparison to the allure of the cinema, and from the 1970s onward, television.

A dramatic drop in readership numbers attributed to these factors prompted, and also resulted, in a conscious image shift within the magazine during the 1970s,[42] towards a more populist, profit-driven orientation. Chapter 1 dwelt briefly on this shift, and on the related change in name to *Huisgenoot*, with the editor in charge of this 'make-over' being Niel Hammann, who took over the reins of the magazine as editor in 1978, and who managed to raise the sales from 140 000 to 500 000 magazines per week within six years (https://www.litnet.co.za/huisgenoot-tydgenoot-n-mediageskiedkundige-kroniek-van-n-tydskrif-skrif-van-sy-tyd/). In short, his recipe for such

[42] Viewed within a broader context, both the change in *Die Huisgenoot's* reader profile, and its subsequent adoption of a more populist approach, should not be dissociated from the British premier Margaret Thatcher's neoliberal turn in the 1970s. In short, the neoliberal system of capitalist organisation, driven by exploitative and competitive labour relations, and characterised by financialisation and debt creation, in many ways "signalled…the abandonment of the law of value, with its…claim that the socially necessary labour required to produce commodities was also the objective means of their value" (Davidson 2010:5).

success, in accordance with the attributes 'seen' to be associated with mass culture in Viljoen's study, included a preference for photographs at the expense of text, in order to compete with the aggressively visual approach of television (Viljoen 2006: 26). The decision was also taken to feed off of the 'competitor', as it were, by devoting covers and articles to television personalities (Hugo 2009:134), including contemporary Afrikaans artists. This tendency was neatly reflected in the placement of contemporary Afrikaans singers on *Huisgenoot's* cover, with some of the artists who subsequently graced the cover of the magazine including the likes of Sonja Herholdt (17 August 1978, 30 November 1978, 17 August 1979, 13 September 1979), Carike Keuzenkamp (23 December 1977, 7 July 1978, 15 March 1979, 13 September 1979, April 1983, September 1983), Mynie Grové (8 March 1979, 3 December 1983), Laurika Rauch (11 October 1979), Patricia Lewis (March 1990) and Steve Hofmeyr (5 Covers before 1994). Interestingly, Hamman openly justified the shift in direction by claiming that it *had* to be accepted that most *Huisgenoot* readers were women, and that the content of the magazine consequently *had* to be adapted accordingly (Viljoen 2006:27). This statement thus clearly relates to Viljoen's study, through its implicit suggestion that women are more likely than men to be at home (Viljoen's "private space"), watching television, and buying populist magazines and hence are more susceptible to popular – as opposed to high – culture.

Another ground-breaking event in (what was now) *Huisgenoot's* history, occurred in September 1987, with the establishment of its English counterpart, the equally populist *You* magazine (Hugo 2009:134). It is reasonable to assume that the combination of an image-driven populist approach, and close association with a similarly tailored English publication, from this point onward started to weaken *Huisgenoot's* potential to serve as a vehicle for nationalistic ideology, although this hypothesis will be explored in greater detail. This hypothesis is also supported by how, despite the radically oppositional stance that Kerkorrel (Ralph Rabie) and his fellow *Voëlvry* musicians took against Afrikaner Nationalism, the *Huisgenoot* issue of 20 April 1989 contained an article entitled "Rock en rol saam met Johannes Kerkorrel" (Rock and Roll with Johannes Kerkorrel).

3.2 An Overview of the Period 1994-2010

To contextualise the place of *Huisgenoot* within the post-1994 South African media landscape, changes regarding the affiliations of *Naspers*, the publisher of *Huisgenoot* since its formation, require attention.

To begin with, the inability of the National Party – a close ally of *Naspers* – to represent strong capital during the post-apartheid era, prompted *Naspers* to loosen its ties with the latter, and hence with sources of capital linked exclusively to the Afrikaner. Consequently in 1996/97, *Naspers* formed new firms and sold shares to black businesses in a process described by Ton Vosloo – its managing director – as the giving of its 'inheritance' to black interests for moral and practical reasons (Hugo 2009:130).

On a political level, this meant that *Naspers* exchanged its official association with the National Party, and correlatively with the advancement of Afrikaner Nationalism, for overt and thorough participation in the transformation process, towards the ends of the new inclusive South African democracy in 1994, as enshrined in the new constitution of 1996. In future, Afrikaans would still enjoy *legal* protection, but only as one of the eleven official languages; however, the position of assured representation in the media that Afrikaans had previously experienced, was certainly compromised from this point on (Ibid:130).

On an economic level, it nevertheless remained beneficial for Afrikaans publications to find themselves in the *Naspers* 'stable', due to the monopoly that this company now represented, and its consequent ability to assist battling publications through cross-subsidisation. However, as many of the assets of the globalising media-company lay outside the borders of the country, there was little assurance that a publication representative of a relatively minor cultural group would receive economic priority during difficult times. Within its current incarnation, *Naspers* also tends to position similarly-oriented magazines – in particular those focused on women, life style, health and the outdoors, which are susceptible to competition between advertisers for the attention of affluent readers – in neighbouring market segments. And the resulting pressure to attract advertisers through circulation figures unavoidably encourage commercialisation, rather

than any cultural deepening, in the sense of developing discernment regarding artistic appreciation among readers (Hugo 2009:131-132).

As early as 1984, *Naspers* also acquired *Drum Publications*, the publisher of *City Press, Drum* and *True Love and Family.* Within the post-1994 context, *Drum Magazine* was added to the *Huisgenoot*/*You* family as a third sister. These magazines came to fall under the auspices of *Media24,* the printing media 'arm' of *Naspers* (https://www.litnet.co.za/huisgenoot-tydgenoot-n-mediageskiedkundige-kroniek-van-n-tydskrif-skrif-van-sy-tyd/), which controls *Naspers's* newspaper and magazine publishing and printing activities, together with the internet activities of the 24.com collection of web portals (https://www.media24.com/). Moving momentarily beyond the time frame of the immediate discussion, it is worth noting that, according to the sales figures of South Africa's Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC) during the third quarter of 2019, *Huisgenoot* sold 174 384 copies a week, *You* 85 402 and *Drum* 26 305 (https://www.bizcommunity.com/Article/196/39/197579.html). However, the general decline in magazine sales reflected by the ABC figures of the second quarter of 2020 shows *Huisgenoot* selling 147 917 copies a week, *You* 71 607 and *Drum* 17 162. (https://www.bizcommunity.com/Article/196/39/207180.html). This sharp general decline in magazine sales – which may largely be attributed to the Covid 19 pandemic resulted in the Media24 decision to close certain magazine portfolios, to outsource others or to reduce the annual frequency of publication. Although the portfolio of *Drum* was not closed, it will henceforth only exist in digital format (https://businesstech.co.za/news/media/414139/media24-announces-magazine-and-newspaper-closures-more-jobs-affected/).

Whereas *Drum* is mainly aimed at black readers, *You* has a demographically diverse South African English speaking readers' base and *Huisgenoot* is aimed at Afrikaans-speaking readers. According to the 2018 General Household Survey, Afrikaans is the home language of 61.2 percent white, 77.4 percent coloured and 0.9 percent black South Africans (https://www.southafricanmi.com/sa-language-ghs-28may2019.html). Hence one could hypothesise that the readership of *Huisgenoot* today mainly consists of white and coloured South Africans.

Having contextualised the altered political and economic position of *Naspers* (and by implication of *Huisgenoot*) within the post-1994 South Africa, I return to a focus on the coverage that Afrikaans music enjoyed in the magazine directly after 1994. As the populist orientation adopted for the magazine in 1978 had been both maintained and strengthened, the music under discussion is, invariably, contemporary in orientation.

After 1994, the state was no longer the guardian and main promoter of Afrikaans music. However, despite reduced SABC[43] coverage, the Afrikaans music market experienced unprecedented growth. A comparison of the 2006 market shares of *Select Music*, a record company specialising in Afrikaans music, and EMI, a local affiliate of an international corporation, offers a clear indication of this boom within the Afrikaans music industry: while EMI had the biggest share of 27%, *Select* was a close runner-up with 21.4% (Hugo 2009:124).

Such growth might, at least in part, be attributed to the post-1994 blossoming of annual Afrikaans Art Festivals throughout the country. The first of these were the *Klein Karoo National Festival* (KKNK) in Oudshoorn, and *Oppikoppi,* close to Northam in the Limpopo Province, which were both initiated in 1994. Whereas the focus of the exclusively music oriented *Oppikoppi* has gradually extended beyond Afrikaans rock to the inclusion of a diverse range of South African music styles (https://theconversation.com/over-21-years-the-oppikoppi-music-festival-has-come-to-embrace-south-africas-diversity-45465), KKNK covers multiple Afrikaans art forms and had proved so successful during the first ten years of its existence that its ticket sales escalated from 30 314 to almost 200 000 (Giliomee 2018: 234). In turn, 1998 saw the development of the *Aardklop Festival* in Potchefstroom (Young 2011:149) and, subsequently, *Innibos* was initiated in Nelspruit, *Anibrand* in Uitenhage, and the *Namaqua Festival* in Vredendal. One could speculate about what led to the development of these festivals. Perhaps they stemmed from a celebration of freedom and creative potential after subjugation by the severe artistic censorship that had accompanied Afrikaner Nationalism during the apartheid days? Perhaps the loss of a protected pre-1994 identity prompted (white) Afrikaners to cluster together in defiant search of a new cultural identity? Or perhaps an interplay of these possible causes occurred? Regardless,

[43] South African Broadcasting Corporation

constant exposure to contemporary Afrikaans artists at these newly developed festivals generated enthusiasm for contemporary Afrikaans music, and increasing loyalty to the artists on the part of the growing fan bases.

In 2000, *Huisgenoot* had a small stage at the KKNK (Atson 2016: 135), but through its concerts and *musiekplase* (music farms) – which amount to tents with stages where festival goers may listen to continuous music at a minimal cost – *Huisgenoot* subsequently contributed immensely to the success of Afrikaans musicians at all the festivals mentioned above. Moreover, the intense involvement of *Huisgenoot* with contemporary Afrikaans music is not restricted to Arts Festivals. *Huisgenoot Skouspel,* which is currently held annually in both Cape Town and Johannesburg, constitutes a spectacular showcasing of contemporary Afrikaans music. On 7 October 2000, the first *Huisgenoot Skouspel* concert was held at Sun City (Van Zyl 2016:138), while 2003 was the first year in which two *Skouspel* concerts were held, which in 2004 was extended to the staging of three concerts, and eventually to the staging of seven, held over two weekends in October (https://www.litnet.co.za/huisgenoot-magazine-time-media-historical-chronicle-magazine-evergreen-one-hundred-years/).

In 2007 *Huisgenoot* did not shy away from controversy by offering coverage to Bok van Blerk whose song "De La Rey"[44] was deemed contentious for its veiled suggestion of a yearning for white Afrikaner revolt against the ANC-government. In this regard, the intent of "De La Rey" was debated in the *Huisgenoot* of 15 February 2007, with Van Blerk denying the song's perceived political innuendos. Not only did Van Blerk subsequently become a regularly featured artist in the magazine; he also received no fewer than three *Huisgenoot Tempo* awards – acknowledging achievement in the fields of contemporary Afrikaans entertainment – for his debut album, of which "De La Rey" is the title track, at the end of 2007 (https://www.bokvanblerk.co.za/bio/).

The first issue of the short-lived *Huisgenoot Tempo,* a quarterly music magazine, was released in 2008, and Juanita du Plessis – the first Afrikaans singer to sell more than 1 million units – received a special *Tempo* award (Roggeband 2012: 25). The *Tempo* of 29 May 2009 also proved remarkable with regard to musical diversity. While it featured Kurt Darren, the 'king' of formulaic

[44] The video to this song may be accessed at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2VtFHfRRvfU

music, on the cover, it also included articles about the twentieth anniversary of the *Voëlvry* Tour and the Bellville Rock Movement, spearheaded by *Fokofpolisiekar.* This band provided, and still provides, an uncomfortable critical reflection of the post-1994 Afrikaner identity experience and will receive further related consideration in this thesis in due course. Moreover, in terms of the history of Afrikaans music, *Huisgenoot* released a noteworthy compilation of Afrikaans hits, entitled *90 Jaar van Afrikaanse Musiek*, in 2010, which consisted of three compact discs. In the same year *Huisgenoot* also extended its involvement with Arts Festivals to the founding of the *Hart van Windhoek* (*Heart of Windhoek)* Festival.

Such brand-extending musical involvement, especially since the 2000s, has been accompanied by a marked increase in the coverage of contemporary Afrikaans music within *Huisgenoot* magazine itself, both through reviews and through articles about the music and/or lives of artists. Being part of *Media24* has also meant that *Huisgenoot* has an indirect affiliation with *kykNET*, an Afrikaans television channel, and with MK (previously MK 89), a music channel specialising in Afrikaans music, both of which are linked to DSTV (Hugo 2009:125).

3.3 2011 Onwards

From 2011 onwards, *Huisgenoot* has continued its increasingly active involvement with Afrikaans Arts Festivals by extending its *musiekplase* to the *Worcester Show*, which was discontinued in 2014.(https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/worcester-standard/20200130/281638192182530). Similarly, the *Huisgenoot Musiekvaart* (Musical Boat Trip) was initiated, a *Huisgenoot* Song Writing Competition took place in 2012, and the *Huisgenoot Gospel Skouspel* came into being. Beyond this, a separate event for the handing over of *Huisgenoot Tempo* awards – formerly presented at *Skouspel* – was initiated (https://themediaonline.co.za/2013/07/briefly-all-the-winners-of-the-huisgenoot-tempo-awards), and the 2015 *Huisgenoot Super-Skouspel* set the bar high for future events, by featuring Susan Boyle – runner-up of *Britain's Got Talent* – as a guest artist (Van Zyl 2016:139).

Huisgenoot's increasing use of digital platforms (Huisgenoot se Facebook gemeenskap nou 200 000 sterk. http://mrtrtku.blogspot.com/2019/04/huisgenoot-inhoud-geskiedenis-digitale.html) which includes an iPad edition, an e-magazine on Zinio, a website, a mobi site, an iPhone

application, a Facebook Page and a Twitter Page, along with a YouTube Channel and recourse to Mxit, also stand to enable it to promote Afrikaans music even more effectively into the future. The same may be said of the magazine's implementation of an interactive tool, utilising Microsoft Tag technology, which enables readers, for example, to watch videos by scanning a picture or a barcode-like tag printed in the magazine (Hofmeister 2011: 5). In fact, in 2017 this increasing use of digital platforms even led to the decision that *Tempo* winners would no longer be announced at one event, attended by only a handful of people, but rather countrywide, in October, on Huisgenoot.com (https://www.news24.com/channel/Music/News/huisgenoot-tempo-awards-changing-things-up-this-year-20170921).

My study of *Huisgenoot* magazine covers during the period 2011-2015, as reflected in the table below, underlines the prominence given to Afrikaans music. As indicated, 60% of the covers feature contemporary Afrikaans musicians, either as main focal points or inserts, on an annual basis. *Huisgenoot* therefore clearly views contemporary Afrikaans music as an important component of the Afrikaner's life, and hence as a theme likely to be profitable:

Figure 1:

***Huisgenoot* covers featuring contemporary Afrikaans musicians, either as main focal point or insert (2011-2015)**			
Year	**Number of Copies**	**Number of covers featuring Afrikaans musicians**	**Percentage of copies featuring musicians on cover**
2011	48	28	58%
2012	51	35	69%
2013	50	29	58%
2014	52	26	51%
2015	49	32	65%
Average percentage of copies featuring musicians on covers: 60.2%			

Having mentioned the role that cultural festivals[45] played in the development of Afrikaans music, one needs to take note of concerns regarding the long-term effects that these festivals are seen to have on the *quality* of such music. And it *does* seem as if the blame for a perceived drop in the quality of the creative musical output at Afrikaans cultural festivals may, at least in part, be ascribed to the influence of *Huisgenoot.*

I initially experienced KKNK and *Aardklop* as vibrant events, which placed emphasis on 'live' musical performances by creative new Afrikaans artists. It does, however, appear as if the focus of many festival organisers has shifted to a prioritisation of *Naspers* sponsorship, as reflected in the increased presence of media tents – belonging to *Huisgenoot* and *kykNET*, or to newspapers like *Die Burger* or *Rapport* – at their festivals. Whereas a few Afrikaans 'music stars' like Kurt Darren or Steve Hofmeyr are typically hired as drawcards, the remainder of the entertainment is provided by singers who use backtracks as accompaniment and for whom the opportunity of a performance platform arguably outweighs concerns over remuneration. As these tents offer continuous, free entertainment in one venue, there is little motivation for festival goers to pay entrance fees for more aesthetically driven performances by independent artists in neighbouring tents. In the process the artistic credibility of the Afrikaans festival is bound to be compromised, as is the opportunity it might otherwise have afforded young, unknown artists outside of the mainstream to receive the exposure and critical reception they need.

My perceptions in this regard are largely underscored by the following lyrics of the rock group *Kobus*!

> Ons is gyselaars in een groot kultuurfeestent
> *We are hostages in one big cultural festival tent*
>
> Word vermaak deur mense met meer selfvertoue as talent.
> *Entertained by people with more self-confidence than talent.*

[45] Regarding cultural festivals, it is interesting to note that Elizabeth Schoombee's master's dissertation on *Huisgenoot* refers to an article by the editor in a *Huisgenoot* of 1921, about a particularly successful *Kermis* (Carnival/Bazaar) in Stellenbosch. He states that the institutionalising of this *Kermis* as a regular event could result in a perpetuation of the Dutch *Kermisgees* (carnavalesque atmosphere), and of the old Stellenbosch *Kermisgees* dating back to Van der Stel, such that an event of this nature would fulfil the national need for healthy entertainment, within a context where the proceeds stay in the country to serve a useful purpose (1924: 127, 128).

Elke Jan Rap en sy maat het 'n CD op die rak.
Every Tom, Dick and Harry has a CD on the shelf.

Ons verstik aan al die 'treffers' hoe belaglik of hoe swak…
We are choking on weak, ridiculous hits…)
(Hugo 2009:125)

What this seems to indicate is that a quest for profit on the part of the media and cultural festival managers, is increasingly favouring what is largely perceived as safe, crowd-pleasing formulaic musical mediocrity, at the expense of potentially less financially lucrative but more sophisticated artistic expression. This is regrettable when one considers how *Huisgenoot* magazine had previously supported the revolutionising creative efforts of the *Voëlvry* Movement in 1989, had paid homage to Kerkorrel after his suicide, within the issue of 21 November 2002, and had covered both the *Voëlvry* Tour and *Fokofpolisiekar* in one edition of *Huisgenoot Tempo* magazine, as mentioned earlier.

Whatever the deciding factors determining *Huisgenoot* musical coverage may be, it is nevertheless of concern that artists who strive to re-establish an exclusive pre-1994 'Afrikaner pride', and who can even be understood as inciting aggressive revolt against the perceived current 'oppression' of the Afrikaner, enjoy wide coverage in *Huisgenoot*. In this regard, reference has already been made to the music of Bok van Blerk (Louis Pelser) in the previous section of this chapter, and it is to this issue that we now return.

Van Blerk's previously mentioned, "De La Rey" resuscitates general Koos de la Rey, a hero of the Anglo-Boer War, in a renewed call for strong Afrikaner leadership. Despite Van Blerk's protestations about veiled references to post-1994 socio-political issues facing the Afrikaner, Kitchener aptly points at "a whole series of displacements" in the song. "Because it can't sing about 1994 when the Boers lost 'their' country yet again, the action is shifted back a hundred years to the battle lost against the Brits. The song refers to them only as 'die kakies'[46]: the enemy, in other words, becomes a people 'of colour' – of brown colour, *nogal* – who are ''n hele groot

[46] During the Anglo-Boer War/Great South African War the *Boere* referred to the British soldiers as the *kakies*, because of their khaki uniforms.

mag teen 'n handjie van ons' (a great force against a handful of us). The implied, contemporary enemy that outnumbers the Afrikaner is of course another people 'of colour', though of a darker shade of brown" (https://www.noseweek.co.za/article/1432/De-la-Rey-under-analysis). The use of a male chorus[47], that supports the resistance-advocating lyrics of "De La Rey", is notably also present in Van Blerk's 2014 hit, "Steek die Vure Aan" (Light the Fires)[48], which was nominated as the '2014 *Huisgenoot Tempo* Song of the Year'. The music and lyrics may be heard against the backdrop of a slideshow featuring the 'old' South African flag and images of white soldiers, presumably drawn from the South African Border War. Furthermore, the title of the album from which this song is taken, "Land van Melk en Heuning" (Land of Milk and Honey), suggests association with the biblical 'Promised Land' of the Israelites and, in turn, with the Voortrekkers, who identified closely with the Israelites during the Great Trek (Giliomee 2018:52).

Whereas Van Blerk's "De La Rey" initiated a call for a strong leader amongst the Afrikaners in South Africa today, Steve Hofmeyr appears to consider himself as the answer to this call. As previously mentioned, this actor, turned singer and writer is known for his divisive statements, such as the following from his book *Jêmbekseep*, which reflects a belief in the inherent superiority of the Afrikaner that is, in many ways, reminiscent of the architects of Apartheid: "I am a the-hell-in member of the most under-estimated tribe in Africa'.[49]

Frequently controversial, the charismatic Hofmeyr often uses his celebrity status as a platform to speak out against issues such as farm murders, an issue which also serves as the underlying theme of his song "Ons sal dit Oorleef" (We shall Survive). Relatedly, though, in 2014, wide media coverage followed his leading of both local and (emigrant) Australian audiences, comprised exclusively of white Afrikaners, in singing "Die Stem van Suid-Afrika" (The Call of South Africa), the anthem of apartheid South Africa in its original version. And in the wake of this incident,

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[47] James Phillips used this male chorus, revived by Van Blerk, to ironic effect in the attacks that his protest songs launched against the Afrikaner Pastorate of the 1980s. A notable example is the laconic "Ja, Ja, Ja" (Yeah, Yeah, Yeah) chorus of his anti-conscription song "Hou My Vas, Korporaal" (Hold Me Close, Corporal), which was employed to mock blind adherence to the chauvinism underpinning Afrikaner society (Jury 1996: 103).

[48] The video to this song may be accessed at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1EGQdex7BiY.

[49] Own translation.

which prompted the EFF[50] to call for the scrapping of those portions of the old anthem incorporated into the current anthem merger with "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrica", Hofmeyr not only appeared on the cover of *Huisgenoot* of 21 August 2014,[51] but the magazine also featured an inconclusive, non-committal article exploring the mixed views that prominent Afrikaners held on Hofmeyr. [52]

Subsequent to this, 2019 proved a particularly controversial year for Hofmeyr, in the wake of photographs showing him against the backdrop of apartheid-era South African flags. In March, many prominent sponsors withdrew from the *Classics is Groot* concert in the Grand West Casino in Cape Town, due to Hofmeyr's presence in the line-up. *Huisgenoot* was, significantly, one of the sponsors that withdrew. Then, in April 2019, controversy again followed Hofmeyr when *Multichoice* announced that they would, in future, ban any material including him, after which, in May, *MultiChoice* went on to threaten the *kykNET Ghoema* Music Awards with the loss of sponsorship if they did not to drop the song "Die Land" from their nominee lists. In this regard, *Multichoice* objected to the fact that the song features Hofmeyr, alongside the artists Bobby van Jaarsveld, Jay du Plessis, Ruhan du Toit and Bok van Blerk. In a statement Jo Heshu, *Multichoice's* group executive for corporate affairs, gave the organisation's commitment "to the building of a non-racial society" and its strong condemnation of "any acts of discrimination", as the reason for its objection to the song associated with Hofmeyr [https://www.dailysun.co.za/News/National/dstv-bans-steve-hofmeyer-20190430].
Interestingly, the *Huisgenoot* article following this debacle featured in an edition with Steve Hofmeyr on its cover. Moreover, taking its cue from the title of the controversial song, the edition also features a debate structured around the hopes and fears that a number of celebrities, including Hofmeyr, have for the country (*die land*) on the eve of the general elections. [53]

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[50] Economic Freedom Front
[51] An article on the most regular *Huisgenoot* 'cover faces' in the issue of 26 May 2016, commemorating the centennial celebration of the magazine, indicates that Hofmeyr had, up to that point, graced the cover 25 times.
[52] Admittedly a *Huisgenoot* article on 10 November 2014, in response to the lawsuit between Steve Hofmeyr and the ventriloquist Conrad Kock / Chester Missing, proved more overtly critical of Hofmeyr's divisive actions. However, this stance is arguably in tension with an advertisement of the book *Steve Hofmeyr 50*, on page 4 of the same issue.
[53] On 20 June 2019, the ANC also laid a charge of crimen injuria against Hofmeyr, following his Twitter response to Phumzile van Damme, DA Member of Parliament, and the since diseased Zindzi Mandela, South African Ambassador to Denmark. Van Damme punched a young man during a racial incident at the V@A Waterfront and Mandela

Despite the fleeting inclusion of a few non-white faces within its music video, the song "Die Land" also appears rather divisive, particularly in its association with the issues regarding land distribution in the country. The impending interpretation of "Die Land" will elaborate further on the manifestations of identity constructs perceived within this song. In turn, the 2011 Hofmeyr / Van Blerk duet "Bring als wat jy het" (Give it all that you've got / Bring it On) – from the soundtrack of the film *Platteland* – is particularly confrontational, in that the 'enemy', who thinks he can 'move us out of here', is taunted and warned that 'our will is our law'.

Interestingly, on the one hand, "De La Rey", "Steek die Vure Aan", "Bring als wat jy het" and "Ons sal dit oorleef" are all carefully framed within contexts that refrain from addressing the current situation of the Afrikaner in South Africa directly. That is, at face value "De la Rey" is a song about a Boer general at the time of the Anglo-Boer War, "Steek die Vure Aan" seemingly associates itself with the South African Border War (1966-1990), and "Bring al's wat jy het" is sung by the antagonist in the above-mentioned film. Similarly, the music video of "Ons sal dit Oorleef" also frames the song within an Anglo-Boer War setting. Yet, on the other hand, it is surprisingly easy to apply many 'loaded' lines within the lyrics of all four songs directly to the post-1994 fall of apartheid rule, and subsequent perceived victimisation of the Afrikaner.

The same could, perhaps, be said of the catchy, and at first glance seemingly innocuous "Seerower" (Pirate) by Kurt Darren, the singer-heartthrob previously mentioned in association with formulaic dance tunes. "Seerower", which also received a 2014 *Huisgenoot Tempo* nomination as 'Song of the Year', uses snatches from the refrain of 'Hier's ek weer' (Here I Am Again), a well-known Afrikaans folk song, in its chorus. Darren was, at the time of the song's release, wearing an eye-patch due to an injury incurred in a car accident, and hence it is 'reasonable' to assume that the pirate subject matter had merely been contrived to render him a convincing leading man in the very light-hearted video accompanying the song. But given the apparent light-heartedness of the video, it is rather surprising that the lyrics, when viewed in

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tweeted that apartheid apologists' time was over and that they would not rule again. Hofmeyr's response reads as follows: 'I'm a South African tax-paying citizen. Effectively I AM your boss. You WILL jump when I say so and you WILL ask how high. And when you come to take our lives and land, you WILL die. Our contract is that simple. And don't you forget it.' (https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/anc-lays-criminal-charge-against-steve-hofmeyr-for-death-threat-aimed-at-zindzi-mandela-van-damme-20190624.

isolation, allow for easy association with the Afrikaner experience of marginalisation, and may even be seen to allude to violent crime as a pervasive problem in South Africa. For example, reference is made to 'standing with one's back against the wall / the sea', to being 'knocked over the head repeatedly', to being 'caught by the dark', and to 'fighting this war alone'. The pirate is warned that the protagonist will come again, that his days on this ship are over, and that his flag will be replaced. Similarly, easy association with Afrikaner-culture is ensured through the effective use of an Afrikaans folk song. In this regard, the important role of folk songs in the formation of an instant Afrikaner culture during the drive for Afrikaner-nationalism in the 1930s and 40s – as discussed earlier – appears to have taken on a new significance in this song.

Furthermore, a proliferation of supposedly random references both to war and to being a *Boer* abound in the lighter, more dance-oriented work of other artists recognised by *Huisgenoot*, such as the boy band *Adam* ("Sal Oorlog Maak vir Jou"), the 'Gerhard Steyn / Anaïs' duet ("Liefdesoorlog"), and the group Elvis se Seun ("BoereRock"). These musical offerings all received 2014 *Huisgenoot Tempo* nominations. But whereas the perception of 'the other' as a threat and the corresponding hankering after the 'essence' of the Afrikaner, which emerges through attempts to resuscitate Anglo-Boer War ideals, are overt in the songs of Hofmeyr and Van Blerk, discussed earlier, the above musicians suggest concepts conducive to the promotion of Afrikaner-identity constructs in such a light-hearted manner that labelling them 'promoters of closed identity' is debateable. Whether the strong reliance on melodies taken from entries for the *Eurovision Song Contest* project a (closed) Eurocentric musical vision similarly remains open to debate.

Thus, to conclude from the above that *Huisgenoot* is consciously and actively aligned with attempts at the formation of a highly conservative Afrikaner identity construct, is both premature and overly simplistic, for the reasons discussed below.

In terms of South Africa's political context, a glance at the general content of the magazine shows that, whereas critical articles on the current South African government and on perceived state corruption do appear, the legacy of Nelson Mandela is also held in high regard. In this regard, as a young journalist, Esmaré Weideman, former CEO of *Media24* and editor-in-chief of *Huisgenoot*

and its two sister magazines, *You* and *Drum,* accompanied Mandela on his first international trip after becoming president of the ANC. Moreover, Zelda le Grange, Nelson Mandela's long-time personal assistant, has been a columnist for the *Huisgenoot*-web page, while in line with this sense of socio-political openness and reconciliation, the proceeds of the 2014 *Huisgenoot Gospel Skouspel* went to 'Children in Need', an outreach programme focused on African children in Mpumalanga. In turn, the coloured (and by implication formerly marginalised) performer Emo Adams, who rose to fame with his 2007 debut album "Tall, Dark and Afrikaans", has been featuring prominently both in the *Huisgenoot* magazine and on the related *Skouspel* stage since at least 2012, while his marriage to the model Michelle Gildenhuys in 2016 also received particularly glamorous coverage in *Huisgenoot.* The death of Tant Grietjie, one of the 'Garies' artists who received recognition due to the efforts of David Kramer, was, likewise, commemorated in the *Huisgenoot* of 8 May 2014.[54] (Chapter 7 will elaborate on this article.) Admittedly, though, the previously mentioned coverage of coloured musicians / celebrities nevertheless remained very sparse, at least until about 2018, when Ishmed Davidson's appointment as CEO of *Media24* in October 2018 – upon Weideman's retirement – correlated with increasing cultural diversification within the managerial context governing *Huisgenoot's* media image. This matter will receive more focussed attention in due course.

Openness to 'traditionally marginalised' groups, such as the LGBTQI community, is also increasingly reflected in the fact that the openly homosexual performer Nataniël served as master of ceremonies at the 2013 *Huisgenoot Skouspel Extravaganza*, while a particular nod to local Afrikaans gay celebrities – albeit mostly outside of the music world – can also be found in the *Huisgenoot* of 20 December 2018. That is, not only do the homosexual couple Gert Coetzee and Vicky Visagie offer advice about Christmas decorations, but further advice about Christmas 'style' is also sought from the homosexual life-style celebrities Hannon Bothma and Aleit Swanepoel, as well as from Nataniël. The concentrated association of homosexuality with fashion/style in this issue could, of course, be interpreted as a form of stereotyping, yet at the same time the colourful four-page coverage of the homosexual Afrikaans singer Joe Foster's

[54] As earlier noted, however, David Kramer's tremendous musical efforts in 'rediscovering' the 'coloured' contributions towards Afrikaans culture generally do not receive appropriate *Huisgenoot* recognition.

marriage to Ziechfried Paul in *Huisgenoot* of 19 December 2019, which also receives mention on the front page, seems indicative of a genuine openness to difference.

Relatedly, considering the historical Calvinistic call for denial of the body, the refreshingly 'jolly' naughtiness of songs like "Naweeklyfie" (Weekend Body), which entails a duet by the *Huisgenoot* favourites Jay and Leanie May, might also be viewed as liberating in its thematisation of difference, since this song and its accompanying video could be seen as advancing the idea of a female sexual predator, a taboo concept in more traditional Afrikaner culture. The same may be said of Karlien van Jaarsveld's *Huisgenoot Tempo* nominated "Hande" (Hands) and its video. While the lyrics of "Hande" constitute a plea for a lover's caresses, the video shows Van Jaarsveld strutting provocatively through a desert landscape. Later albums by the group *Adam*, and songs such as the light pop-rock offering "Swaeltjies" (Little Swallows), by Danny Smoke, which was reviewed in the *Huisgenoot* of 8 August, prove even more suggestive – not to speak of the misogynistic nature of many party songs by Snotkop and Jack Parow, including the latter's collaboration with Justin Vega and Early B, entitled "Potte", reviewed in the *Huisgenoot* of 27 December 2018. The song "Dames (my naam is Adrianus)", which caused quite a social media stir and bestowed instant fame upon Biggie (Adrian Entwistle), is also particularly misogynistic. But as a consequence, Biggie made it to the front page of the *Huisgenoot* issue of 26 September 2019 and was interviewed in the same issue.

Subsequent engagement with both the current *Huisgenoot* discourse and the theoretical perspective steering this investigation, will allow for a reconsideration of the potential that the gestures of, and subject matter presented by, some of the artists discussed above might contribute to more 'open' or more 'closed' Afrikaner identity constructs.

In writing a transformative genealogy, the Foucauldian 'method' requires consideration of that which lies beyond the prescribed, canonical codes of behaviour (Brown 2000:65). Accordingly, this study also requires close attention to 'absences'; that is, to those artists currently not enjoying coverage in *Huisgenoot.* And in this regard, David Kramer, Gert Vlok Nel, and *Die Antwoord* are deemed particularly relevant 'absences', for the reasons set out below.

During the early 1980s, Kramer smuggled incisive political satire disguised as superficial mainstream humour, into 'respectable' Afrikaner homes, through albums like *Bakgat* and via the 'Everybody's Pal' persona used in Volkswagen advertisements. By using an Afrikaans street dialect in the lyrics of his particular brand of folk music, he also achieved a subtle critique of the dignified Afrikaner identity concepts created for the *Volk* (the Chosen Afrikaner Nation) by apartheid discourse. Often this critique lay in the disparity between staunch Afrikaner Nationalist cultural ideals and the 'reality' of people's lives, as depicted in his songs. Michael Drewett notes Andersson's perception that "Kramer used a balance between humour and solemnity to explore the value system of his characters, their taste – their dress, the way they decorate their homes, and the way they live (Andersson 1981:151 in Drewett 2002:83). He concludes that "often the point of sadness in his characters' lives would be the point of humour too" (2002:83). Later in his career, Kramer committed himself to amplifying the lost Afrikaans voices of coloured communities, thereby breaking down the distinction between *Die Volk* and *Die Volkies* [55](Slabbert & De Villiers 2011:172). This was initially done by providing a theatrical platform for the Kaapse Klopse, in collaboration with the late Taliep Pieterson, after which Kramer focused on raising awareness of the formerly muted music of communities in the Kammiesberg and Koue Bokkeveld (Bezuidenhout 2007: 14).

Another interesting and potentially transformative musical absence from *Huisgenoot* magazine is the work of Gert Vlok Nel; a lone minstrel who writes highly personal and intricately idiosyncratic material. Accordingly, Toast Coetzee's *Rolling Stone* review (2012:75) of his album *Onherroepelik* (Irrevocable), reflects a particularly Foucauldian orientation in describing Nel's music as follows: "His themes here seem small and retro at first (the 70s are so constant you could be paging through a photo album of his youth) until you realize with a shock that he could be 'unsinging' [to steal a Nel-concept] the life of a cousin of yours, half-buried in the debris of years of living – or even your own life right now." This review certainly seems to suggest that a dynamic genealogical approach might be at the helm of Nel's creative endeavours.

[55] Whereas *Die Volk* may be translated as the (white) nation, the word *Volkies* was slang for non-white farm workers during the apartheid days and may be translated as 'little folk'.

A shriller contrast to the introverted sounds of Nel than the band *Die Antwoord* could hardly be imagined, but at the same time their respective absences from *Huisgenoot* prove equally significant. Strictly speaking, *Die Antwoord* should not be considered an Afrikaans group, as apart from its Afrikaans name, and the Afrikaans roots of band member Yolandi Vi$$er, there is no direct link with Afrikaans in their music. Yet one could claim that Afrikaans is ever-present in the group's work due to its very absence, because despite their frequent recourse to English-driven slang, the delivery routinely takes place in an accentuated flat Afrikaans accent, which strengthens the already strong association with coloured gangster images in their videos. Considering the name of the group, their accent, and the coloured community's long-denied co-ownership of Afrikaans, Afrikaans is therefore ever present in their music. Their zef, or 'common but shiny' style could furthermore be perceived as a challenge to white Afrikaners, to face fears more specific to them, such as the existence of the *armblanke* (poor-white)[56] ghost largely denied by affluent Afrikaners during apartheid. After all, today, the looming fear of economic and cultural impoverishment makes this apparition particularly frightening for many. Correlatively, the group's (postured) 'proud' identification with the zef image may be seen to accept the futility of resisting an inferior position in the post-1994 South Africa. In this regard, in a 2011 interview with *NYLON TV*, Ninja explains zef as the patchwork version (the common man's version) of the stylish leather coats worn in the film *The Matrix*. This statement may be understood as serving to verify the above-mentioned futility, but it may also, on a deeper level, point to a Foucauldian-inspired acceptance of the fragmentation of notions of the self as a sovereign, undivided entity, and a concomitant embrace of the fictional, divided self who has no existence outside of the text (in this case, outside of *The Matrix*). In a more aggressive vein, *Die Antwoord's* frequent use of explosively bizarre, surreal or perverted video material (for example, in the songs "I fink you freeky" or "Fatty Boom Boom") could be perceived as an attempt at blasting carefully constructed norms into fragments. This shocking, often irrational, aspect of *Die Antwoord* allows for ready association with what Foucault – inspired by Nietzsche – perceives as contestations or transgressions, wherein the limit of discourse (the text) is reached and exceeded. Brown alludes

[56] A social phenomenon largely resulting from the Great Depression of the 1930s, along with its aftermath.

to Foucault's likening of transgression to "a flash of lightning in the night which, from the beginning of time, gives a dense and black intensity to the night it denies" (2000:67). Contrary to an acceptance of fragmentation, then, a further possibility arises, namely, to understand *Die Antwoord* as attempting to achieve an "art of existence" (Ibid); that is, an attempt at catching a glimpse of the irrational notion of incomprehensibly intense and full self-revelation beyond the limit of the text.

In "Terrorizing the Concept of Meaning – Conversations with Johan Thom" (2012), this artist, known for his 'performative' approach to the Visual Arts, seemingly echoes the quest that I ascribe to *Die Antwoord*, when he describes the purpose driving his artistic endeavours. Problematising the hierarchies of Truth created by 'authorities' in, amongst others, the spiritual, economic and political realms, he perceives his function as one of creating *doubts* that may offer a glimpse at other possibilities.

The purpose underpinning my journey in the subsequent creation of an investigative text is similar: Its quest to uncover messages adhering to more 'open' and more 'closed' Afrikaner identity constructs, among the songs of those Afrikaans singers covered in *Huisgenoot*, includes the ambition to give voice to absent songs, and to the truth-bearing potential of their hidden messages. This hope, premised on the concern to generate a dialogical problematising process, and connected to the autoethnographic component of this thesis, extends to a yearning for my own transformation, through a continual opening of new possibilities of being/thinking.

Supported by the focus of this chapter on the coverage of music in *Huisgenoot* during the past century, and by the subsequent contextualisation of those symbols associated with the generation of Afrikaner Nationalism during the 20th century in chapter 4, chapter 5 will, in turn, focus on analysing a number of songs selected from the *Huisgenoot* issues of 2018 and 2019. The selection of these songs was facilitated by the collation of all the references to music during this period. Songs were selected on the grounds of their representative power in manifesting inclinations towards more 'open' or more 'closed' Afrikaner identity constructs. This, irrespective of musical style or perceived artistic 'integrity', prompted the selection, as these songs reflect a diversity of styles and varying degrees of intent regarding artistic expression. It is hoped that

cognisance of the perceived interplay between style, expressive intent, and affiliation to relatively more 'open' or 'closed' Afrikaner identity constructs, will assist in providing insights into the Afrikaner identity formations to which *Huisgenoot* today most readily aligns itself – if any in particular – and the perceived reasons for these 'findings'.

INTERLUDE I

Golden Gate, Heilbron

25 October 1964

Hendrik's speech at 3 pm was excellent. I have on occasion felt as if he does not reach the heights with his cultural speeches as with his political speeches but this time he did! Theme was the dangers threatening our culture – more dangerous than an ordinary war: silent process of extinguishing of feeling for what our own comprises, at school and university, in church. Spoke very strongly. That evening, a nice programme of athletic presentations, folk dances etc. Highlight was a tableau in the form of a gigantic wheel (spokes were boys, girls, Voortrekkers; rim of wheel folk dancers) with on the nave, between two small Voortrekkers with torches, H. as Chosen Leader between them. It was impressive, his figure with the grey head, the dark background with continual thunderbolts. Whole crowd singing: 'God, may Your Blessings be upon him'.

But it was an awkward position for him. It was well intentioned but not really proper. He also felt this way – as if he needs to act. Obviously knew nothing before the moment when he had to step down to the field and 'ascend' the nave. The people should not do this.[57]

[57] Excerpt from the diary of Betsie Verwoerd (née Schoombee), taken from *Bloedbande. 'n Donker Tuiskoms* by Wilhlem Verwoerd (Verwoerd 2018: 156). [Own translation.]

CHAPTER 4

A Contextualising Focus on the Symbols Associated with the Forging of Afrikaner Nationalism in the 20th Century

"As the ground of received wisdom gives way under your feet you become more painfully aware of inconsistencies in that made-up individual discerned in the mirror, the presentable one that you tried to memorize and project as the historical first person singular."[58]

As a primary school child in the late 1970s and early 1980s I did not belong to the *Voortrekker* Youth Movement (an Afrikaans version of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, founded in 1931, and associated with nation building). Given the strong nationalistic orientation of my family (see Addendum, Figures 15 and 16), this might appear curious. It might even be taken as evidence of a rebellious, visionary young nature. Yet I need to admit that my primary school self cannot lay claim to such revolutionary tendencies. I was simply too busy romanticising the lives of European composers, while practising for my next Unisa Piano Examination, to be bothered with tips about the kindling of a campfire or ways to tie a rope into various knots.

As a young learner at the Hendrik Verwoerd Primary School, I was, however, privy to many patriotism-inducing experiences. I clearly remember the spine-tingling, gooseflesh-generating thrill of standing to attention with all my might while bellowing "Die Vlaglied" [59] (Flag Song/Anthem) during flag parades on Tuesday mornings. To my surprise I can still recall the words of this anthem quite effortlessly. Hence, I am no stranger to the emotive impact of ceremonies celebrating Afrikaner nationalism, of which the 'Golden Gate' event, culminating in the tableau described above by Betsie Verwoerd, is a glowing example.

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[58] Excerpt from "Writing the Darkening Mirror" in *The Memory of Birds in Times of Revolution* (Breytenbach 1996:1).

[59] The lyrics of this anthem were written by C.J. Langenhoven in 1926 when the Union Government created a committee to design a flag which would be superior to the Union Jack. In 1928 F.J. Joubert won a competition launched to set these words to music. "Die Vlaglied" was taken up into the first edition of the *F.A.K. Volksangbundel vir Suid-Afrika* (1937) and has subsequently also been included into the 1961, 1979 and 2012 editions. It was sung by a children's choir at the inauguration of the Republic of South Africa on 31 May 1961 (Schutte: 2014).

The lyrics of the second last stanza of the "Vlaglied" describe the flag of apartheid South Africa as "ons nasie se grondbrief van eiendomsland, uitgegee op gesag van die Hoogste se hand". This could, roughly, be translated as "our nation's title deed of land ownership, published on the authority of the Highest Hand". The lyrics therefore clearly reflect the strong religious component of the Great Trek mythology, which was utilised by the apartheid government for the purpose of building and sustaining a white Afrikaner nation. The propagandistic portrayal of the *Voortrekkers* as God's chosen people, who escaped British oppression at the Cape (associated with Egypt) and triumphed over nomadic tribes (the 'heathens' of the Bible) on their way to the Promised Land, is also very evident in the following excerpt from the *Groot Trek* Issue of *Die Huisgenoot* in December 1938. The issue of *Die Huisgenoot* in question commemorates the Centenary Celebrations of the *Trek* and foreshadows the erection of the *Voortrekker* Monument by publishing sketches of the plans for this monument. The message from which the excerpt is taken, was written by Adv. E.G. Jansen, the then-Speaker of Parliament and Chairman of the Central National Monument Committee:

> When we think of the role that the *Voortrekkers* played in our country, the suffering and hardship that they experienced, their faith, their perseverance, as displayed, in particular, by the women, their bravery, their staunch practice of Christian values, even with regard to the barbarians who surrounded them, and the way in which they annexed the territory of the Union to the north of the Orange River within 10 years, we feel that they are worthy of the homage brought to them in this *Voortrekker* year and that it is our duty to erect a national monument which will consolidate this homage. [60]

Although Betsie Verwoerd describes Hendrik Verwoerd's speech at Golden Gate as cultural rather than political, its message, which served as a warning against dangers threatening Afrikaners' devotion to their culture, also has undeniable political intent in its emphasis on a defending of the 'self' against the dangers posed by the 'other' – against a threat "more dangerous than an ordinary war" in that it attacks the essence of the Afrikaner pastorate (school, university, and church). This 'self-other' thrust, propelled by the notion of the unquestionable

[60] The staunchly Christian image of the *Voortrekker* projected in this message is consolidated in the voluminous commemorative album of the Centennial Celebrations of the Great Trek, published in 1940, which reserves one of its opening pages for the words of Andries Pretorius's Covenant (*Gelofte*) with God on the eve of the Battle of Blood River. Reference has been made to the Covenant in chapter 2.

goodness of the Afrikaner's inherent religious values, connects the Golden Gate speech/tableau with the reference to the Afrikaner's "staunch practice of Christian values" in Adv. E.G. Jansen speech on a level much deeper than mere shared allusion to the Voortrekkers. A little less than ten years later, a *Broederbond* document entitled "Ons Taak: Kerklik Godsdienstig" (Our Task: Clerical Religious), dated April 6, 1972, articulates such essentialising of the Afrikaner's faith within overtly political terms: "[For] the Christian Afrikaner, the voice of the Church of Christ carries great weight. The church is associated with the words: So speak the Lord. The enemies of the Afrikaner realise this. Therefore ecclesiastical declarations whereby multiracialism is presented as the real life pattern and separate freedom and independent development is branded as immoral and anti-Christian are welcomed and exploited, even by the non-ecclesiastical opponents of the Afrikaner" (Wilkins and Strydom: 2012: 297-298).

In returning to the Golden Gate tableau the wheel, on a surface level, symbolises the Trek away from the British government at the Cape towards independence within the self-proclaimed *Boere*-Republics of the Free State and Transvaal. A deeper interpretation might also take cognisance of the wheel being a circle, with its associations as a holy shape.[61]

By embodying the rim of the wheel, young Afrikaner boys and girls are carrying the quest for freedom and independence exemplified by the *Voortrekkers* into the future. Being a circle, the wheel also enjoys association with "oneness, wholeness, unity, entity, perfection, infinity, life without beginning or end, balance and the cosmos" (Thoth Adan.com/blog/symbols-based-on-circles, Accessed on 29 November 2019). In his blog Thoth Adan also draws attention to the process of drawing a circle, from which it becomes clear that the central point must exist to enable the construction of the shape. It follows that the central point may be perceived as the

[61] Some of the oldest manifestations of the circle as a symbol may be found in the chakras of Indo-Aryan Hindu iconography. In this regard the mythology surrounding the Indo-Aryan invasions of Dravidian lands (around 1500 BCE) has a bearing on Afrikaner Nationalist narrative in that "Much has been written about how these Aryan invaders overcame autochthonous populations and replaced local traditions with proto-Vedic cultural and social systems, and how their culture gradually spread to the Ganges Plain and across northern India" (Danino, 2006; Trautmann, 1997 in Danino 2016 205). Strengthened by anthropological theory, this notion of the Aryan invasion model came to support strong nationalistic elements in Europe during the 19th century (Arvidsson, 2006; Chakrabarti, 1997; Demoule, 2014; Lincoln, 1999; Olender, 1992; Poliakov, 1974 in Danino 2016: 205). Thus "Aryans were an early variation on the leitmotiv of the white race conquering, subjugating, and 'enlightening' lesser and darker races" (Trautmann, 1997 in Danino 2016: 205).

‘absolute’ key aspect of the circle whereas the circle itself is the outer expression. According to Adan “this middle point stands for centralised power, the base or heart of all energy. In a transferral sense it is God, the cosmic consciousness and enlightenment” (Thoth Adan.com/blog/symbols-based-on-circles, Accessed on 29 November 2019). Similarly, P.R. Krishnakumar describes the Sri Chakra of Hinduism – contained by a square but consisting of concentric circles around multiple triangles – as “the form-pattern of the goddess, the spot in which all the rays of the great Radiance focus”. He continues to describe how an “intimate relationship” develops “between the worshipper and the Sri Chakra. As the worship proceeds the worshipper begins to feel this emblem of the great goddess as a part of himself” (1992:291). In the tableau described in Betsie Verwoerd’s diary this point is, of course, occupied by Hendrik Verwoerd.

Guided by Verwoerd, the ‘Chosen Leader’, enlightener and earthly representative of God, the two torch-bearing children are carrying the flame of the Afrikaner’s culture, rooted in the foundations of Western civilisation, into a glorious future. Their light-bearing torch (enlightening culture) contrasts starkly with the darkness surrounding it and can only survive through the protection and support of the other young Afrikaners, who are embodying the rim of the wheel / holy circle / laager. The culmination of festivities surrounding the inauguration of the *Taal Monument* (Language Monument) in Paarl likewise included hundreds of *Voortrekkers* with burning torches, who ascended Paarlberg towards the amphitheatre at the base of the monument (Huigen: 2008, quoting *Die Burger*, 11 October 1975). Betsie Verwoerd’s mention of the thunderbolts against the dark sky finally serves to strengthen the Christian underpinnings of her own appreciation / understanding of the tableau.

It is significant that the wheel symbol may be found on the official programme and commemorative book/brochure printed for the inauguration of the *Voortrekker* Monument, taking place from 13 to 16 December 1949 in Pretoria. Whereas Verwoerd, as the leader of the Afrikaner people (and the earthly representation of God), is encircled in the tableau described by Betsie Verwoerd, a depiction of the *Voortrekker* Monument itself is encircled in the image on the cover of the brochure mentioned above. The deification of the *Voortrekker* concept that results from placing its symbol, the *Voortrekker* Monument, in the centre of the circle, is striking.

The tableau described by Betsie Verwoerd also prompts a very clear association with Nietzsche's Apollonian and Dionysian symbols, described by Megill as follows:

> In Nietzschean terms the Apollonian is the symbol for form, whereas the Dionysian symbolizes formlessness. Apollo, associated with the visual art of sculpture, is not only the god of sun/light, but is also linked with semblance/dream/illusion. Conversely Dionysus rules over the non-imagistic art of music. Whereas the formalistic Apollonian draws boundaries around individuals, the Dionysian force occasionally destroys these little 'Apollonian circles', opening the way to an unmediated, de-individualised participation in reality' (Megill 1985: 39).

Given the strong association of light (the Voortrekker torches) with the essential goodness of an encircled Afrikaner culture, surrounded by darkness, within the nationalism-evoking Golden Globe tableau, I consider reference to the Apollonian / Dionysian interplay particularly relevant to my investigation. The tableau sketched by Betsie Verwoerd pre-dominantly appeals to sight and incorporates the 'light' symbolism and the demarcating 'wheel' imagery suggestive of Apollonian circles / self-other boundaries. A perusal of *Kultuurgeskiedenis van die Afrikaner*, published in 1950, also indicates that most of the apartheid nation building had taken place in the visual realms of the Apollonian, in other words, through literature, architecture and the fine arts (see Addendum, Figure 11 for a photograph of my father at a monument employing 'wheel' imagery). This observation echoes Megill's interpretation of Nietzsche's thought, which holds that (the notion of) culture is generally founded and protected by Apollonian illusion, since the frenzied, excessive nature of the Dionysian begs a return to fantasy (Ibid: 40-41). (The notion of) culture does, however, deny/neglect the Dionysian at the risk of becoming confined to schematism (stasis/rigidity) (Ibid: 57). Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy* consequently regards both the Dionysian and the Apollonian as being prerequisite to the viability of a culture (Ibid: 39-40).

Given the association of the Apollonian circles with the creating of boundaries, one could reasonably surmise that (the notion) of an Afrikaner culture driven by the apartheid-metanarrative utilised Apollonian 'self-other' demarcation at the expense of the Dionysian. In this regard, Matilda Slabbert and David de Villiers's conclusions in their consideration of David Kramer's ironic utilisation of kitsch during the early 1980s are relevant. Kitsch symbols proliferate

in the song lyrics on Kramer's album *Delicious Monster*. There are references to "fluorescent socks", "crystal chandeliers", a "trilobal dress", a gate "in the shape of a wagon wheel", a "floral rug", and so forth. These are complemented by an album cover on which Kramer poses like a stereotypical 'muscle man', with a bright yellow background suggestive of garish wallpaper and a delicious monster plant in the background.[62] De Villiers and Slabbert also refer to Kramer's pre-occupation with kitsch in his book *Short Back and Sides.* After having spent time abroad, he muses about the things that he has been running away from but that he has now come to consider as forming part of him. Some of the manifestations of kitsch that he mentions include copper fire-screens hand-beaten into the shape of charging elephants and carved imbuia twenty-first-birthday keys complete with leaping springbuck and wagon wheels (2011: 160).

In seeking synonyms for kitsch, one could, perhaps, employ words such as 'tasteless' and 'misplaced'. Within his *Notas oor Zef*, Etienne Viviers perceives zef, the style associated with South African groups such as *Die Antwoord*, as the zombie that is fed by the death of kitsch. He holds that the eradication of potential cultural life experiences of multiple diverse cultures led to a South African landscape caught up in a kitsch simulacrum. At the beginning of the essay "The Precession of Simulacra" within *Simulacra and Simulations* (trans. S.F. Glaser), Jean Baudrillard describes simulacra as entering where the image "masks the absence of profound reality" because it marks the "transition from signs that dissimulate something to signs that dissimulate that there is nothing" (1994:6). Hence Zef, in Vivier's terms, has grown out of the decay of the (kitsch) South African landscape, filled with empty signs/simulacra, that had finally succumbed to cultural starvation – "'Ag Pleeze Daddy' in a dystopian drive-in," as he so vividly describes this cultural condition (http://www.litnet.co.za/Article/notas-oor-zef).

Viviers's explanation for the proliferation of kitsch within white apartheid South Africa above echoes Slabbert and De Villiers's interpretation of David Kramer's views on kitsch:

[62] The reader may peruse the cover of *Delicious Monster* by following this link: https://www.amazon.com/Delicious-Monster-David-Kramer/dp/B00CJ43QEW

> As far back as 1976 (Kramer) had identified kitsch as signifying simultaneously 'our own emptiness' and our fear of that emptiness. That is, kitsch, in its very loudness, constitutes an attempt to cover up a lack, and ironically only serves to accentuate it (Slabbert and De Villiers 2011:159).

Kramer blames the 'emptiness' to which he refers on the stifling of creativity and the consequent cultural impoverishment brought about by segregation[63], and hence points to the enclosing and partitioning dynamics so central to the disciplinary power detailed in Foucault's "Discipline and Punish", in this instance exercised in service of apartheid's biopower. In the absence of life giving cross-cultural artistic endeavours, the same tired cultural symbols came to be duplicated endlessly. Add to this the consideration that the polemic generating the rise of the National Party was, in part, fed by a unifying white Afrikaner culture constructed from *Voortrekker* mythology, and Kramer's focus on the kitsch use of the wagon-wheel symbol comes as no surprise.

The 2015 collaboration between Anton Goosen and Churchil Naudé in a remix of Goosen's song "Boy van die Suburbs" (Boy from the Suburbs), the title track from his 1979 debut album, invites association with the thoughts of Kramer and Viviers on kitsch and zef, respectively: Whereas Goosen's 1979 song may, perhaps, be seen as his diffident criticism of kitsch Afrikaner culture, poor in new creative symbols due to the forced segregation in the country, the 2015 song/video package, with the proliferation of kitsch décor, seems to offer a retrospection on such cultural anaemia, from the midst of a zombie Afrikaner 'man cave'. Ironically, the dwellers in this cave are a coloured and white Afrikaner, united in their retrospective considerations of each of the separate kitsch cultural heritage routes which led to their current zombie state. [64]

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[63] The *David Kramer Biography* by Dawid de Villiers and Mathilda Slabbert very aptly describes the growing sense of personal stultification that the young Kramer experienced in his hometown Worcester, situated in the Western Cape, prior to his student years at the University of Leeds. Growing up in a half-Jewish, half-English family that might not have been politically active but displayed antipathy towards the National Party, he became sensitised to the segregation and consequential injustices in the town. He was also struck by how comfortably distant the 'headlines' about the anti-apartheid struggle remained from white middle-class existence (2011: 52-56), an observation that proved pivotal to his protest song "Dry Wine"(2011:80).

[64] The reader may access these two renditions of the song at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LulwyHcKJF8 (1979) and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OHJ3v_LVJBM (2015).

Having pondered on the 'meaning' of Goosen and Naudé's musical collaboration, it is worth taking note of Lawrence Kramer's following very succinct statement in *Interpreting Music*: "Music shows us that meaning is what performance performs. Music shows us that performance is how meaning means" (Kramer 2011: 272). In the forthcoming chapter the performative aspect of the contemporary Afrikaans musical 'events' to be analysed/interpreted is heightened by the fact that almost all of these songs are accompanied by videos. This consideration also informs my subsequent analysis of selected songs with an awareness of the tension between the visual (Apollonian) and the auditory (Dionysian), in the hope that the message sought will be found in an interplay between musical sounds, the song lyrics and visual elements such as posturing (dancing, choreography, costumes), as well as my interpretation thereof. While exploring the musical styles or "structural codes" (Agawu 1991: 23) employed, I will similarly need to be aware of the Apollonian associations or "topical codes" (Ibid.) of these particular styles (for example, the 'gangster outfit' often associated with rap).[65] An awareness of the absence of expected sounds and images should also be instilled as a critical tool. In this regard I draw on Nicholas Cook's model for the analysis of multi-media, premised on the possible relationships of conformance, complementation and contest between multi-media components. I would venture to describe conformance, a very 'static' process and, by Cook's admission, extremely rare, as a step-by-step parallel mimicking between all the multi-media components utilised or even as a situation where one medium predominates, and the other media conforms to this (1998: 101). Within complementation, the multi-media elements support each other, not through a mimicking of sameness but in that "each art makes explicit the dimension that the other leaves tacit" (Cook 1998: 119). A filling of "gaps" between the multimedia elements at play consequently results. Contest, in turn, involves contradiction, and perhaps even conflict, between the elements. According to Cook, "complementation constantly teeters on the verge of contest" (Ibid: 120) He also states that, applied literally, contest is, to all intents and purposes, the only category of multimedia but cautions that a more sensitive application of his model "will

[65] This is not to deny that the music itself may contain topical codes, that is, musical gestures that point to associations outside of the work itself.

characterize the relative preponderance of conformance, complementation, and contest" (Ibid: 106).

The allusion to Cook's rather prescriptive model might appear rather essentialising, given the 'anti-methodological' slant of this investigation. However, whereas Cook's model might prove a useful focal tool in engendering a sensitivity to the interplay between multi-media elements in the subsequent analyses, any conclusions drawn should be considered in a Foucauldian spirit, acknowledging this endeavour as a "process of subjectivity" (Taylor 2011:9).

Finally, it is important that Foucault's genealogical discourse, generated by his Nietzschean view of the world (the text) as a work of art, serves as an exemplary expression of the text/art constructions that are to be observed. In accordance with his perception of knowledge as "perspective" (Megill 1985: 156), his genealogy aims not at objective truth but at a particular, discursive and violent impact on its readers. It strives to provide a "useful myth" capable of changing the way things are and therefore recognises the unavoidable intertwinement of knowledge and power (Megill 1985:235). In line with the Foucauldian necessity for the constant "unwriting" or "death" of the author, this subversive discourse will, itself, be subject to discursive attack once it has managed to overturn the formerly oppressive discourse (Megill 1985: 239). By opening itself to discursive attack, Foucault's 'method' is therefore innocent of domineering attempts at systemisation. Rather than aiming to capture the world, it revels in a perpetual re-invention/overcoming thereof through a critical, discursive dialogue supportive of subsequent re-interpretations / "unwritings".

With regard to both the death, or unwriting, of the self / author and the previously mentioned statement by Lawrence Kramer that "meaning is what performance performs" (2011:272), a brief consideration of Foucault's interpretation of Velázquez's painting "Las Meninas" in "The Order of Things"(1973) is helpful, because of how it illustrates these dynamics.

Figure 2: "La Meninas" by Velázquez (https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/las-meninas/9fdc7800-9ade-48b0-ab8b-edee94ea877f**)**

The painting, in very broad strokes, depicts the Infanta Margarita (in the centre), surrounded by various courtiers, with Velázquez himself pictured behind his easel, to the right of the princess. A mirror at the back reflects King Philip IV and his wife, Mariana, the parents of the Infanta and the presumed subject matter that the 'Velázquez' within the painting is capturing on the easel, which is hidden from the spectator gazing at the painting. Hence a criss-cross game ensues in which Velázquez, at work on the painting we are observing, is gazing upon himself represented within this painting, but cannot see the image that his counterpart in the painting is capturing on the hidden front of the easel. In gazing at the painting from 'our' position, the king and queen also cannot see the capturing of their image on the canvass, but merely their own reflection in the mirror. In turn, a representation of the Infanta becomes the focal point of the painting, together with representations of her courtiers, even though they are mere spectators to the 'process of painting' depicted in the frame. Indeed, any spectator 'outside' of the visual scope of the painting could hypothetically be the focus of depiction, or at least, part of the depiction, on the hidden canvas.

Foucault describes how "the painter's gaze, addressed to the void confronting him outside the picture, accepts as many models as there are spectators; in this precise place, the observer and the observed take part in a ceaseless exchange. No gaze is stable, or rather, in the neutral furrow

of the gaze piercing at a right angle through the canvas, subject and object, the spectator and the model, reverse their roles to infinity" (Foucault 1973: 4-5). Moreover, concerning the hidden canvas, he says that "because we can only see the reverse side, we do not know who we are or what we are doing. Seen or seeing? The painter is observing a place which, from moment to moment, never ceases to change its content, its form, its face, its identity" (Foucault 1973: 4-5). Hence, "spreading out before us, indicated compellingly from every side, is an essential void: the necessary disappearance of that which is its foundation – of the person it resembles in the person in whose eyes it is only a resemblance. This very subject – which is the same – has been elided. And representation, freed finally from the relation that was impeding it, can offer itself as representation in its pure form" (Foucault 1973:16).

In certain respects, this is analogous to the investigation at hand, oriented around the imagined formulation of a painting / text by the historical author. That is, this painting / text depicts me, the painter / writer, as a member of an Afrikaans audience attending a *Huisgenoot Skouspel* concert. And having pondered on a tableau reflecting multiple symbols underpinning Afrikaner nationalism in the 1960s, it seems quite appropriate to conclude this chapter with a *Skouspel* 'tableau', closely associated with current mainstream Afrikaner culture, albeit to different 'ends'. Accordingly, the 'real' stage and the performers for whom it provides a platform, are not visible, and neither is my representation of what is happening on stage. However, a LEAD screen is reflecting aspects of the performers on stage.

Since, for Foucault, thought is that which permits the stepping back from one's actions or reactions, to present these actions / reactions, and their meaning and conditions to oneself as an object of thought in an act of problematisation (1998:386), this painting / text of my 'self' at work allows for the distance to look back upon myself as an object of thought. However, as the content / writing pad is unknown to me, the ultimate 'truth' or meaning of 'my' problematising process – which should be perceived as a performance rather than a fixed entity – continually evades me. Similarly, the *Skouspel* performers only see a momentary glimpse of their performance in my text / painting, frozen from within a displaced livestreaming. Like the king and queen, who see their daughter at the forefront on viewing the painting, these performers see an audience related to them through shared Afrikaner heritage. And audience members observing the text / painting

will see a representation of themselves. Given the mainstream character of a *Skouspel* concert, one might, perhaps be tempted to surmise that all audience members and performers are merely mutual reflections of a closed identity perception. However, echoing Foucault, I would urge both my 'self' and the reader / viewer to refrain from such premature closure, based on an assumption that *Skouspel,* in its entirety, is merely an exercise in conceptual stasis – an assumption which would, simultaneously, expose the very absolutising thinking it prematurely 'exposes'. After all, my 'self', fraught with ambivalence and multiplicity, is also reflected in the audience, while an assumption that all the 'groupsicules' (Brown 2000:71) constituting each of the other audience members and performers are harmoniously attuned to a closed Afrikaner identity perception, without any chords of dissonance, would be unfounded. Thus, in looking upon my text / painting, I can, as previously mentioned, have no certainty about what its representation on that hidden (un)writing pad contains in terms of meaning / truth. Not only is its creator a 'self' apart from me – an object in a perpetual state of self-revelation – but I am, similarly, not privy to the perceptions that readers / viewers might have on my 'work of art' (in the Foucauldian sense, as applied to genealogy). At best I can hope that my 'self' as representation, gropingly scribbling on that 'unwriting' pad, will succeed in capturing/captivating a fleeting gaze or two.

CHAPTER 5

Musical Codes, Visual Codes and the Huisgenoot Text

"I am creating things that in some way want to slip inbetween the cracks of knowledge…I am terrorizing the very concept of meaning, the very concept of 'Truth'".[66]

5.1 Introduction

When I started considering *Huisgenoot* magazine's coverage of contemporary Afrikaans music as a potential field of critical study around 2012, I was under the distinct impression that the main bulk of music enjoying coverage in *Huisgenoot* could be described as (extremely predictable) formulaic pop with predictable (even weak) Afrikaans lyrics. Detailed tabulation of all references to music in the *Huisgenoot* magazines of 2018 and 2019 (the latter undertaken as a preparatory step towards this thesis) has, however, indicated that this is not always the case.

Sensitisation to the symbols generating Afrikaner Nationalism within the apartheid metanarrative guided the song/video analysis and formed the premise for the categorisation of selected songs, covered in 2018/2019 issues of *Huisgenoot*, into three groups, namely

- Musical manifestations of adherence to more 'closed' identity constructs
- Seemingly 'reconciliatory' / collaborative' musical manifestations, which ultimately revert back to adherence to more 'closed' identity constructs and
- Musical manifestations of adherence to more 'open' identity constructs

The only songs without an accompanying video which will receive interpretative treatment are Yoma's "Moedertaal", as well as the songs drawn from David Kramer's album *Wakkerslaap* and Anton Goosen's *Padkos*, since in these cases videos could unfortunately not be accessed. Hence cognisance of Nietzsche's Apollonian and Dionysian dynamics – with their respective bearings on the interplay between the visual and the auditive – will be guiding my

[66] Taken from *Terrorizing the Concept Meaning – Conversations with Johan Thom* (Lipp and Wendl 2012).

experiencing/interpretation of the visual and auditive aspects of the songs throughout most of the interpretative process. In turn, interpretation of "Moedertaal" and the songs on the albums *Wakkerslaap* and *Padkos* will require a concentrated exclusively auditive focus on the use of particular musical styles and instruments as topical musical codes.

I am conscious of the will to power in my subsequent classification of certain songs into broad categories but invite scrutiny, and even 'explosion', of the 'useful myth' resulting from my subsequent findings, in quest of continuous, potentially transformative dialogue. That is, having likened my investigation to the endless chain of representation suggested by Foucault's interpretation of Velázquez's "Las Meninas" towards the end of chapter 4, I furthermore, with specific reference to the music videos under scrutiny, take heed of his following words of caution:

> It is not that words are imperfect, or that, when confronted by the visible, they prove insuperably inadequate. Neither can be reduced to the other's terms: it is in vain that we say what we see; [because]… what we see never resides in what we say. And it is in vain that we attempt to show, by the use of images, metaphors, or similes, what we are saying; the space where they achieve their splendour is not that deployed by our eyes but that defined by the sequential elements of syntax (Foucault 1973:9).

In keeping with this, most pertinent to my analysis is cognisance of the invariable "gaps" both between what I am saying about the music videos and how the various video images seek to depict the lyrics of the songs. However, the latter concern, alongside the musical components, presents itself as a focal point of both Cook's and Agawu's methodologies, which will be utilised alongside a Foucauldian perspective within this chapter, as indicated in the earlier chapter on methodology.

5.2 Musical manifestations of adherence to more 'closed' identity constructs enforced by symbols derived from Afrikaner 'mythology'

Building on my rather extensive exploration of the *Voortrekker* mythology in Interlude 1, which precedes this chapter, the first category belongs to songs covered in *Huisgenoot* in which I

perceive manifestations of a 'closed', defensive Afrikaner identity construct, often enforced by Great Trek symbols.

5.2.1 "In Ons Bloed" (In Our Blood) – Performer: Liezel Pieters[67]

This song was featured in the *Huisgenoot* issue of 4 April 2019, as part of the coverage of local music on the 'Music' page of the magazine. Shawn Mendes, an international pop artist, had a recent hit with a song titled "In my blood", and it is likely that the idea for Pieters's song had been derived from the former. Pieters, Don Kelly and Adolf Vorster may jointly be cited as the composers of the song. Pieters's 2018 album *Sing My Hart Uit* (Sing my heart out) was nominated for a *Huisgenoot Tempo* Award in the category 'Contemporary Album of the Year'.

In "In Ons Bloed" noticeable structural musical signs abound. It is a rather fast-paced (two step) dance song in simple duple time, composed in the pop/rock genre, with bluegrass guitar undertones, and is in a verse and refrain form. *Huisgenoot's* reference to it is neutral regarding its content and positive regarding its potential as dance song.

The entire song is in F major and within the range of an octave. Tonic, subdominant, dominant and submediant chords are used, with a frequent interplay between the subdominant and submediant. Note repetition is a very prominent characteristic of the song: Both verses open with no fewer than 20 repetitions of the dominant note, separated in the middle with one upper tonic note. This is set syllabically against the tonic harmony. The words "In ons" are also repeated incessantly, in tonic pedal point, against the rest of the final chorus.

The lyrics of Pieters's song set out to determine the binding factor between her people and conclude that the essence of this bond is in their shared blood. Here several significant topical signs appear. For example, its chorus, which concludes with the idea of being united through this blood, may be translated as follows:

> Ek en jy is uit dieselfde rots gekerf
> *You and I are carved from the same rock*

[67] The reader may view this video and hear this song at https://www.google.com/search?q=dis+in+ons+bloed&oq=dis&aqs=chrome.2.69i59j69i57j69i59l2j0l4.3769j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8.

Ons het die blou van onse hemel[68]
We have (inherited) the blue of our heavens

Die diepte van ons see[69] geërf
(And the) depths of our oceans

Dis in ons bloed
It's in our blood.

The video to the song is set against the South African natural landscape, with a rock face and mountains being very prominent. The absence of any people of colour in the video, the language of the lyrics and the Western musical styles used are all topical signs suggesting that Pieters's people are white Afrikaners. This idea is also enforced by the quotations from "Die Stem" (The Call), the anthem of apartheid South Africa. Hence Cook would describe the combination of multi-media elements mentioned thus far as being in conformance with efforts to create exclusivity. Quotations from "Die Stem" are not limited to the phrases pointed out in the chorus. The second verse of the song also includes a quote, when it asks: "Hoekom raak ek stil as die kranse antwoord gee?" (Why do I become quiet when the echoing crags resound?).

The idea of essentialist blood ties between people that forge their identity and exclude others is, of course, not novel, as initiation into cults and gangs often involves the sharing of blood. Wilhelm Verwoerd's book *Bloedbande* (Blood Ties) also revolves around this notion, within the context of a white Afrikaans Nationalist heritage. He may be quoted as follows on the issue of grappling with the significance of shared blood with his grandfather, the architect of apartheid: "As blood family of Dr. Verwoerd I am inclined to focus on his life blood, albeit subconsciously. I stare at the photo of myself on Grandpa's lap, to the milk that I receive from his hand, and I recall a mystical link between mother's milk and blood. During the Middle Ages mother's milk was viewed as the blood of the mother which she gives to her child as a life bearing substance" (Verwoerd 2018: 244-245 [Own translation]).

[68] The words "blou van onse hemel" (blue of our heavens) are taken from the National Anthem of apartheid South Africa.
[69] The words "dieptes van ons see" (depths of our sea) is likewise taken from the National Anthem of apartheid South Africa.

The first line of Pieters's chorus, furthermore, includes the reference to Isaiah 51:1, which opens chapter 2. Chapter 2 refers to the use of this biblical verse and its imagery by both Betsie Verwoerd and Jan van Elfen. In both instances the verse is utilised to underline the belief that the (white) Afrikaners are God's chosen people, with God, God's chosen leaders and Afrikaner society jointly (and probably also interchangeably!) making up the very 'being' from which one dare not be separated. In Foucauldian terms Pieters therefore clearly employs pastoral power in appealing to a target group invested in perpetuating/propagating a very narrow perception of Afrikaner identity.

In the first verse of this song Pieters considers why it is she feels proud in "Green and Gold", the *Springbok* sporting colours. *Springbok* colours are, of course, no longer exclusively associated with the white population of South Africa – largely due to Nelson Mandela's reconciliatory efforts surrounding the 1995 Rugby World Cup. However, by using the *Springbok* colours as a defining binding characteristic within a context that celebrates the apartheid anthem, Pieters creates contradiction within the lyrics and reclaims "Green and Gold" as the sole property of the white South African population. The same sense of contradictory reclaiming is extended to the country itself, by stating, through the words of the apartheid anthem, that (only) the people who share Pieters's blood have inherited the "blue heavens" and "deep oceans".

In service of the suggestion that the intrinsically united group is white and Afrikaans, verse 2 also asks: "Hoekom wil ek saamsing as "Liefling" speel?" (Why do I want to sing along when "Liefling" plays*?)* "Liefling" is a song that was made famous and very popular by Gé Korsten in the 1960s, and therefore has the potential to feed collective nostalgia for the days when the Afrikaners were in power. This song was subsequently used as the title of an Afrikaans film, entitled *Liefling*, which was released in 2010, starring Bobby van Jaarsveld and Lika Berning. Although this film includes a few African people as cameos, it mainly plays out against a white Afrikaans middle-class backdrop.

A demarcating sense of shared identity is, furthermore, enforced by the following lines in the second verse:

> Hoekom draai ek om as ek jou sien val

Why do I turn around when I see you fall

En hoekom jeuk my hande om jou dadelik op te tel?
And why do my hands itch to pick you up immediately?

The implication here is that people who share the same blood/belong to the same demarcated (Apollonian) group of 'self', help others belonging to that same group. The question arises whether a similar sense of compassion would be extended to 'the other'.

Fleeting allusions have been made to Cook's model, both with regard to conformance between multi-media elements in the creation of white, Afrikaner exclusivity and with regard to the application of lyrics in such a way that symbols associated with reconciliation within the 'rainbow nation' mythology of Nelson Mandela are contradicted. A more thorough application of his model renders conspicuous the following:

On a very literal, simplistic level, quite a few added instances of conformance may be found. When Pieters, for example, asks "Hoekom staan ek op as die son nog lê?" (Why do I rise before sunrise?) it is clear from the sky visible behind the performers that it is morning. When she sings the line "Ek en jy is uit dieselfde rots gesny" (You and I are cut from the same rock), she is pictured lying against a rock and caressing it. The blue heavens and echoing crags in the lyrics are, similarly, matched by the presence of sky and rocks (although the ocean mentioned in the lyrics never features in the backdrop).

The presence of contest due to contradicting multi-media elements is, however, quite strong. "Die Stem", which is quoted frequently in the song, is a solemn anthem. Whereas the first verse contains reference to the *Great Trek* with the words "deur ons ver verlate vlaktes, met die kreun van ossewa"(through our isolated plains, with the creaking of ox-wagons*)*, the last verse is a plea to God to enable the current generation (read 'white' and mainly Afrikaans-speaking South-Africans) to display the same trust in Him that characterised their forefathers. However, Pieters is quite provocatively dressed in tight jeans, and her frequently 'applied' intimate gaze into the camera and caressing of the rock verge on the provocative. She does, admittedly, adopt quite a formal, statuesque stance while singing about the resounding crags. But the typical 'rock star'

poses struck by her band members are in contest with the pious text references and serene natural landscapes – aligned with the 'Promised Land' theme of the Afrikaner pastorate – throughout the video.

Similar contest exists between allusions to "Die Stem" in the lyrics and the style of the accompanying music: "Die Stem" is set in a grandiose hymn-like style whereas the pop / rock-style of "In Ons Bloed" is fit for a *braai* (barbecue) or *sokkie* (dance party). Contest also exists between the light, pulsating musical style and the majestic, serene natural backdrop. One might hold that such contest exists between the various multi-media elements in order to wrestle out the strongest possible message – perhaps that, although the Afrikaners have modernised, they remain united though their blood and are still chiselled from the same rock. I am, however, inclined to interpret the use of these contesting elements as being reflective of an attempt to draw consumers identifying with conservative Afrikaner identity constructs. The 'kitschness' of the resulting commodity item finds its expression in mismatched and displaced symbols, re-enforced for easy recognition and subsequent consumption by the constant use of repeated notes.

As a result of the deliberate, superficial, disjointed and, at times, sexualised, manner in which this proliferation of images – known to be symbolic of conservative Afrikaner culture – are clustered together with a particular target audience in mind, they have arguably become simulacra, that is, copies so far removed from the original that they fail to represent it in any meaningful or even coherent way, as discussed in the previous chapter in relation to David Kramer's thoughts regarding contemporary Afrikaans music during apartheid. Hence the binary opposition between self and other that Pieters strives to construct, while it may lack suffient clout to exert potent oppressive power, nevertheless serves to feed closed perceptions of Afrikaner identity, and correlatively to lull critical thinking that might challenge or controvert related prejudice.

5.2.2 "Boer Loop Deur My Are" (Farming/Being a Boer Runs Through My Veins) – Christoph Kotze, alias Appel[70]

This song was featured in the *Huisgenoot* issue of 17 May 2018, as part of the coverage of local albums on the 'Music' page of the magazine. It is from Christoph Kotze's second album and was composed by him. Christoph Kotze (Appel) was one of the 2018 *Huisgenoot Tempo* Award nominees in the category 'Newcomer of the Year'.

The structural musical signs in this song are unsurprising. "Boer Loop Deur My Are" is a (two step) dance song in simple duple time, with a heavy accent on the first beat. It has been composed in the pop/light rock genre and its formal layout, typical of the standard pop song formula, may be described as follows: Verse 1, Chorus, Verse 2, Chorus, Bridge, Chorus.

The song starts off in C major but modulates to D major at the final return of the chorus. Harmonically the song employs the predictable tonic, subdominant and dominant chords of a pop song and does not extend beyond these.

A very limited pitch range that stays within the compass of a fifth, with the exception of one minor 6th in the bridge passage, is used. This narrow range, supported by the frequent use of repeated notes, creates a narrative style focused on the words. Both the narrow range and the repetition also aid rapid memorisation.

The visual aspects of the music video 'tell' the story of a boy's yearning to spend time on his grandfather's farm. However, the boy's story is constantly in contest with shots of Kotze, who is singing and playing guitar with a farm as backdrop. As such he extends the 'presence' of the boy's grandfather in strengthening a notion of patriarchal dominance – the grandfather is also pictured where he stands on his farm, rubbing soil between his fingers while peering into the distance pensively. The lyrics of the song do, to an extent, relate to the boy's story, in that they echo his implied innate love for the earth and for his grandfather's farm. In this sense the message of the two competing 'stories' observable in the video are in conformance. Contest

[70] The reader may access this video at https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=boer+loop+deur+my+are+lyrics.

with regard to this message enters when the lyrics extend beyond personal reflections about a love for the soil to topical signs that function as sweeping allusions regarding the nation, to which I will refer shortly. It is at this point where the lyrics become the words of the farmer figure, embodied by Kotze and the grandfather, and where the story of the boy is exposed as a façade.[71] The farmer figure's voice, fittingly carried by Kotze's earthy, almost gravelly vocal timbre, is further amplified by the following message, which accompanies the video on Youtube: "Afriforum het JOU stem nodig in die stryd teen onteiening sonder vergoeding" (Afriforum needs YOUR voice/vote in the struggle against (land) restitution without compensation]. This is followed by an appeal to add one's name to a petition.[72]

The whiteness of everybody appearing in the video and the language medium of the song come to suggest that an innate love for the soil and for farming are special qualities of a white Afrikaans *boer*. This idea is enforced by the reference to veins (as vessels of blood) in the title, which echoes the suggestion in Pieters's song that certain qualities and affinities separating the 'self' from 'the other' may be found in one's blood. Kotze's song title, however, narrows down such essentialism even further, in that the concept *boer*, as a noun, more readily conjures up images of a male. In accordance with this perception, the patriarchal 'grandfather' character is the protagonist in the boy's story, whereas his mother serves primarily as the antagonist by sanctioning his visits to the farm.

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[71] Previous discussion of the defiant Afrikaans song "De la Rey", has indicated that it also uses facades to mask its call for a strong Afrikaans leader within the socio-political context of the present day. However, in "De La Rey" such masking, with the aid of references to the Great South African War, is not confined to the video but extends to a text filled with innuendos as well. The interplay between these elements find resonance in the post-1994 uncertainties and fears of white Afrikaners, which are fueled by the closed, defensive narrative of the Neo-Afrikaner Protest Movement. In this regard the singing of "De La Rey" during the October 2020 farmers' protest in Senekal, in response to the murder of the farm manager Brendin Warner, and countered by a militant valorisation of the black subject by the EFF (Economic Freedom Front), is of significance (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fOYwnQxRDao). Note, in this regard, *Huisgenoot's* coverage of Warner's murder in the issue of 22 October 2020, and an earlier article on farm murders in the *Huisgenoot* issue of 9 November 2017.

[72] Land restitution has been an important means of addressing the inequalities of the past in the post-1994 South Africa. The 1996 Constitution and the Restitution of Land Rights Act gave people and communities who had been dispossessed of land after 19 June 1913 as a result of racially discriminatory laws or practices the right to restitution of that property or to fair compensation. More recently, however, there has been a move on the side of the ANC government to introduce land expropriation without compensation.

The lyrics of the first verse are thus both supportive of the 'closed' identity construct which informs the depiction of a white Afrikaans-speaking male protagonist, and suggestive of the Afrikaner defiance against the issue of land expropriation that underpins the entire song. This is done by devoting the first half of the verse to the farmer's love of his land and the second half to his love of the Afrikaans language:

> En hierdie grond wat na die reën my hande rooi kom vlek
> *And this soil that stains my hands red after the rain*
>
> Is dieselfde wat my hart en siel en gees bedek,
> *Is the same that covers my heart, soul and spirit,*
>
> Ek ruik 'n storm aankom, ek sien 'n volk wat saamdrom.
> *I smell an impending storm, I see a nation gathering.*
>
> In Afrikaans het ek geleer hoe om te bid en praat
> *In Afrikaans I have learnt how to pray and speak,*
>
> Dit is my taal, my trots, die rots wat ek by my dra,
> *It is my language, my pride, the rock that I carry with me.*
>
> Niemand sal dit wegneem – baie het al probeer.
> *Nobody will take it away – many have already tried.*

Reference to red soil might be suggestive of blood and, similarly, the statement that the same soil covers this farmer's entire being could be referring to his burial somewhere in the future. This suggestion of death receives a 'war' dimension when Kotze sings about seeing a storm approaching and a nation unifying. As white Afrikaners, with farming running though their veins like shared blood, are the focal point in the song and video, it seems unlikely that Kotze is speaking about the entire, culturally diverse nation uniting. Rather, the nation he 'sees' as uniting is, more likely, the *Boer* nation, led by its fathers (although there is a brief hope at the end of verse 2 of seeing a new day, when everybody beats on one drum). This sense of cultural demarcation is, of course, enforced by references to many Afrikaans 'holy' symbols: note how the lyrics prioritise the ability of Afrikaans to facilitate prayer over its potential to facilitate speech. Also note how Afrikaans BECOMES 'the rock' of Isaiah 51:1, with the notion of God and his chosen people / cultural group merging. The implication of this is that many have tried to

take Afrikaans / God away from the white Afrikaner but have failed, as God has made them his chosen people.

The content of the chorus echoes verse 1 by being devoted to a consideration of the farmer's love for his land and language, in even measure:

> Want boer loop deur my are, generasies, jare,
> *Because farming (and BEING a 'boer') has been running through my veins for generations and years,*
>
> Ek sal dit skree tot jy my hoor.
> *I will shout this out until you hear me.*
>
> In Afrikaans sal ek sawens laat praat,
> *In Afrikaans I shall speak late in the evening,*
>
> Dis wat ek droom as ek slaap,
> *It is what I dream when I sleep,*
>
> Dis wat ek bid en hoe ek voel.
> *It's what I pray and how I f*eel.
>
> Want boer, boer loop deur my are.
> *Because farming (and BEING a 'boer') runs through my veins.*

Considering the deification of Afrikaans (the rock) discussed above, I perceive this constant merging of the 'land' and 'language' concepts as carrying the underlying suggestion that the land was given to the Afrikaner by God. This suggestion is strengthened by the allusion to the farmer's prayers in Afrikaans within the chorus. Note, as well, that the frequent use of the word *Boer* in the chorus is, in itself, defiant: During the struggle against apartheid *Boer* became a derogatory term launched at the (white and mostly Afrikaans-speaking) supporters and upholders of the apartheid system due to the strong historical connection between white Afrikaans-speaking people and farming. Hence the pride with which Kotze reclaims the term in this song could also easily be interpreted as a defence, and a confrontational reclaiming of apartheid ideals.

In Foucauldian terms, Kotze thus emerges as engaging in polemics by encasing himself "in privileges that he possesses in advance" – namely non-negotiable white Afrikaner / *Boer* values – which he "will never agree to question" (Foucault 1998: 381). He does this through recourse

to pastoral power by forging a link between religion (the pastorate as perceived within the context of the church) and the Afrikaans language (the pastorate as moving beyond the church to refer to societal structures – in this case conservative white Afrikaans societal and cultural constructs). This is not only done by means of text (lyrics), in accordance with Nietzsche's identification of the Apollonian with text, which creates demarcated units that differentiate the 'self' from 'the other'; in addition, it is also done by calling on the 'Word of God' to legitimise the 'holy', unifying properties of the Afrikaans language.

In the second verse the death idea reappears, when the lyrics state that the farmer will continue to watch the sun rise on his land every morning, until he dies. Given the 'farm murder'[73] issue in South Africa and the fact that fears surrounding forced restitution of land are directly linked to the song through the *Afriforum* message, it is probable that these 'death' references suggest resistance to the bitter end, a willingness to endure self-sacrifice for the sake of the flock that Foucault attributes to pastoral leaders (2000:333).

Religious references re-enter within the middle of this verse through a direct description of the farmer's relationship with God:

> Op my knieë sal jy my vind voor ek saans gaan slaap,
> *You will find me on my knees before I go to bed at night,*
>
> Dit is die tyd waar ek opreg met my Skepper praat.
> *This is the time when I speak earnestly to my Creator.*

The second verse then concludes with the previously mentioned singular allusion to the possibility of a sense of unity beyond the Afrikaner-laager:

> So laat 'n nuwe dag kom, waar ons kan slaan op een drom.
> *So, let a new day arrive, where we may beat on one drum.*

Given the way in which symbols associated with a very closed Afrikaner identity construct are employed throughout the song, this call for greater (Apollonian) unity does not resonate very strongly and is all but lost as the chorus begins again.

[73] In recent years there has been an alarming increase in the number of farming families violently murdered in South Africa. For more in this regard, the reader may refer to https://africacheck.org/factsheets/factsheet-statistics-farm-attacks-murders-sa.

The subsequent bridge describes the extent and momentum of the resistance against forced expropriation as follows:

> Van die noorde tot die suide,
> *From the north to the south,*
>
> Deur die droogtes, donderbuie,
> *Though droughts and thunderstorms,*
>
> Van die vlaktes tot valleie,
> *From the plains to the valleys,*
>
> Deur die Laeveld en die Duine,
> *Through the Low Veld and the Dunes,*
>
> Staan die wind weer in ons seile,
> *There is wind in our sails again*
>
> Want dis hier waar ek wil bly (X2).
> *Because it is here that I want to stay.*

Having established this momentum, the modulation, up by one tone, 'elevates' the message of the chorus on its final return and paves the way for a final sense of triumph.

In Cook's terms the gravity of this song's text contradicts its simple harmonies, narrow pitch range and popular dance style. "Boer loop deur my are" has a music/lyrics contest, as well as its use of 'tired' / kitsch symbols in common with "Dis in Ons Bloed". However, given the very light character of "Dis in Ons Bloed", the symbols merely appear to be pasted on haphazardly to appeal to Pieters's perceived market, as previously suggested. In turn the coherent, focused message of "Boer Loop Deur My Are", coupled with its utilisation by *Afriforum*, lead me to rather associate Kotze's song with anti-apartheid protest songs like "Meadowlands". Despite its commercial packaging as a *kwela/marabi* dance song, "Meadowlands" incited protest against the forced removals of the 1950s. The ironic parallels in topical signs with "Boer Loop Deur My Are" are obvious.

However, irrespective of the latter song's greater potential for protest, it is, nevertheless still important to note that simulacrum, albeit applied more 'coherently', is certainly not absent in "Boer Loop Deur My Are". On the contrary, the use of tired Afrikaner Nationalist symbols, like

'earth' and the notion of the 'rock' of religion that ties white Afrikaner society together, serve as clear examples thereof.

5.2.3 "Bloedgrond" (Blood Ground) – Neil Somers[74]

This song was featured in the *Huisgenoot issue* of 13 September 2018, as part of the coverage of local singles on the 'Music' page of the magazine. The review states that the song concerns itself with the troubles of South African farmers. It was composed by Somers, who is also the vocal soloist.

"Bloedgrond" is in verse and refrain form. Its structural signs classify it as a (light) rock ballad that maintains a slow tempo but increases in intensity as it progresses through the textural addition of electronic instrumentation. It is in B major and makes continuous use of the third-relations harmonic progression I, vi, IV, V, I, which is commonly found in contemporary songs.

The tone for verse 1 is set by mournful humming. Somers subsequently starts singing, with piano accompaniment only. The intimacy created by the sparse instrumentation complements the lyrics, which are directed at a specific deceased person – allegedly the victim of a farm murder. Somers immediately embraces the 'Chosen People' mythology in that this person is sketched as an intercessor, which needs to plead forgiveness from God on behalf of his people for forsaking the 'truth'. The lyrics of verse 1, propelled by pastoral allusions, are as follows:

> Ons het vir jou 'n wit kruis geplant
> *We planted a white cross for you*
>
> Tussen duisende ander op 'n kliprant se wand.
> *Between thousands of others against the face of a rock edge.*
>
> Jy is vooruit om die Koning te gaan vra vir vergifnis vir ons mense
> *You have gone ahead to ask your Father's forgiveness for our people,*
>
> Dat ons die rug gedraai het op die waarheid.
> *Because we have turned our backs on the truth.*

[74] The reader will find a video recording of this song at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7uNE_9IflqQ.

Guitar and light drum accompaniment are added to the first entry of the chorus, which suggests that the 'truth' in verse 1 alludes to the covenant that Andries Pretorius made with God on the eve of the Battle of Blood River – perhaps not directly but in the sense that God had granted the Afrikaner ownership of the land and the obligation to maintain this 'blood ground'[75] : through such means, a polemical force thus becomes operative in his assertions, which echoes pastoral power themes.

> Op hierdie grond is 'n belofte gemaak,
> *On this ground a promise was made,*
>
> Diep waters gevloei, het ons voorvaders gebloei,
> *Deep waters ran, our forefathers bled,*
>
> Op hierdie grond het ons hart en siel baklei om ons vryheid te verkry
> *On this ground we fought with heart and soul for our freedom*
>
> En hierdie grond is bloedgrond.
> *And this ground is blood ground.*

Moreover, at the beginning of verse 2, as if to affirm the polemicist's right to 'wage war' (Foucault 1998: 381), a drum roll – which can be 'read' as a topical sign for patriotic effect – is added, and at the end of the verse the mood is further intensified through the addition of an electric guitar. This verse accordingly strengthens the notion that the Afrikaners' guilt lies in their 'selling out', as it were, by giving up ownership of a country for which the price had already been paid by the blood and sweat of their forefathers. Consequently, the Afrikaner is, within pastoral terms, accused of failing / neglecting to realise his 'God-given' power as a Chosen People – a power which, of course, allowed for the state of domination under apartheid. Yet the verse nevertheless optimistically concludes by stating that it is in 'our' (the Afrikaner's) blood to overcome the dark, as their origin and past illustrate. Note how the essentialist idea of blood ties that pre-supposes shared ownership of certain qualities, which are also found in the previous two songs, resurfaces here:

> Met bloed en sweet is die prys klaar betaal,

[75] On a more literal level this 'truth' on which the people have turned their backs could also be seen as a denial of the severity of farm murders within the current socio-political context.

The price has already been paid with blood and sweat,

Dis ons mense se verhaal, maar dis nie al nie:
This is our people's story but it is not all:

Dis in ons bloed om die donker te oorwin,
It is in our blood to conquer the darkness,

Die verlede, die begin is ons bewyse.
The past and the beginning serve as our proof.

Dis in ons huise.
It's in our homes.

The reference to 'darkness' is, of course, loaded with possible meanings: Although 'darkness' could simply be explained as a general pastoral metaphor for evil, the victories of the Afrikaner forefathers over black African people, and the fact that a black government currently rules the country, wraps a strong additional meaning around the concept 'dark'. In referring to the Négritude movement and its role in the liberation of Africa from colonial oppression,[76] Sartre eloquently breaks the "darkness – blackness" equation employed above, by instead advancing that "Black torches, in their turn, light the world and our white heads are only small lanterns balanced in the wind" (1976:7-8 in Mudimbe 1986:179). However, no such critical elements are reflected in this song, where instead the 'white-black' dichotomy remains intact; the roles such dichotomies play in underscoring coercive metadiscourses – among these, notably also discourses generated by Négritude thought – will be explored further in chapter 6.

For now, though, it will suffice to point out that, in "Bloedgrond", Sartre's "black torch", indirectly identified as the oppressor in the previous verse is, after one repetition of the chorus, now accompanied by the full instrumentation, addressed defiantly in the bridge passage. Note how the 'rock' symbol with its biblical connotations – which is present within the songs of both Pieters and Kotze – also re-appears here:

Jy kan ons nie breek nie,
You cannot break us,

[76] A liberation that the Afrikaner also experienced, albeit in different terms, when the proclamation of the Afrikaner Nationalist Republic in 1961 signified the end of British colonial rule in South Africa.

Ons selfs laat vergeet nie,
Or even make us forget,

Ons spore geset in rots.
Our tracks are set in stone/rock.

Ons kies om te bou,
We choose to build,

Onsself te behou,
To preserve ourselves,

Want dis al wat ons het.
Because this is all we have.

The final chorus, with its intense instrumentation, is played twice, with the refrain "Hierdie is bloedgrond" being repeated throughout.

The breakdown of the song's layout above has indicated how the instrumentation helps to intensify the mood of the song. In Cook's terms the music could, indeed, be seen as complementing the meaning of the lyrics very well. The music video merely shows the musicians performing, presumably in a studio. But there is a darkness that surrounds the musicians in that studio that complements the darkness to which the song lyrics refer. As it does not offer the depiction of a separate story or utilise a backdrop that seeks to mirror the meaning of the text, there is very little multi-media contest present. That is, slight contradiction to the stark message of this propagandistic ballad might perhaps be construed in frequent shots of the female guitarist, whose colourful tattoos contrast with the pious, conservative Afrikaner identity construct in which this entire song is framed. On the whole, however, the arbitrary backdrop and Somers's grave expression while performing have the effect of complementing the sombre message.

5.3 'Seemingly reconciliatory/collaborative' musical manifestations of adherence to more 'closed' identity constructs

Earlier mention was made of the *MultiChoice* threat to withdraw their sponsorship from the 2019 *Ghoema* Awards Evening if the song "Die Land" was not dropped from the 'Best Video'-

nomination list. The *MultiChoice* threat, as mentioned before, was prompted by Steve Hofmeyr's appearance in the song, in the wake of the many racism-related incidents surrounding this singer. On occasion such incidents were linked with the singing of the apartheid anthem or public display of the 'old' South African flag.

The song title, "Die Land", could be translated as 'the land' (read/understood as farmland) or as 'the country'. This song did not receive a review in *Huisgenoot*. A play on its title was, however, used in the article "Die Land…Wat hoop jy? Wat vrees jy? Wat bou jy?" (The Country…What are you hoping for? What do you fear? What are you building?*)*, which consisted of the opinions of a few white and coloured South African celebrities about their views on the current state of affairs in the country and on its future. This article, published in the *Huisgenoot* issue of 9 May 2019, was prompted by the Hofmeyr / *MultiChoice* debacle and included coverage of Hofmeyr's response to the questions posed. His following responses are particularly significant as manifestations of his ultra-conservative, segregating stance: "Ek glo nie meer in eenheid nie. Ek glo in verdraagsaamheid tussen eenhede" (I do not believe in unity anymore. I believe in tolerance between units.) When asked what he believes he is building, he states that he pays tax, although it is wasted, and that his other work is primarily with his own people or deals with his own language, i.e. with Afrikaans, understood as the deified language of the Chosen, in view of the earlier discussion of Appel's "Boer Loop Deur My Are". Similarly, the reference to Hofmeyr's work with his own people immediately conjures up images of pastoral care, with him as leader of the flock. His statement regarding tax paying, which simultaneously serves as government criticism, may also be linked to pastoral themes, particularly on account of its resemblance to Jesus's command to "…give to Caesar what is Caesar's" (Luke 20:25), when asked whether the Hebrew people should pay taxes to their Roman oppressor. To be sure, one realises that Steve Hofmeyr is only one of the singers who participated in the development of "Die Land" and accordingly his views are not necessarily shared by the other artists featured. Hofmeyr's statements, coupled with the consideration that *Solidariteit Helpende Hand*[77]serves as sponsors

[77] *Solidariteit* is a South African trade union that negotiates on behalf of its members and attempts to protect workers' rights. https://solidariteit.co.za/en/?gclid=Cj0KCQjwit_8BRCoARIsAIx3Rj7wl7hCKsmNzgM91BrJqgP5r6Knt_aAXLlUYORyeQ

for *Afrikaans is Groot*, the company that distributed "Die Land", nonetheless frame the conception of this song within a 'closed' identity construct. Cognisance of the above considerations is bound to 'colour' my perceptions during the subsequent analysis of the song and its video. And Bok van Blerk's past associations with songs valorising the Afrikaner's Anglo-Boer War/Great South African War 'glory days' strengthen my reservations about the likelihood that an interpretation of "Die Land" will reveal a potentially transformative manifestation of 'openness'.

5.3.1 "Die Land" - Steve Hofmeyr, Bok van Blerk, Bobby van Jaarsveld, Jay du Plessis, Ruhan du Toit[78]

On a surface level the message projected by "Die Land" appears to be that South Africans should preserve and build up their country for future generations. Considering multi-racial presence in the video one could perhaps, upon superficial viewing and listening, assume that "Die Land" advocates united efforts in a spirit of reconciliation and shared ownership of the country.

A broad overview of the video reveals that it alternates between a scene depicting the five vocalists in a lounge and scenes depicting a farming community waiting for rain. The fact that the community is yearning for rain is only revealed towards the end of the video, in conjunction with the final chorus, which is repeated. This 'rain' sub-theme is suggested in the final visual images but is never reflected in the lyrics. The farming community depicted consists of a black and white boy, running on a dust road with a toy car fashioned out of wire, a middle-aged farmer who, in one of the shots, is walking on the farm with his arm around his male child, a group of black men in uniforms who are, presumably, farm workers and a group of (mainly white) people of mixed gender who are celebrating the rain at the end of the video.

The song, in a light rock format, is in simple quadruple style and, like "Dis in ons Bloed" and "Boer loop deur My Are", it is full of structural musical signifiers fit for the dance floor. It is in B flat

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lgmL4e3e_HQroaAmfxEALw_wcB . 'Helpende Hand' (Helping Hand) is an affiliated community organisation that focusses on the relieving of poverty amongst Afrikaners (https://helpendehand.co.za).

[78] The reader may access a video recording of this song at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kf_BIm2SndE.

major and adheres to a verse and chorus form. The form is applied in a rather irregular sequence and can be represented as follows: Verse 1, Verse 2, Chorus, Verse 3, Chorus X2. Both the melodies of the verse and chorus are characterised by repeated notes, which result in a narrative style of singing, focused on the lyrics. In the case of the melody of the verses, the repeated notes descend, thereby complementing the rather gloomy lyrics. The lyrics of the chorus are more affirmative and ascending repeated notes in the melody serve to complement this. Harmonically the chords are limited to the tonic, subdominant and dominant combination typical of most contemporary songs, with the exception of the singular use of the submediant chord in the verse. Instrumentation includes keyboard, guitar and drums, with an organ simulation on the keyboard at the beginning and dramatic electric guitar riffs at the end of the third verse and beginning of the last (repeated) chorus, which may be considered the climactic point of both the music and visuals.

A more detailed interpretation of the meaning of the video, focused on how the lyrics of the verses move from the personal / specific to the general, and on the complementation and contest between the multi-media elements at play and the messages that may be drawn from these interrelations, now follows. This interpretation will seek to bring superficial perceptions of "Die Land" as a manifestation of adherence to an 'open' Afrikaner identity construct into question.

Prior to the first verse, as the video starts, an advertisement stating that "*Solidarity* is building and fighting to secure a future" appears on the screen. The advertisement is, admittedly, in English, and the efforts of this union do extend to the concerns of non-white, non-Afrikaans people. *Solidariteit* (Solidarity*)* is, however, overwhelmingly associated with its efforts to protect the rights of white Afrikaners. Steve Hofmeyr's rather 'closed' subsequent spoken message strengthens the exclusivist *Solidariteit* association. This Afrikaans message, in his unmistakably gravelly voice, may be heard against a scene of a farmland at sunset, with a windmill as a prominent feature. Herewith a translation thereof:

> I have gathered with a few of my friends to share a message of hope. It is not only about the *situation* in which we find ourselves but also about that in which we believe, for *our* offspring and also for yours.

He emphasises the two words in italics. Mentioned against the backdrop of a farm, the "situation" immediately becomes that of the farmers and begs association with land restitution and farm murders, issues which Hofmeyr is known to have campaigned againsts. In line with Hofmeyr's strongly conservative media image as a white Afrikaner, the letter r in "our" – which is rolled in Afrikaans – receives excessive attention, as if to accentuate the trueness of his 'Afrikaners-ness', and the subsequent "yours" merely serves as a re-enforcement of an implied 'self-other' demarcation. The polemical stance associated with this singer is clearly already at play here. There is no negotiation as to whether there *is* a situation, and the language which he uses immediately ties Afrikaners together as an essentialist unit that is pitted against 'the other'.

Bok van Blerk then starts singing the first verse very solemnly, with only the simulated organ as accompaniment. He is joined by Ruan du Plessis halfway through this verse, which is addressed to a particular, imagined child. It poses the following questions, which I have translated:

> Waar gaan jy speel met jou maatjies?
> *Where will you play with your little friends?*
>
> Waar gaan jou spore toewaai?
> *Where will the wind hide your tracks?*
>
> Waar gaan jy val, gaan jy opstaan en huil
> *Where will you fall, get up and cry*
>
> En waar gaan jy staar na die sonsak wat myle strek?
> *And where will you stare at the sunset, which stretches for miles?*

An almost groaning Steve Hofmeyr then takes these questions to a more general level as verse 2 enters with guitar strumming being added to the simulated organ accompaniment:

> Wat los ons oor vir ons kinders?
> *What are we leaving behind for our children?*
>
> Wat gaan ons eendag kan wys?
> *What are we going to be able to show one day?*
>
> Wat is nog reg of verkeerd, wil ek weet?
> *What is still considered right and what wrong? I would like to know?*
>
> Wat maak ons as jare se swete vergete gaan?
> *What do we do if years of sweat get lost?*

The organ simulation then disappears as the full band, consisting of keyboard, guitars and drums are heard in the chorus (of which a part of the lyrics will be provided in due course). Note how reference to 'our children' in verse 2 immediately conjures up the notion of 'family', with all its pastoral associations, while the societal pastoral function is similarly supported by the organ simulation, with its allusions to the church itself.

Bobby van Jaarsveld, later joined by the other four singers, then takes the questions to an ideological and national level as verse 3 poses the final questions about the perceived loss of the 'rainbow nation' dream:

> Wat het geword van die liefde?
> *What has happened to the love?*
>
> Wat het geword van die droom?
> *What has happened to the dream?*
>
> Trane van duisende val op die sand
> *Tears of thousands fall on the sand*
>
> Wat hierdie bome net sterker laat groei in die landery.
> *Which enable the trees to grow stronger on the (farm)land.*

The lounge set-up serving as the backdrop to the five singers is filled with old-fashioned but distinctly Western furniture, reminiscent of a farmhouse in a 'white memory'. This 'lounge' serves as the 'anchor' to which the visuals continually return. The five singers project a very patriarchal stance through their formal seated or standing poses, which are maintained for the duration of the video – almost as if they are posing for a family photograph in the late 19th or early 20th century. Two old-fashioned pedestal lamps serve as very prominent props in the lounge recreation. Although the general lighting in the lounge is frequently brightened and dimmed to complement shifting moods in the music and lyrics, these lamps continue to shine brightly. These eternally bright lamps create a sense of security. They also invite association with the torches in the tableau-description from Betsie Verwoerd's diary that preceded chapter 4. Within the tableau these torches were the (Apollonian) bearers of 'light' (civilization) in 'dark' Africa. (Note, in this regard, the earlier reference to Sartre's "black torches" in the discussion of

"Bloedgrond", which stands in contrast to such Apollonian elements in this song). Similar associations could easily be borne from the context in which the pedestal lamps find themselves.

The curtains behind the singers are transparent, forming a screen, and relevant shots from the other scenes in the video, as well as a few random landscapes, are continually reflected against this screen. Some instances of conformance between the lyrics and visuals occasionally occur on the screen. When the lyrics in the chorus refer to seeds being sown, a land of corn might, for instance, flash against the screen. The images on the screen are, however, generally complementary to the lyrics rather than literally descriptive (conformative). Occasionally the images on the screen are even in contest with the lyrics of the singers – notably the 'rain' images, that have no connection with the meaning of the lyrics.

Similarly, there is almost never conformance between the other scenes in the video and the lyrics. Two rare instances may be highlighted: i) In one of the references to the sowing of seeds the farmer is pictured rubbing soil between his fingers (utilising an image also found within "Boer Loop Deur My Are") and ii) when the imagined adult in the lyrics sings about keeping his child safe, the farmer is, as previously mentioned, pictured walking on his farm with his arm around his male child. These two moments of conformance are important, as they summarise the idea of maintaining and growing the country for future generations, which is central to the message of the song. Admittedly "Die land behoort aan jou", a constantly repeated refrain in the chorus, is twice, fleetingly, connected with the white and black boy that are playing together. The significance of these two flashing moments of conformance is, however, muffled by the overwhelming 'white' world of the music video.

Having highlighted isolated instances of conformance between the lyrics and visual content, I now turn to the much greater prominence of contest between these elements: such contest tends to have the effect of allowing one scene to project more than one possible message. I perceive such multiplicity of meaning as resulting from a proliferation of potent images that happen to coincide in the absence of a narrative-ordering framework, like chronology.[79] A

[79] A sense of chronological progression is only established towards the end of this video, when the theme of a community waiting for rain is forced upon the video, despite the fact that it is not reflected in the lyrics at all, as

particularly alarming instance of such multiplicity may be found when the last few lines of the chorus overlap with a scene where the farmer notices a rather large group of people walking towards him. He looks worried/scared, and the immediate association is with forced distribution of land and/or farm murders. The lyrics of the chorus that overlap with this scene in a seemingly random way are as follows:

> My vlag sal aanhou waai,
> *My flag will continue to wave*
>
> Die sade sal ek saai vir jou
> *The seeds I will sow for you*
>
> En jou veilig hou,
> *And I will keep you saf*e
>
> Die land behoort aan jou.
> *This country belongs to you.*

Considering the wide media coverage that Steve Hofmeyr's personal valorisation of the 'old' South African flag enjoyed, one invariably associates the "flag" reference above with the apartheid flag. This association is strengthened by the sense of possession and defiance in the statement. The possessive pronoun "My" firstly seems to distinguish this flag from 'some other' flag. As the flag of the post-1994 South Africa represents the status quo it, furthermore, seems beyond question that it will continue to wave. Consequently, the statement above seems to imply that even though 'they' try to stop "my" (apartheid) South Africa flag from waving, it will continue to wave (thereby signifying a continued sense of Afrikaner Nationalism).

By aligning this potent flag reference with the moment when the farmer notices the approaching group of men in the video, associations with defiance and confrontation are conjured up. As the subsequent video shots unfold, it becomes clear that these men are in fact fellow members of the farming community – or more specifically farmworkers, as they are wearing overalls – paralysed by a drought. However, at this moment the suggestion of danger is very potent and

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mentioned earlier. The windmill featured in the 'farmstead' landscape at the beginning and one other fleeting shot of a windmill in the middle of the video are the only other references to rain.

the farmer's facial expression could even be read as fearful. This sense of 'self' and (dangerous) 'other' demarcation, heightened by one's awareness of Hofmeyr's campaigns against farm murders and land redistribution, is subsequently re-enforced by the line "And keep you safe" (which implies the presence of danger, from which safeguarding is necessary). The farmer – a white, Afrikaans patriarch – is the person 'known' to the viewer in this video shot, as opposed to the mysterious approaching group. Being the 'identified', he is therefore also the character with whom the video allows identification. Hence, he becomes the viewer's protagonist, and the country belongs to him, as the last line of the chorus implies.

When a subsequent shot reveals the previously approaching group as black farm workers, who are now standing behind the farmer, it is still not entirely evident that our protagonist is safe. The way in which the shot depicts him as being encircled could still be interpreted as the prelude to a murder. Note, as well, that black adults are cast as workers / servants throughout the video: This is the case with the previously mentioned men in overalls and with a black woman, who fleetingly appears in house maid uniform, presumably as the mother of the black boy who is paired with the farmer's (white) son in a few shots. Such casting reflects a perpetuation of the belief in racial inequality that gave shape to the apartheid narrative. Chapter 2 has indicated how the Afrikaner pastorate dovetailed with the biopower institutionalising of such perceived inequality in South Africa. And the following statements of a Dutch-Reformed Commission, dating from the 1950s, serve as an illustrative case in point: "Far from the word of God encouraging equality, it is an established scriptural principle that in every community ordination, there is a fixed relationship between authorities…Those who are culturally and spiritually advanced have a mission to leadership and protection of the less advanced…The Natives must be led and formed towards independence so that eventually they will be equal to the Europeans…" (Wilkins and Strydom 2012: 292).

In keeping with such unequal treatment premised on race within the video, the black uniformed woman and her son are also the only black people pictured in the final scenes, which are otherwise entirely devoted to a celebration of the rainstorm. The other (white) celebrants pour out of the farmhouse to dance in the rain while the final words of the chorus, "Die land behoort

aan jou" (This land/country belongs to you) are repeated, notably by Hofmeyr, best known for his separatist statements and fuelling of Afrikaner patriotism – he is also seated in the centre of the lounge. Thus, these men are, by implication, the owners of the farm and their ownership prevails. Prime ownership does, however, reside with the patriarch in this male-dominated video world. The only three females featured appear in the final scene. They are the previously mentioned African woman in an overall, a young white girl and a white woman. Whereas the African character is placed in a subservient position with regard to the white family depicted – with the family unit being suggestive of heteronormativity and the safety of the pastorate – the two female 'family members' are merely of significance because of their connection to the male character, the patriarch of the family.

Earlier in this chapter, and in the preceding chapters, much was said about the pastoral power generated 'Chosen People' mythology that Afrikaner nationalism employed to foster a sense of unity between white Afrikaners. The second half of the chorus, which was partially quoted above, includes a spiritual reference by stating: "God hears me (when I say that) we will find a life." Other religious references include the simulated organ sound at the beginning and an image of hands folded in prayer halfway through the video. One might justify the inclusion of the rain-theme, unrelated to the text on a literal level, by claiming that it is a metaphor for the spiritual cleansing of the country's people. However, if this is the case, very few non-white people are privy to such cleansing, as the previous paragraph serves to indicate. The organ sound implemented to provoke spiritual associations, is, similarly, connected with Western organised religion and the image of praying hands is preceded by the image of the farmer's face. Hence this video not only places white adults in power positions while depicting black adults as (at best) servants and (at worst) potential murderers, but, in the final scenes, also reserves spiritual rejuvenation exclusively for its white characters. As such it projects a manifestation of a 'closed' Afrikaner identity construct, despite its use of black characters to create the semblance of a racially integrated community.

Considering the manifestations of pastoral power in "Boer Loop Deur My Are", "Bloedgrond, "Die Land" and, to a lesser extent, in "Dis In Ons Bloed", it might, at this point be appropriate to reflect

briefly on the current spiritual landscape inhabited by white Afrikaner Christians. Given the staunch Dutch Reformed Church's condoning of apartheid under the previous regime, it is perhaps not surprising that the numbers of this church and its two 'sister churches' – the "Hervormde" Church (Dutch Reformed Church in Africa) and the "Gereformeerde" Church (Reformed Church) – have declined in favour of more 'fashionable' religious and (seemingly) 'politically correct' affiliations after 1994 (https://hts.org.za/index.php/hts/article/view/3031/7914). *kykNET's* programme "Die Boodskap"(The Message), which televises services of the charismatic "Mosaïek" church group (https://www.mosaiek.com/kyknet-die-boodskap/),[80] also reflects cognisance of this growing preference for 'non-traditional' worship. "Die Woord"(The Word), which consisted of broadcasts from the equally charismatic "LewenSentrum" (ALS) (Life Centre), served as forerunner to "Die Boodskap", but moved to another channel when the "LewenSentrum" pastor Andries Enslin refused the *kykNET* channel copyright of the programme (https://www.news24.com/Channel/TV-pastor-dumps-kykNET-for-etv-20141119). Thus, while the hold that the austere doctrine of John Calvin had over the apartheid Afrikaner establishment through the Dutch Reformed Church might have loosened, a 'life style'-prescribing religion,[81] premised on exclusivist notions of the 'healthy', hetero-normative family, which even promises professional success as a reward for 'correct' living[82], is being sold to *kykNET* subscribers – and

[80] It should, however, be noted that a preference for more charismatic worship also existed among some Afrikaners during the apartheid years. In his like-named biography by Hanlie Retief, the Afrikaans singer Anton Goosen, for instance, refers to his mother's preference for the *Volle Evangelie* (Full Evangelical) Church during the 1950s and 1960s (2020:20). The new interest in brands of 'life-style' religion is also, of course, a global phenomenon, and hence not exclusive to Afrikaners.

[81] My own terminology, employed for the sake of convenient reference to this perceived concept.

[82] It should be noted that this charismatic religious 'brand' is by no means unique to South Africa, with particularly strong manifestations thereof also being found in the United States. In this regard, Appadurai's thought, focused on globalisation, proves significant. Defining imagination as a social practice, with media flows playing a large role in its shaping, he indicates that "one type of imagined world can trigger similar imaginings in other parts of the world", which "possess different shapes and forms". Countering thinking that perceives globalisation as the compression of the world into a global village, Appadurai argues that such globalisation occurs at "points of rupture and disjuncture" between landscapes, of which media is but one, with the others being migration, technology, ideology and finance. https://oxfordre.com/communication/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228613-e-586

Huisgenoot buyers[83] (https://www.netwerk24.com/huisgenoot/Nuus/evangelis-andries-enslin-tel-weer-sy-kop-op-na-emosionele-ineenstorting-20170528).

Through such commodified and commodifying appropriation, the notion of religion has thus become a copy of itself – and a simulacrum. Sanna Tirkkonen indicates how Foucault sometimes used the French version of this term, "simulacre", which denotes pretence or a sham. According to Tirkkonen, Foucault links this French term "with procedures that hide class-struggles, distribution, or other political and factual processes". Hence, it "turns the possibilities to recognize these processes" into something else, that "becomes conceived as the only form of truth" (Foucault 2011:187 in Tirkkonen 2015: 310). Accordingly, one could, in this regard, view the 'modern' Afrikaner's 'life-style religion' as a hyperreality that offers shielding from both the stark socio-political problems facing South Africa, and from its own profound emptiness as *simulacra.*

5.3.2 "Wat 'n Boytjie" (What a Boytjie) – Refentse Morake

In 2015 Refentse Morake[84], a black Afrikaans singer, was offered a contract at one of Karen Zoid's KKNK concerts; earlier that day Zoid heard one of his street performances, during which he busked in Afrikaans. He has, to date, released two albums, namely *My Hart Bly 'n Taal* (My Heart Remains a Language) (2016) and *Deur My Venster* (Through my Window) (2017). Refentse is mainly known for his cover versions of introspective Afrikaans songs by artists such as Koos du Plessis, Laurika Rauch, Koos Kombuis and Jan Blohm, but has also achieved success with comical numbers like "Oom Faan se Plaas"(Uncle Fanie's Farm), which he performed with Ricus Nel at the 2016 *Ghoema* Awards Ceremony. *My Hart Bly 'n Taal*, a compilation of Afrikaans cover versions, received four *Ghoema* Awards, including 'Best Seller' (https://www.ozy.com/around-the-world/the-first-black-afrikaans-music-star-has-arrived/247070/). His second album, *Deur My*

[83] Articles on the tribulations and triumphs of Andries Enslin and his family may, for instance, be found in the *Huisgenoot* issues of 20 November 2016 and 9 February 2017.

[84] It is clear from Refentse Morake's Facebook and Instagram pages, his coverage in *Huisgenoot* and the labelling of his music videos on YouTube that that this singer only uses his name for performance purposes. Hence the following analysis will refer to him as 'Refentse' rather than 'Morake'.

Venster includes the hit single "Reisiger"(Traveller), which was featured in the television series *Sewende Laan*.

"Wat 'n boytjie", Refentse's latest single, was featured in the *Huisgenoot* issue of 12 December 2019, as part of the coverage of local singles on the 'Music' page of the magazine. The short *Huisgenoot* review describes it as an interesting mixture of *boeremusiek* and African music which tells how stereotypes can be broken down.

This light-hearted song, which merges electric *mbaqanga* and *boeremusiek*, is in verse and chorus form. The verse is spoken against piano and guitar chords. In turn the chorus has a folk-like melody and structure, which consists of a motif featuring a prominent minor 6th interval, its sequence a major 3rd higher, a return to the motif on the original pitch and a stepwise ascending return to the tonic.

The folk-like melody is accompanied by simple tonic, subdominant and dominant chords in a swingy rhythm. These musical characteristics serve as structural and topical musical codes that emphasise points of commonality between *boeremusiek* and Electric *Mbaqanga*, whereas the clipped guitars, the marking of every pulse in the bar by the drumkit and the parallel intervals in the chords represent the musical components specifically associated with the latter. In turn, the continuous use of the accordion is perhaps more specifically associated with *boeremusiek*, although there are many instances of its application in Electric *Mbaqanga*, with the music of the group *Malombo* being a good case in point. Other African musical nuances that are incorporated in a 'tongue-in-the cheek' manner are the groan at the beginning (also associated with 'electric' *Mbaqanga*), fleeting comical imitations of *isicathamiya* dance steps (to a waltz) and the high kick of Zulu *Umzanzi* dancing. The song is in G major and in simple duple time, which switches to compound duple time a little more than halfway through to accommodate a quick waltz.

This quaint, comical merger of structural and topical musical codes is quite delightful and makes for a raucous party song. The song's novel merger of musical styles could possibly also be viewed as having transformational potential, although one should bear in mind that the electronic *Mbaqanga* and 'groaning' employed here also constituted the 'safe' musical products played on

state-controlled black radio stations during the 1960s.[85] Despite the latter associations, one could perhaps still, in line with the *Huisgenoot* review, concede that these mixings of musical codes contribute to the breaking down of stereotypes. However, the lyrics of the song, as well the enactment thereof in the video, merely create a social framework in which a black man's mimicking of social preferences stereotypically associated with white people is marvelled at, applauded and rewarded. I therefore view this song as, ironically, adhering to and actively perpetuating manifestations of a 'closed' Afrikaner identity construct.

The lyrics and video depict a black suitor's visit to his white girlfriend's family farm. As the father of the girlfriend is identified as Oom Faan, this is, quite literally, "Oom Faan se Plaas" (Uncle Faan's Farm). Note how Refentse is quoting the title of the 'party song' that he performed with Ricus Nel (see above). He is, simultaneously, perhaps also categorising "What a Boytjie" as being similar in frivolous intent to the quoted song, which offers a very light depiction of the party life of young Afrikaners. The girlfriend's mother, Tant San, prepares *pap en vleis* (porridge and meat), stereotypically viewed as the food of black South Africans, but the black suitor rejects this and prepares marvellous *potjiekos* instead, a dish associated with Afrikaner culture, by using the chocolate spread *Nutella*. It is noticeable how the mention of dark chocolate spread improving the *potjie* links with the idea that the 'dark' suitor has trumped the Afrikaners in the making of their traditional food. In turn Oom Faan offers the suitor beer (black South Africans are known for making traditional beer), but he indicates (in the video but not specifically in the lyrics) that he prefers wine, suggesting that he is a man of more refined and educated tastes. He then beats Oom Faan and the girlfriend's brother at target shooting and waltzes beautifully with Tant San. After every 'conquest' the suitor is handed a trophy. In some of the shots where the

[85] In the Glossary of the second edition (2008) of *In Township Tonight: South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre*, David Coplan differentiates between two definitions for *mbaqanga.* Music adhering to the first definition, basically in line with a description of township jazz, tended to be associated more closely with the struggle against Apartheid. According to Coplan's first definition of *mbaqanga* it is the most widely distributed term for popular commercial African jazz in the 1950s which developed from *kwela* and blended African melody, *marabi* and American jazz. In turn, the second definition points to its use in the 1960s, as applied to a new style that combined urban neo-traditional music and *marabi* (not jazz) and was played on electric guitars, saxophones, violins, accordions, and drums (This type of *mbaqanga* is also called *msakazo*-'broadcast' in Zulu, *simanje-manje / mgqashiyo*).

suitor/Refentse is holding his trophies, he is wearing a green T-shirt. In the wake of the 2019 triumph of the Springboks at the World Rugby Championships, fleeting association with multiple media images of Springbok captain Siya Kolisi holding the Webb-Ellis trophy are inevitable.

The suitor's 'conquests' (through his *potjiekos*, target shooting and ability to waltz) are mentioned in the lyrics but the video also depicts how i) he gains favour by changing the television channel to rugby when the family is accommodating stereotypically perceived 'black' preferences by watching soccer ii) he gains complete acceptance when Oom Faan ultimately presents him with one of the 'two-tone' shirts associated with Afrikaans farmers. He returns the favour by handing Oom Faan a traditional Zulu outfit, in which the farmer then attempts *umzanzi* dancing.

In Cook's terms the images relating to the story are, generally, in conformance with or complementary to the lyrics. Broad (non-textual) contest is, of course, created throughout among the competing topical musical signs due to the continual merger of electric *mbaqanga* and *boeremusiek*. Such merger is, however, complementary to the images and lyrics, which seek to project a similar competitiveness and ultimate merger. The contradictory application of dance steps to an unusual style, like *isicathamiya* steps to a waltz, serves as occasional examples of subtle humour between the music and visual images.

The lyrics of the spoken verse, considered without the (conforming and complementary) video images, only offer a few hints that the suitor is a black man. The mother's preparation of porridge and meat, justified by her belief that "hulle" ('they'; to be interpreted as black people in general*)* like this dish, is an example of one of these hints. The father's mentioned obsession with BEE (Black Economic Empowerment) could perhaps have been levelled at a non-white suitor as well. However, his "cat with a cat" and "cow with a cow" statement, suggesting that there should not be intermingling between animal species and that the same applies to black and white people, similarly perceived as different species, is particularly crude and direct. Equally crude is the only other direct hint at the suitor's colour, namely the term *boytjie*, which is used repeatedly in the chorus and, of course, also in the title. The (translated) lyrics of this chorus are as follows:

What a ‘boytjie’ X 2

‘Boytjie’, what’s your name?

Who is responsible for (having created) you?

What a ‘boytjie’ X 2

Faan, forget your gun,

This ‘boytjie’ has a plan.

As previously noted, during the apartheid years the term ‘boy’ was derogatively used by white people in referring to a black adult male. A black adult female was, similarly, known as a ‘girl’. Due to the oppressive nature of the system which, through its institutionalisation of unequal opportunities, created a cheap black labour force, these terms were used within the context of servitude, for instance, with reference to gardeners and domestic workers. The term was therefore associated with white authority, with the added implication that black people had the mental capacity of children. However, within the current South African context, white, Afrikaans-speaking men will sometimes use the term *boytjie* as an affectionate slang term, synonymous with *laaitjie* (pronounced ‘lighty’, hence small and still light), when referring to their male sons. Furthermore, in contemporary South African colloquial parlance, the expression “What a *boytjie*” is in fact a common expression of admiration used amongst English-speaking white men towards each other, in particular. These multiple meanings of the title are significant. The term, as used in this song, could consequently be taken to imply that the black suitor is worthy (has proven himself worthy) to be accepted as a son into the white Afrikaans household. Given the negative associations of the term, such entry into the household equates to submission – within the context of the song such submission is to white Afrikaans culture, which is, by implication, the superior culture, worthy of emulation. Given the violent history of the country, in great part driven by a ‘white-black’ dichotomy, the second last line of the chorus could also be interpreted in a way bound to cause great offence: Oom Faan is told that he can forget about his gun in dealing with THIS *boytjie*, because he acts like a white Afrikaner. Where does this leave Oom Faan and his gun, in relation to other *boytjies* (if interpreted historically), who do not act in the same way? By condoning the potential fate of these other *boytjies*, the black suitor / Refentse is

effectively submitting himself to the apartheid discourse. That is, he submits to such 'naming' in terms of the classifying disciplinary approach of this discourse of the past, which still manages to cast a shadow over the post-1994 South African present. And even if such patronising 'naming' finds the suitor's adherence to the rules of the discourse sufficient to render him worthy of his inclusion within it, he remains an object in its power game.

One might, in Refentse's defence, hold that he is too young to have experienced apartheid first-hand and consequently does not perceive the term *boytjie* in the derogatory way sketched above. One might also hold that the gun reference is simply aligned to its idiomatic use in relation to fathers and their daughter's suitors in general; that it is, in other words, a play on the (often heard) jocular, albeit chauvinistic, statement "You will soon have to buy a shotgun to protect your (beautiful, young) daughter from prospective boyfriends". Given the use of the Pan-African colours, red, yellow and green, as backdrop to the instrumentalists in the video, one might, furthermore, hold that Refentse is viewing Afrikaans culture in the same light as any other African culture: that he, consequently, extends the Pan-Africanist aspiration towards (black) African cultural inter-relatedness across the continent in ways that do not discriminate against cultural elements stereotypically associated with (white) Afrikaner culture.

Refentse's busking in Afrikaans prior to his 'discovery' seems to suggest that he has a fondness for this language, despite its associations with 'white exclusivity' which obscured its diverse origins for the greater part of the 20th century. It is, in this regard, noteworthy that the positive comments to his Youtube music videos include those of black Afrikaans-speaking South Africans. He is therefore in a favourable position to contribute towards the 'liberation' of the Afrikaans language from its enslavement within 'closed' identity constructs, premised on notions of a 'glorious' white, Nationalist Afrikaner past – in Foucauldian terms, to engage in truth seeking through relations of power that problematise the previous state of domination in the country.

Unfortunately, his artistic outputs thus far have seldom extended beyond cover versions of songs by white Afrikaans artists – albeit generally songs that I would not readily associate with 'closed'

identity constructs, due to their introspective dwelling on personal relationships[86]. It is therefore difficult to divorce what might be perceived as his mimicking of songs by white Afrikaans artists from the notion that *Boytjie* is imitating stereotypical white Afrikaner customs excellently to win 'approval' and entry 'into the laager'. The association with Siya Kolisi in the trophy shots of the video also support this interpretation: Kolisi could, along such lines, be perceived as deserving of entry into the 'laager' by leading the Springboks to victory, despite his 'blackness'. This notion is enforced by Refentse's involvement with the fifth *Afrikaans is Groot* concert in March 2019, despite the fact that the controversial Steve Hofmeyr also formed part of the line-up.

Refentse's career-propelling participation in events that are so closely associated with the 'narrow' thinking linked with Tant San and Oom Faan in the *Boytjie* video thus mirrors the non-ironic trophy hunting of the black suitor. His presence as the 'token black artist' at such events hardly masks the cultural exclusivity at play. A song/video such as "What a Boytjie" similarly serves to accentuate rather than obliterate cultural stereotypes, although its attempts at the merging of structural and topical musical codes do hold some transformational potential.

5.3.3 "Sing vir Liefde" (Sing for Love) – Karlien van Jaarsveld[87] and "Dis 'n Land" (It's a Country) - Snotkop

Karlien van Jaarsveld's "Sing vir Liefde" was not featured on the 'Music' page of *Huisgenoot* but was selected for analysis on the grounds that it was nominated for a 2018 *Huisgenoot Tempo* Award in the category 'Music Video of the Year'. The *Tempo* nominations were announced in the *Huisgenoot* issue of 13 September 2018. The album *Sing vir Liefde* was also nominated in the category 'Pop/*Sokkie* Album of the Year' and was the winner in this category.

[86] In making this statement, I am not losing sight of the inescapable textual entrapment of such expression. Songs like "Stuur Groete Aan Mannetjies Roux" by Laurika Rauch, are primarily focused on human loss and longing – yet their relatability is often still dependent on a particular context, which might, wittingly or unwittingly, generate associations with 'closed' identity constructs. The nostalgic "Mannetjies Roux", one of the songs of which Refentse has done a cover version, is, for example, set during the Apartheid years.

[87] The reader may access a video recording of this song at https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=karlien+van+jaarsveld+sing+van+iefde.

“Sing vir Liefde” is an electronically accompanied pop song in verse and chorus form. It consists of two full verses, each with two stanzas. Every verse is followed by a chorus and a repeat thereof. The song ends with the first two lines of verse 1, followed by three repeats of the chorus. Its structural musical codes also include a moderately paced but pulsating beat, framed within simple quadruple time, that renders the song particularly suitable to ‘two-step’/*langarm* dancing. The key of A major is maintained throughout and the harmonic language of the song does not extend beyond the use of tonic, subdominant and dominant chords.

In its use of structural musical codes the song may therefore be described as particularly formulaic. In line herewith, messages about forgiving, taking the first step towards peace, being welcoming and celebrating love through song are projected through predictable, unoriginal, bland lyrics.

The video depicts a singing Karlien van Jaarsveld in a long, white dress, alternatively standing in a warehouse or sitting against a white screen which is propped up in such a way that a photo shoot is suggested. The backdrop to this photo shoot fluctuates between a few inner-city scenes. Throughout the video the warehouse/photo shoot scenes alternate with scenes depicting small groups of seemingly joyous people, mainly children. In the penultimate scene Van Jaarsveld joins a larger group of children, and in the final scene she is pictured on her own, walking down the middle of a road, towards the city.

The scenes picturing the joyous children/adults generally complement the sugary platitudes of the text reasonably well: Clear conformance exists between a scene picturing two hugging girls and the lyrics “Gryp nou jou naaste se hand en dans op die maat van jou hart” (Grab your neighbour’s hand and dance to the beat of your heart). Scenes depicting a marriage proposal and a birthday celebration similarly complement the lyrics convincingly.

The sense of complementation between these scenes and the text as a unit are, however, in constant conflict with the warehouse/photo shoot scenes picturing Van Jaarsveld: She is

depicted singing the lyrics but the alluring manner in which she flirts with the camera does not hold a strong connection with the words she is uttering. This conflict is only, momentarily, resolved in the scene where she is depicted with the larger group of children, who are singing "for love". However, in the final scene conflict with the supposed message of the song yet again results as Van Jaarsveld struts down the street like a model on a catwalk and peers alluringly over her shoulder.

Karlien van Jaarsveld's trademark 'strut' has, in fact, been the subject of a song by the Afrikaans singer Vincent Gordon, which was, in turn, clearly inspired by the international hit "Walk like Rihanna", by *The Wanted*. Karlien van Jaarsveld's glamorous image is therefore a commodity within itself. Projected through this image her plea for forgiveness, love and peace in "Sing vir Liefde" consequently has the same hollow ring as a call for world peace in a beauty pageant speech.

Van Jaarsveld's 'blonde beauty queen' appearance certainly aligns with the concept of 'beauty' that dominates Western media images. But whereas 'blondeness' begs some association with the apartheid metanarrative's disciplining racial classifications in the service of a segregating variant of the biopower theorised by Foucault, the adherence of Van Jaarsveld's image to narrow perceptions of beauty does not necessarily imply that the (albeit heavily commercialised) "Sing vir Liefde" music-lyrics-visuals package necessarily reveals adherence to a closed Afrikaner identity construct. Yet, when coupled with the following considerations, drawn solely from the lyrics and from video image / sung text combinations in the scenes picturing children, the decidedly Western image of beauty projected by Van Jaarsveld does, arguably, contribute to an association of "Sing vir Liefde" with a 'closed' Afrikaner identity.

At first glance it appears unlikely that the song's sliver of a message, within its light, seemingly nondescript envelope, could add a significant voice to this investigation. However, my perplexity at the *Tempo* nomination that its video received from *Huisgenoot* compelled me to scrutinise the

song/video combination for significance and for possible adherence to Afrikaner identity formations.

The first clue that the song aspires to extend its message beyond the advocating of personal displays of love and forgiveness among immediate friends and family, lies in the frequent use of pronouns in their plural form. This is perhaps not true of the first stanza of verse 1. The "us" to whom Van Jaarsveld refers within this stanza does seem to constitute her immediate friends as she sings:

> My vriende, dis tyd om te lewe,
> *My friends, it's time to live,*
>
> As ons net mekaar kan vergewe.
> *If we can only forgive each other.*

The stanza concludes with a call to take the hand of one's neighbour, which is, as previously mentioned, accompanied by an image of two girls hugging.

However, a sense of differentiation into distinct self-other identity formations may be found in the lyrics of the second stanza of verse 1. This demarcation is brought about by the plural form of the pronouns in conjunction with the mention of geographical distance from the 'other':

> Ons kyk al te lank oor die pad
> *We have been looking across the road too long*
>
> Sonder om ander te help.
> *Without helping others.*

The suggestion of a 'distance' between 'groups' (which are on different sides of the road), is then re-enforced in the chorus and is accompanied by an encouragement to welcome 'the other' in and to start over.

> Sing vir liefde, sing,
> *Sing for love, sing,*
>
> Die tyding wat ons bring,
> *The tiding that we bring,*

Nooi die mense in,
Welcome the people in,

Kom aan, laat ons oor begin.
Come, let us start anew.

A sense of patronisation is already present at this point. The command might have been given to welcome "the people" in but referring to them sweepingly and impersonally as "the people" is not very welcoming and rather serves to emphasise that they are perceived as a unit of sameness different to one's own unit of sameness. The idea is also created that the desired *status quo* is the place into which these people are invited – by welcoming them in 'we' are allowing 'them' the privilege of access into this preferred (perhaps even superior) place / state of being.

Cognisance of the sung text / visual image combination at the beginning of the first stanza of verse 2 also strengthens the suggestion that "Sing Vir Liefde" strives to be about more than the maintenance of personal friendship (a suggestion that might explain why *Huisgenoot* afforded the video significance through a *Tempo* nomination). The singing of the following lyrics mainly coincides with the very first appearance of a black character in the video, in the person of a little black girl, who is pictured playing bowls with a few white children:

Breek nou die kettings wat terughou,
Break the chains that hold us back,

En staan op in die naam van saambou.
And stand up in the name of building together.

The second stanza of verse 2 continues in a similarly sweeping manner:

Jy is 'n baken van vrede,
You are a beacon of peace,

'n Flitslig wat skyn vir die hede,
A torch light that shines for the present,

Die berge en dale sal hoor

The hills and vales will hear

'n Nuwe begin lê nou voor.
(That) a new beginning is ahead of us.

The reference to a torch light shining for the present is reminiscent of the tableau sketched by Betsie Verwoerd in the *Interlude* preceding chapter 4, and also reminds one of the Apollonian linkage of culture with light – an association explored in relation to conservative notions of Afrikaner culture within the preceding discussions of "Boer Loop Deur My Are" and "Bloedgrond". In turn, "Berge en Dale" is a direct reference to the first line of Hymn No. 509 in the *Liedboek*, an Afrikaans Hymnal. As such it allows association with the previously mentioned perception of the Afrikaner nation as stoically and 'inherently' religious. [88] The stanza above is sung against a scene depicting white boys with a rugby ball and a scene picturing a group of bubble-blowing white children. Hence these white children 'become' beacons of peace and torch lights for the present – they are manifestations of a celebration of heteronormativity, institutionalised through a focus on family and marriage within an Afrikaner pastorate embedded in the "Word of the Father".

Within the large ensemble in the penultimate scene only two black children are featured. Thus, only three black children are consequently featured throughout the course of a video in which images of children serve as a focal point and collaborative nation building serves as a pivotal message. The result is the creation of a white (Afrikaans) world in which a blonde, posing Van Jaarsveld – who carefully balances her own sexualised image with projections of innocence and family values – sings about the future roles of white children, with the inclusion of three 'token' black children, deemed sufficient to give support to the song's implied message about love, forgiveness, and reconciliation in South Africa (on the white Afrikaner's terms). One could speculate that Van Jaarsveld is attempting to play to both more liberal and conservative white

[88] Van Jaarsveld similarly alludes to an iconic phrase from *Voortrekker* 'mythology' in her song "Hande", to which I have alluded in chapter 3. The latter is a love song in which she expresses hope that her lover will use his hands to tell her how much he loves her. By stating that she will walk barefoot over the mountains for a little hope, the lyrics rather crudely link her sensual expectations with the statement of the *Voortrekker* Susanna Smit that she would rather walk barefoot over the Drakensburg than submit to British rule (Brink 2008:9).

Afrikaners by advocating a (supposedly liberal) welcoming of 'the other' without confronting the conservatively minded with the possibility that change to their status quo would be needed to achieve her goal. The pivotal goal of her song's message – to sing about love and to welcome 'the other' in – does, in fact, easily translate into a sermon resonant with the previously described hyperreality-based 'life-style' religion[89] of the 'modern but conservatively inclined' Afrikaner. And the more conservative listener / 'congregant' is likely to be won over by the underlying assumption that the Afrikaner is still in control; that he is still able to bestow benevolence upon 'the other' by allowing this 'other' controlled access into his own domain. As such there is little, if any, conflict between Van Jaarsveld's 'transformative' message and the late Bishop Trevor Huddleston's following description of the separatist, racist orientation of the Afrikaans Church,[90] in his book *Naught for Your Comfort*:[91] "Logically, therefore, the native peoples are also part of a divine plan. They are in South Africa by right also…But they must know their place. They are to be led, to be guided, to be governed, by the chosen people" (Huddleston 1956:63 in Wilkins and Strydom 2012: 294). Rather than being a contribution to the fostering of potentially transformative relations of power, "Sing vir Liefde" therefore serves as commentary in service of a conservative Afrikaner narrative, intent on clinging to the notions of superiority that fed the exercising of segregating biopower through the apartheid state. In his Inaugural Lecture at the College de France, Foucault describes such commentary, which helps to block the proliferation of 'new' texts adverse to the reigning narrative, as follows: "The infinite rippling of commentaries is worked from the inside by the dream of a repetition in disguise: at its horizon there is perhaps nothing but what was at its point of departure – mere repetition" (Foucault 1970 in Young 1981:58).

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[89] In accordance with this observation, religious testimonies are not in short supply in *Huisgenoot* articles featuring Karlien van Jaarsveld (for example, in the issue of 14 March 2019) or Bobby van Jaarsveld (for example, in the issue of 9 November 2017).

[90] Discussed in chapter 2 and in the preceding analysis of "Dis 'n Land".

[91] The late Anglican Bishop Trevor Huddleston was expelled from South Africa in 1954 due to his anti-apartheid activism. His book *Naught for Your Comfort* was published in 1956 by William Collins Sons and Co. Ltd. Given the musical subject matter of the thesis, it is of interest that Huddleston also displayed a very keen interest in township jazz. He secured initial instruments for the young Jonas Gwanga and Hugh Masekela, who were both to become prolific South African jazz artists. They, in turn, started the Huddleston Jazz Band (http://www.trevorhuddleston.org/page21.html).

In this regard the Van Jaarsveld-video reminds one of the re-make of Carika Keuzenkamp's[92] song "Dis 'n Land" (This is a Country), by the Afrikaans singer/rapper Francois Henning, alias Snotkop. Neither of these songs have received coverage in 2018 and 2019 *Huisgenoot* issues. However, because I perceive the general orientation of the Snotkop song as echoing the manner in which "Sing vir Liefde" adheres to a re-enforcement of 'closed' Afrikaner identity constructs, I will briefly describe the interplay between lyrics, broad musical structures and visual images in the two "Dis 'n Land" versions.

The Keuzenkamp song,[93] released in 1987, is in verse and chorus form, with a bridge before the return of the chorus. As a musical composition it is a configuration of formulaic structural codes typical of popular international 'mainstream' music of the 1970s and 1980s. This composition originated as the song "Lass Mich Nicht Allein" – performed by the 1982 Eurovision Song Contest winner Nicole – and was written by Ralph Siegel and Bernd Meiniger – a duo responsible for many Eurovision entries over the years (https://www.esccovers.com/dis-n-land-carike-keuzenkamp/). Its Afrikaans words were written by Keuzenkamp (https://www.lyricsbox.com/carike-keuzenkamp-dis-n-land-lyrics-pzww9jq.html).

Herewith the Afrikaans lyrics of the chorus:

> Dis 'n land van kleure en klank,
> *It's a country of colours and sound,*
>
> Dis 'n land van oorvloed en dank,
> *It's a country of abundance and thanks,*
>
> Dis 'n land waar almal na strewe.
> *It is a country to which everyone strives.*

[92] Keuzenkamp was a very popular Afrikaans singer during the 1970s and the 1980s. She remains an icon within the world of Afrikaans music. Hence the *Huisgenoot* issue of 11 July featured her family holiday overseas in the 'Local Celebrity' pages. During the 1970s and the 1980s, South African musicians were subject to strict censorship, in service of the National Party. The central mechanism for direct censorship of publications was the Directorate of Publications but the SABC also played a large role in exercising censorship, by denying musicians airplay. Whereas concerns of both these bodies included "political and rebellious messages, blasphemy, and overtly sexual lyrics", the SABC was, additionally, intent on protecting "the government's ideology of separate tribes, independent homelands, and cultural purity" (Drewett 2003: 154-156).

[93] The viewer may access a video recording of this song at https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=carike+keuzenkamp+dis+%27n+land.

Dis ‘n land sonder horison ent,
It is a country of which the horizons know no end,

Dis ‘n land wat weet dat hy kan
It’s a country that knows that it can

Ook ‘n blyplek neerlê vir my.
Offer a place for me to stay.

The video of Keuzenkamp’s song begins and ends with scenes portraying the natural beauty of South Africa, while the body of the video alternates between scenes picturing a singing Keuzenkamp and images of the people of the country. Reflective of the time in the country’s history when this song was recorded – when apartheid was under attack both from within the country and internationally[94] – it is not surprising that the presence of the military is reflected, and indeed celebrated, in the bridge of the song, which is accompanied by images of war planes deploying a parachute battalion. Towards the end of the bridge these soldiers are marching through a field, to the following lyrics:

Dis ‘n land wat koers kan hou,
It’s a country which can stay on track,

Gee jy maar net die rigting.
Just give the direction.

Regarding the depiction of ‘the people of the country’, video images in verse 1 are confined to non-white people, with the exclusion of a scene in which a white woman supervises non-white women in a clothing factory. Conversely verse 2 is accompanied exclusively by images of white people. Hence an echoing of the segregationist stance pivotal to the apartheid discourse may be found in the construction of the video. Of further interest is the complete omission of images depicting black people, with all the non-white people featured being coloureds.

Although the chorus suggests that South Africa has a place for every one of its people, the video images accentuate that the 'place' of featured people of colour is a subservient one, deserved through labour. This perception of the divinely ordained subservient role of the 'Native' is similarly borne out by the 1956 Huddleston quotation, and the "Sing vir Liefde" discussion, above, although Huddleston's reference to the 'Native' is, admittedly, more focused on black than coloured people. In turn the white people, pictured on horseback, appear to be farm owners. Their actions also appear more directed / focused than those of the non-white people, whose instances of manual labour are interspersed with childlike, playful scenes. This is in accordance with the typical casting of non-white people as comical characters within Afrikaans films. Due to the reigning societal construct of the day, they were also, invariably, cast as servants. A case in point is the coloured gardener in the 1967 film "Hoor My Lied".

In Cook's terms, complementation between the lyrics and video images may be found in the scenes depicting the natural beauty of the country and the activities of its white people. However, contest results in verse 1, when the words "Dis 'n land van oorvloed en dank" (It's a country of abundance and thanks), which is set to a joyful, lilting melody, coincides with scenes of glaring poverty that, matter-of-factly, surround the non-white people. Hence the impression is created that their poverty is the norm within this country of abundance, and that they should be thankful for what they do have. Despite attempts to soften the video clips of war planes by focusing on their swirling acrobats between the clouds, contest is also created by the juxtaposing of these combat vehicles and a tuneful, formulaic composition, fit for dancing. The light-hearted mood and sweet tone colour of Keuzenkamp's voice are, similarly, at odds with the scenes of marching soldiers, although the accompanying lyrics, which refer to the country's resolute adherence to its course, do allow association with its militant defence of the apartheid discourse – the compass directing its route. The contest between the multi-media components perceived in this scene consequently serves as a stark enforcement of the pro-apartheid polemics permeating the song/video interplay throughout.

In 2013 Francois Henning/Snotkop released an adapted version of Keuzenkamp's "Dis 'n Land". Henning/Snotkop started his musical career in the 1990s as the *kwaito* artist *Lekgoa* (White Guy) and released two *kwaito*[95] albums, respectively titled *Bastesana* and *Ngamla Yoba*. He adopted the stage name Snotkop in 2005, and in 2012 the song "Ek laaik van jol" (I like to party) propelled him to stardom within the context of the Afrikaans music industry. Snotkop has been receiving intermittent coverage in *Huisgenoot* since 2011 – including coverage concerning his new holiday home in KwaZulu-Natal, in the issue of 5 December 2019, of which he also graces the cover.

His version of "Dis 'n Land"[96] maintains the same chorus as the Keuzenkamp song. He also borrows from the original video's focus on nature through frequent scenes of himself on the beach, presumably Blouberg Strand, with Table Mountain in the background. Snotkop's version alternates three rapped verses with the original chorus, which remains sung. Whereas the first verse primarily deals with his supposed 'white Afrikaner' memories of a farm in the Free State, and includes references to *potjiekos*, brandy and coke, rugby and Carike (Keuzenkamp) on the radio, the second verse focusses on cultural diversity. The concepts representative of such diversity include 'bunny chow' (mutton curry in a bread roll, associated with Indian culture), the 'Madiba Jive', *Huisgenoot*, Stellenbosch, the legendary rugby player Mannetjies Roux, the Cape Flats, Kurt Darren's hit "Kaptein", the rugby stadium Loftus Versfelt and Namakwaland.

The final verse is suggestive of conflict: It is, for example, as if conflict exists between a childhood wish to be like the (often controversial) David Kramer and the prospect of every Sunday belonging to the "Our Father", complemented by images of rather stern-looking parents. Snotkop similarly refers to the *ghoema* (coloured traditional music/jazz) in his blood, which brings the issue of the Afrikaner's 'mixed' blood to the table. This final rapped section ends in a prayer, requesting blessings on the country and all people who, like him, dream of peace – hence the current absence of peace is implied.

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[95] A post-1994 black South African urban contemporary music genre derived from rap and hip hop.

[96] The reader may access a recording of this song at https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=snotkop+dis+n+land..

Viewed in isolation, the lyrics of the rapped verses could perhaps be perceived as a credible reflection of the singer's 'richly textured' and conflicted ontological awareness. Notions of such credibility and earnestness, borne out of critical self-reflection are, however, brought into question by i) the decision to use a chorus that was borrowed from a German 'pop' song and translated into Afrikaans apartheid propaganda as an (unchanged) structural component and ii) the syrupy, ideological lyrics of this chorus. In this regard it is also noteworthy that Snotkop is no stranger to the practice of borrowing contemporary international melodies for his Afrikaans lyrics, with the melody of his song "Parapapa"[97] being borrowed from the Brazilian song "Rap Das Armas", by *Cidinho and Doca.*[98] Had such borrowing not extended to the taking over of this musical composition in its entirety one could, perhaps, have employed Snotkop's background as a *kwaito* singer as a redemptive factor regarding his musical integrity, given the prominence of 'mixing' in *kwaito* related rap, hip hop and house music.

Despite the allusions to the 'Madiba-jive' and the Cape Flats in Snotkop's supposed frame of reference and the mention of *ghoema* in his blood – which both tend to lose some credibility due to their juxtaposing with a chorus borrowed from a melody that did not develop on African soil – the video image to the final repeat of the chorus furthermore pictures the singer leading a group of exclusively white adults and children through a rustic setting. This scene is reminiscent of the scene picturing marching soldiers in the original Keuzenkamp video. The choreography of its opening shot also invites association with a scene in the video accompanying the contentious Bok van Blerk song "De La Rey", namely the moment when Van Blerk, dressed as a soldier during the Anglo-Boer War, leads women and children out of a concentration camp. The seemingly transformative stance of Snotkop's song is consequently problematised; in part by the whiteness of Snotkop's pastoral flock, and in part by a choreography that – among those familiar with

[97] The reader may access the video of Snotkop's "Parapapa" at https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=parapapa+snotkop

[98] The reader may access the video of *Cidinho and Doca's* "Rap Das Armas" at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZthNYozVwNM

contemporary Afrikaans music videos – establishes subtle links both with militant enforcement of Afrikaner nationalism during apartheid, and with Van Blerk's equally militant liberation of his 'parish' from British colonial rule. Adding to this sense of contest between the multi-media components employed, a simultaneous questioning of his professed affinity for his diverse 'local' culture results from the borrowing of a borrowed German pop 'chorus' (originally composed as a commodity) which, of course, results in a rather anaemic *simulacrum.* Given David Kramer's contention with 'tired' endless copies of copies, Snotkop consequently stands accused of perpetuating cultural impoverishment by one of the professed cultural 'icons' in his lyrics. And, in an ironic twist, David Kramer's defiant *persona* is turned into a *simulacrum* by its inclusion in the lyrics of the song through which Snotkop is perceived to perpetuate such impoverishment.

Continued problematisation of this song points at the parallel between the very narrow (white) perception of Afrikaner-identity reflected by the final scenes of its video and the inclusion of no fewer than three black children in Van Jaarsveld's "Sing vir Liefde" video. Similarities between the ways in which these videos foster notions of self-other demarcation do, however, not end here. Snotkop dresses like a rapper and this, coupled with his references to "ghoema in one's blood" and the Cape Flats, could perhaps be seen as acknowledgement of the non-white origins of Afrikaans. However, when the video pictures him driving through Namakwaland, his vehicle is a glamorous, luxurious sports car, an image which creates contest with his professed sense of connectedness to the poverty-stricken Cape Flats.[99] This disparity correlates with the prominence given to Karlien van Jaarsveld's glamorous image in the "Sing vir Liefde" video. Her carefully groomed appearance similarly spells luxury and privilege. Such material privilege is also reflected in the general appearance of all the other characters in the video. The preceding discussion of "Sing vir Liefde" related the sense of glamour permeating the video to the enticing, glowing, 'hyperreality' characterising the charismatic 'life-style' religion that frames 'modern' but

[99] Given Snotkop's use of rapping and earlier mentioned links with *kwaito,* one might, however, contend that his flashy sports car begs some association with the glorification of materialism in *kwaito* videos. Whereas the manifestations of materialism in relatively earlier *kwaito* videos, like Arthur Mafokate's 2008 hit "Oyi Oyi" (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1PwH1U5s6bU), may be described as gaudy, and tend to have scenes of relative squalor as backdrop, later *kwaito* videos, like Zinhle Ngidi's 2015 hit "Shumaya" (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A0Y5v4i-5bo), project a more sophisticated materialism, which would not be at odds with the 'sports car scene' in *Snotkop's* "Dis 'n Land".

exclusivist versions of the Afrikaner pastorate. Within Snotkop's "Dis 'n Land" song/video package, the careless projection of considerable material comfort, albeit framed within a more 'worldly' *status quo*, analogously lacks the prudent mastery over appetites, required from a liberated and critically transformative 'self'(Foucault 1987: 115-116).

5.3.4 "Raak Vir My Rustig" (Chill for me) – Snotkop[100]

"Raak Vir My Rustig", the electronic hip hop/rap song by Snotkop, which will subsequently be analysed, in conjunction with its video, was also selected on the grounds of its 2018 'Video of the Year' *Huisgenoot Tempo* nomination.

A musical focus on Snotkop's "Raak Vir My Rustig" reveals that the song is composed of some predictable structural musical signs: it is in simple quadruple time and the sung sections of the song are in G major, accompanied by standard tonic, subdominant and dominant chords. Although a formulaic approach evidently governs the harmonies, the mixture of topical musical signs superimposed on these lend the song a much greater degree of interest: a 'hip hop' style with guitar riffs borrowed from *boeremusiek* and splicing suggestive of a concertina's sound prove innovative, entertaining and transformative. Regarding form, the outline of the song may be described as follows: The song commences with an introduction reminiscent of *boeremusiek*, which is linked with an image of an elderly man on electric guitar in the video. This *boeremusiek* introduction merges into an electronic hip hop section, framed by the words "Raak vir My Rustig" (Chill for Me), which is followed by a verse sung by Snotkop and a section that he raps. The hip hop, verse and rap sections are then repeated, and the song concludes with the chorus, followed by a final return of the hip hop section. Herewith an extract from the lyrics of the chorus, which, in Cook's terms, complements a video picturing scantily clad youngsters on lilos in the swimming pool on a farmyard:

[100] The reader may access a video recording of this song at https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=snotkop+raak+vir+my+rustig+.

Vat hom soos 'n Vrydag, Vrydag laat die goeie tye rol,
Take it like a Friday, Friday makes the good times roll,

En laat daai worries, worries van jou lyf afrol.
And make those worries, worries, roll off your body.

Vir ewig Vrydag, Vrydag maak die lekker in my los,
Forever Friday, Friday loosens the fun in me,

En skink daai voggies, daai voggies en gee minder om.
And pour that drink, that drink and care less.

The first verse prompts the supposed owner of the farm to relax and the second verse, with a similar message, is directed at his wife. Apart from the elderly gentleman playing electric guitar, the farmer and his wife are the only people around the swimming pool who cannot be described as youthful. The video focuses quite extensively on the many 'bikini girls', as is often the case in videos accompanying Snotkop's particular brand of 'party songs'. In this regard the video and lyrics of his 2016 song "Hoe Lykit!" proved particularly contentious and were met with concerns surrounding its explicit content. The latter controversy also afforded Snotkop an article in the *Huisgenoot* issue of 10 November 2016.

Objectification of the female form is quite pervasive in both international rap/hip hop lyrics and videos, as attested by the studies of Kistler and Lee (2010), regarding videos, and Flynn (2016), regarding song lyrics. With regard to the local rap/hip hop scene, mention has been made of misogyny in the song lyrics/videos of Biggie's "Dames" (Ladies) and in the Jack Parow, Justin Vega and Early B collaboration entitled "Potte"(Pots). Such demeaning female objectification also characterises the party scenes in many *kwaito* videos, with the videos of *Boom Shaka* serving as extreme examples. Both "Dames" and "Potte" would allow classification in term of the 'party rap' category of Krims's rap theory, which he perceives as the lightest, most commercial category and to which he furthermore attributes a focus on pleasure, humour and a celebration of life, including references to sex and romance (2000:56 in Viljoen 2011:260-261). According to Krims's theory, rap genres may be viewed as symbolic representations of specific ethnic and geographic identities (2000:63 in Viljoen 2011:260). Hence one could hypothesise that a commercial (party) song designed with the intent to provide assured relaxation/gratification to a particular identity

group would run the risk of only including the 'other' (for example, the opposite gender or another racial group) in terms of the pleasure this commodified 'other' could afford the 'self' that constitutes the target market of the song. Hence concerns for greater understanding of the 'other' and transformation of the 'self' are unlikely to feature readily in this mindset. Adherence to this mindset, ironically, also entails subjectification of the 'self' by the 'closed' text that 'represents'/stereotypes it.

Moving beyond rap, related reference to the patriarchal stance permeating 'closed' notions of Afrikaner identity has previously been shown to abound in polemic 'party' (dance oriented) songs the likes of "Boer Loop Deur My Are" and "Die Land", which implement pastoral power to enforce heteronormativity. Observations regarding the patriarchal stance of these polemical songs, which manifest a hankering after the 'old' South Africa, support Desiree Lewis's belief that the current emphasis on heterosexist relations and discourses in South Africa's neo-colonial context may, in part, be attributed to the embedded patriarchal remnants of its pre-1994 apartheid rule (2008:104). This belief, may, in turn, have a bearing on the misogyny perceived both in *kwaito* songs and in the rap-oriented Afrikaans party songs in question. Moreover, Lewis's further contention regarding a global "resurgence of nationalism driven by fiercely resilient patriarchal discourses of sexuality" (2008:104) may, in turn, be connected to the misogyny currently also the norm in international hip hop videos which – albeit to a large extent reactionary to the reigning nationalist discourse – remain entrenched within its consumer orientation.

In returning to the video "Raak Vir My Rustig", one finds depiction of pleasure-driven commodification of 'the other', with regard to gender, in a general lingering of the camera on semi-clad female bodies and in scenes where a bikini girl is *braai*-ing (barbecuing) the 'chilled' Snotkop's meat for him. Pleasure-driven commodification of 'the other', as perceived across racial barriers, also occurs: [101] Each of the instrumental hip hop sections mentioned earlier in this

[101] Coloured artists like Early B are quite frequently included in mainstream Afrikaans rap song collaborations, albeit perhaps in the stereotyping capacity of adding credibility to white Afrikaans artists' ventures into this traditionally non-white genre. However, an extension of the hypothesis regarding the self-gratification and exclusivism underpinning 'party' rap songs may readily be applied to *kwaito's* 'closed' celebration of township street culture. In this regard Snotkop's early *kwaito* career, J'Something's membership of *Micasa* and collaborations between the late Mandoza and Johnny K serve as exceptions to the norm.

discussion are framed by exclamations of the sentence "Raak Vir My Rustig". These rather shrill, high-pitched exclamations, with important comical intent, both musically and visually, 'belong' to an elderly coloured woman. She is not only the sole character 'of colour' in the video but is also the only character standing outside the fencing around the pool. Whereas all the other characters are in leisure wear, her hair is covered by a head scarf and she is wearing a white jersey over what seems like a pink overall.[102] The impression is created that she is a kitchen maid who is observing all the jollity from a distance and adds to the amusement on offer by being unable to contain her excitement.

Casting of this nature, which the discussion of Carike Keuzenkamp's "Dis 'n Land" has linked to common practice during the apartheid years, supports a convenient perception of non-white people as childlike – and hence as playful and amusing. Such attribution of childlike qualities to non-white people is, of course, also reflected in the previously mentioned reference to non-white adult servants as boys and girls. The employment of similarly degrading patronisation in "Raak vir My Rustig", assisted by an implied exercising of the segregation pivotal to the biopower anchoring apartheid, is consequently deeply concerning – as is *Huisgenoot's Tempo* nomination for a video which reflects such strong adherence to a closed Afrikaner identity formation. One could only speculate that this nomination was prompted by a superficial impression of the video as a 'celebration of diversity' due to its interesting combination of *boeremusiek* and hip hop and its inclusion of a non-white 'character' in a pivotal (albeit scathingly patronising) role.

5.4 Musical manifestations of adherence to more 'open' identity constructs

5.4.1 Two Songs from the Rock Album *Blitzkriek* by Willim Welsyn and his band

Willim Welsyn (born William Barnard) is better known as the lead singer and guitarist of the Afrikaans rock band *Willim Welsyn en die Sunrise Toffies*. In 2011 this group won the *Huisgenoot Tempo Award: Best Rock Album* for "Smeer die Weerlig" and the *Huisgenoot Tempo Award: Best*

[102] The similar casting of non-white characters as servants in overalls has received critical attention in the analysis of "Die Land" and Carika Keuzenkamp's "Dis 'n Land".

Alternative Music Video for "Friek YT". Willim Welsyn also pursues a solo career in Afrikaans and English and uses the name William Welfare for music aimed at English listeners. The *Huisgenoot* of 18 January 2018 contains a feature on Welsyn, which dwells on the highly successful WAT pod studio that he operates from his garage and on his 2017 album *Blitzkriek*. The following two songs, which I perceive as being reflective of more 'open', potentially transformative Afrikaans identity constructs, belong to this album:

5.4.1.1 Al die Cool Kinders (All the Cool Kids)[103]

Tecla Ciolfi perceives "Al die Cool Kinders" as tangling "with the punky vigor of *Fokofpolisiekar's* early work and Karen Zoid's lyrical playfulness" (Texxandthecity/2017/05/willim-welsyn-al-die-cool-kinders).[104] She goes on to describe the lyrics of the song as the mixing of "descriptive storytelling with an edge of existential doubt at breakneck speed". In turn Wouter Pienaar views the contrasting metaphors as constituting an elegy for society, in search of the core of human existence and identity (https://potchefstroomherald.co.za/41767/willim-welsyn-rock-voort-met-sy-getroue-afrikaanse-arsenaal-op-blitzkriek/).

The song fluctuates between two fast-paced verses, on the brink of hysteria, and two repeats of a scuffling, pensive chorus. This verse-chorus / verse-chorus format is divided by a rollicking instrumental interlude. Structural musical signs employed are somewhat more complex than those of most of the songs previously discussed. Rhythmic contrast between the verse and chorus sections is facilitated by a change from simple quadruple to compound duple time. Harmonically the song is in F major. It makes frequent use of the submediant-subdominant interrelation, with occasional implementation of the diminished leading tone chord.

Within the two verses Welsyn describes two types of 'inner circles', namely a sophisticated, 'cool', blasé group and an unimaginative, materialistic suburban group. Both verses conclude with the (false) hope, captured in the lyrics below, that, although the perceived listener does not

[103] The reader may access a video recording of this song at https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=willim+welsyn+al+die+cool+kinders+.

[104] Both the musical styles and career paths of *Fokofpolisiekar* and Karen Zoid will receive consideration in Chapter 7.

really have access to an inner circle, the future, coupled with the message of the rock group singing this song, holds something better in store:

> Trek nou jou mooiste T-shirt aan
> *Put on your nicest T-shirt*
>
> Vee af daai laaste koue traan
> *Wipe away that last cold tear*
>
> En klim die trein na more toe, vanaand kom ons jou haal.
> *And board the train to tomorrow - we are fetching you tonight.*

A repeated guitar riff, accompanying the "Ahh" refrain, links each verse with its chorus, in which the music and mood languish with a hopeless sense of nihilism. Through the lyrics of the chorus the notion of God, described as a filter, with a funnel at the top, is rejected. The people in today's society are described as lonely, despite the sense of connectedness that technology and the images that it helps to project seem to offer, and despite the emoji 'likes' that their thumbs 'throw out' to one another.

The video of "Al die Cool Kinders" mainly focuses on the torso of the actress Erica Wessels,[105] who lip syncs to Welsyn's singing, thereby creating the impression of being a drag queen. During the instrumental interlude the focus shifts to the instrumentalists, including Welsyn, dressed in jeans and a T-shirt. Welsyn's drag *alter ego* (portrayed by Wessels), which would not easily give him entry into either of the two 'inner circles' that he describes, could be viewed as a signification of the sense of alienation central to the song. The fact that Wessels's lip syncing to a male voice creates the impression that she is a male (Welsyn) in costume – which creates a 'doubled up' sense of gender-based pretence – also heightens the song's concern with the falseness of the sense of connectedness that computer screens may offer. Closer observation furthermore makes it clear that the pendant forming part of Wessels's 'drag' costume is an upside-down triangle.

[105] In August 2017, the actress Erica Wessels was "Cover Girl of the Month" of the Afrikaans magazine *Rooi Rose.* She also acted in the television adaptation of the crime thriller *Orion* by Deon Meyer [https://www.rooirose.co.za/erica-wessels-willim-welsyn-se-nuwe-musiekvideo/].

This 'drag version' of Welsyn (the image of Wessels) remains at the top of the screen, framed within this shape, during the instrumental interlude.

The upside-down triangle's association with the female and the feminine side of things could be extended to refer to the mother or to a passive succumbing to the effects of the lunar phases (https://www.reference.com>upside-down-triangle-mean-e26d45e2a82a7848). In view of these extended associations, one could, perhaps, also perceive the drag image as signifying i) the 'mother' that promises hope (but cannot offer it) ii) the 'earth mother' that replaces the rejected God/father figure or iii) the Dionysian mother figure, ruled by the lunar phases, who revolts against Apollonian society in which the (screen) image rules. Finally, the 'passivity' association, which sprouts from stereotypical views on femininity, functions to enforce the earlier mentioned idea that the drag image in itself signifies passive resignation to the fictionalisation and alienation within society. Whereas the latter is a possibility, I would be more inclined to view the song's employing of a (supposed) drag persona as active resistance rather than passivity, given the previously described strong patriarchal underpinnings of the conservative Afrikaner establishment, resting on the pastoral premise of heteronormativity. In this regard, it is of significant interest that Gretha Wiid, an Afrikaans Christian lifestyle guru, called homosexuality "sorrowful" in her life guide for boys, entitled *Lyfslim vir Seuns* (Body Wise for Boys). This 2016 book and its complementing 2019 publication *Lyfslim vir Meisies (*Body Wise for Girls*)* thus beg association with Jan van Elfen's previously discussed 1977 "Wat Meisies Wil Weet" (*What Girls Want to Know*), on the grounds of the closed identity construct which they promote. Adhering to pastoral practice, albeit within the simulated, profit-based context of 'life style' religion, Wiid, who also writes books on the secrets to a successful marriage, confesses to her emotional breakdown after her divorce in the *Huisgenoot* of 20 November 2016 (https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2018-07-19-christian-author-gretha-wiid-told-to-stop-talking-about-homosexuality/). It is, however, also important to note that Wiid's contentious statements regarding homosexuality received strong criticism within a subsequent article in the *Huisgenoot* issue of 25 May 2017.

In terms of Cook's model, the drag image projected in "Al die Cool Kinders", strengthened by the (exaggerated) effeminate gestures that Wessels emulates, serves to create contest within the video. This drag image is not only at odds with the masculine character of rock music but also with the pulsating, frenetic style characterising the verses and instrumental interlude in the song. Such contest fuels the Dionysian onslaught against the neat Apollonian 'inner circles' described in the lyrics. The lyrics, coupled with the raw, violent rock sounds, certainly aim to depict these 'circles', based on facile media images, as enemies: In the case of the 'cool' crowd in verse 1, aggression towards those OUTSIDE the circle is suggested through the following excerpts from the lyrics, describing the 'heavy' atmosphere surrounding this circle, in which consoling words cannot be trusted:

> Veral as die blinde messelem jou keel se koors wil smeer
> *Especially when the blind knife edge wants to rub the fever in your throat*
>
> Met allerhande salf vol haat,
> *With ointments filled with hate.*
>
> Kan skaars op jou selfoon praat.
> *Can hardly speak on your cell phone.*

In turn, aggression is directed at the crowd INSIDE the stultifying, heteronormative 'suburban' circle, described as buyers of happiness who always maintain a wonderful appearance and who drive past rudely, with children in their cars, deeply informed by the smug self-righteousness of pastoral power:

> My beste vriend's so selfvoldaan,
> *My best friend is so gutsy,*
>
> Hy wens hy kon 'n aap gaan kraam
> *He wishes he could defecate*
>
> So binne-in die bed van daai gesin se karavaan.
> *Inside the bed of that family's caravan.*

I am thus inclined to perceive the aggression in the above lyrics in Dionysian terms, enhanced by the transgressive acknowledgment/celebration of conceptual multiplicity found in the

simultaneous 'presence' (and consequent implied 'absence' or fictionalisation) of the rocker Willim Welsyn and his drag persona (Wessels), within the instrumental interlude.

5.4.1.2 Herfsheks (Autumn Witch)[106]

"Herfsheks" is roughly moulded into verse and chorus form. It starts off with Kyle Gray's 8-bar drum introduction, to which a haunting 8-bar guitar melody, reminiscent of carnival music, is subsequently added. This is the melody reserved for the verses. Each of the three verses consists of two stanzas, realised musically within two eight-bar phrases. The lyrics of the first stanza of verse 1 are repeated in the first stanza of verse 3. Verses 1 and 2 are followed by an 8-bar chorus, characterised by repeated notes. In both instances this chorus is followed by an instrumental repetition of the 8-bar melody associated with the verses. The absence of a chorus after verse 3 creates an unexpected, abrupt ending – almost as if the 'thread' of music has suddenly been cut.

It should be clear from the description above that the chorus melody is only heard twice, in comparison to the no fewer than eight appearances of the verse melody. This creates a cyclical effect built on the verse melody which, together with the carnival character of the music, serves to conjure up associations with a carousel – in this case a carousel that spins so feverishly that it threatens to derail. The predominant verse melody is framed within the key of C minor but modulates to C major in the second stanza of verse 2 – notably at the point where the lyrics move from an extended metaphor to a direct and rather unflattering description of current Afrikaner society.

I interpret the song "Herfsheks" as being a critique of the current socio-political landscape in South Africa, laced with the nihilism and sense of futility found within "Al die Cool Kinders". The witch within the title and the chorus could be interpreted as a metaphor for the country as a whole. By linking this 'witch' with autumn (fall), a sense of disintegration with a foreboding of winter (death) are suggested. The apartheid sins of the past, an inability to complain about current issues in the country for fear of breaking a code of political correctness, and the inevitable

[106] The reader may access a video recording of this song at https://www.google.com/search?q=herfsheks&oq=herf&aqs=chrome.0.69i59l2j69i57j0l2j69i60l3.3237j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8.

cycle of privilege, based on oppression, that results as one Foucauldian 'will to power' supplants another are central to this song. Due to the sustained metaphors that run through the lyrics of the song in its entirety, a systematic interpretation of the lyrics is useful.

Herewith the lyrics of verse 1:

> *Stanza One*
>
> Wintervingers oor my lippe,
> *Winter fingers across my lips*
>
> Koud soos koelteklippe wat afrol oor die berg,
> *Cold like cool rocks rolling down a mountain*
>
> En ons almal weet dis erg as iemand jou try stilmaak as jy maar net wil gil.
> *And we all know it is dreadful when someone tries to quieten you when all you want to do is scream.*
>
> *Stanza Two*
>
> Satan, sit 'n bietjie nader,
> *Satan, sit a little closer,*
>
> Vertel jou ma se vader wat aangaan in jou hart,
> *Tell your mom's father what is going on in your heart*
>
> Want ons almal weet dis swart soos die middernag se paaie wat doodloop voor jou deur.
> *Because we all know it is black like the midnight paths that run to an end at your door.*

Whereas the "winter fingers" in stanza 1 foretell death, the image of rocks tumbling down a mountain speaks of disintegration and disaster – yet the lyricist / Welsyn is prevented from expressing his horror at this image. In stanza 2 his grandfather addresses him as "Satan", perhaps because of the apartheid guilt that he is carrying; due to the fact that his grandfather (also) addresses him as the devil, the idea is strengthened that even his (apartheid) past is conspiring against him. Considering the associations that the concept 'black' holds within a South African

context, it is quite provocative of Welsyn to use this colour in describing his heart:[107] By equating the negative feelings in his heart with 'blackness', he is also projecting negativity towards the 'blackness' of the government, and, on a more literal level, referring to the darkness that results due to the inability of Eskom[108] to provide electricity, as a later image reveals. This feeling of negativity extends to his fear of all the imagined evils on the 'midnight paths' that are visited on him as a white Afrikaner. The application of the term 'black' in describing both himself and 'the other' does, however, have the effect of neutralising this term to a certain extent.

The lyrics of the chorus, which employs the metaphor of an "Autumn Witch" to refer to the South African narrative, are as follows:

> Kyk hoe waai die blare deur die tuine van die jare,
> *Watch how the leaves blow through the gardens of the years*
>
> Dis die herfsheks se hare wat gekoek is aan mekaar.
> *It's the autumn witch's hair which is tangled together*
>
> Die stilte is 'n standbeeld wat vir altyd bly staan,
> *The silence is a statue which stands forever,*
>
> Soos 'n skaduwee wat hout soek onder die maan,
> *Like a shadow looking for wood underneath the moon*
>
> Soos 'n warrelwind wat wonder: Wat de fok gaan hier aan?
> *Like a whirlwind that wonders: What the fuck is going on here?*

I interpret the first two lines with their dead 'leaves' metaphor as referring to the effects of the past, tangled with the current state of affairs. The likening of silence with a statue that stands forever bears strong association with the Apollonian and Dionysian: a statue with its emphasis on the visual links with the Apollonian, which is 'focused' on the demarcation of cultural constructs. Conversely speech, like music, with its emphasis on the dynamic as opposed to

[107] The use of the concept "darkness" to create a divisive 'white-black' dichotomy has, of course, previously been discussed in connection with the perceived closed identity stances of "Bloedgrond", "Die Land" and "Sing vir Liefde".
[108] Eskom is South Africa's Electricity Supply Commission, established in 1923. In recent times, Eskom has experienced grave financial troubles and an inability to supply sufficient electricity to meet the energy needs of the country. As a result, loadshedding has become a regular occurrence in South Africa, so that people are regularly enduring quite literal times of darkness.

written/notated, is linked with the Dionysian. Hence silence, the absence of speech, could be seen as leaning towards the Apollonian, in the sense that it upholds what it does not speak about. Within the context of this song, it is unclear whether the unspoken 'supports' / serves as a monument to the apartheid past or to the present. As the previous 'leaf' metaphor has tangled the past and present, such ambivalence is probably aligned with the cynicism that underscores the lyrics. And because no effort is made to unravel this ambivalent state of silence, a shadow instead of the 'real' entity is searching for wood (yet another Eskom reference) and the only (Dionysian) force that dares to defy the *status quo* is a whirlwind. It is, however, paradoxical within the context of this Apollonian/Dionysian interplay that the current narrative in the country is seen as a witch (in other words, a mystical female figure), which would beg association with the Dionysian. Perhaps the disintegration (of the country) described in the text could be seen as a Dionysian state of chaos, which, through unquestioning silence, is afforded fixed, Apollonian status.

The following lyrics of stanza 1, verse 2 elaborate on the current problems within the country, by pointing at diplomatic lies and denial (line 1), violence (line 2) and the Eskom problem (line 3):

> Mooipraat is leuens in dowe rokke
> *Nice words are lies in deaf dresses*
>
> Of swaarde steek soos stokke, wat glinster in the nag,
> *Or swords poke like sticks, that glimmer in the night*
>
> En ons almal sit en wag vir die laaste bietjie steenkool wat uitbrand in die oond.
> *And all of us are sitting here waiting for the last bit of coal to burn out in the oven.*

Up to now "Herfsheks" has remained in the key of C minor. The change to C major, within the second stanza of Verse 2, has a dramatic, and rather ominous effect: the artificial sense of glee that is created through this change in modality is similar to the association of a major key with Death in Schubert's art song "Erlkönig", based on a text by Goethe. Within "Erlkönig" the Elf King (the 'embodiment' of Death) is luring a sick child by donning a cheerful facade, created both by the key change and by an oom-pah-pah rhythm – comparable to the carnival tune of "Herfsheks".

Parallels between "Herfsheks" and "Erlkönig" even extend to the way in which these songs employ characters drawn from folklore[109] to serve as metaphors for disintegration and death. Note, furthermore, how the "Herfsheks" lyrics of stanza 2 in verse 2 invite a parallel with the father figure in "Erlkönig" and the dying boy:

> Breindood Afrikaner-zombies, met karavaan en kombi's
> *Brain-dead Afrikaner zombies, with caravan and combis*
>
> Wat vuurmaak by die see,
> *Who are stoking fires ('braai-ing') at the seaside,*
>
> En hul kos los vir die vlieë
> *And who are leaving their food for the flies*
>
> En wydsbeen sit en vasklou aan gister se geheue.
> *While sitting astride and clinging to memories of yesterday.*

In this stanza the current day zombie (walking dead) Afrikaners, soothed by memories of the apartheid past (the words of their fathers), which offered them plenitude, are having holidays and wasting food in a state of denial. The brashness of the scene sketched by Welsyn, coupled with his reference to zombies, reminds one of Etienne Viviers's statement in his 2012 *LitNet* article "Notas oor Zef" that zef is the death of kitsch, in other words 'zombie kitsch'. If one, furthermore, takes David Kramer's concern with the kitsch resulting from cultural impoverishment in 1970s/80s white South Africa into account, Welsyn's depiction of (zef) zombies clinging to the (kitsch) Afrikaner culture of the past – framed within the supposedly secure pastoral context of a rustic family holiday – proves particularly apt and disturbing. Within the state of decay/ death sketched by "Herfsheks", which has now been extended beyond social concerns pinned on 'the other', like violence and lack of electricity, to an inclusion of the 'self' and its cultural constructs, screams are suppressed (as mentioned in the first stanza of verse 1).

[109] According to Gibbs (1995:115-135), the "Erlkönig" is, strictly speaking, not a feature of German folklore. The first time this figure is mentioned is in a ballad by Johann Gottfried Herder, "Erlkönig's Tochter" (1778), which is an abridged translation of a Danish ballad "Sir Oluf and the Elves" (1739). The ballad tells of Sir Oluf's refusal of the daughter of the Elfking's invitation to a dance on the eve of his wedding. She curses him and the next morning his bride-to-be finds his dead body in the woods.

The father in "Erlkönig" (who, in the "Herfsheks" context becomes the past with its dying/dead symbols) similarly tries to placate his son's screams.

The first stanza of verse 1, with its reference to the suppression of "winter fingers" (previously interpreted as death) and screaming, is repeated as the first stanza of verse 3. Mention has been made of the abrupt ending of verse 3, due to its failure to re-introduce the expected chorus. The manner in which Welsyn rattles off the final words of the lyrics, without any notion of a *ritardando* or other structural signs that traditionally herald musical closure, also contributes to the sense that something has been interrupted / cut short in mid-motion by a sudden ending/death. A similar effect is, notably, created in the postlude of Schubert's *Erlkönig*, with the narrator's brutal matter-of fact statement "In his [the father's] arms the child was dead", followed by silence. Herewith the lyrics that Welsyn rattles off at his song's end:

> *Verse 3, Stanza 2* :
> Ou bloed is soms ook nuwe rowe,
> *Old blood is sometimes also (responsible for) new scabs,*
>
> Wat droogword in die klowe van berge wat genees,
> *Which dry in the clefts of mountains, which are healed,*
>
> En ons almal weet dis bullshit wat alles aanmekaar hou,
> *And we all know it is bullshit that keeps everything together,*
>
> Soos 'n guest list by 'n fees.
> *Like a guest list at a festival.*

Reference to the influence of the (apartheid) past on the present may be found in the metaphor about old blood and new scabs. A sense of futility then sets in by shifting from the blood metaphor, relatable to humans, to the South African landscape, which heals and continues to exist despite the shedding of blood in the clefts of its mountains. This suggestion that the country and its narrative will continue after the current narrative (of disintegration) has played itself out, is supported by the 'observation' that our current society is based on the nonsensical whims of the 'moment' – which is always predicated on the will to power of those who happen to be representative of the reigning metanarrative. He likens the fleeting nature of power wielding

constructs and their naming/labelling of the 'chosen few' that represent them to the guest list at a festival. The latter reference might also be a wry stab at the Afrikaans cultural festivals mentioned at the end of chapter 3[110] and the list of artists considered worthy of inclusion.

An interpretation of "Herfsheks" as a manifestation of a more 'closed' perception of Afrikaner identity would be possible, due to the previously mentioned equation of 'blackness' with evil and its relentless focus on the current issues in the country and how these affect the Afrikaner in particular. However, its stark, highly unflattering depiction of Afrikaner-zombies, which extends to a disapproval of their attachment to the past, differs greatly from the sentimental musings about the 'innate' pureness and bravery of 'God's Chosen People – The Afrikaners' in the three songs analysed earlier as manifestations of more 'closed' identity constructs'.

Regarding Welsyn's use of structural musical codes, both of his analysed songs also display greater complexity and inventiveness than the formulaic dance songs within the more 'closed identity' stable. Welsyn still employs the verse and refrain form, typical of contemporary popular music, but intersperses the verse and refrain with instrumental interludes, changes in time-signatures and tempos (the chorus of "Al die Cool Kinders") as well as modalities (the major stanza in "Herfsheks") and omits expected formations (such as a final chorus for "Herfsheks"). The video of "Herfsheks" is, admittedly, not as creative as the intriguing visual realisation of "Al die Cool Kinders." Within the former video Welsyn (Vocals and Guitar), Kyle Gray (Drums) and Gerhard Grobler (Bass Guitar) merely perform the song. In Cook's terms contest is, however, created through the combination of their energetic performances, the lively tempo of the song and its ominous lyrics. This contradiction between seeming jollity and a message about social decay finds its finest embodiment in Welsyn, whose antics mimic the caricature of a sardonic court jester – a court jester who discursively distances himself from his social context in his role as fool, to deliver a critical, and potentially also dismantling, Foucauldian problematisation of both 'the self' and 'the other'.

[110] Which frequently include a *Huisgenoot* Music Tent, with selected artists.

In conclusion: Earlier mention was made of "Dis in Ons Bloed", "Bloed Loop Deur My Are" and "Die Land" as very successful dance songs, an aspect that contributes to their popularity in Afrikaner youth culture and their consequent ability to contribute to the strengthening of more 'closed' identity constructs. From this point of view the whirlwind tempo of "Herfsheks" could conceivably seduce its listeners to succumb to the temptation of a *langarm*[111] dance, only to find themselves progressively drawn into a chaotic Dionysian "Monsters' Ball" as a result!

5.4.2 Rap songs taken from albums featured in *Huisgenoot* (2018-2019):

5.4.2.1 "Oos, Wes, Tuis Bes" (East, West, Home Best), taken from Yoma's album *Moedertaal*

Moedertaal is the debut-album of Claudia Witbooi, who goes by the stage name Yoma. This album was featured in the *Huisgenoot* issue of 15 March 2018, which described it as a depiction of her journey into motherhood and her love for Afrikaans. Claudia (Yoma) is married to the rapper Simon Witbooi, better known as Hemelbesem. Hemelbesem has been nominated for a 2019 *Ghoema*-award for his song "Die Trompet" (The Trumpet). Together with *Yoma*, he is featured in *Huisgenoot* advertisements (15 and 22 March) for the show *Rymklets van Oos tot Wes* at the Klein Karoo National Arts Festival.[112] Other rappers involved with this show included Early B, Oxijin, DJ J-efx, Yugi Yo and MC IXA. In Yoma's song "Oos Wes, Tuis Bes" she introduces herself to her unborn child, with special reference to the cultural diversity constituting her

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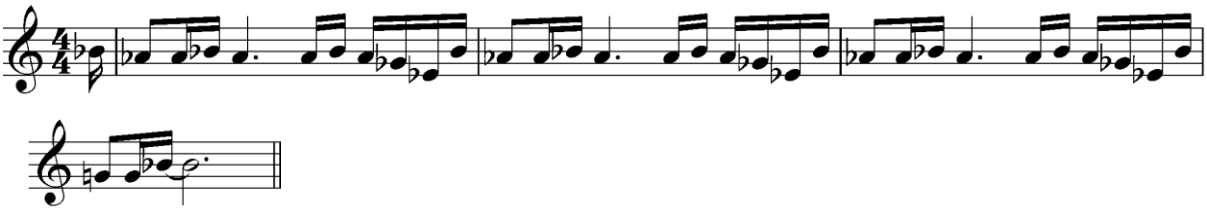
[111] The *Langarm* style is usually associated with dancing to (formulaic) Afrikaans music. However, Michael Dunseith, who completed his Masters' Degree in Musicology through Stellenbosch University on this dance form states that "[t]he term 'langarm' was in widespread use by the coloured communities of District Six and the Cape at large in the late twentieth century, to refer to the then current Ballroom dances and dance bands as well as earlier Ballroom dances and dance bands from the 1930s onward."
http://www.sun.ac.za/english/Lists/news/DispForm.aspx?ID=4965
In turn, Boudina Coetzer's 2005 research on *langarm* illustrates both the pervasiveness and the lasting popularity of the style in the coloured community by focusing on how *langarm* music and dance is practised by members of this community in Grahamstown/ Makanda in the Eastern Cape, particularly by members of the band *Coysan.*

[112] Hemelbesem's book *God is Afrikaans* and his friendship with Steve Hofmeyr seem to point to adherence to more 'closed' identity constructs / inclusivity. However, in an interview with Jean Oosthuizen at the 2017 'Stellenbosch Woordfees', upon the release of his book, Hemelbesem states that the title refers both to his own conversion to Christianity in Afrikaans and to the hip hop greeting 'awe' which refers to the inclusive notion that 'the god in me greets the god in you.' When asked about his relationship with Hofmeyr, his response was as follows: "I never play the man; I play the ball" (litnet.co.za/us-woordfees-hemelbesem-se –god-praat-Afrikaans).

background. The subsequent analysis will be confined to auditive elements and text, as this song is not accompanied by a music video.

"Oos Wes Tuis Bes" is structured within verse and chorus form and consists of two verses and two choruses. The first chorus is introduced and completed by a vocal interlude in the style of an Indian chant. After the second chorus a re-appearance of this chant-like interlude concludes the song. Yoma's rapping is accompanied throughout by a repeating, electronically generated melody, which may be transcribed as shown below.

Figure 3: Repeating melodic accompaniment ('hook') to rapping in Yoma's "Oos, Wes, Tuis Bes".



From the above it should be clear that the melody is confined to black notes from E flat to B flat on the piano (with the omission of F natural). The only white note that appears is G, in the bar that concludes the 4-bar cycle. This melody is played electronically but strives to emulate an Indian instrument – most likely an aerophone like the *pungi*. The song was done in collaboration with Ray Mohan, who is responsible for three vocal interludes. He starts the first interlude with what sounds like the stating of a full ascending and descending *raga*, on which he then proceeds to sing. I would hypothesise that the cyclical melody on the keyboard is a *Janya Raga* (or 'child raga') on this full 'parent' (*Melakarta*) *raga* and would propose that the *Janya Raga* is of the *Audava* or 5 note type (youtube.com/watch?V=geSOK65RHDQ). Note how the concept of a parent-child relationship within Indian music mirrors the subject matter of this song, and how the use of a recurring Indian theme and chant seem to suggest that Yoma views her Indian roots as particularly significant within the context of this song's celebration of her diverse cultural origin.

Yoma defines her multi-cultural roots as follows:

> Jou ma is ‘n hele pot kerrie,
> *Your mom is an entire pot of curry,*
>
> Spice roots in my bloed lê net very,
> *Many spices in my blood represent my roots,*
>
> Ja, ek is ‘n mengsel van many Coloureds,
> *Yes, I am a mixture of many Coloureds,*
>
> Moenie maak asof jy nie die verhaal ken nie:
> *Don’t pretend that you don’t know the story:*
>
> Afstammeling van die Khoi en die San,
> *Descendent of the Khoi and the San,*
>
> Ek het glads ‘n oupa-grootjie uit Nederland.
> *I even have a great-grandfather from the Netherlands.*
>
> Tong kan nie klik nie, maar daar’s Xhosa oek,
> *Tongue cannot click but there is Xhosa as well,*
>
> Dus sal jy my check in die straat met ‘n doek.
> *Therefore you will see me wearing a head scarf in the street.*

Yoma expresses her faith in the future of the country through the following chorus:

> Oos Wes, Tuis Bes, dié is my tuiste,
> *East West, Home Best, this is my home,*
>
> Jou ma gooi sout vir die bestes,
> *Your mother is able to compete with the best,*
>
> Kom bietjie nader, hoor wat my case is,
> *Come a little closer, hear what I’m saying,*
>
> SA perfek vir die groei van my kleinding.
> *SA is perfect for the upbringing of my little child.*

Within the following excerpt she also cautions her child to be proud of her heritage:

> Jy moet saadskiet.
> *Your seed must grow*.

Wat kan van 'n 'fake' saad kom as jy nie praat soos jy praat nie?
What will become of a fake seed, when you don't speak as you (really) speak?

Hou op jou praat vermom.
Stop disguising your way of speaking.

Kan jou afstammelinge in skaamte blom
Will your descendants be able to flourish/bloom in shame

As jy skadu oor jou nuwe lewe stort?
If you cast shadows over your new life?

Concern for Afrikaans and pride in this language are central to the messages of Yoma and her husband Hemelbesem, and as both of them are coloured musicians, such concern and pride extend to a reclaiming of a shared ownership of this language from remnants of the white segregationist biopower that kept it captive during apartheid. In this regard, Yoma's employment of Eastern musical elements in "Moedertaal" proves particularly pointed and dismantling to more closed Afrikaner discourse, especially bearing in mind that the first printed book in Afrikaans was a 1856 Muslim prayer book in Arabic writing (Giliomee 2018:104).

In an equally emancipatory vein, Hemelbesem points out that he is not a campaigner for a so-called 'Afrikaaps,[113] which may be seen as a stereotyping of the way 'all coloured Afrikaans people speak'. Although his book *God is Afrikaans* is in fact written in the dialect he speaks, he holds that a great diversity of coloured dialects are spoken throughout the country and that the 'Afrikaaps' label should be cast aside completely. I would propose that similar diversity exists within white Afrikaans dialects. Hemelbesem does not extend his concern around the stereotyping of dialects to white Afrikaans speakers. However, his many collaborations with white Afrikaans artists display his concern with the breaking down of constructs barring his entry into Afrikaner identity. It is not clear whether his transformative efforts extend beyond this concern to a broader belief in the need for inter-cultural merger. Whereas Yoma's 'remix' of the

[113] Literally translatable as 'Afri-Cape' and referring to the particular and distinctive Afrikaans dialect spoken by many coloured people from Cape Town.

Afrikaans folk song, "Al lê die Berge nog so Blou", with the Afrikaans singer Rina Hugo,[114] reflects her husband's collaborations with white Afrikaans artists, her acknowledgement of her partial Xhosa origins also suggests an inclusive approach that extends beyond fellow speakers of the Afrikaans language.

The notion of female rapping is quite foreign to the Afrikaans music scene, viewed through a *Huisgenoot* lens, with the only female rapper covered by *Huisgenoot* that readily comes to mind being Sorina Erasmus, better known as The Flooze. Erasmus, a frequent participant in *Huisgenoot Skouspel*, has built her rapping persona around a comical zef character that she portrayed in the *Huisgenoot* soap opera *Sewende Laan*. Hence her music and image may be perceived as a domestication of the radical zef cultural movement, represented by Yolandi Vi$$er and Ninja of *Die Antwoord,* a group which is, as previously noted, absent from *Huisgenoot.* Framed within its comical but non-ironic stance, Erasmus's rapping may perhaps be viewed as a strengthening of an extant notion within the Afrikaans pastorate that rapping is reserved for 'common' female outcasts, worthy of ridicule. Her firm position within the *Huisgenoot* pastorate is, however, evident in frequent coverage of her role as mother, including a cover photo and article in the *Huisgenoot* of 17 October 2013 and similar articles in the issues of 31 December 2015 and 2 August 2019. As all of these articles focus on Erasmus, the rapping Flooze remains little more than the instrument by means of which she entertains the Afrikaner pastorate, through re-enforcement of its notions of the *status quo.*

Although one may, admittedly, contend that Yoma's coverage in *Huisgenoot* could have been motivated by the pastoral consideration that she is the wife of Hemelbesem, whose close association with *Huisgenoot* has been mentioned above, Yoma's choice of musical style can also be understood as countering many of the patriarchal preconceptions dictated by Afrikaans Pastoral discourse. That is, although motherhood is a central theme within "Moedertaal",

[114] Along with Carike Keuzenkamp, mentioned earlier in regard to the song "Dis 'n Land" and its 'remaking' by the rapper Snotkop, Rina Hugo represents an older generation of white female singers who were the 'icons' of Afrikaans popular music during the period of apartheid. Hence Yoma's collaboration with Hugo may be heard as a forward-looking gesture of forgiveness and reconciliation.

Yoma's (self) expression of her impending role as mother is clearly coextensive with her rapping, whereas Erasmus's commodified and ridiculing rap image is neatly partitioned from her 'self'.

Indeed, in addition to her reference to mixed '(spice) roots' in the lyrics of "Moedertaal", Yoma's emphasis on the differences, or (Foucauldian) 'groupsicule', within herself projects a non-essentialist, very dynamic self-orientation towards her cultural heritage. Her valorisation of South Africa because of the way in which it mirrors the differences within herself therefore succeeds in launching a potent attack on any "Promised Land" claims of essentialist cultural constructs, premised on notions of sameness. By dismantling fixed Apollonian structures through an emphasis on difference, "Moedertaal" effectively becomes a mapping of the routes within Yoma's 'self', routes which she also advises her child to embark on, as opposed to any grounding celebration of essential cultural 'roots'.[115] Moreover, since Yoma not only offers her unborn child advice about her own life, but also alludes to this child's descendants, the cyclical elements in the music are mirrored by a textual affirmation of the continual cycle of life – a cycle which incorporates an implicit acceptance of the 'rejuvenating' inevitability of death, as thematised in Foucauldian terms. This orientation thus begs association with the continually groping sense of unwriting/death that characterises Foucault's constantly migratory search for a better approximation of truth, particularly due to its emphasis on difference (both within the self and amongst others).

5.4.2.2 "Afrikaans" and "Die Bloed"(The Blood), taken from the Churchil Naudé albums *Kroeskop Vol Geraas* and *Kroesified* respectively.

Churchil Naudé is a coloured carpenter from the suburb Lentegeur in Michells Plain.[116] An article on Naudé and his work, entitled "My Woorde Wat Skud en Timmer" appeared in *Huisgenoot* of

[115] The wordplay between 'root' and 'route' has been borrowed from the sociologist Stuart Hall, as expressed in an explanation of his 'diasporic' perception of the term 'ethnicity in an interview in London for the *Radical Philosophy* magazine (Osborne and Segal 1997: 34). It also stands central to the thought of James Clifford, as expressed in his *Routing Roots and Rooting Routes: A Cosmopolitan Paradox,* which explores the possibility of practices of displacement emerging as constitutions of culture rather than as its transfer (1997:3).

[116] Mitchells Plain is one of the largest suburbs of Cape Town, approximately 30 kilometres from the city centre. It was conceived and built by the former apartheid government during the 1970s to provide housing for the coloured victims of forced removal due to the implementation of the Group Areas Act.

11 July 2019. Within the *Huisgenoot* article Naudé mentions that he was named after the iconic British statesman Winston Churchill (without the second 'l'). He was born in 1957, which suggests that his parents might have been displaying nostalgia for British colonial rule in South Africa by choosing this name. Given the increasing marginalisation of coloured people after the National Party came into power in 1948, which manifested itself most tellingly in the placing of coloured voters on a separate list – according to the 1952 Law on the Separate Representation of Voters (Giliomee 2018:144) – a hankering after the former British rule in the country among coloured voters would not have been surprising.

His debut album, *Kroeskop Vol Geraas*, recorded by Riku Lätti of *Wasgoedlyn Produksies*, was released in 2015. Towards the end of chapter 3 of this study, I alluded to Riku Lätti's concerns about the effect *Naspers* sponsorship is having on the quality of music at Afrikaans Arts Festivals. According to Lätti tents at these festivals, belonging to the likes of *Huisgenoot, Beeld , Die Burger, Rapport* and *kykNET*, are killing creative, independent music by offering free, day-long entertainment by 'back-track' musicians, supported by a few 'big names' / best sellers. His *Wasgoedlyn* project, which was (ironically) featured in a series of programmes on *kykNET*,[117] has instead focussed on giving these side-lined independent musicians a voice, by recording their musical creations, unadorned by backtracks and excessive amplification, in a venue of their choice.

In the *Huisgenoot* article Naudé takes a non-defensive stance towards 'doef doef' Afrikaans music (of the festival tent variety) by stating that *Wasgoedlyn* is not against such music but merely represents the other side of the same coin. He does, however, offer a hint at the project's concern for artistic integrity through the following statement: "Enige sanger en musikant kan iets daar kom ophang. 'n Kous sal nie verander word in 'n onderbroek nie" (Any singer can hang something on this line. A sock will not be changed into a pair of underpants). Through the *Wasgoedlyn* association, Naudé has come to collaborate with Afrikaans artists like Bacchus Nel,

[117] The *Wasgoedlyn* episodes on kykNET were dedicated to the following artists: Andries Bezuidenhout, Lida Groenewald, Laurinda Hofmeyr, Riku Lätti, Rian Malan, Churchil Naudé, Bacchus Nel, Francois van Coke, André van Rensburg and Mervin Williams.

Chris Kreef and the late Piet Botha. He has also worked with highly regarded musicians such as Anton Goosen on the rap version of Goosen's song "Boy van die Suburbs", created for the benefit of *Vat die Rap*, a previously mentioned *kykNET* music programme presented by Coenie de Villiers in 2015. On one of the songs on Naude's second album, *Kroesifaaid*, he collaborates with the legendary David Kramer.

The rap song "Afrikaans" was originally titled "Praat Saam My" (Talk to/with me). It probably came to be called "Afrikaans" as a result of its subject matter, which constitutes Naudé's ode to this language, and the repetition of the word 'Afrikaans' at the beginning of each chorus.

The sentence "Praat Saam My" [Talk Together (With) Me] appears in the middle of the chorus. Its use of "saam" as a conjunction is associated with the coloured dialect whereas, within the white Afrikaans dialect, "Praat Met My" (Talk To Me) would be the equivalent of this sentence. Note how the coloured version suggests greater inclusivity in its invitation for togetherness through speaking. Churchil Naudé refers to this discrepancy regarding the title in an interview with Pieter Cloete but says that he has just left matters as is (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yzJ1psVShJs&t=2s).

The song comprises three verses and choruses. The gist of the song is that Naudé loves the Afrikaans language and sees it as part of him. He is, however, aware that many (white) Afrikaners view his Afrikaans dialect as a threat to the survival of the language. The first verse also extends to a criticism of issues pertaining to the current government – this has the effect of implying that Naudé is also experiencing many of the socio-political problems encountered by white Afrikaners. Herewith an excerpt from this verse:

> My taal is soos rooiwyn op 'n nuwe mat,
> *My language is like red wine on a new carpet,*
>
> Ek sal dit aanhou praat tot ieman' my in die bek kom slat,
> *I will continue speaking it until someone hits me on my mouth,*

Tot die wolke tuimel, die kranse antwoord gee,
Until the clouds tumble and the echoing crags resound,

Tot iemand al die korrupte bliksems almal tronk toe stuur.
Until someone sends all the corrupt scoundrels to jail.

Kom 're-possess' my huis
Come and re-possess my house

En julle kan my karre vat,
And you may take my cars,

My taal kan soos 'n 'guitar' op 'n Ghoema-'beat' slat,
My language can strum to a Ghoema beat like a guitar,

My taal is volksbesit,
My language is property of the nation,

My taal is bruin en wit,
My language is brown and white,

Hoe ruik daai pyp vir jou, bra?
How do you like the smell of that pipe, bra?

Ja, hoe laaik jy dit?
Yes, how do you like that?

The choruses of this song, in which Naudé uses a 'girlfriend' metaphor to express his close relationship with Afrikaans, have particularly explosive Dionysian potential, with the third (and final) chorus, given below, proving the most expressive and explicit:

Afrikaans X2, Jou lekker ding,
Afrikaans X2, You good thing,

Daar's 'n lied in my hart wat ek gaan sing,
There's a song in my heart which I am going to sing,

Die suiwerbloediges dink ek wil jou Aids gee,
The pure of blood think I want to give you Aids,

My darling hulle kan maar praat, maar ek luister nie,

My darling, let them speak, I won't listen,

Kom sit en praat saam my, kom saai die saad saam my X2
Come, sit down and speak with me, come sow the seed with me X2

Die uitverkorenes wil my kruisig, hulle dink ek rape you X2
The 'chosen few' want to crucify me, they think I am raping you X2

Two videos (dated 2010 and 2011) exist for "Afrikaans/ Praat Saam My", with the 2011 video being linked to the 'rock' version of the song.[118] Whereas the 'rock' version is accompanied by tonic and dominant chords on electric guitar, driven by drums, the 2010 version has an arpeggiated tonic/dominant keyboard accompaniment with a strong electronic backbeat in the middle of each bar.[119] C major serves as the tonal basis for both versions and the rapping is framed within simple quadruple time. Within the rock version the upward inflection in the rapping on the words 'lekker ding' is realised by an ascending interval of a perfect 5th in the accompanying guitar riff. A mouth organ may also be heard intermittently in the rock version, creating a sense of yearning and earthiness.

The 2010 video vacillates between scenes of Naudé rapping against the backdrop of the *Taal* Monument (Language Monument) in Paarl, scenes where he meets up with friends in the street, and scenes picturing a little boy who, in turn, holds up a piece of paper with 'Afrikaans' written on it or pretends to play on a toy keyboard. There is a sense of progression towards the end of the video in that some of the people that Naudé encounters follow him to a house, where the supposed recording of the song is depicted.

Naudé wears the baseball cap associated with rappers throughout the video. The juxtaposition of this typical rapper image and the stately *Taal* Monument would most likely be experienced as conflicting by viewers adhering to more conservative notions of Afrikaner identity. The creating

[118] The rock version of this song may be heard on the video at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7mfSyMbkKyw&list=RD7mfSyMbkKyw&start_radio=1
[119] The 2010 video version of this song may be accessed at https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=churchill+naude+afrikaans.

of this conflict is, of course, necessary to aid the demolition of such narrow, stereotyping constructs.

Although the scenes in the street do not mirror the lyrics directly, they serve to complement the general idea of 'talking together in Afrikaans.' The scenes picturing the little boy could, similarly, be depicted as complementary, in the sense that they allude to the future of the language. All the people pictured in the video are coloured. In a sense the exclusive framing of the song within the 'coloured' community could perhaps be interpreted as 'closed' thinking. However, Naudé identifies himself as a 'coloured' (person of mixed blood) in that his song speaks out against the 'suiwerbloediges' (pure of blood) who think that he wants to infect Afrikaans with the Aids virus, the latter a metaphor for contamination in a more general sense. There is consequently justification for a Dionysian provocation against such exclusivist 'suiwerbloediges' by an 'other' which is, ironically, depicted through the highlighting of the very characteristic (in this case colour) that marks its exclusion.

In the video of the 'rock music' version the exclusive focus on 'so-coloured' Afrikaans-speakers is replaced by images of the different 'faces' of Afrikaans in South Africa. In this video a rapping Naudé is pictured as he walks through various urban and rustic settings. There are also a few scenes featuring the 'rock' musicians in mid-performance. These scenes are interspersed with shots depicting the following characters, who are, with one exception, all facing the camera while standing/sitting motionless: A 'coloured' security guard, two white girls in tennis clothes, a group of 'coloured' policemen, a group of 'coloured' firemen, a few 'coloured' welders in a workroom (the only group that is not motionless), a young white male with a cap similar to Naudé's, pictured against a farm fence, a white mechanic, a white barman, a group of non-white soccer players, a middle-aged white farmer with a typical farmer's hat, pictured against bales of hay, a white pharmacist, two white men at a *braai* (barbecue) and a black man in a suit standing in front of a stately building.

Complementation bordering on conformance occurs when the image depicting the policemen accompanies the concept 'verdriet' (sorrow) and the middle-aged farmer's image coincides with the word 'Pretoria', the latter city being the seat of the South African government since the days of apartheid. Of greater significance is a frequent pairing of rapped text and images which complement each other by depicting stereotypes of 'close-minded' white Afrikaners and their mindsets. The white tennis players appear, for example, against the text "Hulle sê 'Hey, gebruik my taal suiwer en korrek'" (They say: 'Hey, use my language purely and correctly'). Similarly, the text "Hulle dink ek rape you" (They think I'm raping you) in the first statement of the chorus coincides with the image of the young white man against the farm fence, whereas the first occurrence of this text in the second statement of the chorus coincides with the two white men at the *braai*. It is also as if Naudé is addressing the white barman directly when he states: "Ek's nie die Engel van die Dood nie, ek's van die Lig" (I'm not the Angel of Death, I'm from the Light).

In isolated instances potent figures are used in immediate conjunction with other images or ideas, thereby conveying a potentially contradictory message: The 'coloured' security guard, for instance, appears against the text, "Wie gaan ons red uit die gemors uit, my genade? Waar's al die helde heen, soos Wolraad Woltemade[120]?" (Mercy! Who is going to save us from this mess? Where have all the heroes gone, like Wolraad Woltemade?') It is as if Naudé is suggesting the security guard as an alternative (non-white) hero to Wolraad Woltemade. The black man in the suit also appears directly after the two white men at the *braai*, in conjunction with a repeat of the text "Hulle dink ek rape you" (They think I'm raping you). It is unlikely that the black man would accuse Naudé of 'raping' Afrikaans, and hence the implied accusation of the previous stereotypical figures is weakened.

Quite a few images play off against text with which they bear no association. I perceive these 'neutral' images, together with the scenes picturing the white instrumentalists, as having the effect of rescuing the video images from entrapment in stark white-black dichotomies which its

[120] Wolraad Woltemade (c.1708 – 1 June 1773) was a white Cape Dutch dairy farmer, who died while rescuing sailors from the wreck of the ship *De Jonge Thomas* in Table Bay on 1 June 1773. He has, ever since, been held as a heroic figure in white Afrikaans folklore.

message seeks to obliterate. Instead, these images help to promote the more positive message that all the seemingly diverse people pictured are, in fact, Afrikaners.

In returning to Naudé's text, it is noteworthy that a few of the symbols used to build more 'closed' Afrikaner identity constructs within previously analysed *Huisgenoot* songs are now employed within a context inclusive of coloured Afrikaans-speakers. Note, for instance, the reference to "Die Stem" (albeit a part of it included in the 1996 anthem), in the third line of the opening verse, which reminds one of its use for exclusivist purposes in Liezel Pieters's "Dis In Ons Bloed".

Given Naudé's advocacy of the right to use Afrikaans within a 'freer' dialect, it is also surprising that he perpetuates the (biblical and particularly staunch) 'rock' symbol found in "Dis In Ons Bloed", "Boer Loop Deur My Are" and "Bloedgrond" by stating "My taal is nie op sand nie, maar op 'n rots gebou" (My language is not built on sand but on a rock).[121] It is also quite ironic that he emphasises this 'rock' notion in his 2010 video through a visual image that shows him resting on a rock that forms part of the *Taal* Monument, a structure closely associated with exclusivist views during the apartheid years.[122] The imagery of light versus darkness, which is particularly prevalent in visuals accompanying the video of "Die Land", is also found here, when Naudé depicts the 'Light', which he sees himself as representing, as the opposite of 'Death', in 'true' Apollonian fashion.

Cognisance of the above could lead one to interpret Naudé's stance as a mere aspiration to be included in the more 'closed' Afrikaner identity construct from which he was formerly excluded,

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[121] This statement is an allusion to Jesus's parable of the Wise and the Foolish Builders, found in Matthew 27:24-27 and Luke 6:46-49, which also employs the "rock" symbol of the previously quoted Isiah 51:1. Whereas the biblical rock symbol is a reference to God, chapter 2 has indicated how it had also come to symbolise white Afrikaner culture - the culture of God's Chosen People - to Afrikaner nationalists.

[122] Admittedly, coloured / brown people were also included in the inauguration ceremony of this monument, on 10 October 1975, with musical representation by the Primrose Choir, with its bass, guitar and ukulele accompaniment. The non-white / 'non-European' origins of Afrikaans are also represented by the pillars for Malaysian people on the steps of the monument. However, for some Afrikaners, like Loots, the founder of the Monument Committee, these symbols signified an impermissible violation of racial separation. For him, these references to 'non-Eurpean' contributions were 'unnecessary'. In protest he even threatened to uproot the festival with violent sabotage (Huigen 2008: 151).

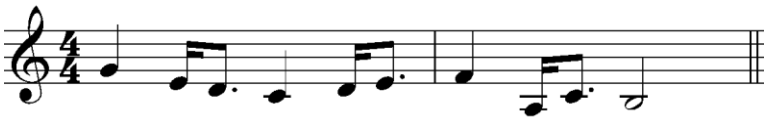
within a context where the former segregating symbols are now merely adapted to include the coloured people. This notion seems to be re-enforced by verse 1, which states that his language is "brown and white" (but not black) and by his criticism of the (black) government.

Being textually entrapped, Naudé is certainly not innocent of Apollonian aspirations. However, his biting (and often crude) 'Dionysian' honesty within the lyrics of the song as a whole seems to indicate that verse 1 is merely venting about corrupt elements in the government in a similarly blatant, honest fashion and not condemning the government because of its 'blackness'. The following excerpt from verse 2, supported by the allusion to "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika"[123] that opens this verse, also suggests a more 'open', if not all-embracing message:

> Kom ons bou 'n brug,
> *Let's build a bridge,*
>
> Hou op so te sug,
> *Stop sighing,*
>
> Kom, sprei my taal soos 'n boom met klomp takke,
> *Come, stretch/distribute my language like a tree with many branches,*
>
> Laat dit val soos reën op enigeen se dakke.
> *Let it fall like rain on anyone's roof.*

In the song "Die Bloed" Naudé is, yet again, in verse and refrain form. The verses are in C major and are accompanied by the following cyclical guitar melody. Note that a staggered, almost swung rhythm is implied for the execution of this melody.

Figure 4: Repeating guitar melody ('hook') accompanying the rapping in Churchil Naudé's "Die Bloed".

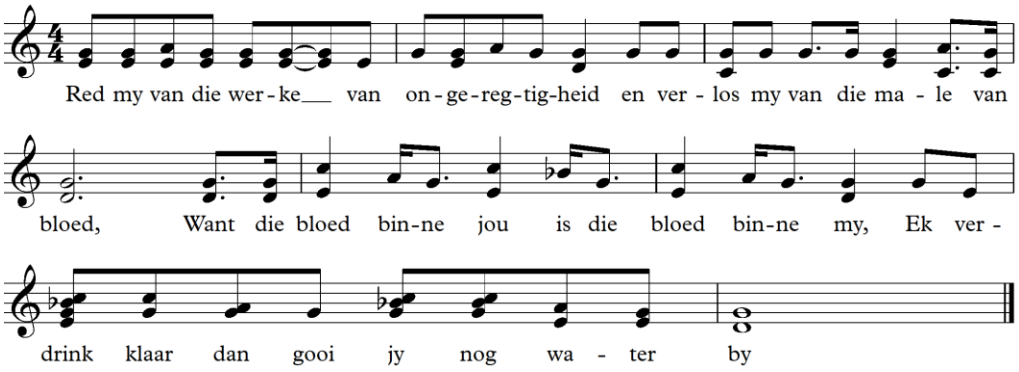


[123] "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika" is a Christian hymn originally composed in 1897 by Enoch Sontonga, a Xhosa clergyman. It became a pan-African liberation song during the years of struggle and was a liberation anthem of the ANC as well. The song was subsequently adapted to become the first half of the post-1994 South African National Anthem, with adaptions from the pre-1994 anthem, "The Call of South Africa" (Die Stem) being the second half of this united new anthem.

In the first and last verses the melody is also accompanied by a mouth organ and accordion. An unobtrusive drumbeat is maintained throughout.

The chorus is sung by a group of coloured and black ladies, led by Churchil Naudé. It is sung to guitar accompaniment and its occurrences after the second and third verses are followed by pennywhistle solos. The chorus is moulded into *Koortjie* style, a choral style closely associated with Christian worship in the coloured communities. The merger of folk song elements with Western hymnody and a sliding between notes are characteristic of this *koortjie*. Cognisance of the melody used for the *koortjie*, provided below, indicates that it is in a pentatonic scale, which is generally associated with folk music. Other structural musical codes, rich in topical associations, also occur. Note, for example, how the flattened 7th, associated with the blues scale, may be found in the harmonisations to this pentatonic melody. It is interesting to consider that this flattened 7th may also be found in the hexatonic scales used in Xhosa bow songs (Rycroft 1975/76:62) and that KhoiSan influence is suspected in the development of the hunting bow as musical instrument within Xhosa (more specifically Tembu) culture (Dargie 1986:106).

Figure 5: The *koortjie* in Churchil Naudé's "Die Bloed".



Within this predominantly 'coloured' *koortjie* the blue note does, however, primarily beckon association with the *ghoema* jazz of the Cape, which rubbed shoulders with African township jazz through the efforts of musicians like Robbie Janssen, Johnny Gertze and Abdullah Ibrahim. Also

note how the use of the pennywhistle serves to underline the township jazz link. The partly swung, partly staggered rhythm used for the chorus (as with the cyclical melody) also enhances the jazz connection, but simultaneously allows association with the staggered entries and delayed beats found in Nguni music[124] (Dargie 1986:115).

The following line from the lyrics in this chorus may perhaps also be seen as the core message of the song:

> Want die bloed binne jou is die bloed binne my
> *Because the blood within you is the blood within me.*

As characteristics of Western hymnody, Khoisan and Xhosa traditional music, *Ghoema* and Township Jazz are all at play in the chorus of this rap song, the musical characteristics of the chorus may be seen to complement this message particularly well.

Having given attention to what may be considered as the core message of "Die Bloed", I now provide a summary of the narrative supporting this pivotal message:

In verse 1 Naudé concerns himself with social injustice and criminality. He commences by sketching the conditions within the area in which he grew up. Subsequently he extends his concerns to a broader consideration of historic injustice (through apartheid) and of ways to address its effects:

> Jei, die way wat ek is deur my geskiedenis,
> *Yeah, the way I am because of my history,*
>
> Die hande vol bloed,
> *The hands full of blood,*
>
> Die skande vol lis,
> *The shame filled with slyness/cunning,*
>
> Elke brak en sy pup try om my te fix,
> *Every dog and his pup tries to fix me,*
>
> Ek sê, 'Ek is nie stukkend nie. My bloed is net gemix.'
> *I say, 'I am not broken. My blood is just mixed.*
>
> Die verlede wat sy vashou, los dit nou,

[124] 'Nguni' is an umbrella term for the Xhosa, Zulu and Swahiti cultures found in South Africa.

The past to which she (probably they) clings (cling),

Daai brûe is lankal afgebrand,
Those bridges have been burnt ages ago,

Ons moet nuwes bou.
We need to build new ones.

Verse Two serves as a call to connect with each other. As Naudé states:

Hoe meer ons connec(t), hoe minder sien ons kleurvelle.
The more we connect, the less we see skin colour.

He subsequently encourages the youth to shine, love and laugh, unlike the 'blind' adults around them. The suggestion is that this should be done with fervour, as all of us are bound to die one day. The 'blood' motif is drawn into this idea of impending death through the following line:

Op 'n dag sal jou bloed in die aarde terugsak.
One day your blood will seep back into the earth.

The *koortjie* of women then pre-empt their impending 'chorus' entry by echoing Naudé's following lines, with their typical excessive gliding on the diphthongs:

En jy moet een ding verstaan,
One thing you need to understand,

In die stof sal jy kom en in die stof sal jy gaan.
You were made from dust and to dust you shall return.

At the beginning of the third verse Naudé firstly calls for a softening of the people's hearts by asking that the blood "should go softly over the children of the country". In the same vein he asks:

Maak sag die harte van yster
Soften the hearts of iron

En die monde van vlam.
And the mouths of flame.

Maintaining the 'blood' motif, he describes the anger provoked by a consciousness of the injustice in the country as follows:

> Die bloed borrel as hy sien hoe die mense moet bly,
> *The blood boils when it sees how the people have to live,*
>
> En die bloedsuiers se gatte in die botter so gly.
> *And (how) the bloodsuckers continue to glide with their bums in the butter.*

Naudé continues by offering a bleak account of the violence in the country. He then concludes by expressing the hope that the blood connection between people in our country will cause them to commiserate when violence is inflicted on their fellow countrymen and to unite in overcoming the perpetrators.

The video depicts a (zig zag) musical journey across the country, with each new location being indicated on the screen. This journey commences in a home studio (*Tunes Studio*) in the Western Cape and moves to Nelson Mandela Park (in the coloured neighbourhood Amsterdam) and Brixton (Johannesburg) during the first chorus. Verse Two is set against the backdrop of Park Acoustic (Pretoria) and its chorus flits between Kleinmond and De Roode Bioscope (Harlem), both (back in) the Western Cape. Linden (Johannesburg) serves as the location during the subsequent pennywhistle solo, while verse 3 is performed against the backdrops of Linden (Johannesburg) and Capital Park (Pretoria), and includes shots of the *Voortrekker* Monument nearby. The video concludes with flashes back to the Western Cape and a closing scene depicting Naudé visiting the *Voortrekker* Monument.

These multiple locations, ranging from impoverished 'coloured' suburbs to the *Voortrekker* Monument, assist the myriad of musical styles employed in offering a slice of the diversity within the country. Such diversity is, of course, also reflected in the demographics of the musicians, although most of the audience members at the concert in Linden are white – the 'whiteness' of this audience may probably be attributed to factors such as the concert venue's location close to

'white' suburbs and the fact that the established white musicians of the participating *Wasgoedlyn*-project might have served as promotional drawcards for the depicted concert.

In Cook's terms, contest between multi-media elements proliferate throughout the video. The way in which the scenes 'jog' through a great number of geographical locations in South Africa which, in some instances, conjure up associations with the apartheid past, has been mentioned. The demographic differences between the people featured are also highlighted by the contrasting culturally relevant outfits worn by many of them. In this regard Naudé's donning of a Dashiki shirt, symbolic of Pan-African unity, while visiting the *Voortrekker* Monument, causes particular conflict between costume and location. Even the gentle ambience created by the accompaniment and the sense of enjoyment that the instrumentalists and vocalists seem to derive from their performances are in conflict with the starkness of much of the lyrics, which often deal with criminality and injustice. Such contest is, of course, furthermore heightened by the cross-cultural influences within the music itself, discussed earlier.

These contesting and, at times even conflicting, elements prove very effective in relaying the message of "Die Bloed". Naudé is calling for a realisation that the mixed blood of all South Africans constitutes their 'sameness' and urges for a resulting sense of unity in service of the battle against corruption/criminality. It is as if the many disparate moods, visual images, sound structures and resulting associations projected by the video seem to challenge the viewer to dislodge prior clusters of association, in order to find this sense of commonality through multiple 'mixtures' of difference.

A comparison between Naudé's song and the previously analysed "Dis in Ons Bloed", by Liezel Pieters, indicates that, whereas Pieters confines the concept of 'sameness through blood' to a construct exclusive to the white Afrikaner, Naudé includes all South Africans through a celebration of difference. The irony within the following excerpt from his song "Verdriet" also seems to suggest pliability within his application of the concept 'South African':

Verdriet is buitelanders wat ons kom belas,
Distress is foreigners who (enter the country) and burden us

Of is dit dat die binnelanders eers buitelanders was?
Or is it the fact that 'inlanders' (citizens) were initially outlanders?

Naude's 2019 song "My Wêreld" (My World) does, however, suggest that his advocacy for difference does not extend to gender. The opening line of this song, which is about global conflict, states the following: "Ek lewe in 'n wêreld waar straight mense skeef praat" (I live in a world where straight people speak in a bent way). Hence Naudé effectively uses 'queerness' as a metaphor for corruptness.[125] One could, in this regard, perhaps take heed of Lewis's frequently mentioned assertion that nation building is a patriarchal activity driven by notions of heteronormativity (2008:104), and that Naudé had been subjected to Afrikaner Nationalism during his formative years.

The roughness of Naudé's environment clearly assists him in launching a potent attack against notions of 'Afrikanerness' exclusive of people of colour. In this regard he has, in Foucauldian terms, assumed the arduous task of unblocking such exclusivist 'Afrikaner' power constructs. A measure of subjectivity informed by white Afrikaner pastoral discourse might still blind him to the binary oppositions carried by a 'light-goodness' association and could well have instilled in him lasting reverence for the biblical 'rock' metaphor. However, Naudé's Dionysian audacity is, nevertheless, unleashed in full force when he rejects notions of a hallowed 'mother tongue' by calling Afrikaans his girlfriend – a girlfriend to whom he casually refers as a 'lekker ding' (nice thing), and whom he entices into sexual relations through reference to the sowing of seeds. He also pursues this relationship despite the accusations of the supposedly 'pure of blood', that he is raping her and giving her 'Aids'. Yet the employing of such extreme metaphors in countering perceptions of Afrikaans as a white language is understandable, especially when one considers that any 'mixed' heritage was perceived as a 'sin of birth' during the apartheid years. In his criticism of the compliance of the Dutch Reformed Church in cementing apartheid, the late

[125] The reader may accesss a recording of this song at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mbtp6jhu1UQ

Bishop Trevor Huddlestone affirms this perception by referring to the rationale of the Afrikaans Church as involving "the assumption that there has been no intermingling of races through the centuries without loss and, presumably, sin – since such intermingling must be, *ipso facto*, contrary to the Divine Will" (1956:63 in Wilkins and Strydom 2012: 294).

It is of significance that Naudé's less abrasive countering of this perception in "Bloed" employs a "*koortjie"* – previously described as a self-actualising mode of worship within coloured communities – to sing the pivotal line "Want die bloed binne jou is die bloed binne my"(Because the blood within you is the blood within me). Of course, the mere existence of the "*koortjie"* might signify coercion, both because western religion was forced on the Khoisan people, and because the "*koortjie"* developed within the framework of racially segregated worship. Nevertheless, this transformed mode of Western church music does present itself as a tool signifying ethics and well-being in the community to which Naudé belongs. Thus, while traditional Western church music bears more direct association with the white Afrikaner religion that fed apartheid's biopower, the "*koortjie"* becomes a tool capable of problematising the perception of supposed 'mixed blood' as a sin, particularly on Naudé's journey towards what amounts to a care of the self and of others. But the war against the pastoral remnants of apartheid's biopower is still intensified by Naudé's previously mentioned allusions to township jazz, and to Nguni music, within this "*koortjie"* in combat'.

5.4.3 Francois van Coke, David Kramer and Anton Goosen

5.4.3.1 "Die Wêreld is Mal" – Francois van Coke[126]

"Die Wêreld is Mal" has been selected for analysis on the grounds of its nomination for a 2018 *Huisgenoot Tempo* award, in the category 'Music Video of the Year'. On playing Camille van Niekerk's version of this Francois van Coke song to my Australian niece, I was intrigued by her comment that it sounds like 'worship music'. Ironically *Fokofpolisiekar* (Fuck off police car), the anarchist rock band from Belville that heralded Van Coke's entry into the music industry,

[126] The reader may access a video recording of this song at https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=die+wereld+is+mal+.

developed out of his 'worship group' endeavours during the early 2000s. Although Van Coke, then Francois Badenhorst, grew up as the son of a Dutch Reformed minister, he was unable to identify with a church which, during apartheid, served as the wingman of the National Party. He consequently gravitated towards English charismatic churches and became a member of the (punk) Christian rock group *New World Inside*. Eventually, though, disgruntlement with religion as a whole prompted Van Coke and Hunter Kennedy, a fellow member of *New World Inside*, to initiate the formation of *Fokofpolisiekar* with Johnny de Ridder and Wynand Myburg, disillusioned members of similar worship groups. Hence *Fokofpolisiekar* came into being as a direct revolt against both conservative Dutch-Reformed notions of the Afrikaans pastorate, and more charismatic versions of the pastorate which, in recent years, birthed an Afrikaans version of the previously mentioned 'life-style' religion, so central to reflections of a 'modern' middle-class Afrikaner ideal found in media sources, such as *kykNET* and *Huisgenoot.*

Young, white Afrikaans fans of FPK came to identify with the lack of identity in their cynical, nihilistic lyrics and with the abandonment of 'establishment' norms in their uninhibited stage antics. Accordingly, "Sporadies Nomadies" (Sporadically Nomadic), the title of an FPK song, exemplifies the eternal search for identity as an end within itself which characterised their artistic endeavours (Klopper 2008: 213). While FPK still performs as a unit, Van Coke also performs with its splinter group *Van Coke Kartel*, explores a solo career and is very well established in the South African music industry. During 2019 he served as a vocal trainer for the television programme *The Voice SA*.

Van Coke's *Huisgenoot* coverage during 2019 included an article about his involvement with this competition (in the issue of 25 July) and an article about his personal life, accompanied by a photograph of him with his young daughter on the cover of the 7 March issue. His 2018 coverage included mention in the 'Teenage Pages' (3 May), an advertisement for his concert "Francois van Coke en Vriende" (28 June), a feature about his involvement with a Rugby Fun Day with Jack Parow and Arno Jordaan in *Huisgenoot's* 'Local Celebrity Pages' (2 August), notice of the nomination mentioned above (13 September), an advertisement for his *Van Coke Show* on

kykNET (15 November), and mention of his impending involvement with *The Voice SA* (22 November). The earlier discussion/analysis of Churchil Naudé's music indicated that Van Coke also participates in Riku Lätti's *Wasgoedlyn* Project.

A joint consideration of his song "Die Wêreld is Mal" and its accompanying video reflect Van Coke's continued critical stance towards society. This musical comment on social ills 'doubles up' as a love song to Van Coke's wife Lauren and their young child, as the final scenes of the video reveal.

There is not much that is exceptional in the structural musical codes employed in this song. Typical rock song form, consisting of two verses, alternated by choruses, a bridge and a return to the chorus, is employed. The chords used extend beyond the tonic, subdominant and dominant to the submediant, with occasional allusion to the supertonic: Within the verse a continuous repeat of the (rather unsettling) interrupted cadence (I, V, vi) is used, whereas the chorus repeatedly uses I, V, vi, IV and the bridge employs IV V IV I. These chord progressions are hardly revolutionary (and may be found in many worship songs). However, the (eventually) 'predictable' restlessness created by avoiding the tonic chord, with repetitive V, vi patterns in the verse, may perhaps be perceived as a reflection of the pointless, anchorless drifting that Van Coke professes to when he is away from his wife and child. Simple quadruple time is used and a relaxed rhythm underpins the pensive mood.

One could, perhaps, interpret the video images in the verses as being metaphoric of Van Coke's life/artistic journey: In verse 1 Van Coke expresses feelings of unwelcomeness, change and alienation and states that he is on a journey to nowhere. The scene accompanying this verse shows how he abandons his car and wanders over an expansive, dry landscape, which complements his professed state of mind. Van Coke's car could, within this verse, possibly be viewed as metaphoric of the conventions of establishment, which are 'normally' used to navigate life but which he has abandoned. In line with this interpretation, aerial views of cars on criss-

crossing highways and the absence of images of any other pedestrians could be taken to emphasise Van Coke's disconnectedness / 'otherness'.

Verse 2 opens with mention of his wife's role in changing his life. He states that he would not have been able to operate/succeed without her and performs the lines in which he admits that she has rescued him at a time he was not aware that he needed rescuing with striking jaggedness and intensity. Within the video Van Coke is now wandering on a beach and scenes of running water, in contrast to the dry landscape pictured to complement the lyrics of verse 1, accompany mention of his wife. The moment when he states that he is far from home, the scenery changes back to a desert plane. A lane of trees subsequently serves as the backdrop to his journey during the bridge passage. Within the music a constant, feverish electric guitar repetition of each of the chords in the milling IV, V, IV, I pattern emphasises the intensity of his yearning for his loved ones, projected by the lyrics.

The choruses after verses 1 and 2 are sung to scenes of horror, drawn from national and international news stories. Scenes alluding to the Holocaust, apartheid, Hiroshima and animal abuse accompany the first chorus, whereas shots featuring a grinning Jacob Zuma,[127] beauty pageants for toddlers, Bieber mania, the launching of nuclear missiles, sea pollution and approaching war tanks are used for the second chorus. The rapid, almost manic, succession of these (often very shocking) scenes, seem to be competing for the opportunity to violate one's senses. Yet they serve to complement the following lyrics very well:

Die wêreld is mal,
The world is crazy,

Kompleks en kwesbaar,
Complex and vulnerable,

Mense wat oormekaar val.
People who are falling over each other.

[127] Former president of South Africa, Jacob Zuma, has been formally charged with hundreds of crimes, but has yet to face justice for these.

Through the words "Jy is die uitsondering" (You are the exception) each of the first two choruses resolves with the acknowledgment that Van Coke's wife is the exception to this madness. The singing of the final chorus, after the bridge passage, is not accompanied by terror and dread but rather by a blissful scene of resolution and rest as Van Coke is reunited with his wife and daughter within a vineyard.

It is perhaps worth noting that Camille van Niekerk's acoustic cover version of this song creates a poignancy which is not always apparent in the Van Coke rendition.[128] However, the strong, binding rock band instrumentation of the latter version supplies an underlying sense of continuity, not only in the service of musical flow but also in support of the portrayal of the vast, shifting landscapes, reflective of the lyrics, within the video. The rock instrument timbres also match the news related images in rawness and potency.

One could hypothesise that the content of the news images in the video have the potential to shock adherents to both more open and more closed perceptions of Afrikaner identity. However, a focus on global matters, as opposed to the exclusive concerns of Afrikaners, coupled with Van Coke's known rejection of conservative Afrikaner mores as a member of FPK, suggest an interpretation of this video as adhering to a more 'open' Afrikaner identity construct. This is supported by the video's metaphoric reflection of Van Coke's critical and relentless journey through a mad world, without the protection/encasement offered by a narrowly perceived 'fixed' identity (a car), and without the accompanying sense of direction (its GPS).

"Die Wêreld is Mal" is thus arguably underpinned by a Foucauldian problematisation of 'modern' society, projected metaphorically through the rejection of the conventional means of navigating its course. Despite such 'distancing' from conservative normative thought, as part of his journey towards something akin to care of the self and others, Van Coke does, however, stop short of Dionysian abandon, by affording himself a Utopian point of rest, namely with his wife and child.

[128] The reader may access a video recording of Van Niekerk's cover version of this song at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FcIgZVWv1R8.

Yet this resting point stops short of mimicking the empty, heteronormative white 'hyperreality' found within songs like "Sing vir Liefde", because the multiplicity of the horrors from which it offers a repose resist easy, essentialising definition in terms of 'good' and 'evil'. Nevertheless, although Van Coke certainly embarks on a radicalising journey, it is this ultimate gravitation towards a point of rest that 'rescues' him from the Foucauldian limit experience, to which he was, arguably, quite close during the heyday of FPK, and from which his wife saved him – as stated in the lyrics. One could hypothesise that it is, perhaps, also his gravitation towards this point of rest that manifests itself in his susceptibility to financially viable commercial collaboration with *Huisgenoot* (as indicated above), despite his strong critical leanings.

Critical ruthlessness, propelled by an unwillingness to be confined to a fixed identity is, similarly, evident in *Van Coke Kartel's* 'unmasking' of Carika Keuzenkamp's "Dis 'n Land" in their 2011 adaptation of the song. The following cursory account of this version of the song and its video seeks to highlight that Francois van Coke also attempts to resist the trappings of 'closed' Afrikaner identity formations when confronting South African socio-political issues – as opposed to global issues – in a song. This version shows less similarity to the structural musical codes of the (borrowed) original song than the 2013 Snotkop rendition does. It retains the simple quadruple time and verse and chorus form of the original, but whereas Snotkop replaces the Keuzenkamp verses with rap, *Van Coke Kartel* uses frantic punk rock in a minor key. Snotkop keeps the original chorus intact but *Van Coke Kartel* only alludes to the melody of the first line of the original chorus and maintains the use of a minor key. Hence *Van Coke* Kartel merely identifies the 'borrowed' original song fleetingly in order to utilise what it signifies for parodic purposes.

Parody premised on contest between the multi-media components employed, extends equally to lyrics and the musical and visual codes in this video. It pictures the band members wearing wigs and make-up and donning drag outfits reminiscent of 1980s designer jackets and skirts, the era from which the original Keuzenkamp hit dates. The 'coy' smile worn by Van Coke comprises a strong contrast to the words of the first verse, which he subsequently bellows. Herewith these words:

In die land van blindes
In the land of the blind

Is die eenoog koning,
The one eye is king,

(Die) koning loop met die losprys weg
The king walks away with the ransom money

En moordenaars groet mekaar met 'n 'high five'.
And murderers greet each other with a 'high five'.

He then proceeds by implying a link between state corruption and the murder of the businessman Brett Kebble.[129] The (previously described) minor chorus subsequently forms a strong contrast with the saccharine refrain of Keuzenkamp. Note the emphasis on jealousy between the self and the other:

Dis 'n land van kleure en klank,
It's a country of colours and sounds,

Dis 'n land van liefde vir drank,
It's a country of love for alcohol,

Jy is nie ek nie, ek's jaloers op jou,
You are not me, I am jealous of you,

Dis 'n land van korrupsie en, goddank,
It's a country of corruption and, thank god,

Dis 'n land van liefde vir drank,
It's a country of love for alcohol,

Jy is nie ek nie, ek's jaloers op jou.
You are not me, I am jealous of you.

[129] Well-known mining magnate Brett Kebble was shot dead near a bridge over the M1 in Abbotsford, Johannesburg on 27 September 2005, while driving to a dinner engagement with his business associate, Sello Rasethaba. On 16 November 2006 businessman Glenn Agliotti was arrested in connection with the murder of Brett Kebble. Agliotti, a convicted drug-dealer, was a close personal friend of former South African Police Commissioner Jackie Selebi.

As the song gains in intensity, the initial good manners of the musicians in the video give way to raucous behaviour, which, increasingly, begs closer association with the *Rocky Horror Picture Show* than with a pantomime of 1980s South Africa. Eventually the musicians start stripping off their drag outfits to reveal black T-shirts and jeans. Wigs are cast aside, and they feverishly wipe the make-up from their faces. The instruments finally are thrashed, in 'true' rock star style.

At the outset of this video the 1980s-style drag, coupled with strong reference to a polemical apartheid song, have the effect of suggesting falseness/pretence, both with regard to the fictional / drag image held by *Van Coke Kartel* and the message of the past, namely that there is a place for everyone in the wonderful, diverse South Africa. As the contrast between Van Coke's facial expression and the meaning of the text of the first verse unfolds, the sense of falseness/pretence is shifted into the present – until the singers are 'unmasked', together with their hidden aggression. Within this song criticism of the current government and the Afrikaner's perceived falseness and aggression therefore speak with equal force and the jealousy of both the self and other are repeatedly emphasised. Hence the critical onslaught launched by Van Coke and his band is directed both at the coercive greed-driven power exercised by the 'other', and at the unmasked 'self', who still strives to maintain the equally greed-driven white exclusivism valorised by the pious pastoral slant of the Keuzenkamp song.

Issue could, perhaps, be taken with the violence characterising the scene in which the cross-dressed band members rip off their feminine clothing items. If suggestions of a condoning of sexual violation were to be read into this scene, one could – given the radical, 'liberating' image of *Van Coke Kartel* – draw a correlation between a supposed sense of masculine sexual entitlement and Thokozani Xaba's contention that the "young lions" of the anti-apartheid struggle subscribed to "struggle masculinity" in which women were considered to be fair game (2001: 110 and 116 in Lewis 2008:106). I would, however, contend that the violence within the potently parodic *Van Coke Kartel* video scene is innocent of such innuendos, because the intense, aggressive revolt reflected could, as previously expressed, just as easily be interpreted as directed

at the heteronormativity of 1980s South Africa, the discursive legacy of which remains with us today.

In "Recover: Afrikaans Rock, Apartheid's Children and the Work of the Cover", Aidan Erasmus attributes a stance far less intent on transformation to VCK's version of "Dis 'n Land". Analysing the song without its video – and hence without a consideration of the meaning resulting from the interplay between multimedia elements – Erasmus claims that "VCK's cover of 'Dis 'n Land' could be thought of as inaugurating a state of emergency around 'whiteness' after the end of apartheid as well as replaying the politics of an earlier moment of disquiet, as heard through "*tannie* [aunty] Carike" (2017:181). Erasmus – quite accurately – perceives Keuzenkamp's version as an "evocation that South Africa is a country of dreams and progressive sentiment", and that "we allow the future to entirely envelop us" (2017:176). And given the strong resistance against apartheid during the time of the release of Keuzenkamp's version, a sense of disquiet would most likely have accompanied this evocation which, although not rendered explicitly, "emerges through the investment in futurity that marks her composition" (Erasmus 2017: 178). Erasmus's description of VCK as naming themselves part of something that is chaotic – within the current socio-political context – is also accurate and in accordance with the Dionysian energy unleashed by the lyrics, music and video.

However, as his analysis does not extend to the video, he subsequently rejects an interpretation of VCK's version as a parody of Keuzenkamp's song (2017:178), focussing instead on the division implied by the line "you are not me / I am jealous of you" as an alleged expression of VCK's adherence to divisive thinking. Given what he perceives as the non-parodic use a polemical apartheid song, this alleged divisive thinking, coupled with VKC's comment regarding chaos in a South Africa under ANC rule, makes for a conclusion that their message is governed by a 'white-black' dichotomy. He consequently states that a complete rejection of apartheid would mean disentangling the white subject as a product of apartheid and employs Gavin Steingo's following statement to make issue with what he perceives as VKC's 'replaying' of Keuzenkamp' message: "To become a South African in the fullest sense of the term, one needs to disavow the past in a

way that recognises it but does not repeat it" (2005:96 in Erasmus 2017:180). However, not only does a consideration of the video serve to negate any sense of ideological kinship with Keuzenkamp's song quite violently, but the chaos that is set in motion by the violence with which VCK disavows Keuzenkamp's legacy also serves as the transformative force allowing this version of "Dis 'n Land" to engage in critical dialogue about the current South African political landscape – a landscape in which the reformative governmental measures based on race, and the concomitant defensive white response, essentialise 'blackness' and 'whiteness' to an extent that such reification comes to serve as the justification for all ills visited on 'the other'. Rather than valorising the white subject and advocating demarcation, VCK is consequently, as previously indicated, insisting on an unmasking of these divisive narratives, and thereby serves as an antidote to the Apollonian stagnation that supports and perpetuates their 'self' deception.

5.4.3.2 Selected songs from the album *Wakkerslaap* by David Kramer, and the song "Perlemoentjie" from the album *Padkos* by Anton Goosen

David Kramer is another artist whose approach to Afrikaans music could be likened to a continual problematising journey between fixed identities. Chapter 3 referred to his role as the (sometimes rather sardonic) 'face' of Volkswagen advertisements during the 1970s and 80s, to his collaboration with the late Taliep Peterson to unearth and curate the Afrikaans cultural heritage within the music of the Kaapse Klopse and to his exploration of the unique finger pickings and tunings of 'forgotten' descendants of the KhoiSan people in the Northern Cape hinterland. These efforts resulted in the 2003 televised documentary *Karoo Kitaar Blues*.

But chapter 3 also noted the absence of coverage of Kramer's music in *Huisgenoot.* Yet, given his criticisms of both kitsch and segregationist Afrikaans culture during the apartheid years, this distant relationship with *Huisgenoot* might be of his own making. Nevertheless, Kramer's most recent album, *Wakkerslaap*, was featured on the *Huisgenoot* 'Music' page of 25 January 2018, in a review that noted influences of Johnny Cash[130] and *The Doors*. And a connection can, in fact,

[130] Johnny Cash was, musical codes aside, an artistic figure whose concern for the marginalised in society finds resonance in the work of David Kramer. His concern for those marginalised by society was probably best reflected by a performance at Folsom Prison and by work towards advancing the course of prison reform in the United States

readily be made between the idiosyncratic 'rockabilly' guitar playing of Cash and the musical endeavours documented in *Karoo Kitaar Blues*. Further notable in its topical musical codes is *Ghoema* jazz that serves as an underlying influence throughout the music on *Wakkerslaap.*

Unlike most of the songs that received detailed analysis in this chapter, the songs on *Wakkerslaap* approach socio-political issues in a more indirect way. Many of them could, perhaps, best be described as 'short stories' derived from a 'travel journal', which are framed within small town social contexts by implementing particular musical styles and instrumentation. Hence *Wakkerslaap*, with its narrative about a coloured Abraham who mistakes an eagle for a dark angel and almost sacrifices his son, frames an Old Testament tale within music suggestive of the *Klezmer* style, and with unusual structural musical codes such as chromatic harmonies and prominent use of the violin. These serve as topical musical codes that point to the significance of Kramer's own Jewish background. Note as well, in this regard, how the fable of Abraham serves as subtle criticism of blind adherence to pastoral power, of how it leads inexorably to alienation, violence and loss.

Yet Kramer's critical approach is also multi-faceted: for example, the country-blues underlying "Donker Kamer" (Dark Room), with its soaring violin interlude, describes how alcohol abuse, worsened by economic hardship, kills creativity. In turn, the Afrikaans folk song "Suikerbossie" (Sugar Bush; of British origin, I might add) is given blues treatment in the ballad "Onner Deurie Maan"(Under the Moon), an account of lost love. "Calvinia", which evokes association with the jazz standard "Georgia On My Mind", reflects the violent emotions ripping through a 'coloured' woman whose daughter is ashamed of their humble origin in the 'location'[131] and consequently rejects her. Passing reference is also made to the 'old coloured location' in the country blues of the song "Marilyn", with its strong focus on guitar picking, while "Rieldans[132] Dans Vanaand"

during the 1970s (https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/at-folsom-prison-johnny-cash-found-his-cause/2018/05/28/740124ca-4f03-11e8-84a0-458a1aa9ac0a_story.html).

[131] The word 'location' refers to the poverty-stricken settlements on the outskirts of 'white' towns and cities to which people of colour were confined after the forced removals following the Group Areas Act during apartheid.

[132] *Rieldans* has its roots in the Khoisan culture where it originated as a celebratory dance. It is considered one of the oldest indigenous dancing styles in South Africa.

places the listener in the midst of this 'location': This lively dance number, with instrumentation including a bass, banjo, concertina and violin, reminiscent of *boeremusiek*, celebrates the *riel*, a 'coloured' dance which could perhaps best be described as an 'Africanised' mixture of the Irish reel and the Cakewalk. A diverse mixture of both structural and topical musical signs is thus brought together in this song.

Note, furthermore, how "Wakkerslaap" and "Donker Kamer", in accordance with postmodern (anti) methodology, employs 'stories' of individuals to explore the effects of marginalisation. The nostalgic, idiosyncratic, personal songs of Gert Vlok Nel similarly explore forgotten lives in forgotten small towns but with a focus on white Afrikaners. Within a *Huisgenoot* context, Nel is all but forgotten as well; his only *Huisgenoot* coverage during the past five years, in the issue of 17 August 2016, was in connection with a feud between him and the singer Theuns Jordaan about Nel's song "Beautiful in Beaufort-Wes". Nel is a resident of the small rural town Beaufort-Wes and could hence be perceived as 'unsinging' himself/his own marginalised state.

Take note, in finally returning to Kramer, of the potential that his previously mentioned inclusion of the *riel* on a widely distributed contemporary album holds for the extending of the reach of this culturally eclectic dance's transformational power. In Foucauldian terms, this artist's self-effacing commitment to a problematising retelling of the story about the formation of Afrikaans culture – a retold story that is sensitive to multiple disregarded contributing voices – amounts to an incredibly potent, albeit subtle, dislodging of white power blocks within the Afrikaner discourse, that entails eschewal of the associated states of domination in favour of exploring relations of power.

A similarly transformational thrust is at play within the acoustic instrumentation and musical styles used as topical musical codes on Anton Goosen's album *Padkos* (Food for the Road), mentioned in an article on Goosen in the *Huisgenoot* issue of 18 April 2019. The turbulent career of this Afrikaans singer-songwriter has been fraught with contradictions: he not only spoke out harshly on *LitNet* against the many supposedly Afrikaans hit songs with European melodies

(Retief 2020:223), and performed with the late Zulu reggae artist Lucky Dube before the post-1994 South Africa came into being (Retief 2020:169), but he has also been the recipient of a *Skouspel* Award in 2003 and an *FAK* Award in 2016, and can boast the inclusion of 19 of his songs in the 2012 publication *FAK Volume II*, focussed on Afrikaans songs written after 1979 (Retief 2020:127).

After entering the Afrikaans music world via a mainstream route during the repressive and culturally stagnant 1970s, Goosen gradually came to problematise closed Afrikaner discourse through his songs. In 1975, around the time when *Huisgenoot* consciously started to adopt a more populist approach, Goosen became a part-time music reviewer for both the magazine and the newspaper *Beeld.* At this stage he was writing songs for a wide variety of artists – including Gé Korsten and Carika Keuzenkamp (Retief 2020:51) – and was hence closely associated with the conservative Afrikaans establishment of the time. Goosen also started writing songs in what Byerly aptly describes as the *Lekkerliedjie* (Nice Song) idiom (1998: 38) for Sonja Heroldt, who had risen to fame with her very light and formulaic pop song "Ek Verlang Na Jou" (I miss you), after interviewing her for *Huisgenoot.* Byerly describes *Lekkerliedjies* as being "musically and lyrically…light and unchallenging; a sort of easy-listening" in which the "lyrics centered around flora, fauna and geographical locations to avoid controversial issues" (Ibid.). Yet some of his songs for Heroldt gradually came to include subtle socio-political innuendos: the song "Jantjie" is, for instance, about a coloured fisherman and his girlfriend, and "Kyk Hoe Dans Ek" (Watch Me Dancing) deals with an Indian community's happy facade during the times of apartheid's forced removal of non-white social clusters from so-called white areas (Retief 2020:50). Accordingly, his song "Atlantis" was banned, due to its reference to a poem by the anti-apartheid poet Breyten Breytenbach (Retief 2020:51). But to Goosen's surprise, "Mpanzaville", written for the singer Laurika Rauch, escaped the clutches of the censorship board, despite a comment that the 'Great Crocodile' – the nickname for P.W. Botha, the then State President – had to die (Retief 2020:54). These politically oriented songs of Goosen's may be defined as *Luisterliedjies* (Listen Songs), in which "loaded meanings replaced bland 'nice' lyrics" (Byerly 1998: 38) and are associated with the *Musiek en Liriek* (Music and Lyrics) movement of the early 1980s. Whereas the contributions

to this movement by artists like Laurika Rauch and Clarabelle van Niekerk were introspective and in a folk or cabaret style, Goosen's contributions generally had a more upbeat rock orientation, an observation underscored by Charles Leonard, a former musical journalist for *Die Vrye Weekblad* [133] (The Free Weekly) in an interview with Clara Pienaar

Subsequently Goosen continued on an increasingly anti-(Afrikaner) establishment route, finding kindred spirits in artists the likes of David Kramer, but failed to find aesthetic resonance with the *Voëlvry* Movement, although he supported the political motivations behind their cultural revolt. The disdain that Goosen shared with Kramer regarding the *kitsch* Afrikaner culture of the 1970s is reflected in his previously mentioned song "Boy van die Suburbs", which was prompted by the experience of watching his neighbour's daughter paint the beaks of the cement doves on their prefab wall (Retief 2000:68).

Padkos, the title of his 2019 album, is not connected to any specific song but rather serves as a metaphoric collective noun for its music, suggesting that a journey is at hand or underway. The album cover also features Goosen hitchhiking along a road, next to a sign prohibiting hitchhiking. This cover could perhaps be interpreted as a metaphor for his defiance or, in Foucauldian terms, problematisation not only of prohibitions regarding the accompanying of 'others' on their musical journeys and of a sharing of their 'food for the road', but also of the conservative mores in the Afrikaans music industry in general, as indicated in the preceding discussion. This problematisation also extends to Goosen's initiation of musical hybridity.

"Perlemoentjie", an 'unadorned' love song from this album, is in waltz style, and includes a violin, concertina, guitar, percussion and Jewish harp in its instrumentation. Whereas much of its instrumentation as well as its musical style serve as strong topical codes for its association with *boeremusiek* (which was influenced by European folk dances and, in turn, had an influence on the coloured *riel*) the inclusion of the Jewish harp, which is cited as being found in musical

[133] A politically radical Afrikaans newspaper with Max du Preez as editor, which was launched in 1988 (https://arena.africa/project/vrye-weekblad/).

traditions as diverse as Turkish, Sindhi, Carnatic, Cambodian and Western, proves an interesting addition. The sound production on the Jew's/Jewish harp, called a *trompie*[134] in South Africa, is heavily dependent on the resonating of overtones within the mouth cavity. Within a South African context its mode of playing therefore also begs association with the mouth-resonated bows of the Nguni musical culture. The transformational potential in the musical associations provoked by the instrumentation and style used in "Perlemoentjie" is also enhanced by Goosen's rather 'flat' Afrikaans pronunciation of the lyrics, in accordance with the coloured dialect, which is maintained throughout the album.

Similarly, in "Diep Blou See" (Deep Blue Sea) Goosen uses the *trompie* within the musical context of blues rock, and incorporates a choral section bearing a semblance to the *koortjie* of coloured origin, discussed in the analysis of Churchil Naudé's song "Bloed". And in "Scotty Smith", Goosen's tale about a South African Robin Hood, the *trompie* is combined with *boeremusiek*, in the definitive *sakkie-sakkie* rhythmic tradition. Valorisation of an outlaw in "Scotty Smith" also prompts fleeting, loose association with Goosen's own non-conformist and, at times, defiant approach to Afrikaans music – a stance reflected in his 2002 performance for the inmates of the Oudtshoorn Prison[135] (2020:240).

5.5 Concluding Thoughts on Manifestations of More 'Open' Identity Constructs

It is significant that the *Voëlvry* Movement, which endeavoured to rescue Afrikaans popular music from the dead kitschness that came to characterise it during the 1970s and the 1980s, embraced the 'Outlaw' image overtly, with "voëlvry" literally being translatable as outlaw – or, according to Pat Hopkins, as feel free, free as a bird, free penis or free love (2006:14). Among the artists whose interpreted songs have been perceived as manifesting more 'open' identity constructs in this chapter, Churchil Naudé could perhaps most readily be perceived as an outlaw,

[134] This instrument is also called a trump. The name 'Jew's harp' may be a corruption of 'jaw's harp', as the frame is held between the teeth. This ancient instrument is mentioned and depicted in a Chinese book of the 12th century, and specimens have been found in locations as widespread as Borneo, Japan, Siberia, North Germany and Norway.
[135] In this regard, see [5.4.3.2], pertaining to the analysis of David Kramer's *Wakkerslaap*, for the footnote regarding Johnny Cash's performance at Folsom Prison.

due to the marginalising of his Afrikaner identity by the apartheid discourse and his active countering thereof. Through pointed lyrics and the use of musical material associated with formations of a coloured pastorate, he employs a Dionysian orientation in working from the 'outlaw' position afforded him by the supposed 'pure of blood' – who, for instance, consider him a rapist of the language – towards a position where he affords himself co-ownership of Afrikaans. Notwithstanding the fearless ingenuity with which he confronts and refuses the subjectivation that a closed Afrikaner text imposes on him, the question arises whether he merely desires the 'closed' white Afrikaner establishment to widen its circle somewhat in order to include coloured people or whether the intent of his transformational efforts is wider in scope.

Irrespective of Goosen's above valorisation of the outlaw through song, a position of drifter rather than outlaw is perhaps more accurately manifested in the songs on *Padkos* which, unlike his anti-apartheid songs mentioned earlier, do not employ direct or indirect social commentary. Yoma, whose social commentary on "Moedertaal" is confined to the cautioning of her unborn child to embrace his/her cultural multiplicity without a sense of shame, may similarly primarily be perceived as a drifter between identities. And although criticism of closed subject positions on Afrikaner identity and the marginalising social effects thereof may readily be found in the lyrics of Kramer's *Wakkerslaap* songs, the overwhelming slant of the album is intercultural dialogue rather than overt, aggressive defiance of domineering narratives, thereby affording him a 'drifter' position. In turn, the lyrics and visual material of Van Coke's work interpreted in this chapter vacillates between a manifestation of drifting – with the inclusion of a 'moment of repose', as discussed in the analysis of "Die Wêreld is Mal" – and aggressive defiance, which prompts 'outlaw' associations. Such defiance of smug, 'closed' Afrikaner constructs in Willim Welsyn's "Herfsheks" is, similarly, coupled with the more nihilistic drifting between identities in his "Al die Cool Kinders". When finally considering the musical material itself, it is worth noting that the potentially transformative grappling with relations of power in the interpreted songs of all of these drifters and/or outlaws extends quite strongly to the use of particular musical styles and instruments as topical musical codes. This happens both in aid of reconciliatory purposes, as in Kramer's use of the *riel*, Goosen's use of the *trompie,* and Yoma's implementation of Indian

raga, and in highlighting anger and frustration through the utilisation of rock, as is the case with Van Coke and Welsyn.

My own continually restless position during this interpretative process, 'aware' of its Foucauldian obligation to deny itself some rest within the 'safe harbour' of a fixed identity formation, could perhaps be likened to that of a drifter. However, both the distance required from one's thought in aid of problematisation and the challenging, violent exposure of Apollonian illusion central to this process bear association with the defiant, aggressive and hazardous position of the outlaw. My 'outlaw' position is consequently bound to manifest itself quite strongly within the problematisation of the 'white-black' dichotomy pivotal to continued demarcating thinking within post-1994 South Africa in chapter 6 – a dichotomy most evident in the music/videos of interpreted songs seen to adhere to more 'closed' Afrikaner identity constructs.

INTERLUDE II[136]

"Wednesday 12 December 1990

Last night at 4h – had a 'vision dream', afterwards wide awake like the previous times– so different to my usual sleeping habits.

I was at an assembly, something like Bible Study. Two non-white women, normal servants, between the whites, apart from each other. With elevated faces as if they are in search of something.

For me the sudden question: Can they be shown away? And I could not reconcile it with true Christianity and thought about Biblical instances of the apostles, Peter and Paul. Is it then wrong of us to fight for a white church?'

A second peculiar experience:

I was with other people in a pipeline between two tightly spun thin wires (like nylon fish wire) and we were powerlessly moving forward, could do nothing to escape. Somewhere to the side a big, well-dressed black man was following and watching the procession.

It was the most terrible anguish, on the way to self-destruction. In my dream I shouted out loudly: 'Father God, help us, oh help us!'

Then I was wide awake and shaken but found peace in my faith in the Lord as the Almighty Keeper of our destiny'."

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[136] Excerpt from the diary of Betsie Verwoerd (née Schoombee), taken from Wilhelm Verwoerd's *Bloedbande. 'n Donker Tuiskoms* (Verwoerd 2018: 214 215) [Own translation.].

CHAPTER 6

Reflections on Then and Now

"At length did cross an Albatross,

Thorough the fog it came;

As if it had been a Christian soul,

We hailed it in God's name".[137]

6.1 A Critical Consideration of the Dichotomy-Driven Hierarchies of 'Truth' Governing the Current Socio-Political South African Landscape

The sense of fear permeating Betsie Verwoerd's 'second peculiar experience' is echoed in the 2007 work *N staan vir Nagmerrie IV* (N stands for Nightmare IV), by the visual artist Anton Kannemeyer. This work superimposes the image of four identical white men (possible caricatures of Kannemeyer) carrying a black man with exaggerated stereotypical facial features, in a hammock, on a sketch of the *Voortrekker*-monument. Whereas the image of the men conjures up associations with slavery within Ancient Egyptian Culture – on account of the wrapped skirts worn by the four men – the monument within itself takes on the guise of an 'ancient' pyramid. Through such means, Kannemeyer's work investigates the fear of (black) revenge (Van Robbroeck 2008: 134). Correlatively, the date of Verwoerd's diary entry places it at the end of the year in which Nelson Mandela was released from prison. It is therefore reasonable to assume that her 'peculiar' nightmare stemmed from a similar fear.

My own 'peculiar experience', framed similarly within a 'white-black' dichotomy, revolves around a course in African Music and South African Popular Music which I have been presenting to

[137] Excerpt from *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, the epic poem by Samuel Taylor Coleridge, in which a mariner on a whim shoots an albatross that offered spiritual safeguarding to him and his crew. When the crew encounters misfortune, he is forced to wear the albatross around his neck, and when Death takes the lives of his crew, he is condemned to 'Life in Death'. Yet, ultimately, he finds absolution in repenting and in recognizing the beauty of all creatures surrounding him, including even sea snakes (http://www.inquiriesjournal.com/articles/1696/brief-review-the-rime-of-the-ancient-mariner).

students at Nelson Mandela University during the past few years. The course dwells on traditional Xhosa music, Township Jazz, Protest Music and Afrikaans popular music. I have, during the past few years, always enjoyed a very positive response to this course from students. However, in February 2019, I encountered a class dynamic where my middle-aged 'whiteness' immediately presented itself as 'the elephant in the room'. I must admit initial feelings of being 'cordoned off' and paralysed by a few of the African students' reaction to me – of perceiving myself as being in a situation akin to the second vision described by Betsie Verwoerd in *Interlude II.* Given this perception of being encircled within my 'whiteness' by condemning gazes, my unease and 'apartheid guilt' threatened to provoke compliance with the fulfilment of my sentence, as is the case with the prisoner in a panopticon who, according to Foucault, becomes the principle of his own subjection (1977:203). However, eventually I decided to approach the course situation, described above, by initiating a class discussion, in which I invited dialogue with the students about their reticence to be guided by me in the interpretation of the material at hand. Although I perceived the resulting dialogue as being beneficial to my relationship with the students, and indeed to the course as a whole, this dialogue also sensitised me to the presence of the rather stark dichotomies that currently seem to inform South African discourse. These dichotomies have certainly also predominated in the interpretations of *Huisgenoot* songs within the previous chapter.

Accordingly, the following sections of this chapter explore these dichotomies in order to create a retrospective socio-political context for the songs/videos interpreted. This exploration entails an investigation of i) the 'Nationalistic' demands set out by Schoombee in her 1924 critique of *Huisgenoot*, and ii) current 'Decolonisation' demands, founded on the premise of 'Black Consciousness' and the concept of 'Négritude'. Subsequently, a comparative discussion will render conspicuous how both apartheid and Black Consciousness constitute metanarratives. Cognisance of the ideologies underscoring each of these metanarratives stands to assist in the synthesis of research findings in my closing chapter, chapter 7.

6.2 The Criteria for a Magazine in Service of 'Nation building', as Laid Out in the Schoombee Thesis on *Die Huisgenoot*

In the broadest sense, Elizabeth Schoombee /Betsie Verwoerd structured the critique in her thesis on *Huisgenoot* around criteria premised on the idea that the magazine complied with endeavours to develop the (white) Afrikaner nation. Consequently, a number of the points constituting the guiding criteria of her investigation can also be perceived as having a bearing on current concerns regarding Afrikaner identity. It may therefore prove useful, firstly, to unpack these criteria against the South African context moulding Schoombee's ontology, and secondly, to consider Schoombee's criteria within the current South African socio-political context, with special reference to the prevailing Decolonisation debate. In my final chapter, insights derived from the juxtaposition of Schoombee's text with the Decolonisation narrative, will be synthesized with conclusions derived from the analysis of selected songs covered in *Huisgenoot*.

When determining the most pressing socio-political needs feeding the aims of *Huisgenoot* upon its founding in 1916, Betsie Verwoerd highlights the magazine's role in providing leadership and guidance in a situation where i) there is a national awakening among some white Afrikaners, but ii) where national self-respect still needs to be fostered among a large part of the Afrikaner nation (Schoombee 1924: 16). General education, as well as the development of a national taste regarding literature and art, and the gradual development of an Afrikaner literary and artistic tradition, are subsequently identified as prime concerns. According to Schoombee, concurrent with the development of such literary tastes and a literary tradition runs the need to establish Afrikaans not only in the home, but also as an official language in government, in administration offices, and in the business sector (Ibid: 19, 40). In short, Schoombee calls for education in the mother tongue (Ibid: 23).

Furthermore, she emphasises that, in order to build up the position and reach of Afrikaans as a vehicle of national pride, its credibility needs to be strengthened by acquiring consistency with regard to its spelling and grammar (Ibid: 21). Only then will it be able to hold its own confidently against Dutch, venerated by those Afrikaners Schoombee views as more conservative, and against English cultural oppression. Schoombee subsequently points to the introductory article in the *Huisgenoot* of March 1919, which views Afrikaans as the unifying power between

Afrikaners in the South African Party (SAP),[138] and the National Party (NAT). She quotes this article as stating that Afrikaans is like barbed wire around these Afrikaners, which cordons them off from the rest of humanity, despite their political differences (Ibid: 41). Note the ironic parallels between this simile and Schoombee/Betsie Verwoerd's second vision, contained in *Interlude II*: whereas in Schoombee's thesis, the 'barbed wire' simile denotes the drawing of Apollonian circles around 'Afrikaner Culture' to aid in the exercising of pastoral power, her second vision, diarised in the early 1990s, suggests a cordoning off of this culture in captivity, and in service of the Other's will to power.

Schoombee's explanation for the educational challenges facing the Afrikaner of 1924 offers insight into who she considers as belonging within the camp of the 'Afrikaner Nation'. She cites the disruptions surrounding constant moving (the Great Trek) and the Great South African War (defined narrowly in her text as the *Boereoorlog* [Boer War]), as reasons for the educational needs of the Afrikaner nation. Moreover, drawing exclusively on the history of the *Voortrekkers* and their descendants in the Boer Republics of the Free State and Transvaal, she implies the 'whiteness' of both the Afrikaner nation and, by implication, the language that ties them together. It is, in this regard, also significant that Schoombee sees the 'rewriting' of an Afrikaner history, free from the 'distortions' found within the British education of the day, as one of the projects with which the *Huisgenoot* can assist (Ibid: 27).

Giliomee's exploration of the Afrikaans language in *Die Afrikaners* discredits Schoombee's white perception of Afrikaans, by claiming that the language originated as a combined creation of the

[138] In 1910 South Africa became a Union, with Louis Botha, assisted by Jan Smuts, as prime minister. This self-determining status implied that Britain would cease to influence governance in the country, on the condition that South Africa remained loyal to the Crown, in terms of the Peace of Vereeniging, signed on 31 May 1902, and marking the end of the Anglo-Boer War / Great South African War (https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/union-south-africa-1910). The South African Party (SAP) was formed in 1911 and "was an amalgam of various parties from the pre-Union period….The SAP was always rather heterogenous and often brought together people who were united primarily by opposition to Afrikaner nationalist parties. It even had a 'liberal' wing, which came to be led by the younger Jan Hofmeyr"(http://smu-facweb.smu.ca/~wmills/course322/13_5Pol_parties.html), the son of Jan Hofmeyr the elder, known as "Onze Jan". The latter was a Cape politician and editor of the newspapers *Zuid Afrikaan* and *Ons Land* (https://www.oliveschreiner.org/vre?view=personae&entry=33), and also formed part of the delegation that submitted the final draft of the proposal for a Union to the British government (https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jan-Hofmeyr). In 1948, the victory of the Nationalist Party over the South African Party led to the beginning of institutionalised apartheid.

Dutch and the Khoi-Khoi, and that it developed between master and slave within three dialects, namely those of the Cape, Eastern Border, and Orange River. He also thematizes the inclusion in the Afrikaans lexicon of many Malaysian-Portuguese phrases, which may be attributed to the influence of Malaysian slaves. Giliomee furthermore states that the oldest written Afrikaans dating from 1642 and 1673, quotes the words of a Khoi Khoi speaker, and that the first printed book in Afrikaans was, as previously mentioned, a Muslim Book of Prayer in Arabic writing, dating from 1856 (Gilliomee 2018: 104).

According to Giliomee, the cloak of whiteness only came to envelop Afrikaans in 1875, when S.J. du Toit – the pivotal figure in the creation of the GRA (*Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* / Bond or Organisation of Real Afrikaners) – declared Afrikaans a "pure Germanic language" and began referring to "Boere-Afrikaans". To Du Toit's mind, the *Hottentotte* (Khoi Khoi) had merely forsaken their language and taken up the language of the white people (Ibid: 107).

At the time that Schoombee was writing her critique of the *Huisgenoot,* concerns regarding the coloured community permeated the political arena. Earlier mention was made of initial support for the National Party among coloured people, and controversies regarding the 'coloured' vote. Schoombee's thesis refers to the coloured community twice. Firstly, she refers to the need for adequate housing for the 'poor whites' and the 'coloured' community, while at the same time discussing the need for information about health care in the *Huisgenoot* (Schoombee 1924: 131), and secondly, she calls for information about the 'poor white' problem and the issues surrounding the relationship between the white and 'coloured' communities (Ibid: 153). Whereas the reference to the latter issue might be viewed as a nod to shared cultural heritage, Schoombee's constant equation of the 'coloured' community to a problem reflects a rather depersonalised and patronising stance. This contrasts with her frequent 'comfortable' references to the Afrikaner nation's rich European cultural roots, and with her previously mentioned exclusive reference to the history of the white *Boer*. Thus, the impression consequently created is that Schoombee defines the Afrikaner nation in decidedly white terms.

However, despite Schoombee's appreciation of European culture as the heritage of the white Afrikaner nation, as noted, her views on the political importance of the Afrikaans language

extended to calls for the creation of an Afrikaans literature. Similarly, she calls for *Huisgenoot's* assistance in the promotion of original manifestations of South African Visual Art and Music (Ibid: 17; 88; 153). Interestingly, while discussing the efforts of the Afrikaans painter Pierneef, she acknowledges (and presumably approves of) his studies regarding *Bantu* and *Bushman* art, in his quest to develop a typically South African style (Ibid: 88). But what emerges is that, for her, these manifestations of African art are only 'redeemed' when they are filtered through the artistic efforts of an Afrikaans painter. Conversely, a sense of caution regarding the threat that the rapidly developing Japan holds for the Western world, casts a shadow of apprehension over Schoombee's otherwise positive reference to the influence of Japanese aesthetics on the Western Art tradition (Ibid: 143).

6.3 A Critical Investigation of the Rhetoric Informing the Current Call for 'Decolonisation' in South Africa

In *As by Fire: The End of the South African University* Jonathan Jansen describes the concern prompting the call for Decolonisation as that "the coloniser might have left, but [that] colonial influences still determine how the new African rulers exploit the people they govern and suppress anti-colonial ideas" (2017:272). Jansen speaks from within an African geographical context, largely concerned with the "Rhodes must Fall" and "Fees must Fall" protests that rocked South African university campuses in 2017. A more global perspective on the needs propelling Decolonisation is offered by the theorists Rima Saini and Neema Begum, who endeavour towards the "systematic unravelling of colonial and imperial practices in the UK university system" (2020: 217). Saini and Begum describe the process of decolonisation as entailing "a forensic understanding and critique of where, how, why and by whom 'legitimate' knowledge is produced…[and] the way this knowledge does or does not reflect ongoing global political crises and ideological shifts around the world and their effect on subaltern populations" (2020: 217). Whereas they validate the statement of the activist/writer Audre Lorde that "the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house" (1984) as the reason necessitating this quest for an amplification of previously oppressed voices of 'truth', thereby underscoring the issue central to Jansen's definition directly, their approach is underpinned by an orientation sensitive to the

continual shifts in global relations and processes. With regard to such openness to engagement in global 'truth' dialogues, Jansen compares two perceived positions on Decolonisation within the South African narrative. The first, or "soft version", is aimed at decentring Europe as the centre of curriculum in order to restore/recentre "the place of the African and African knowledge at the heart of how we come to know ourselves, our history, our society, our achievements, our ambitions, and our future" (2017: 275), and is consequently not focused on a complete dismissal of European influence. In turn, the second, or "hard version" demands conceptual severing of European ties by calling for a complete "displacement of colonial or Western knowledge and its associated ideals and achievements as the standard against which to measure human progress" (Ibid.), thereby valorising inward thinking, at the expense of the increased possibilities for global dialogue underpinning the thought of Saini and Begum. Jansen, furthermore, highlights the connection between this "hard version" and the CST (Colonisation of a Special Type) principle adopted by the reigning ANC government, which describes apartheid South Africa as being subject to an "internal colonialism without territorial separation between the colonisers and the colonised" (Ballantine 2009:122). This definition differentiates the colonialism in South Africa from that in African countries subjected to colonialisation by geographically distant European forces (so-called non-resident colonialism) but fails to acknowledge that all South Africans were also colonial subjects to the British throne for a significant part of the 20th century (Jansen 2017:273). It, furthermore, and quite alarmingly, divides the South African population into a dichotomous whites/settler/resident oppressor versus black/native/oppressed rhetoric (Jansen 2017:273), and consequently racialises post-1994 democracy in the country (Ballantine 2009:122). Jansen notes how such divisive settler/native dichotomy had, via the rhetoric of more radical forces on the political spectrum – like the EFF and the PAC [139]– seeped into the recent student protests, together with its concomitant association with issues such as land appropriation (Jansen 2017: 273). This consequent racialisation of decolonisation runs counter to globally oriented decolonising efforts as, for instances manifested in the work of Saini and Begum, who seek to "stimulate informed dialogue" on "critical theories of race" (2020:218). Its

[139] One might add the even more extreme (Black First) 'Land First Movement.

"offering of blackness as a totality in opposition to whiteness" is also described by Erasmus as remaining "faithful to the perceptual grid of the colonial imaging" (2017:103).

It is ironic that numerous concerns pivotal to both the so-called soft and hard versions of the Decolonisation narrative, such as protest at the notion of English as a 'universal' means of communication, a favouring of that which has been created on African soil (and within the confines of one's own 'identity construct', one might add) over European 'creations', the cordoning off of those regarded as inherently one's own from the rest of humanity, a call for mother tongue education, and demands for the rewriting of history to reflect the perspectives of the previously colonised, echo Schoombee's 1924 criteria for a magazine productively involved in the building of an Afrikaner nation. Moreover, the criticism that Mahmood Mamdani – a powerful figure in terms of the interaction between politics and culture in Africa – launched at the ANC in a September 2017 lecture, for not making a greater effort to elevate other African languages to the same academic level as found at Afrikaans universities (Giliomee 2018: 219), similarly reflects the parallels between Afrikaner Nationalism and Decolonisation that I have highlighted above. Mamdani, in fact, goes as far as to describe Afrikaans as being the best decolonising project on the African continent (Ibid.), thereby simultaneously alluding to the colonised status of white South African prior to 1961, a historical status which is disregarded by CST thinking. In service of a consideration thereof within Foucauldian terms, the dichotomous thinking proffered by so-called hard South African versions of Decolonisation – often ironically mirrored by the Nationalism-invoking recommendations offered by the unwilling British colonial subject Elizabeth Schoombee in 1924 – will now be traced to the embeddedness of Decolonisation in the narratives of the Négritude and Black Consciousness Movements.

Erasmus points at the valorisation of blackness and advocacy "for Black nationalism as a route to freedom" (2017: 81) found in both movements. Such valorisation includes "the rejection of all Eurocentric values and the inculcation of a positive Black world view" (Owen 1994: 84). Négritude, founded by Leopold Senghor and Aimé Césaire, was "premised on claims of a normative, racially authentic African culture and civilisation in binary opposition to dominant European narratives of the world" (Erasmus 2017:72). The French existentialist Jean-Paul Sarté's version of Négritude philosophy, developed in his 1984 treatise "Orphée noir" (Black Orpheus) –

which prefaced Senghor's collection of African and Malagasy poetry, was forged through association with Senghor and Césaire in Paris, between 1940 and 1960 (Jules-Rosette 2007:265).

Although Black Consciousness developed out of Négritude in South Africa during the politically turbulent 1960s, differences between these two movements do exist. Unlike the exclusively 'African' Négritude (Ngwenya 1989:69) advocated by the likes of Anton Lembede, the Black Consciousness ideology, as interpreted by Steve Biko during the struggle against apartheid, accepted Indian and Coloured people as 'blacks' (Owen 1994:84; Vagenus 1984:88). Moreover, Black Consciousness does not advocate an exclusive return to tribal roots, unlike the Négritude represented by the Pan Africanist Congress during the apartheid struggle, which idealises and romanticises "the traditional African way of life" (Ngwenya 1989: 69). This is not to say that Biko did not, on occasion, indulge in such (essentialist) romanticisation – his polemical article "Some Cultural Concepts", (1984:29-31), certainly constitutes a romanticisation of traditional African societal values. I also contend that Biko's Africanism was conceived of, and steered by, instrumental rationality such that it merely tolerated association with other non-whites for utilitarian political purposes. And I maintain that Schoombee's ambivalent stance towards the Coloured Afrikaners, which does not equate to their complete exclusion from the Afrikaner laager, but rather teeters on the brink thereof, is perhaps not dissimilar, especially considering the 'fact' that the debate regarding the benefits of the 'coloured' vote for the strengthening of Afrikaner Nationalism was still unresolved at the time of her dissertation.

Although Black Consciousness thinkers perceive socio-environmental factors as co-authors of white-African 'difference', they propagate the belief that this supposedly general difference is ultimately dictated by biological heritage. The latter perception is evident in Biko's analysis of African culture in the previously mentioned "Some Cultural Concepts", where he claims that the African mind operates differently from the Western mind: "… whereas the Westerner is geared to use a problem-solving approach following trenchant analysis, our [African] approach is that of situation experience…" (Biko 1984: 29-31). He subsequently advances an ideology requiring African acceptance of this supposed cultural reference, by affording the latter the status of a natural 'given' that cannot be altered: "We as a community are prepared to accept that nature will have its enigmas which are beyond our powers to solve" (Ibid).

Biko's claim regarding the African mind's tendency towards 'present'-oriented 'situation-experience', initially reminds one of Nietzsche's Dionysian symbol, associated with immediacy. However, the Apollonian irony within his thought becomes apparent when one considers the following: Whereas Biko cites "trenchant analysis" as a characteristic process of the western mind, both this absolutising statement and indeed his subsequent absolutisation regarding the nature of African thought, suggest significant "trenchant analysis" on his part. "Trenchant analysis" in aid of Geofrey Cronje's book-length 1945 justification for the necessity of apartheid – entitled *'n Tuiste vir die Nageslag* (A Home for Posterity) – ironically leads this Afrikaner Nationalist to arrive at an essentialist statement about the African person's inherent inclination towards situation experience 'supportive' of Biko's romanticised claim but employed to rationalise the need for African subjectification: "The native is apparently especially inclined towards the concretely empirical, particularly towards repetitive work through which he experiences, as it were, a kind of 'monotonous' rhythm that would have a tedious, even pacifying, effect on the white man" (1945:18 in Venter 2018:275-276). To compound matters, Biko's following essentialising valorisation of African music in the "Some Cultural Aspects, meant to rationalise the need for cultural unification within a separatist black struggle, could also readily be 'captured' to support Cronje's equally polemical motivation for African subjugation, within a segregationist apartheid system: "At work the binding rhythm makes everybody brush off the burden and hence Africans can continue for hours on end because of the added energy" (1984: 30).

In this regard, a re-incorporation of Spry's delineation of the autoethnographic position, and aspects of the thought of Nietzsche and Foucault, might prove useful for clarification. That is, by stating that, whereas "emotion and poetics constitute scholarly 'treason', it is heresy put to good use" (2001:709), Spry points to the conflict-ridden, but inescapable and necessary, interdependence between the immediacy-driven, radicalising Dionysian, and form-valorising Apollonian orientations, with the latter serving as the 'foundation' of Western scholarship / theory. In relation to this, the absolutising conceptual (theoretical) stasis within both apartheid and Black Consciousness, which is premised, in both cases, on attempts at a countering of Dionysian and Apollonian interdependence, as well as the necessity for such interdependence,

will now be further explored. The exploration will be initiated by reflecting on the following excerpt (lines 43 – 46) from the lyrics of a praise song, sung at Desmond Tutu's[140] enthronement as the Archbishop of Cape Town in 1986:

> (But) a black skin
> Doesn't mean darkness
> And a white skin
> Doesn't mean brightness (*The New Nation* 1-24 Sept. 1986)

Supporting the uprooting of 'black=dark/white=bright' conceptual equivalence within this text, I contest what may be taken as the underlying Black Consciousness reversal of the suggestion that blackness means the negative in cultural terms and whiteness the positive. This is because, in view of the shunning of white liberals by adherents of Black Consciousness (Owen 1994:84) during apartheid, and the black exclusivist orientation characterising current calls for decolonising endeavours, this reversal can be made to serve the following generalising (propagandistic) counter claim: A black skin means brightness and a white skin means darkness. Instead, considering Nietzsche's dark/Dionysian/immediacy association, my contention problematises Biko's reification of the 'African' mind as immediacy-oriented, while simultaneously attaching 'darkness' to racial 'whiteness', under the auspices of the concept of hybridity.

That is, in order to combat the manipulation of Nietzsche's symbols for propagandistic purposes,[141] I propose a rejection of the negative/darkness – positive/brightness association, the basic association necessary to paint 'white' (in Black Consciousness) or 'black' (in apartheid) in negative terms. However, prior to problematising such associations of negative/darkness-positive/brightness in Nietzschean terms, I offer two examples of its implementation for the

[140] Desmond Tutu (b.1931) is a South African Anglican theologian known for his work as an anti-apartheid and human rights activist, who has subsequently been awarded a Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts in this regard.

[141] The late Nobandile Biko, Steve Biko's sister, was actively involved with the Steve Biko Foundation, under the stewardship of his eldest son, Nkosinathi Biko. The fostering of dichotomous 'white-black' thinking is central to events organised by this foundation, such as the "First Black Consciousness Reunion" (14-17 December 2018), which focussed on talks and debates driven by the Black Consciousness philosophy (https://www.iol.co.za/news/opinion/the-steve-biko-conundrum-18701375).

purposes of strengthening apartheid. Given Schoombee's stance regarding the development of '*die volk*' (the nation) in her dissertation, coupled with examples of her derogation of black people, the following poem – which echoes the tableau opening *Interlude I*, and which is also found on the opening track of the long-playing record *Ons vir jou Suid Afrika - die argitekte van die Republic aan die Woord* – arguably portrays her stance quite accurately. Note the exclusive positive association of the light/brightness with civilisation, and the correlative negative association of darkness with animalism employed throughout this introduction to J.B.M. Hertzog's speech:

> Hul noem hom Afrika, die reus;
> *They call him Africa, the giant*
>
> Die donker dier wat nou ontwakend gaap
> *The dark animal that yawns as it awakens from its slumbers*
>
> En tastend in die donker, vaak,
> *And feels his way through the dark, sleepily,*
>
> Met vingers van oorgretigheid 'n groen vrug ryp wil maak.
> *With fingers of greed that wish to ripen a green fruit.*
>
> Maar aan sy voet 'n fakkelster wat brandend opwaarts skiet,
> *But at his foot a torch star that shoots upwards in a blaze,*
>
> En met die lig wat hy versend dié dier beskawing bied.
> *And offers civilisation to this animal with the light that it sends.*
>
> Nou waar die son sy hittestraal
> *Now, where the sun sends its heat ray*
>
> Skroeiend na die aarde wend,
> *Scorchingly to the earth,*
>
> Lê aan die voet van Afrika
> *Lies at the foot of Africa*
>
> Die ligpunt van die kontinent…
> *The beacon of light of the continent…*

An even more specific extension of the light/brightness/civilization association with the Afrikaans language is also found in the literature-based iconography of the *Taal* Monument in Paarl, where N.P. van Wyk Louw depicts the link between Afrikaans, perceived as being indebted to the 'bright' West for its origin, and mystical/magical (Dionysian, one might add) Africa (Van Robbroeck 2008: 151).

However, unlike the propagandistic text above, Nietzsche – as is clear in *The Birth of Tragedy* – did not regard the 'bright' Apollonian 'foundation' of culture as synonymous with 'the positive'. Rather, contrary to conventional associations of 'brightness' with revelation (in the sense of bringing into the light), he equates the Apollonian with 'self-concealment' – with Māyā's veil that shields us from the harsh realities of existence (Foulston and Abbott 2009:14-16). Conversely, the Dionysian seeks to tear aside the Apollonian veil in order to reveal the primordial state of the unity of beings, and indeed, of the univocity of being itself (Megill 1985:40). In this way, the 'revealing' capacity accorded to Dionysian 'darkness' problematises the conventional 'darkness / brightness' binary opposition.

Despite its revelatory capacity, Nietzsche's dark Dionysian dynamic can also not be viewed as a synonym for the positive. Rather, according to Megill, Nietzsche considered a continuous unmediated glance into the depths of reality to be "so horrifying as to precipitate a reversion from culture to barbarism" (Megill 1985: 41). Thus, in Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy*, both the Dionysian and the Apollonian dynamics are construed prerequisites for the viability of culture: whereas maintenance of illusion (the Apollonian) is crucial to the survival of culture, complete suppression of reality (the Dionysian) would result in a culture chained to delusion / fantasy (Megill 1985: 41).

Hence acceptance of any essentialist identity offered by an overly static culture is a 'misrecognition' of cultural identity in terms of images or 'reified' concepts, such as 'white' or 'black', since these concepts encircle and perpetuate reified and reifying cultural fantasy. Thus, when apartheid pitted 'white' against 'black' in this manner, Biko's contradictory call for an African 'consciousness' of their (supposedly immediate/unconscious/Dionysian) 'true' nature, albeit inadvertently, worked to confine Africans to a condition in which they are only 'good' on

the grounds of the reified concept 'black' encircling them – a concept which, moreover, paradoxically depended on its counterpart 'white' for its ideological power. Of course, his assertions in this regard can also be understood as strategic, involving the advancement of an essential identity to combat the essential identity of the oppressor, much like Senghor's concept of Négritude in the colonial era (Longhurst et al 2017:235). Mabogo More attests to this by stating that Black Consciousness's "concern with the problematic of 'being' has fundamentally been, in Biko's words, 'the quest for Black humanity', which has been put into question by [dehumanising] apartheid racism" (2012:36) – a system which created a being "constituted as lack" (2012: 25) for blacks. Acknowledging this, the question nevertheless remains whether the continued viability of such a strategy – as manifested in radical decolonising efforts – can be justified within an era of globalisation and hybridity.

In closing, the citation opening this chapter utilised the image of the (black and white) albatross of Samuel Taylor Coleridge which, given the context of the poem, came to exemplify proverbial enchainment.[142] Such 'enchained' thinking, weighed down by the reifying 'white-black' dichotomy thinking discussed above and informed by proclivities for demarcation and subsequent attempts at domination – currently still underpins much of the will to power of politically motivated decolonisation rhetoric, couched as it is in 'Négritude' and 'Black Consciousness' ideology. Similarly, within right-wing Neo-Afrikaner protest 'circles', it propels a fear-induced defensive clutching at the tatters of the apartheid ideology, in the hope that it will provide a sense of self-preservation, dignity and/or control, through the reifying cultural fantasy, supported by staid symbols, which it is perceived as offering.

[142] It is of interest that the metaphor of fog, forming part of this citation, finds related utilisation in Steve Kettle's "Monstering the Invisible" (2016), which powerfully illustrates "the perceived threat of the Other encroaching upon normative space and swallowing boundaries, [both] in its presence as a concealing medium and a site of transgressive behaviour and transformation, and as a metaphor for the Other" (2016: III).

CHAPTER 7

A 'Synthesis' of Sorts

"We must not imagine that the world turns towards us a legible face which we would have only to decipher; the world is not the accomplice of our knowledge; there is no pre-discursive providence which disposes the world in our favour".[143]

7.1 A More General Overview of *Huisgenoot* Musical Coverage in 2018 and 2019

The songs discussed in chapter 5 only provide a thin slice of the music constantly receiving coverage in *Huisgenoot*, and were chosen because of their overt adherence to either more 'open' or more 'closed' Afrikaner identity formations, as reflected in their lyrics and/or music. Thus, many other contemporary songs receiving coverage in 2018/2019 *Huisgenoot* issues, mostly on the 'Music' page, primarily concern reflections of love and loss or gospel themes or were composed solely for party/dancing purposes. These songs accordingly vary in style, and in terms of their degree of commercialisation.

Some of the songs of love and loss have captured my attention due to the musical and expressive strengths that I have perceived in them, and therefore deserve mention, in terms of their coverage and style. Acoustic folk is used in the following notable songs: "Jy kyk Sag" by Jannie du Toit (15/11/2018), "Blou" by Laurika Rauch and Loki Rothman (11/01/2018), "Mossie" by Lianie Reynolds (16/05/2019), "Kom Vannag in My Drome" by Leon Gropp and Anna Davel (21/06/2018), "Bêreboksie vol Vere" by Lizanne Barnard (16/08/2018), and "Waar die See die Kus Omhels" by Bouwer Bosch and Lucinda Neethling (15/08/2019). Country is also infused with folk in Anton Goosen's "Sagte Kaapse Reën" (18/04/2019), while Neil Nachtrein's "Stilste Uur" (05/09/2019) leans towards light country rock.

[143] Taken from "The Order of Discourse", Foucault's Inaugural Lecture at the Collegé de France (2 December 1970), in *Untying the Test: A Post-Structuralist Reader* (1981:67), edited and introduced by Robert Young.

In turn, *Spoegwolf's* "Koma" (02/05/2019), Karen Zoid's "Vir Jou" (20/09/2018, among the *Tempo* nominations), and "Wie sal vir my Liefde Maak"' from Jan Blohm's *Liefde Album* (09/ 08/ 2018), are all rock ballads. Relatedly, *Joshua na die Reën*'s "Someraarde" (18/04/2019) may be described as a mixture of pop and folk, Coenie de Villiers's "Plaas" (04/10/2018) as non-acoustic cabaret, Janie Bay's "Amper Daar" (27 /06/2019) as alternative/sophisticated pop, and Valeska Muller's "Verlange van Jou" (08/ 08/ 2019) as progressive house music. Finally, Elvis Blue's song, "Die Brug" (20/09/2018), which received a 2018 *Tempo* nomination for its video, is in a pop-rock style, but also makes very creative use of interwoven *Kwela* and Township Jazz influences, in ways that render "Die Brug" a song as much about a bridge between various South African cultures, as about love.

One could speculate that the use of an acoustic folk style reflects a less commercial intent, as it affords a song somewhat less market potential than the choice of pop, rock, house and country styles. After all, the latter styles have become the staple diet of contemporary music culture, which tends to render new songs in these styles more palatable to a wider audience from the outset.[144] Taking cognisance of its rustic, working-class American origins[145], one could, similarly, speculate that songs in a country style might be prone to current conservative reflections of pastoral power within the Afrikaner community. However, earlier analyses of the works of David

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[144] Overtly narrow identity thinking within '*Huisgenoot songs'* has – with the exception of the *Mbaqanga* in Refentse's "What a Boytjie" and the rap within Snotkop's "Raak vir My Rustig" – thus far mainly been associated with a light rock or pop style. Both the title and lyrics of "Suid-Wes", a song by the all-female heavy metal group *Saarkie*, which was featured on the Music page of the *Huisgenoot* issue of 4 April 2019, support the notion (created by the interpretations of the Refentse and Snotkop songs mentioned above) that closed Afrikaner identity constructs are not specific to a certain style. That is, not only does the title of the *Saarkie* song reflect a preference for the name of the country in question (i.e. Namibia) prior to its independence from apartheid South Africa, but the lyrics also idealise "mom's kitchen and late-night talks with dad on the farm" in ways which equate white Afrikaner farm life with the essence of (pastoral) goodness.

[145] Acknowledging the association of country music with the American Old South and its racist inclinations, Dahleen Glanton's article,"The Roots of Country Music", in the *Chicago Tribune* of 16 September, points at a much more diverse interplay of forces in the formation of country music than generally suspected: "Mountain or hillbilly music in particular, combines the ballads and folksongs brought to the South by immigrants from the British Isles in the 18th and 19th centuries and the rhythmic influences of African immigrants. The banjo, which mimics the banjar played in Africa, was invented by the Southern blacks in the late 1690s. Slaves also played the fiddle, which was introduced to them by their white masters" (https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-1998-09-16-9809190003-story.html).

Kramer and Anton Goosen, who often employ a country style, affirm the value of Foucault's cautioning that premature conclusions are bound to do little more than re-enforce reigning ideas about certain texts. Cognisance of the strong influence that country music, and in particular the yodelling of the American country singer Jimmie Rodgers (Simpson 2006: 92-95), had on the music of the Briels[146], furthermore problematises the generalised forging of a link between early manifestations of Afrikaans country music and the conservatism typical to Afrikaner Nationalism. The Briels' intentionally sentimental songs were not only considered embarrassing to the Afrikaner by the Nationalism-fuelling *FAK* but were also, occasionally, banned from use in radio programmes (Van der Merwe 2017:76).

Irrespective of such (subjective and rather superficial) style-based speculations regarding the perceived artistic 'integrity' of some of the songs mentioned above, I would not advance any of their lyrics, musical components, or videos, as powerful and pointed manifestations of either overtly 'open' or 'closed' Afrikaner identity formations. Accordingly, although the lyrics of the love songs "Amper Daar" and "Verlange na Jou", considered in isolation, are not really more 'meaningful' than those of the Afrikaans contemporary songs composed under apartheid censorship rule in the 1970s, their imaginative blending of Afrikaans lyrics with musical styles representative of current international trends – albeit employed for commercial reasons – still have the potential to contribute to the rejuvenation of Afrikaans music.

Possible subtle nuances of adherence to more closed identity formations could perhaps, rather be perceived in two of the less 'commercial' songs, namely "Plaas" and "Kom Vannag In My Drome". "Kom Vannag In My Drome" (Come to Me in My Dreams Tonight) is a haunting love song with piano and classical guitar accompaniment. And whereas its restless verses highlight the major/minor conflict between the A flat major tonic chord and its supertonic, the chorus brings

[146] An example of the Briels' music, performed by Anita and Frans Briel, the last surviving members of this singing family, may be heard by following this link. Note the use of a country music rhythm and yodelling. (https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=vSzLglVFZgI).

release by ascending to the submediant before it works towards a resolution along the (perhaps rather predictable) third relations route, presented by the subdominant and supertonic. The ambience thus created by the interplay between these musical elements, and through the video with its gothic undertones reminiscent of the work of the American group Evanescence, reflect the very sense of fleetingness implicit in the title of the song. Abundant evidence of entrapment within the western Romantic style, characterised by ideologies rooted in a belief in essential truths, permeates both this song and its accompanying music video. Hence the song invites association with more 'closed' Afrikaner identity constructs in that it reflects adherence to essentialising western thinking, premised on subject/object equivalence, and on self-other demarcation. This link with western ideological thinking is not surprising, given that the song echoes a poem by N. P. van Wyk Louw, whose inclination towards ideological thinking, often in service of the growth and development of the (white) Afrikaans language during Nationalist rule, has tainted his post-1994 legacy to an extent.[147]

Similar idealisation may be found in the song "Plaas" (Farm), which describes the relationship between a farmer and his farm in the theatrical manner akin to cabaret. Within the song, such idealisation is not necessarily confined to white Afrikaans farmers, despite its Afrikaans lyrics and use of a Western cabaret style. However, at the point where the lyrics shift to mention of how the farmer finds his 'Heiland' (Saviour) behind the clouds when it rains, a rather heavy-handed favouring of Christianity and echoes of the 'Chosen People' syndrome associated with conservative 'Afrikanerdom', infiltrate the song. In short, the word 'Heiland' is simply too closely associated with Dutch Reformed Afrikaans hymns to allow for an interpretation of a 'Creator idea' innocent of the pastoral power driving closed Afrikaner identity thinking.

Indeed, a Creator 'belonging' only to white people is also 'created' in the videos of songs belonging to gospel albums nominated for *Huisgenoot's* 2018 *Tempo* awards (20/02/2018). Within the more conservative (Dutch-Reformed) pastorate mode, the all-white members of the

[147] The stance towards apartheid in Louw's writings has been the subject of conflicting interpretations. It is interesting that former South African president Thabo Mbeki, nonetheless, awarded him the *Order of Ikhamanga in Gold* posthumously in 2005 (Renders 2008:175).

close-harmony group *Manne wat Glo* sing of hope for their *Geboorteland* (Land of Birth) where 'He' is in charge, while Kevin Leo sings "Onse Vader" (Our Father – the Lord's Prayer) in a church bearing the Afrikaans message *Geloof, Hoop en Liefde* (Faith, Hope and Love) on its pulpit, and featuring a stained-glass window with exclusively white biblical figures. In the more charismatic 'life-style religion' mode, Juanita du Plessis's video for the pop-styled song "Koningskind" (Child of the King), the title track of the winning album in this 2018 *Tempo* category, is likewise, completely 'populated' with white characters. This video in particular bears a resemblance to Karlien van Jaarsveld's "Sing vir Liefde" video, discussed earlier, in that an equally glamorous Du Plessis in a ballgown is pictured singing throughout. She is, of course, depicting the 'Child of a King' metaphor, but her off-shoulder dress is simply too glamorous to allow for (non-materialistic) spiritual associations. The 'troubled' (white) people in the video, with manicured nails and designer clothing, similarly radiate middle-class means. Consequently, the video's very narrow focus on trouble and need serves, rather arrogantly, to trivialise the extreme trouble that pervades a poverty-stricken South Africa at large.

Regarding the coverage of party songs, chapter 5 has only referred to songs in 2018/2019 issues of *Huisgenoot* that adhere to more 'closed' identity constructs, such as Snotkop's "Raak vir My Rustig" and Early B's "Potte" – which are equally misogynistic – and politicised 'party' songs, like "More Loop Deur My Are". Many of the party songs covered in *Huisgenoot* are, however, merely 'exercises' in contemporary international dance styles that happen to have Afrikaans lyrics. Examples of these include the light country rock, reminiscent of Shania Twain's music, that is found in Elizma Theron's "Marilyn Monroe" (12/04/ 2018) and in Chanell van der Bergh's "Twee Tree" (25/07/2019), the electronic pop of Kurt Darren's "Laat die Dansvloer Brand" (20/09/2018), and the electronic mixes – in Calvin Harris style – on Pierre van Pletzen's album "Kak Lekka Vibe" (05/04/2018).

Boeremusiek also receives coverage in 2018/2019 *Huisgenoot* issues. Groups featured include *Hennie de Bruyn en die Kitaarkêrels* (17/05/2018 and 30/05/2019), the *Kannie Warries Dance Band* (22/03/2018), the *Vatvas Dance Band* (22/03/2018), and *Klipwerf* (12/09/2019). The

Huisgenoot 'Music' page of 21 February 2019 also promotes the album *As die Donkielong roep* (When the Concertina Calls*)*, a compilation of recordings of performances at the *Oudshoorn Boeremusiek* Music Festival, including the *Kaapland Orkes* and *Die Voorlopers*. *Boeremusiek* itself is for the most part merely instrumental dance music that reflects a strong European folk music influence. However, an exclusive association of this style with white Afrikaans farmers is evident in the Youtube videos of *boeremusiek* bands. For example, the video of "Witwarm" by the *Kannie Warries Dance Band* features the group against the backdrop of an ox wagon relic on a farm. Yet, while the pastoral power permeating this video certainly suggests that *boeremusiek* 'belongs' to the 'white' Afrikaans farmstead, it is not as closed in its formation of Afrikaner identity as the two recordings of *Klipwerf* songs, which are accompanied by pictures of the 'old' South African flag. In turn, *Die Campbells* are, strictly speaking, not *boeremusiek* artists but mix this style with country-pop. Their focus on a rural Afrikaans-speaking market is, however, very evident in the video of "Boertjie Jam" (24/05/2018), which features 'exclusively white' scenes of *langarm*[148]/ *sokkie* merry-making. Considering the 'whiteness' of current *boeremusiek* groups and the affinity that some hold for symbols associated with Afrikaner Nationalism, Willemien Froneman's assertion that a significant part of the Afrikaner apartheid community found this music "at odds with the form of Calvinistic nationalism propagated at the time" might come as a surprise. Froneman mainly attributes this to the fact that "Calvinism treated *boeremusiek*, with its dance associations, as scapegoat for sexual promiscuity or, alternatively, as an unimportant leisure activity that drew one's attention away from serving God through 'real' work (2012:63).

It is important to note that *boeremusiek* is also today employed to forge more 'open' identity formations, particularly in the hands of bands such as the *Radio Kalahari Boere-orkes*. This group has devoted much of their creative output to the resuscitation of the music of David de Lange, a band leader of the 1920s and 1930s, who was ostracised by the SABC because of his insistence on music-making across the colour line. Ian Roberts, an Afrikaans actor and member of the *Radio Kalahari Boere-orkes*, notably appeared on the front page of the *Huisgenoot* issue of 12

[148] Refer to Footnote 111 on page 160 for a definition of the *Langarm* style.

September 2019 with his newly born twins. An article in this issue was also devoted to him. The *Huisgenoot* coverage of this more 'transformative' artist will receive consideration shortly.

7.2 Money, Money, Money

"…Financial loss will threaten to weaken one's resolve […] but against all odds one must cling to the ideal of improvement, upliftment, ennoblement."[149]

Given the decision to change the orientation of *Huisgenoot* from the people's (read Afrikaner's) 'university' endorsed by Schoombee/Verwoerd, into a more populist, profit-driven publication under Niel Hamman during the late 1970s, it is not surprising to find that the artists affiliated with the (profit-driven) record company *Afrikaans is Groot* (Afrikaans is Big), which originated in 2009, are featured very prominently in this magazine. AIG produces annual albums featuring a selection of the top SA artists, based on their commercial success. *Coleske Artists*, which has minority interests in AIG, also promotes these artists through both the *Afrikaans is Groot* and *Classics is Groot* concerts.

The very name AIG suggests a rather defensive proclamation of Afrikaans power; after all, "*Afrikaans is Big"* may, by implication, be taken to imply that Afrikaans is NOT small, irrespective of what some may think. If one bears in mind that the population of South Africa in 2017 totalled 56.72 million, the 6.8 million Afrikaans-speakers only make up approximately 12 percent of this population – a seemingly small percentage. Thus, judging solely by population numbers Afrikaans is therefore NOT big at all. These Afrikaans-speakers are also not only confined to white people – chapter 3 has, in fact, indicated that, in 2018, 77.4 percent of the Afrikaans-speakers were coloured and 0.9 percent black. However, the historical privilege of the white Afrikaner is seemingly still evident in that Afrikaans-speakers constitute 35% of the country's buying power. It is therefore hardly surprising that the paying channel *kykNET,* formed by *Naspers* in 1999 – due to the reduction of Afrikaans programmes on *SABC* channels to 6% – soon became the most financially lucrative channel (Giliomee 2018: 233). Chapter 3 has also commented on the

[149] Verwoerd née Schoombee (1924: 10). In its original Afrikaans this sentence reads as follows: "Finansiële verlies sal dreig om die moed te breek; maar teen alles in moet die ideaal hoog gehou word, die mooi ideaal van verbetering, opheffing, veredeling."

astounding success of *Select Records*, focussed on Afrikaans music, which boasted 21.4% of all the record sales in the country, compared to the 27% of the more internationally oriented EMI, in 2006. It therefore seems that, economically speaking, AIG is quite correct in calling Afrikaans "big".

It is notable, though, that only one of the artists associated with more 'open' identity constructs in chapter 5, namely Elvis Blue, is affiliated to AIG. Conversely, the songs featuring the AIG artists Jay du Plessis, Bobby van Jaarsveld, Steve Hofmeyr, Karlien van Jaarsveld, Refentse, and Juanita du Plessis came to be associated with more 'closed' Afrikaner identity constructs. Mention was also made of the sponsorship that the largely 'closed' institution *Solidariteit Helpende Hand* (Solidarity Helping Hand) affords AIG. Chapter 3 likewise referred to AIG's rather defensive featuring of Steve Hofmeyr in the 2019 *Afrikaans is Groot* Concert, despite the allegations of racism surrounding this singer, and the subsequent media bans of his music.

However, a cursory overview of the work of other artists affiliated with AIG suggests that, whereas the lyrics, music, and videos associated with their songs cannot be viewed as being particularly transformative, a blatant propagating of 'Neo-Nationalist' identity thinking – as found in the songs of Hofmeyr and Van Blerk – is also absent. The music of the following commercially successful artists, who are both affiliated with AIG and who have received ample 2018-2019 *Huisgenoot* coverage, may serve as examples in this regard. In each case, both the style of the artist and a few instances of 2018-2019 *Huisgenoot* coverage are indicated:

- Corlea Botha (Pop infused with classical influences – A *Huisgenoot* cover accompanied by an article about her former abusive relationship, and a feature on her song "Bittersoet" (Bittersweet), about domestic violence; 21/03/2019 and 18/04/2019)
- Dirk van der Westhuizen (Electronic Dance Music – A feature on his music in the *Huisgenoot* Music pages and an article about his battle with depression; 03/10/2019 and 08/08/2019)
- Tarryn Lamb (Pop Music – A KKNK advertisement, featuring her participation, her three *Ghoema* awards, and an advertisement for the competition *Maak My Famous*, of which she was the co-presenter; 11/02/2019, 2/05/2019 and 13/06/2019)

- Demi-Lee Moore (Country Pop – Winner of *Die Kontrak*, a *kykNET* talent competition with a Colesky Artists Contract as prize; winner of four 2019 *Ghoema* awards, and winner of one of *Bok Radio's Bokkie* awards; 2/05/2019, 6/06/2019 and 17/10/2019)
- Theuns Jordaan (Country Folk – Numerous advertisements for the *Huisgenoot-Inniebos Festival* during June of 2019, mentioning his participation)
- Riana Nel (Pop with Country and Gospel influences – Numerous advertisements for the *Huisgenoot-Inniebos Festival* during June of 2019, mentioning her participation, and coverage regarding her participation in a concert organised by Francois van Coke, her fellow adjudicator in the *VoiceSA* competition; 31/10/2019).

While one may perhaps not find blatant images of 'old' South African flags and related suggestions of hallowed 'Afrikaner ground' in the work of the above artists, a closer consideration of their music does present notions of heteronormativity, and associated echoes of pastoral power within the inner workings of some of their songs and/or song videos: The video of Corlea Botha's "Bittersoet" about domestic violence can, for instance, easily be perceived as a romanticisation of the complexities within a heterosexual relationship rather than as an outcry against the patriarchal legacy of "brutality, fear and force" (Lewis 2008:105), around which many familial bonds in South Africa revolve. In turn, Riana Nel's video "Hou die Hemel Oop" (Keep Heaven Open) incorporates artful imagery, including gothic scenes reminiscent of the Shakespearian character Ophelia's drowning; yet it is also driven by pastoral power, and propelled by dichotomous associations of 'whiteness' with goodness and 'blackness' with sin, as reflected in black and white dresses alternately worn by Nel in the video, and in lyrics such as "witter as wit gewas" (washed whiter than white). This dichotomy did, of course, serve the bio-power that drove the apartheid discourse; however, given both the prevalence of the latter dichotomy and of notions of heteronormativity throughout much of the 'Western' commercial media, along with the supposed 'personal' slant of the two undeniably commercial songs by Botha and Nel, I tend to resist an exclusive association of these songs with a white Afrikaans laager mentality.

As AIG artists constitute a 'mixed bag' of artists delivering songs of this sort, including artists with strong Neo-Nationalist leanings, the organisation's professed profit driven orientation – rather than active ideological commitment to the maintenance of more 'closed' Afrikaner identity constructs -- does have about it an element of truth. Nevertheless, the Afrikaans music market appears to be still significantly closed to music manifesting more transformative elements. Socio-economic pressures brought about by the BEE[150]-policy and cultural pressure on white South Africans due to the BEE-rhetoric might, in part, have been factors in solidifying this non-transformative approach. AIG's commercial orientation could, in turn, perhaps also be understood as smothering potentially transformative creativity by perpetuating and/or propagating cautionary, and even more 'closed' perceptions regarding Afrikaans music, to avoid financial risk-taking. And if this were the case, they could, in Foucauldian terms, be understood as blocking the proliferation of texts, in order to maintain the reigning Afrikaner discourse held by an affluent but – given the BBE-rhetoric – also defensive, and consequently more 'closed', white Afrikaner middle-class. Note the correlation between this contention and the argument of Chomsky and Herman's *Manufacturing Consent*, that affluent audiences constitute the media's main focal point and that advertisers, seeking to maintain the status quo so as not to disrupt the buying mood, tend to associate with more culturally and politically conservative media programmes (1988:17).

Relatedly *Huisgenoot* and *kykNET,* whose indirect association with *Huisgenoot* as a co-member of *Media24* was discussed in chapter 3, are larger financial entities than a single record company like *Afrikaans is Groot*. Hence one could hypothesise that they are in a better position to support artists who have either not yet had the opportunity to break into the market or who choose to maintain a smaller following due to aesthetic reasons or other convictions. In line with this hypothesis, chapter 4 has considered *Huisgenoot* coverage of i) currently fairly unknown artists like Lianie Reynolds, Valeska Muller and Janie Bay, and ii) artists representing a smaller market, such as *Boeremusiek* groups and the *Wasgoedlyn Project* initiated by Riku Lätti, which are,

[150] BEE, or Black Economic Empowerment, is a form of affirmative action or wealth distribution launched by the South African government in 2003, to redress the inequalities of apartheid by giving non-white South African citizens (African, Coloured, Indian and Chinese) economic privileges not available to white South Africans.

respectively, associated both with relatively more 'closed' and overtly 'open' Afrikaner identity formations.

However, in this regard, it should be noted that the *Huisgenoot* coverage of artists associated with the *Wasgoedlyn Project* is very sparse, being confined largely to an article about Churchil Naudé, and very brief mention of Laurinda Hofmeyr within the local "Celebrity Pages" of the *Huisgenoot* issues of 22 March 2018 and 28 June 2018. In both cases Laurinda Hofmeyr is mentioned in connection with *Afrika My Verlange / Afrique Mon Désir*, for which she set poems in various African languages to music. David Kramer, who served as the musical director for this project, also receives rare *Huisgenoot* mention. Thus, previously expressed concern over the marginalising effect that *Huisgenoot* tents at cultural festivals have on more creative artists, therefore extends to coverage of such artists in this magazine itself. Admittedly, Francois van Coke features regularly in *Huisgenoot,* but one could argue that his place within the South African music industry differs from that of the other more marginal *Wasgoedlyn* participants, in that he is a 'big-selling' artist involved with multiple music projects in his own right. Yet, an approach towards the proportionate performance opportunities and promotional coverage afforded artists that is determined solely by profit considerations, is certainly at odds with the Foucauldian concern, pivotal to this thesis, with the necessity to foster texts which have the potential to say something 'new'; texts that – within the context of this thesis – hold the promise to counter staid identity constructs.

Regarding musical coverage, close association with *You* does allow for the inclusion of international 'hits', but these hits are generally very formula-driven/commercial. In this regard, brief consideration is needed of the tendency to create supposed Afrikaans 'hit songs' through the adding of Afrikaans lyrics to the melodies of very 'mainstream' international songs. Chapter one and three have indicated that a similar procedure was followed to create an instant 'national' treasury of Afrikaans songs for the *FAK* in the 1930s. Similarly, Afrikaans singers of the 1970s and the 1980s,[151] robbed of much of their creative licence by the censorship board of the apartheid

[151] In his biography *Anton Goosen – Liedjieboer*, compiled by Hanlie Retief, this singer admits to the occasional use of European pop melodies for some of his early songs. Having subsequently evolved into the creator of original

government, also resorted to such borrowing, with Snotkop's recent use of this practice in *Parapapa* as a case in point. Many of these borrowed melodies originally belonged to German songs – often connected to the *Eurovision Song Contest* – with examples being the previously mentioned "Ein bisschien frieden", translated to Carike Keuzenkamp's "Dis 'n Land", and "Meine kleine frieheit", translated to Rina Hugo's "'n Tikkie Vryheid" (http://www.netwerk24.com/nuus/2015-01-11-riool-tsoenami-van-treffers-toe-ni-so-afrikaans).

However, the highly formulaic construction of the original songs, and the fact that Afrikaans musicians also extract melodies from songs that originated in non-European countries – like the Brazilian "Rap Das Armas" – seem to reflect a calculated, profit-oriented search for a safe melodic formula, rather than ideological Eurocentric leanings as the motivation for such counter-creative musical borrowing.

Occasionally a link with *You* does allow for the coverage of interesting local music releases beyond the Afrikaans music stable, such as the song "I've Been Looking" by the late South African icon Johnny Clegg and his son Jesse (05/04/2018), the folk album *Critical as Water* by Jeremy Loops (19/04/2018), the album *Can't Stop* by *Freshly Ground* (28 June 2018), "Vida E Doce" by the kwaito group *Mi Casa* (10/01/2019) and the previously-mentioned rock-kwaito mixes of Holly Rey (6/12/2018 and 31/ 01/2019).

However, it speaks to reason that association with the equally profit-driven, albeit more internationally-oriented approach of *You*, would also strengthen the tendency to embrace the perceived market demands and as previously mentioned with regard to AIG, to play into the hands of conservative 'neo-nationalist' Afrikaner formations – especially in times of socio-economic and cultural uncertainties, such as the present. The analysis of "Die Land" (The Country) by the big selling AIG artists Jay du Plessis, Steve Hofmeyr and Bobby van Jaarsveld – a song receiving coverage in *Huisgenoot* – has, for instance, revealed an adherence to 'tired'

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material potent with transformational power, Goosen has become highly critical of this practice, and associates it with Afrikaans musicians of the apartheid era, from the likes of the late Bles Bridges and Al Debbo, to Janita Claasen, Innes and Franna Benade, Lance James, André Schwartz, and Anneli van Rooyen (2020:222). Herman Scholtz identifies the use of a similar practice in the work of Sunette Bridges, Gé Korsten, and Patricia Lewis to this list (http://www.netwerk24.com/nuus/2015-01-11-riool-tsoenami-van-treffers-toe-ni-so-afrikaans).

symbols, driven by pastoral power, which were labelled kitsch by David Kramer and Anton Goosen and which Johannes Kerkorrel attempted to rejuvenate through distortive, dismantling satire. The *Huisgenoot* covered AIG artist Refentse's song "What a Boytjie" similarly displays an idealisation of the (white) Afrikaner pastorate, here perceived in broader terms as those elements gluing a 'closed' Afrikaner formation together, namely through elements like *potjiekos* and rugby.

The exclusivist white Afrikaner pastoral power, entrenched in notions of heteronormativity, which is exerted by the work of the AIG artists Karlien Van Jaarsveld and Juanita Du Plessis, and applauded through *Huisgenoot Tempo* awards, is strengthened by the way in which the figures themselves are commodified into a 'domestic' image within the magazine in order to make them more relatable to their target audience. For instance, Karlien's life as a mother is a cover story in the *Huisgenoot* issue of 21 December 2017. Her relationship with her sister (07/09/2016), the illness of her daughter (14/03/2019) and her new cookbook (26/09/2019) similarly receive coverage. In the same way Steve Hofmeyr, Jay du Plessis and Bok van Blerk are celebrated as fathers on the covers of the *Huisgenoot* issues of 19 January 2017, 21 September 2017 and 23 May 2019 respectively. Whereas Juanita du Plessis's musical siblings are introduced in the *Huisgenoot* of 1 September 2016, this singer's homage to her husband is a cover story in the *Huisgenoot* issue of 12 July 2018. In turn, the cover of 12 January 2017 highlights the brother/sister relationship between Karlien van Jaarsveld and Bobby Wessels – which is also at the forefront in their reality TV series *In Jou Skoene* on *kykNET* – and the *Huisgenoot* issue of 2017 celebrates Van Jaarsveld's second marriage.

Accordingly, such domestication of these artists is reminiscent of the turning of the Afrikaans Classical musicians, Gladys Hugo and Cecilia Wessels, into *volksmoeders* (mothers of the nation) during the nationalism-generating 1940s, as previously noted. After all, this was achieved through analogous means, by photographing them next to home appliances and flower arrangements for *Huisgenoot* biographical articles.

Admittedly such domestication in *Huisgenoot* articles is currently not exclusively reserved for artists whose work manifests associations with more 'closed' Afrikaner identity formation. In this

regard Francois van Coke's cover photograph with his little girl, and the cover photograph of Ian Roberts and his girlfriend with their twins received mention.[152] Thus, it appears as if, at times, market value, irrespective of the artists' association with more 'closed' or 'open' identity positions, clinches the deal when it comes to 'cover status.' Such market value could, in turn, be perceived to be based on record sales and/or 'trending' quality, due to personal milestones, setbacks, or public debacles.

Media domestication could, however, prove paralysing to an artist's creative/ transformational efforts, as it holds the danger of projecting a tamed / encased image from which it is subsequently difficult to escape. And the lulling of a 'transformational' artist into the comfort of such encasement thus amounts to their commercialisation, which also carries with it ideological significance. Put differently: Being labelled as 'the transformational artist' of the media source at hand and its followers, carries with it implications of institutionalisation and stagnation. In Van Coke's case, self-awareness, as found in his 2019 'tongue-in-the-cheek' collaboration "Daarsy Boys" (There We Go, Boys) with Hunter Kennedy, does, to an extent, come to the rescue. That is, whereas the lyrics label him and Kennedy as anarchists that stay in the suburbs and eat at the Spur, the video humorously, and with a tad of irony, juxtaposes the rough living of rock artists with 'kiddies parties.'

7.3 Die Volk en die Volkies

"Apart from the alteration of old directions there are a few new developmental possibilities for the future to be taken into considerations: …there is, for example… the issue of the relationship between the white and coloured population..."[153]

[152] Articles about the family lives of these "Anti-Establishment" artists may also be found within the *Huisgenoot* issues of which the covers feature staged photographs of them.

[153] Verwoerd née Schoombee (1924: 152; 154). In its original Afrikaans these words read as follows: "Behalwe die wysiginge van ou rigtinge kom daar dan nog in aanmerking die nuwe ontwikkelingsmoontlikhede vir die toekoms: […] daar is, byvoorbeeld […] die kwessie van die verhouding tussen blanke en gekleurde bevolking".

Earlier reference was made to the dramatically increasing presence of coloured celebrities in *Huisgenoot* since 2018, and I have hypothesised that this might be linked to the appointment of Ishmed Davidson as CEO of Media24 in October 2018.[154] Some of the coloured non-musical celebrities featured in *Huisgenoot* during 2018 include the radio announcer and VIA-presenter Sherlin Barends (05/04), the comedian Marc Lottering (19/04), the actress Bronwyn van Graan (26/04) – whose tragic sudden death received significant coverage – the presenter Alvin Bruinders (03/05), the actress Shaleen Surtie-Richards (24/05), the actor Randal Hendricks, who starred in *Nommer 37*, a film set on the Cape Flats (14/06), the presenter Chanelle Davids (21/06), the actor Danny Ross, who also starred in *Nommer 37* (21/06), the actress Lindsey Abrahams (09/08), Phoenix Bennet of the soapie *Suidooster* (06/09), the actor Brendon Davis (06/09), the actor Zane Meas (13/09), the actress Kim Cloete and the actor Theodor Jantjies (27/09), Maria Valente and Craig Adriaanse of the *kykNET* series *Arendsvlei* (18/10), and the presenter Renaldo Schwarp (01/11). Such quantifying 'labelling' based on skin shade might seem at odds with the Foucauldian approach of the thesis but given the colour basis on which the celebrities in question were formerly excluded from *Huisgenoot*, both during, and in the wake of apartheid and its segregating bio-power, this remains an important way in which to indicate their steeply increasing presence in a magazine which only allocates a few pages to artistic endeavours. My research has also advanced that a similar increase is observable regarding the 2019 coverage of coloured celebrities within fields other than the Arts. Note, as well, the increasing number of films and *kykNET* soapies with a coloured community as focal point. Whereas the *kykNET* soapies *Arendsvlei* and *Suidooster*, as well as the film *Nommer 37* were mentioned above, 2018 also saw *The Ellen Pakkies Story*, featured in *Huisgenoot* reports in the 30 August, 6 September and 13 September issues.

Reference to coloured singers is similarly not in short supply within the 2018 and 2019 issues. Some of the prominent singers mentioned include Paxton Fielies, winner of the 2017 *South African Idols*, the Afrikaans pop singer Tarryn Lamb, the rappers Yoma, Hemelbesem, Rowlene and Early B, Stephanie Baartman and the former *South African Idols* winner Karin Kortje, the *Idols*

[154] It is noteworthy that Charlene Rolls, who is also of coloured descent, has been the editor of *You* magazine since 2012.

finalist Bianca le Grange, the gospel singers Ray Basson and Jimmy Nevis/aka Matthew le Roux, Jody Abrahams and Lhokmaan Adams, who are both associated with stage musicals, teenage musicians like Timothy de Monk, who generally perform in English, and the *Wasgoedlyn*-rapper Churchil Naudé. Moreover, a prominent musical event featured in the *Huisgenoot* issue of 30 May 2019 is the opening of the new *Noot vir Noot*-programme, with the coloured Emo Adams as presenter. During June of 2019 *Huisgenoot* also poured ample promotion into the *Maak my Famous* Talent Competition, presented by Emo Adams and Tarryn Lamb, and on 25 July the (coloured) winner, Cheswyn Ruiters, was announced.

Attention has been given to the way in which the 'coloured' heritage of Afrikaans was increasingly denied during the latter half of the 19th century, how the slave influence on Afrikaans folk songs was underplayed, and how the initial strategy of gaining more nationalist votes by including the coloured vote was abandoned in 1952, by placing the coloured voters on separate voting lists, after which Nationalists labelled Afrikaners as exclusively white. This notion remains absurd if one considers the 2018 figures stated earlier in this chapter, which serve to indicate that there are significantly more coloured than white Afrikaans-speakers in the country. Hence the failure to provide coverage to more coloured Afrikaans-speaking South Africans sooner after 1994 is shameful.

S. D. van der Merwe reinforces the notion that Afrikaans music of the late 19th and early 20th centuries constituted a diverse cultural heritage that spanned the racial spectrum (2019: 11). He mentions that traditional *boeremusiek*, in particular, represented a complicated mixture of the urban and the rural, and of race and class. This assertion is underscored by Willemien Froneman, who notes that, as "an indication of its hybrid racial history" *boeremusiek* "was still commonly known as *hotnotsmusiek* (hottentot's music) in the 1950s"[155] (2012:63) Van der Merwe additionally highlights the obstacles that coloured and black Afrikaans-speaking musicians encountered when it came to the recording of musical material. According to Van der Merwe, the first Afrikaans music recordings prior to 1912, were – with the exception of a recording of the

[155] Not least, one might add, due to the characteristic 'off-beat' rhythm that came to dominate the genre from the 1950s and that stems from the Cape *Ghoema* rhythm (Allingham in Muller 2012:191).

Springbok Rugby Tour Group – mainly reserved for Afrikaans-speaking musicians applying for study bursaries in London. Opportunities like these were very scarce for non-white musicians during those years, and not available to self-trained musicians playing in a popular style. Van der Merwe also believes that the rise of a new phase of Afrikaner-nationalism in the 1930s made the prospect of preserving the rich and unique musical heritage of coloured and black Afrikaans musicians even less attractive to white Afrikaner ideologists (2019: 11).

It is my hope that the current surge of coverage afforded coloured artists in *Huisgenoot* will extend to a focus on the previously mentioned Afrikaans folk songs of non-white descent, which were excluded from the construct forged and absolutised as 'Afrikaans culture' by 'white nationalism'-endorsing pastoral and bio-power. The white musician David Kramer is, somewhat ironically, synonymous today with the quest for lost Afrikaans folk songs of non-white origin, and repeated mention has been made throughout this thesis of the minimal *Huisgenoot* coverage that he has thus far received, for his work towards both the uncovering of such folk songs and styles, and the integration of the latter into his own music. Neither Kramer's integration of coloured folk song music elements into his own music on *Wakkerslaap*, nor his 'discovery' of marginalised artists can, from my perspective, be viewed as a mere self-serving endeavour for personal gain.[156] Indeed, perusal of video footage of the *Karoo Kitaar Blues* concert of 2001, featuring the music of the descendants of the KhoiSan people in the Northern Cape, and of the like-named television documentary, in conjunction with Liza Key, does not leave me with any impression of exploitative cultural appropriation on Kramer's part. Rather, his approach speaks of support within an inter-active music-making context, aimed at allowing musicians like Jan Mouers, Siena Mouers, Helena Nuwegeld, Magdalena Mouers, Koos Lof, Jan Willems, and David van Rooi an opportunity to receive adequate recognition for their musical skills, and for their (previously obscured) musical styles of expression.[157] In 2013 Kramer also performed with

[156] One is, in this regard, reminded of the observation in chapter 6 that Schoombee, notwithstanding her segregationist approach, displays a positive attitude towards the painter Pierneef's (self-serving) plans to develop an individual style based on the study of 'Bantu' and 'Bushman' art (1924:88). The claiming of a few folk songs of slave origin as ('white' Afrikaans) traditional songs in the *FAK* of 1937 may, perhaps, be viewed as the musical equivalent of Pierneef's endeavours during the early 1920s.

[157] The viewer may access an excerpt from one of these collaborative musical productions at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sNEUcK0R-kQ.

Northern Cape artists such as Hannes Coetzee and Mary Kriel in the Baxter Theatre in Cape Town, followed by performances in Den Haag in the Netherlands. Hence, all of the above-mentioned endeavours could be understood as reflections of Kramer's resolve to enter into dialogical power relations with the 'other', with a view to developing the power relations necessary for a dissolution of the discursive power blockages so characteristic of the erstwhile 'state of domination' under apartheid.

Admittedly, the death of Tant Grietjie, a coloured performer from Garies in the Northern Cape, who performed with Kramer and who gained wide public interest with her trademark song "Lekker Ou Jan", was covered by Dana Snyman in the *Huisgenoot* issue of 8 May (2014: 124-125). The article, however, fails to allude to Kramer, although it does mention a performance of Tant Grietjie with Steve Hofmeyr.

Arguably, the two coloured artists who are currently most closely associated with *Huisgenoot*, due to their leading roles in the well-publicised *Maak My Famous* Talent Competition, are Tarryn Lamb and Emo Adams. Emo, as well as his brother Luqmaan (spelled Lukmaan for stage purpose), were introduced to the music industry through selection into the cast of David Kramer and Taliep Peterson's musical *District Six* – an observation that underscores the importance of Kramer's efforts towards the acquisition of recognition for coloured artists and their various contributions to Afrikaans music. To an extent, Adams's comical performances at *Huisgenoot Skouspel* Concerts, such as his renditions of "Blueberry Hill" (*Skouspel* 2011) and "Tiritomba" (*Skouspel* 2014), pay homage to both the Kaapse Klopse and vaudeville traditions from which it, in part, stems. However, within the context of the extravagant *Skouspel* concerts, with their mainly white audiences, this clown image runs the risk of projecting the patronising 'Happy Native' idea found in Afrikaans films of the apartheid years; the likes of *Hoor My Lied*.[158] Conversely, the songs for which Lamb is known, such as "Vier Woorde"(Four Words) and "Mal oor Jou"(Crazy About You), are in the mainstream Afrikaans pop style of artists like Karlien van Jaarsveld. Thus, while Adams's *Huisgenoot* image may therefore be perceived as limiting, in the sense that it not only

[158] The perceived tokenism in *Huisgenoot's* coverage of Adams's musical endeavours was mentioned, and the casting of non-white characters in clown roles within Afrikaans films during apartheid similarly received attention, both in the analyses of Refentse's "What a Boytjie" and of the Carike Keuzenkamp /Snotkop renditions of "Dis 'n Land".

projects a rather demeaning stereotype of coloured culture in relation to the Afrikaans pastorate, but is also filtered through the lights and sound of the *Skouspel* machine, Lamb's image is that of a full-fledged exponent of mainstream Afrikaans music who just happens to be of coloured descent.

Accordingly, to expect Lamb to sing music more reflective of coloured folk music, simply because of her ancestry, would of course amount to an extreme case of 'closed' identity thinking. Thus, rather than expecting a correlation between Lamb's ancestry and her rather formulaic musical style of choice, it would be important to ponder on the absence of *Huisgenoot* coverage afforded to artists like the actress/musician Hildegardt Whites. In each episode of her television programme on *kykNet's* VIA channel, entitiled *Hilde se Hartsklanke*, she explores the music of different small towns in the Northern Cape and along the West Coast. And though the songs that she performs with local musicians of these towns are not coloured folk songs, many of them do reflect aspects of the instrumentation and rhythms of this folk music, thereby showing generative efforts towards a development of the Foucauldian 'selfcare' that would be required to contest the aesthetic hegemony of exclusively white Afrikaner pastoral formations. *Huisgenoot* attention could, likewise, have been given to the artist Willim Welsyn's support of Kramer's dialogical efforts, in affording Hannes Coetzee – the previously mentioned teaspoon slide guitar player who collaborated with Kramer in numerous projects – added exposure on YouTube.[159]

On the rap scene it is interesting to note that the coloured Afrikaans rapper Early B (Earl Swartz), who receives frequent coverage in *Huisgenoot*, is increasingly gravitating towards a 'court jester' image akin to that of Adams, albeit with more raunchy inflections in songs like "Ben Ten" and "Bid vir Pouse" (Pray for Recess). And it may be the case that he is succumbing to the subjectivising allure of the conservative, stable Afrikaner discourses favoured and strengthened by media forces focussed on profit. In contrast, it was noted that Hemelbesem (Simon Witbooi), who is frequently associated with *Huisgenoot* festivals such as the KKNK, tends to favour instead socially relevant topics, like crime on the Cape Flats, in songs like "Kêrels by Candellight"[160] and

[159] The reader may access this footage at https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=hannes+coetzee+

[160] "Kêrels by Candlelight" plays on the very different meanings of the homonyms 'Kêrels' and 'Carols' to create irony in this rather ominous song. The word 'Kêrels' (Guys) is a colloquial reference to gangsters, who inflict terror on a

"Blaas die Trompet" (Blow the Trumpet), and hence defies easy labelling by insisting on an awareness of the multiple 'çoloured' dialects spoken within South Africa, as opposed to a blanket reference to 'Afri-Kaaps'. These multiple dialects have the potential to catalyse and rejuvenate Afrikaans. The Mitchells Plain rapper Churchil Naudé's awareness of such revolutionary (Dionysian) potential within 'his' Afrikaans, is evident in excerpts from the lyrics of "Afrikaans / Praat Saam My", discussed earlier, such as "My taal is soos rooiwyn op 'n nuwe mat" (My language is like red wine on a new carpet), and "Die suiwerbloediges dink ek wil jou Aids gee" (The pure, of blood think I want to give you Aids).

A greater *Huisgenoot* focus on allowing independent voices to tell their stories could, perhaps, serve to combat the concerns over continued marginalisation, cultural appropriation and aesthetic stagnation, in the face of exclusivist perceptions of the Afrikaans language and culture, as expressed above. Drawing on Schalk Van der Merwe's previously mentioned statement that *Boeremusiek r*epresented a mixture of the urban and the rural, of race and of class in the early twentieth century, one could, for instance, lobby for a wider focus on 'lone' voices of 'difference' that could stimulate a renewed interest in lost Afrikaans songs, particularly those that once tied white, coloured and black speakers together. Whereas this hope is merely expressed hypothetically here, a fearless willingness by *Huisgenoot* – akin to the *parrhesia* thematized by Foucault in his book *Fearless Speech* – to assist in an appreciation of multiple and diverse Afrikaans voices, unfettered by commercialising demands upon their material, would greatly assist in precipitating a potentially transformative reassessment of 'self' and 'other' within the South African cultural realm.

poor community by night (when only the candles provide some light). The video of "Kêrels by Candlelight" may be accessed by following this link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7AgDXHDAy5c

7.4 A Flying Woman, the Voëlvry Movement and various other 'Monstrosities'

"…I must accept the cruel reality. I must rise above my sorrow. I cannot continue mourning. It turns me into a useless person who means nothing to anybody. What must I do? Am I lazy or scared, or do I have too little self-confidence? May the dear Father help me to realise what I can do. My love, can't you help me? You would have been able to see that I make something of my life, the life which I do not want but also cannot let go of".[161]

In her essay "Die Voortrekker Soek Koers" (The Voortrekker Seeks Direction), Lize van Robbroeck describes how "Chimera", an artwork by Minnette Vári, penetrates and destabilises the marble reliefs in the *Heldesaal* (Hall of Heroes) of the *Voortrekker* Monument with her own 'strangeness' and traumatised unease as an Afrikaner and a white person in Africa (2008: 135). She does this by using the reliefs as the backdrop for projections picturing her own naked body, thereby derailing the narratives of the reliefs, which constitute the Afrikaner's self-glorifying version of history. Her superimposed body undergoes constant transformation, from a *sjamaan* shepherd to a flying woman with the head of an animal. The constantly changing 'phantom image' thereby destabilises the stasis of the panels in ways that interrupt the flow of the narrative. But for Robbroeck, this unhinging semi-bestial phantom alludes to a post-humanistic view of identity, which undermines the essentialist stereotypes of the *Heldesaal*. Moreover, she interprets the enstranged (distanced) body as speaking not only of Vári's own enstrangement as a disillusioned Afrikaner, but also of the 'strangeness' and changeability of identity as such. Hence, the Afrikaner's "story" of self-justifying belonging is recreated into a tale of perpetual displacement (2008:135)

[161] Excerpt from the diary of Betsie Verwoerd (née Schoombee), taken from *Bloedbande. 'n Donker Tuiskoms* (Verwoerd 2018:193). Own translation. Herewith the citation in its original Afrikaans format: "…Ek moet die wrede werklikheid aanvaar. Ek moet uitstyg bo my leed. Ek kan nie aanhou treur nie. Dit maak 'n nuttelose mens van my wat vir niemand iets beteken nie. Wat moet ek doen? Is ek lui of bang, of het ek te min selfvertroue? Mag die liewe Vader my help om agter te kom wat ek kan doen. My liefling, kan jy my nie help nie? Jy sou wou sien dat ek iets van my lewe maak, die lewe wat ek nie wil hê nie, maar wat ek ook nie kan neerlê nie."

Whereas Vári's destabilisation of *Voortrekker* mythology comments on an alternative experiencing of Afrikaner identity in post-1994 South Africa, the bluesy rock music of Johannes Kerkorrel and his *Gereformeerde Blues Band*, combined with bizarre, satirical lyrics, similarly destabilises the heroic nationalist-feeding Afrikaner narrative of the late-1980s – in a manner different to David Kramer, but generated by the same sense of cultural stultification. I have previously indicated how David Kramer made issue with the kitsch symptomatic of cultural impoverishment in a segregated 1970s and early 1980s South Africa, which often manifested itself in the 'tired' use of symbols like the wagon wheel. That is, within the more 'closed', and largely static Afrikaner discourse of the 1980s, the wagon wheel along with images of wagons prompted association with the journey of the *Voortrekkers* towards a supposed 'Promised Land'. But Kerkorrel, one of the leading musicians within the *Voëlvry* movement, pumped new blood into these anaemic symbols by using them in a satirical manner, which mocked and trivialised the apartheid narrative they had been made to serve. An example is the song "Ossewa" (Ox Wagon), in which both the wagon wheels and their wagon are propelled into manic but 'meaningful' motion when, after a surreal description of encountering a speeding ox wagon on the highway while hiking "with his old friend, Mike", Kerkorrel's lyrics describe the occupant of the wagon and their ensuing ride on it as follows[162]:

Verse 2
Ja, 'n klein entjie verder begin die ding kalmeer
Yes, a little further on, things started to calm down

Hy kom tot stilstand met remme wat skree
He came to a stop with brakes screaming

'n Oom klim uit, hy sê ons moet nader tree
An 'uncle' (older man) got out, he said we needed to get closer

Hy gee nie om om ons 'n lift te gee

[162] Brendan Jury highlights the significance of combining the *ossewa* with rock 'n roll in this song, explaining that Afrikaner Nationalists perceived this genre "as a symbol of [decadent] British culture and the antithesis of Afrikaner values" (1996: 107). Hence the rock 'n roll *ossewa* of *Voëlvry* comes to be seen as the vehicle "which will take the Afrikaner into the future, just as the *Ossewa* of the Great Trek carried the Afrikaner on a journey which defined the nationalist Afrikaner culture in the past" (1996:108). Hopkins underscores the rebellious role that the rock genre played in South Africa during apartheid through reference to the anti-establishment emotions unleashed by the 1970's English punk and rock groups in the East Rand, like *The Radio Rats* and *Corporal Punishment* (2006: 92).

He didn't mind giving us a lift

Hy het sy ossewa woema gegee
He gave his ox wagon 'woema' (revved it)

Hy't 'n V-6 engine binne in gemonteer
He had a V-6 engine mounted inside

En tape-deck waarop Elvis Presley binnesmonds skree
And a tape deck on which Elvis Presley was mumbling and shouting

Dit was 'n regte-egte rock 'n roll ossewa
It was a real rock 'n' roll ox wagon

Chorus:
Sweet, sweet ossewa
Sweet, sweet ox wagon

Sweet, sweet ossewa
Sweet, sweet ox wagon

Ossewa, ossewa, ja, ja 'n ossewa
Ox wagon, ox wagon, yes, yes an ox wagon

In his essay "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History" (1971), Foucault considers parodic treatment of symbols, such as those found in the above lyrics, as being Dionysian. And he offers the following 'fuller' description of this Dionysian genealogy's opposition:

> The historical sense gives rise to three uses … The first is parodic, directed against reality, and opposes the theme of history as reminiscence or recognition; the second is dissociative, directed against identity, and opposes history as continuity or representative of a tradition; the third is sacrificial, directed against truth, and opposes history as knowledge (1977:160).

By dismantling the wagon wheel's status as a 'holy' symbol in the nationalist Afrikaner identity construct through parody, Kerkorrel and his fellow *Voëlvry* musicians were, indeed, also gradually breaking down the associated identity construct, and in the process calling into question the validity of the mythology that legitimised and empowered it into question, along with, for that matter, the idea that any such construct could ever be understood as truth.

Correlatively, following Foucault's delineation of "transversal struggles" in *The Subject and Power*, one can also ask whether or not the elements of transversal struggle are reflected in *Voëlvry's* protest. In short, Foucault describes "transversal struggles" as developing in "recent years" (2000:329) – hence, during the latter half of the 20th century – and defines them as follows: These struggles (1) "are not limited to one country" or a particular form of government, although "they develop more easily in certain countries" (2000:329-330). Transversal struggles are also (2) characterised by having power *effects* as the target of their efforts. (3) These may also be perceived as "immediate" struggles, in that "[t]hey do not look for the 'chief enemy' but for the immediate enemy" and do not "expect to find a solution to their problems at a future date" (2000:330). Turning to what he perceives as their most original characteristics, Foucault subsequently points at (4) their questioning of the status of the individual. This is due to their asserting the right to be different and underlining "everything that makes individuals truly individual" (2000:330). In addition, they "attack everything that separates the individual, breaks his links with others, splits up community life, forces the individual back to himself, and ties him to his own identity in a constraining way". Furthermore, these struggles (5) oppose "the effects of power linked with knowledge, competence and qualifications," and oppose "secrecy, deformation, and mystifying representation imposed on people" (Ibid). Lastly, transversal struggles (6)"revolve around the question: Who are we?" while they simultaneously refuse answers to this question abstracted through economic and ideological domination, "which ignore who we are individually" and which instead entail "a scientific and administrative inquisition that determines who one is" (2000:331).

In particular, "Ossewa" grapples with the sixth transversal characteristic by seeking to destabilise the *Voortrekker* narrative that framed Afrikaner identity during the 1980s, and which previously dictated an answer to the question of who Afrikaners essentially *are.* In turn, *Voëlvry's* adherence to the fifth 'transversal' characteristic may be found in the following comment, that Anton Goosen ascribes to Dagga-Dirk Uys, the promoter of the national 1989 *Voëlvry* tour, when interviewed by the *Sunday Star* newspaper: "They" (the *Voëlvry* audiences) "have been lied to all their lives. They know the SABC lies. They know the newspapers lie. Here they come and get things presented in a straightforward way. And they say: Oh my God, what I have been thinking

has been right all along" (Retief 2020:131). Kerkorrel's song "Energie" (Energy) also serves as a good example of *Voëlvry's* compliance with the fourth characteristic of transversal struggles, both by making issue with the limitations imposed on the lives of Afrikaners by the 'establishment' mores of the apartheid era, and by questioning the corresponding status of the Afrikaner individual. Herewith a short excerpt from the lyrics of this song:

Verse 1

Jy moet staan in die ry
You must take your place in the queue

Jy moet jou hare kort sny
Cut your hair short

Jy moet altyd netjies bly
You must always be tidy

Jy moet al die pryse kry
You must win all the prizes

Verse 2

Jy moet in 'n huisie bly
You must stay in a little (suburban) home

Trou en kinders kry
Marry and have kids

In jou karretjie ry
Drive in your little car

En stem vir die party
And vote for the (National) party

Chorus:

Ek sê nee dis 'n mors X3
I say no it's a waste X3

'n mors van energie
a waste of energy.

Indeed, "Energie" concludes by suggesting anarchy as a new type of energy, thereby reflecting association with the sense of "immediacy" that serves as the third characteristic of Foucault's "transversal struggles". It is true that Kerkorrel rejected the *punk* label bestowed on the *Voëlvry* movement, by stating that the focus of their music was not so much on anarchy as on creating something new. However, his actions belied such professed commitment to a less 'immediacy'-driven struggle in that he left South Africa in the early 1990s to pursue a cabaret career in Belgium (Retief 2000:135). Aspects of the third transversal characteristic can also be found in the focus of this movement on the immediate, rather than the "chief enemy" (Foucault 2000: 330), insofar as Bles Bridges – the yodelling singer of saccharine songs with borrowed European melodies, who was also emblematic of the vacuous Afrikaans music industry of the time – became a prime immediate target through, for example, the "Ek Verpes Bles" (I Despise Bles) T-shirts worn by *Voëlvry* musicians (Retief 2020:131).

Similarly, songs like "Sit Dit Af!" (Switch it Off) express irritation and rejection of excessive media coverage of the speeches of P.W. Botha and Pik Botha, respectively the State President and Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time. However, in line with the third transversive characteristic, the song stops short of levelling criticism at the chief enemy, namely the apartheid policy upheld by these figures. In this regard, the song "Swart September"[163] (Black September) by the *Voëlvry* musician Koos Kombuis, which describes the horrors of the 1984 State of Emergency in South Africa, and "Ontug in die Lug"[164](Immorality in the Air), which expresses defiance of the Immorality Act by the same artist, are among the handful of *Voëlvry* songs expressing overt condemnation of apartheid. While this movement's pre-occupation with liberation from the cultural effects that the stifling Afrikaner 'Establishment' had upon its members may have left little energy for their active participation in the anti-apartheid struggle, it is also possible that their anarchic orientation precluded them from advancing a new national vision – something

[163] The reader may access an audio recording of Koos Kombuis performing "Swart September", to which reference is being made in the text at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iVFa8UWHys8

[164] The reader may access an audio recording of Koos Kombuis performing "Ontug in die Lug", to which reference is being made in the text at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MDESsrYHlB0

which the African National Congress, much like the Afrikaner nationalists before them, were quick to provide. However, this compliance to Foucault's second 'transversal' characteristic arguably allows for the defining of *Voëlvry* as a transversal struggle.

Whereas the above discussion has indicated that attempts at the dismantling of a 'white-black' dichotomy largely fell beyond the scope of the *Voëlvry* movement, Vári's white body is at the forefront in her artwork. In this regard, it is significant that the ANC government's CTS (Colonialisation of Special Kind) principle had already taken effect in 2001,[165] when this artwork came into being. Therefore, one could hypothesise that her feelings of 'strangeness' and 'displacement' were, at least partially, motivated by the effects of this principle, which operates along the lines of racial demarcation. Rejecting the possibility of turning to equally divisive romanticised notions of the white Afrikaner's 'heroic' past as a place of refuge, Vári's artwork sacrifices her human self within a transformative process, one that also disturbs and changes the very heroic narrative that could have offered her a sense of fixed identity.

Accordingly, the rather terrifying notion of 'self'-sacrifice, pivotal to Vári's reaction to her environment, offers a clue to the reasons for the perceived failure of post-1994 Afrikaans music at large to utilise the transformative energy of the 1980's *Voëlvry* protest to a fuller extent. The following "catalogue notes" accompanying an electronic display of Vári's "Chimera", might prove useful in elucidating this hypothesis.

> Michel Foucault suggested that the word 'monster' refers back to the Latin, *monstrare*, to put on show as a spectacle, and not as an object. The idea of creating something illegitimate, which doesn't belong or fit in, is central to the monster myth. Like folk tales and children's stories, they are moralistic, suggesting a way of posing issues of beauty, evil, power and good. Perhaps the con-fusion of dialectic categories is the greatest heresy, combining fur with feathers, tame with wild, edible and inedible. They become significations of our worst nightmare, but also point us to what a sense of freedom might be. (minette.vari. co.za/video/chimera-white-edition)

[165] Chapter 1 has described CTS as holding that a special type of internal colonisation,"without any territorial separation between the colonisers and the colonised" (Ballantine 2009:122), formerly characterised economic and political relationships in apartheid South Africa and that 'democracy' is therefore the victory of a 'race' majority (Ibid. 123).

Coupled with this is Foucault's attribution within *Madness and Civilization* (1988:70) of monstrous and animalistic, but also curiously free, aspects to the perception of madness during the Enlightenment. Having indicated that the mad were subject to incarceration during the Enlightenment, after they had previously moved around relatively freely in and between societies during the Renaissance (1988: 69), Foucault states that "Madness had become a thing to look at: no longer a monster inside oneself, but an animal with strange mechanisms, a bestiality from which man had long since been suppressed" (1988:70). However, pointing to the curiously liberating potential of this 'monstrous' condition, Foucault concludes that this treatment and perception of madness allows it to escape "the great laws of nature and of life" (Ibid:76) which, within this context, refers to the "Reason"-driven metanarratives of the Enlightenment; metanarratives that sought to define it, and on the basis of such definition, to exclude it.

The quest for 'self'-liberation through parody, found within the music of the *Voëlvry* musicians, may be likened to the creating of an "illegitimate monster" – in their case, a bizarre ox wagon blasting the very rock and roll that the apartheid censorship board considered hazardous to the sanctity of their pristine essentialised establishment. By creating the "con-fusion" of tame and wild, through a juxtaposing of 'holy' Afrikaner pastorate symbols – like the *Voortrekker volksmoeder* (mother of the nation) – with "dagga zols" (marijuana cigarettes) they were striving to fuse the 'self' and the 'other', thereby signifying the nightmarish constraints of the apartheid establishment, which sought to negate such combinations; this was especially important, as the revolt happened 'within the gates of the city', as it were. However, although *Voëlvry*, in their capacity as a Foucauldian transversal struggle, directed their protest at the stifling cultural environment of their upbringing, they were, in a sense, still 'cushioned' by the fact that the white Afrikaner government – of which they were the wayward children – was still in power. Thus the 'tired' symbols that these outlaws were attacking and exposing as monsters, through their very own monstrous transversality, were still wielding power and were therefore legitimate, 'worthy' opponents.

Conversely, the post-1994 Afrikaans musicians who followed in their wake were, akin to Vári, increasingly subject to the socio-economic uncertainties mentioned earlier, and issues regarding the redistribution of land and the like. They were now also subject to a cultural environment in

which the emptiness of previously valorised (kitsch) Afrikaner symbols had been exposed for transformational purposes by the *Voëlvry* Movement and demonised by the new, reigning ANC discourses in their endeavours to discredit apartheid. These staid 'bloodless' symbols were, of course, still in an unchanged form, and hence fit for utilisation in equally staid/ commercialised songs, in service of more 'closed' identity formations – such as Snotkop's "Dis 'n Land", as discussed earlier. Focussing on less commercial Afrikaans music after 1994 in his 2007 article "From Voëlvry to de La Rey", Andries Bezuidenhout[166] laments the absence of the irony characterising the *Voëlvry* Movement in those groups deemed as its successors, like *Fokofpolisiekar* (FPK). However, considering the socio-political and cultural environment in which the members of FPK found themselves in the early 2000s, the nihilism permeating much of their early music – which I have mentioned in the contextualising discussion of Francois van Coke's musical career, and to which I will return fleetingly – is quite understandable. In FPK's bitter but curiously poignant song/video "Hemel op die Platteland" (Heaven in the Country), nostalgia and schizophrenia are in full force in the interplay between home-video images of a happy 'white' Afrikaans childhood in the South African countryside, and lyrics cursing these very memories.

7.5 Monsters Incorporated

The discussion that follows will briefly consider the Dionysian potential of the work of a few artists who receive relatively frequent coverage in *Huisgenoot*, and whose music has, at times, been associated with the juxtaposing of seemingly disparate elements, thereby begging association with both the illegitimating 'monstrare' notion, which was unpacked, and with Foucault's definition of transversal struggle, as discussed above. Most of these artists have received *Huisgenoot* coverage in 2018 and 2019, and some of their songs were analysed in chapter 5. Given their perceived Dionysian potential and close association with *Huisgenoot*, somewhat broader consideration of their work remains significant in order to achieve a broader perspective on the Afrikaner identity positions at play in *Huisgenoot.* Fleeting consideration will

[166] Bezuidenhout is one of the artists featured in the *kykNET* programmes dedicated to the *Wasgoedlyn Project.*

also be given to possible reasons for the lack of *Huisgenoot* coverage afforded the group *Die Antwoord*, seen to have notable transformative potential.

I perceive Karen Zoid (Karen Louise Greeff) as one of the first Afrikaans artists after the *Voëlvry* movement to manifest "monstrous con-fusion" in her music – or at least in her iconic song ''Afrikaners is Plesierig'' (Afrikaners are Jolly). During the past decade, she has also received very frequent *Huisgenoot* coverage, including reviews of her music (for instance, in the *Huisgenoot* issue dated 26/05/2011), and features on the covers of the magazine (for instance, on the covers of the issues dated 31/12/2015, 12/05/2016, 29/12/2016 and 24/08/2017). She has participated in the *Skouspel* Concerts, notably singing an Afrikaans translation of the protest song ''Weeping'', by *Bright Blue*, in 2013, and has received *Huisgenoot* publicity for her performances at KKNK (for instance, in the *Huisgenoot* issue dated 10/03/2016), and for *Die Republiek van Zoid Afrika*, a talk show/music programme that she has been hosting on *kykNET* since 2014. *Huisgenoot* has also recognised Zoid's music through *Tempo* nominations (for example, a 2018 nomination for her song ''Vir Jou'' (For You)). However, the magazine's greatest compliment to Zoid to date probably lies in entrusting her with the writing of the song commemorating its centennial celebration, which had its first performance at the ABSA KKNK in 2016.

In an article about this centennial song, "Waar Was Jy?'' (Where Were You?) in the issue of the magazine dating 12/05/2016, Zoid shares her thoughts on *Huisgenoot.* Drawing on the general association of *Huisgenoot* with sensational news stories, she speaks about the magazine as follows:

> Life is like a *Huisgenoot.* It is filled with [the] shocking, traumatic stories that you will experience. There is inspiration to find. There is knowledge to gain…There are morbid fascinations; there are fetishes. There is everything. Life is not a clean mirror.[167]

Shock, trauma and morbid fascination certainly abounded when Zoid first burst onto the music scene with the previously mentioned song "Afrikaners is Plesierig"[168], from her album *Poles*

[167] Herewith the citation above in its original Afrikaans format: "Die lewe is soos 'n Huisgenoot. Dis vol skokkende, traumatiese stories wat jy sal beleef. Daar is inspirasie te vind. Daar is kennis om op te doen…Daar is morbiede fassinasies; daar is fetisje. Daar is alles. Die lewe is nie 'n skoon spieël nie."
[168] The reader may access this song at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rYD21FqPyk4.

Apart, in 2001, which combines the lyrics to the first verse of the similarly titled *FAK* folk song with the heavy metal music genre. The *FAK* version uses Afrikaans words to a German melody by Gutsche and was, interestingly, titled "Die Transvalers is plesierig" (The People of the Transvaal are Merry) in the original 1937 edition of this anthology. Accordingly, it came to be closely associated with *Volkspele,* a type of folk dancing that was infused into the evolving white Afrikaner cultural construct in 1915 by Dr S.H. Pellisier. Pellisier's inspiration for the concepualisation of *Volkspele* came from a trip to Sweden in 1912, which exposed him to the folk dancing of various European countries. Consequently, this dance form was in evidence both at centennial celebrations of the Great Trek in 1938, and at the inauguration of the *Voortrekker* Monument in 1949. In line with *Voortrekker* imagery, the costumes of the dancers were based on *Voortrekker* wear. *Volkspele* soon came to be associated with the *Reddingsdaadbond*, an organisation established to assist poor (white) Afrikaners after the Anglo-Boer War (Van Vollenhoven 1992:46-53).

The artistic pastiche that Zoid created with her version of "Afrikaners is Plesierig" extended to an inclusion of hip hop elements and a free mixture of Afrikaans and English. Such juxtaposing of the words of a *Volkspele* song with urban music styles associated with youth rebellion, and indeed with the language of the Afrikaner's nemesis during the Anglo-Boer War, had an effect not unlike the *Voëlvry* movement's parodic discrediting of similar Afrikaner nationalist symbols. Zoid's song itself certainly also adheres to the "monstrare" notion, in that it fuses seemingly disparate elements in a bewildering manner and, furthermore, engages in a Foucauldian transversal struggle by attacking the 'closest enemy' through its violent dismantling of an *FAK* song representative of the piousness of conservative Afrikaner culture. This is done with a powerful sense of urgency and immediacy, in ways that problematise the effect of the subjectification of this more 'closed' Afrikaner discourse on Zoid's individual identity, particularly, and on South African society in general. Zoid also thereby professes a disdain for privilege through a valorisation of marginal discourses, like hip hop, in the lyrics, and questions who the Afrikaner *is* through the stylistic juxtaposing of heavy metal and the lyrics of a *Volkspele* song.

Whereas the *Voëlvry* movement had apartheid South Africa as socio-political backdrop, Zoid's "Afrikaners is Plesierig" originated during the period when the 'Rainbow Nation' ideology, and the ANC government's new CST policy, were starting to rub uneasy shoulders. Notwithstanding its transversal force, however, the song does not take an overt political stance. It could perhaps best be described as a statement about Zoid's perception of her own multi-faceted identity as a white, Afrikaans 'heavy metal rock chick' in 2001; a statement which was still bound to shock and/or outrage certain Afrikaners adhering to more 'closed' identity constructs. Her curiously pensive, almost introspective, heavy metal-laced improvisations on "Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika" during a performance on the "Afrikaners is Plesierig" tour – which ultimately merges into American gospel/soul – has a similar air of potentially liberating transversal illegitimacy to it.[169]

To be sure, Zoid's subsequent mainstream success is, admittedly, slightly at odds with her earlier efforts. However, while she may, perhaps, no longer be perceived as being engaged in a monstruous transversal struggle, her unapologetic and 'open' projection of a lesbian identity in the face of 'closed', patriarchal Afrikaner discourse, and the ease with which she crosses cultural lines, certainly demonstrate active participation in propagating fluid, non-domineering, relations of power. This ability is particularly evident in her continual social and musical interactions with musicians from across South Africa's racial and cultural spectrum, beyond the ambit of her previously mentioned *kykNET* television programme, *Die Republic van Zoid Afrika.* These musicians include the late Johnny Clegg, Zolani Mahola, Les Javan (known for his compositions based on the music of the Khoi and Cape Coloured communities), Carika Keuzenkamp (the 'doyen' of Afrikaans pop music in the 1970s), the country singer Ray Dylan, and the rockers Jan Blohm and Francois van Coke. While her personal style seems to have settled on mainstream rock anthems, albeit of a high musical standard, Zoid's transformative potential arguably lies in her many intercultural and inter-stylistic collaborations, including work with the Zimbabwean musician Oliver Mtukudzi on the group *Freshly Ground's* album *Can't Stop*, which received a review on the "Music" page of the *Huisgenoot* issue dated 28 June 2018. Her efforts, in this

[169] The reader may access the video recording of Karen Zoid performing "Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika" to which reference is being made in the text at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3FMsKxxeTDc

regard, are moreover strengthened through *Mothership Studios*, Zoid's music production and recording facility in Philadelphia, outside Cape Town.

Another *'Huisgenoot*-affiliated' musician who comes to mind in relation to the "monstrare" notion is the rapper Jack Parow. Instances of Parow's *Huisgenoot* coverage during the early days of his career are found in the issues of 23 June 2011, 12 January 2012, and 23 February 2012. *Huisgenoot* coverage of Parow during the period 2018 and 2019, categorised according to the nature of such coverage, with an accompanying indication of the date, are as follows:

- Parow is featured twice on the "Music" page, firstly in a review of a musical collaboration with Pierre van Pletzen (P. Dollar) and Matthieu Auriacombe (Nik Nax) on Van Pletzen's album "Kak Lekke Vibe" (05/04/2018), and secondly in a review concerning his collaboration with Early B and Justin Vega on a song entitled "Potte" (27/12/2018);
- His matchmaking programme on the Via television channel (affiliated with *Huisgenoot)* entitled *Die Kliek* is advertised five times, namely in the issues dating 22/02/2018, 26/07/2018, 08/08/2019, 15/08/2019 and 19/09/2019;
- He is featured thrice in games for *Huisgenoot* readers – twice in a crossword puzzle (03/05/2018 and 01/08/2019) and once in a quiz about local celebrities (13/12/2018);
- He is featured once with regard to his participation in a pizza-making competition at *Col Cacchio* (20/09/2018);
- He is featured once in a comical article in which celebrities offer tips to combat the effects of the drought in South Africa (22/02/2018).

The description above of Parow's *Huisgenoot* coverage shows very little evidence of attention to his musical endeavours, while his involvement in games, a matchmaking show, a competition and a comical article, which are all focussed on his media image, receive ample attention; this points to extreme commodification of his very distinctive image, an observation to which I will return later in the discussion.

Parow (Zander Tyler) entered the Afrikaans music world in 2009 with the song "Cooler as Ekke"[170] (Cooler than me), which was promoted by friends belonging to *Die Heuwels Fantasties*, a splinter group of the previously discussed *Fokofpolisiekar*. The shock waves caused by this song soon rippled through to the academic world, with Martina Viljoen writing a 2011 article about the man with the long leopard-skin cap, entitled "Die banale as (rap-) identiteit: Jack Parow se 'Cooler as Ekke'". In short, she approached this article through the reconstructive creation of a speculative context in which "Cooler as Ekke" is, in accordance with Krims's rap-theory, seen as an example of "mack-rap" (2011:260), and by "reconstructive", Viljoen meant a reading of the song through the construction of a specific (implied) socio-cultural context. This is in line with Krims's theory, in which rap genres are viewed as a symbolic representation of specific ethnic and geographic identities, and to which I have fleetingly referred in the analysis of rap songs. Indeed, Krims[171] is quoted as saying that his rap theory is about "the concrete social contexts in which it [rap] becomes imaginatively revalidated as something 'real', something which, to adopt the intransitive usage endemic to hip hop culture, 'represents'" (Krims 2000:63 in Viljoen 2011: 259).

Viljoen subsequently interprets "Cooler as ekke" as a parody of "mack rap", in which the rapper strives to wield power over a fictional "opponent" by boasting about his material success and sexual prowess. This is because, instead of using the imagery of African-American "mack-rap", Parow uses everyday symbols of zef Afrikaner life to construct a particularly banal representation of *Afrikanerskap* (Afrikanerness*)* as a "hypernorm"(2011: 254).

In chapter 4, I referred to Viviers's argument that zef, a culture celebrating the symbols associated with 'kommin' (common) or 'poor white' communities, akin to so called American 'trailer trash', may be regarded as the death of kitsch; put differently, as "zombie kitsch" (http://www.litnet.co.za/Article/notas-oor-zef). Kitsch, in turn, according to Slabbert and De

[170] The reader may access this song and its video at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lRzFqW4Xh2 .

[171] Krims rejects the notion that rap is only a hybrid form in a perpetual state of evolution through the study of what he coins the "musical poetics" of rap music. He perceives relatively stable transmutations within rap to which he attributes the capacity to represent "real" social contexts. Within the latter he identifies four genres as the generators of particular social identities, namely the previously mentioned "party rap", "mack rap", "jazz/bohemian rap" and "reality rap". Krims holds that musical meaning within the latter context relates to a "relatively autonomous 'world' of discourses…" that should not be viewed as objective aspects of rap music but rather as "discursive matters dealing with its very formation of social identity"(2000:63 in Viljoen 2011:260).

Villiers's interpretation of David Kramer's views, may be perceived as the simultaneous signification of an emptiness *and* a fear of that emptiness: As discussed earlier, within Afrikaner culture under apartheid, Kramer, for instance, saw the proliferation of tired wagon wheel symbols in furniture and furnishings as a manifestation of a culture that had lost most of its life blood, due to the absence of creativity-enhancing cross-cultural artistic endeavours (2011:159). And earlier in this discussion, the *Voëlvry* movement's resuscitation of these symbols also received attention.

Accordingly, Viviers's zef culture constitutes a twilight zone, inhabited by the dead/zombie 'children' of the tired, bloodless kitsch symbols. Thus, whereas the loud garishness of kitsch is unstylish, the zombie shrieks of zef are banal, with banality being called a "libidinizing of social reality" by Eagleton, quoted by Viljoen (1992:93 in Viljoen 2011:267).

Such banality is employed lavishly by Parow in the boastful parody through which "Cooler as Ekke" reifies the *kommin* / ordinary / everyday Afrikaans man – Afrikaans man, I should add. Parow's stance towards the 'zefness' of his song and media image is that he is merely being himself, and that he wants everybody to unite and party together. However, Viljoen perceives "less accommodating" undertones in his one-sided "mack-rap". According to her, some Afrikaners, who are living this zef reality constructed by Parow's song, understand the song as a statement of "the known" and "the own" within their experience of the current socio-political context in the country (2011:338). But as "mack-rap" is always directed toward an imaginary adversary, the song's "hypernormative zef" representation of the Afrikaner is, invariably, disrespectfully directed at other notions of Afrikaner identities – particularly outdated, pretentious versions of 'Afrikanerness' (2011:254).

In addition to such steadfast, pretentious Afrikaner identity, Viljoen also highlights two other prominent Afrikaner identity constructs targeted by the song: an identity driven by the reconciliatory 'Rainbow Nation' ideology, and one driven by the Neo-Afrikaner Protest Movement, as exemplified by Bok van Blerk's "De La Rey". Accordingly, she perceives "Cooler as Ekke" as seeking to unsettle all these identities through its banal, boastful representation of a version of the Afrikaner with whom they simply cannot identify (2011:244-245).

Regarding Foucauldian "transversal" characteristics, "Cooler as Ekke" thus ticks all the boxes. By celebrating the brash, zef identity that pretentious Afrikaner society employs as a tool to condemn 'poor whites' to inferiority, it shows concern with societal division based on the tying of an individual "to his own identity in a constraining way" (Foucault 2000:329). It consequently refuses subjectification through abstractions, particularly regarding identity, and demonstrates such refusal through an assertion of the right to be different. Moreover, in line with transversal struggles, the *kommin* wisdom of the song clearly opposes the linking of power with institutionalised knowledge, competence and qualification, and consequently launches a (mack rap) attack at the closest pretentious enemy, thereby targeting a symptom of societal division rather than its cause.

Furthermore, the "monstrare", with its various Foucauldian associations, can also be understood as being at play in the sense of absurdity and "con-fusion" that Parow creates, by elevating a version of the Afrikaner to a definitive status, which those clinging to radically different Afrikaner identity formations are then bound to view as ridiculous and nightmarish. In this regard, Swarts's interpretation of "Dans, Dans, Dans"[172] (2010 in Viljoen 2011:267) proves significant. Swarts perceives the video as depicting how pretentious Afrikaners are digging around in the proverbial treasure chest of the *volk* (Afrikaner nation), in the hope of finding something of value, only to be greeted by the younger generation who do not care for, or identify with, such past-oriented cultural compensations. I would like to offer a similar, slightly amended interpretation of Parow's 2010 collaboration with Francois van Coke: In the video to the song, a khaki-clad explorer, emblematic of the steadfast, conservative Afrikaner, is stumbling through the desert when he discovers a trapdoor. He anticipates that this will lead to a treasure chest (namely his cultural riches), but instead out hops a cursing Jack Parow, followed by an equally offensive Francois van Coke (the 'dead' symbols of a bloodless culture). For me, their subsequent libidinising affront to intellectualised and divisive (Apollonian) culture has potentially revitalising Dionysian potential, albeit paradoxically, in that its 'dead zefness' exposes what the Apollonian sought to hide about

[172] The reader may access this song and its video at https://www.google.com/search?q=dans+dans+dans&rlz=1C1EJFC_enZA889ZA895&oq=dans&aqs=chrome.0.69i59j46j69i57j0l2j46j0l2.3767j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8

itself.[173] This interpretation aligns well with Nuzzo's statement that "[t]o think of the monster and to think through the monster means to think of an experience of the limit" of the text, "and [also] to think departures from such an experience"(2013:56)

In re-focussing on the *Huisgenoot* text and the interplay of subject positions of Afrikaner identity therein, it is worth noting that Parow was forced to withdraw from the 2010 *'Huisgenoot' Skouspel*, because Juanita du Plessis was not comfortable to sing "Onse Vader" (Our Father) on a stage that she had to share with Parow (2011:269). Consideration of Du Plessis's gospel song "Koningskind" (Child of the King), and its accompanying video in chapter 5, pointed to it as a manifestation of more 'closed' identity thinking on account of the exclusive whiteness of the video, amounting to its creation of the notion of a 'white' God. Issue has also been made with the materialism projected by the glamorous ballgown that Du Plessis wears in the video. This is because the consequent association of God and His (chosen white) people with material wealth, creates a norm that can only, within the context of Afrikaans society, be maintained through the abjection of both 'poor whites' and the zef image which Parow projects on them and which he presents as a "hypernorm" (Viljoen 2011: 254). Rap, his musical style of choice, also threatens Du Plessis's 'white' world through its South African origin among coloured communities of the Cape, as manifested in groups intent on delivering social commentary, like *Prophets of Da City, Black Noise* and *Brasse Vannie Kaap* (Battersby 2003:112 in Viljoen 2011: 338).

Du Plessis's strong reaction to Parow thus invites a consideration of Steve Kettle's appropriation of the "language of monstrosity" as a mode of social critique in "Monstering the Invisible – A study of the socio-cultural production of Gothic monstrosity" (2016). That is, by identifying the marginalised social other in three Gothic texts, Kettle shows that the monster is a cultural product and remains as such, despite its abjection (2016: III). He therefore contends that "the presence of the visible monstrosity is both a reinforcement of social boundaries, and also suggests that

[173] In this regard, guided both by Foucault's "monstrare" notion (Nuzzo 2013:56) and his encouragement towards the "unwriting of the self" (1977:117), I differ from Campany (2003:132), whose rather pessimistic view on the banality of rap is mentioned by Viljoen (2011: 267). Remarking on his belief that banality leaves the subject in a state of intellectual imprisonment, Viljoen quotes him as follows: "[It/banality] can leave us in permanent limbo, obliterating even the need for analysis and bolstering a kind of liberal melancholy that shuns political explanation like a vampire shuns garlic" (2003:132 in Viljoen 2011:267).

there are invisible monsters, repressed and hidden from sight to uphold the hegemonic binary" (2016:III). And if one applies Foucault's perception of subjectivity as a process (Taylor 2011:9) to the 'monster language', the normative text becomes the creator of the (visible) monster. Following Cohen (1996:4), Kettle similarly comes to describe subjective culture as the "monster-maker" (2016:VI), with the monster being a mirror to what the norm/society abjects, and also a fluid figure representing difference to this norm (2016:VII). Accordingly, if one were to equate the "monster-maker" to a more 'closed' Afrikaner identity construct, as reflected by Du Plessis's 'Koningskind" (Child of the King) video, one might be lead to identify the invisible monster "upholding the hegemonic binary"(2016:III) as a creature that hides i) its own banality, manifested in the reduction of notions of spiritual wealth to material wealth (with spirituality becoming a commodity), and ii) its demarcating stance towards poverty and 'non-whiteness', implying that affluent white Afrikaners are the (only) children of God.

Parow's zefness critically underscores this binary by, parodically, highlighting the reprehensible aspects that "Koningskind" projects – like the cloaking of materialism and segregation in a spiritual guise – through its own shrill accentuation of the emptiness/hollowness[174]/poverty that engulfs its brashness. In this way, it assumes an unashamedly commodified stance, to the extent that Parow himself can almost be likened to a cartoon character – if the social commentary he proffers were not as incisive as it is. This image of Parow is reflected in the nature of the coverage that *Huisgenoot* affords him, as seen at the beginning of this discussion, and is strengthened by his association with a brandy label since 2017.

Regrettably, though, Parow's more recent musical material, like "Potte" (Pots) and "Bang Babbelas" (Frightened Hangover), seems to lack some of the sardonic twinkle of his earlier songs, to the extent that I consider the absence of parody in these (predictably) banal songs as placing a limitation on their Dionysian potential for social critique. Instead, I view them as mainly consigned to the menial job of reinforcing a zef identity in those who relate to it, because of its employment of symbols particular to their 'own' socio/cultural construct. Chapter 1 has also

[174] Note how this "hollowness", pivotal to the earlier discussions on Etienne Viviers' perception of zef as "zombie kitsch", finds resonance in Foucault's description of the incarcerated, dehumanized mad during the Enlightenment in *Madness and Civilization*, as "the truth of the beast which is a truth without content" (1988: 77).

alluded to Parow's implementation of symbols associated with singers in service of the NAP-ideology, such as Bok van Blerk, within his 2014 song "Tussen Stasies".

Die Antwoord (The Answer), whose music may be likened to Parow's earlier endeavours, was discussed at length in chapter 3, and this discussion extended to a questioning of the reasons for the lack of *Huisgenoot* coverage afforded the group. It should furthermore be clear from the previous discussion that the group, which also utilises zef culture, exercises potentially transformative Dionysian force: In the words of Ninja, the music of *Die Antwoord* may be described as "exaggerated experience" (https://www.spin.com/2012/02/die-antwoords-totally-insane-words-wisdom/), such that their dark, concentrated focus on seeming distortion and abnormality affords them the illegitimating quality of the "monstrare".

It is unlikely that an 'answer' to the absence of *Die Antwoord* in *Huisgenoot* is the consequence of almost complete absence of Afrikaans in their lyrics (which creates a paradox with both the name of the group and the 'flat' dialogue, implicit of an Afrikaans working-class background, in their vocal delivery). This hypothesis is premised on my preparatory collation of musical coverage in the magazine during 2018 and 2019, which has indicated that, although Afrikaans artists and their music enjoy ample *Huisgenoot* coverage, local English musicians and international artists are also featured. Also, given Jack Parow's close affiliation with *Huisgenoot* – an affiliation which he was, arguably, initially afforded on the grounds of the sensational shock value of his work – it seems unlikely that *Die Antwoord's* controversial image would disqualify them for coverage.

A more credible explanation for *Die Antwoord's* absence from *Huisgenoot* may relate to the highly protective stance that this group takes towards their music. In 2011, for instance, they decided to leave *Interscope Records*, which started handling their career after the success of their 2009 video "Enter the Ninja", on the grounds that the company, in Yolandi Visser's words, "kept pushing us to be more generic" (https://www.spin.com/2012/02/die-antwoords-totally-insane-words-wisdom/). The danger of the 'domestication' of potentially transformative artists has already been noted, especially if they come to be associated with certain media sources – media sources like *Huisgenoot*, that are driven by a populist, profit-driven approach, with certain ideological echoes.

Added to this is a perceived preference of *Die Antwoord* to release and promote their work online, probably based on the evident success of such promotion. This is supported by consideration of the over 37 million views that their video "Cookie Thumper" has received in less than five years, and the even more astounding 49 million views their "Pitbull Terrier" has elicited in roughly five and a half years. The will to self-determination that the group exudes is also manifested in the development of their own web reality series*, ZEFTV*. Indeed, perusal of episode 4 of this series suggests that it fluctuates between seeming genuine confirmation that a zef identity reflects the everyday lives of Yolandi and Ninja, and a countering thereof through interviews that hint at the role of their zef image as artistic artifice. Hence the series seems set on perpetuating the paradoxes pivotal to the elusive allure of this group.[175]

The characteristics of Foucauldian transversal struggles attributed to Jack Parow, on the grounds of "Cooler as Ekke", may thus be brought to bear on this duo as well. Ninja and Yolandi's zef image and their private lives have, additionally, blurred to such an extent through ZEFTV that their personal projection of the exaggerated experience in their artistic endeavours has, at least within the media, come to resemble something akin to Foucault's limit experience. That is, increasing allegations of sexual violations, cultural appropriation, and homophobic behaviour within their 'private' lives, collectively suggest an increasing leaning towards subjectification in *Die Antwoord's* own narrative. Their masterful blurring of the fictional and the 'real' does, however, caution one to consider that these rumours might have been orchestrated by *Die Antwoord* themselves, in order to fuel an ironic strengthening of their zef image – the vehicle employed by this duo to drive their artistic pursuits to the limit.

7.6 Release from the Albatross?

Francois van Coke has been mentioned quite frequently in this study, often with regarding the generous coverage that he receives in *Huisgenoot.* And his tendency to drift between identities, while forging relations of power, and to occasionally assume the position of the 'outlaw', was

[175] The reader can access an excerpt from ZEFTV at https://www.reddit.com/r/DieAntwoord/comments/d4u1ns/zeftv_episode_4_where_da_fuk_is_olandi/

discussed at the end of chapter 5. *Van Coke Kartel's* ironic rendition of Carika Keuzenkamp's "Dis 'n Land", which simultaneously attacks both apartheid discourses and the ANC government, has also received attention. In line with the above discussion of "monstrous con-fusion", a "monstrous" quality may thus also be understood as a propelling component of its Dionysian force. This quality is evident in the proliferation of the apparent contradictions within the video to this song, including the "drag queen" posturing in outfits alluding to a 1980s South Africa – in which drag was, ironically, completely taboo. Deviating momentarily from Van Coke's Dionysian efforts, while remaining within the rock genre, it is worth noting that a similarly 'monstrous' contradiction may be perceived in the juxtaposition of disturbing lyrics with the jollity conveyed by a lively tempo and major tonality in *Herfsheks* – Willim Welsyn's previously analysed problematisation of more 'closed' Afrikaner identity formations.

In this regard, my earlier critical consideration of the hierarchies of 'Truth' governing the current socio-political South African landscape has pointed to the 'dead' albatross, etched in feathers of white and black, that is weighing down the rhetoric both of Decolonisation, and of the counter-defensive Neo-Afrikaner Protest movement. *Fokofpolisiekar's* aggressive 2017 rock song "Dis in My Bloed, Baby" (It's in my blood, Baby), and its accompanying black and white cartoon video, wage a 'monstrous' attack on the states of domination that perpetuate subjectification to this feathered carcass. And as Van Coke, who serves as lead singer in this re-assembling of FPK, is a reasonably frequent 'face' in *Huisgenoot*, an interpretation of "Dis in My Bloed, Baby" also reinforces the notion – acquired through a consideration of featured *Huisgenoot* artists and an analysis of featured material – that artists projecting material with Dionysian potential do, on occasion, receive coverage in the magazine.

I shall therefore close this discussion with an interpretation of the song and video which, jointly, display similarities with Vári's feelings of unease as a white Afrikaner in the current socio-political context. Akin to Vári's art, the video sets out to disrupt the discourse serving white Afrikaner Nationalism, through visual means that draw on the distortion of images associated with the 'old' South Africa (Robbroeck 2008:135). The video furthermore parallels Vári's work in its creation of a sense of potentially transformative monstrosity – in the Foucauldian sense described above, and as explored by Nuzzo in his article "Foucault and the Enigma of the Monster (2013: 55-56) –

through the continual assumption and subsequent transformation of disparate identities. However, although the final scene of the *Fokofpolisiekar* video could, perhaps, be likened to the self-defying 'unwriting' of a text, and to an exposing of its 'true' horror, this angry music video is arguably less readily self-sacrificial than Vari's work, which configures the 'self' more gently, albeit disturbingly, into an animalistic guise by means of gradual transformation.

In terms of Foucauldian transgressive potential, the heavy rock genre employed within the song suggests revolt against the privileges of the Afrikaner establishment, whereas the imploring lyrics, in conjunction with the video images, problematise the constraining effects of more closed Afrikaner identity constructs on individuals, while at the same time questioning the possibilities for the forging of more transformative identities – in short, the right to be different. In turn, such questioning leads to a criticism of the "deformation, and mystifying representation imposed on people" (Foucault 2000:331), mainly through the decolonisation narrative. However, such grappling with more lasting concerns is overshadowed by its emphasis on crime, which constitutes an 'immediate' symptom rather than the 'chief' enemy. "Dis in My Bloed, Baby" consequently meets with the criteria that categorises it as a transversal struggle song. Note, in this regard, that Willim Welsyn's *Herfsheks*, mentioned above in connection with 'monstrous' qualities, also meets with the criteria of a transversal struggle on roughly the same grounds as "Dis in My Bloed", barring a specific focus on the decolonisation narrative. Mystifying representation is, in the case of *Herfsheks*, squarely associated with more 'closed' Afrikaner narratives.

The cartoon of "Dis in My Bloed, Baby" consists of a succession of illustrations depicting idealised images of 'productive' living, presumably taken from old children's books, coupled with fleeting images of a *Voortrekker* lady and the *Voortrekker* monument. All the people featured in these illustrations are white. Blindfolds, perhaps suggestive of impending assassination, have also been added to some of these images, while flames have been added to others. Admittedly, the blindfolds may also be perceived as the means by which these images – representative of Afrikaners subject to a more 'closed' Afrikaner narrative – perpetuate an Apollonian illusion of stability. In contrast, the recurring flashing image of a 'singing' ski-mask, conjuring up associations with murder and robbery, serves as the 'vocalist' throughout the cartoon. Apart

from two flickering moments of blackness, this mask is white throughout. Flashing images of white and black skulls moreover add to the turmoil, while the 'singing' ski-mask is, at times, affixed to the body of an armed man, who is rushing through the terror in an old car. In the closing scene, the car and its inhabitant are spat out of this crumbling cartoon world, which is now shown for what it is from the outside, namely a large serpent-like creature.

The lyrics of this song are as follows:

Ek verloor, dis in my bloed, baby,
I am losing, it's in my blood, baby,

Sit dit al's op rooi,
Place it all on red,

Nie verwag om nog te lewe nie.
I did not expect to still be alive.

Ek dink ons vat daai stuk kak kar van ons
Let's take that 'piece of shit' car of ours

En ons fokof.
And fuck off.

Die dae bloei in jare en ek kners my tande weg,
The days bleed into years and I am grinding my teeth away,

Want die sekelmaan hang vanaand soos 'n vigilante guillotine,
Because the sickle-moon is hanging like a vigilante guillotine tonight,

Dekoloniseer my, asseblief!
Decolonise me, please!

Chorus:
Ons is die gevangenes,
We are the prisoners,

Ons hou onsself gevangene,
We keep ourselves imprisoned.

Ons werk is voltyds:
We are working full-time:

Wie sal die wagte bewaak?
Who will guard the guards?

Wie gaan jou bed opmaak
Who is going to make your bed

As jy vermoor word in jou slaap?
When you get murdered in your sleep?

Selfoon roofkyk hoe die Paarl afbrand,
Cellphone piracy of how Paarl burns,

Gebrek aan empatie,
Lack of empathy,

Kyk hoe ons vriende se kinders lyk.
Looking at our friends' children (comparatively)

Gebrek aan empatie.
Lack of empathy.

Sukkel nie om jouself baie jammer te kry.
Having no trouble feeling very sorry for yourself.

Wit trane, wit skuld hang soos 'n vigilante guillotine,
White tears, white guilt hangs like a vigilante guillotine,

Dekoloniseer my asseblief!
Decolonise me, please.

Repeat of Chorus

Considered without the video, these lyrics, combined with thumping rock sounds, might perhaps be interpreted as a right-wing call to leave South Africa because of all the (racially motivated) crime. However, when the lyrics and music are re-considered in conjunction with the cartoon, a different and more complex 'picture' arises.

My interpretation of the message is that, within "Dis in My Bloed, Baby", FPK seems to view 'white' guilt about apartheid as keeping white South Africans and – considering the allusions to *Voortrekker* images in the cartoon, white Afrikaners specifically – in a state of captivity. Due to

their 'white' blood/heritage, these Afrikaners consider the redeeming/sanctifying process of decolonisation to be out of their reach, hence the frantic repeated plea to be afforded this status by someone – perhaps the 'other'? Considering the 'white-black' dichotomy seen to guide the decolonisation rhetoric, this exasperated, fearful plea is probably futile, and FPK possibly intends for it to be perceived as such by listeners.

In terms of Foucault's *Discipline and Punish – The Birth of the Prison*, FPK's white Afrikaner is thus the principle of his/her own subjection (1977:203), under a decolonising gaze which conceives of 'whiteness' in negative terms. This white Afrikaner is, however, not a hapless victim deserving of sympathy, because apartheid guilt has become a defence mechanism of sorts, which s/he carries like the singing ski-mask figure carries his gun. In short, it ties him/her to the old apartheid world/construct, its dead symbols, and its constant suspicion and fear of the 'other', which, in turn, stands in the way of fruitful dialogue. In support of this interpretation, consider the lines "*Because the sickle-moon is hanging like a vigilante guillotine tonight*", taken from the second verse of the song, and "*White tears, white guilt hang like a vigilante guillotine*", taken from the last verse. At the beginning of the song there seems to be consensus that the night, and by implication darkness, is the bringer of mob justice. But after concluding that the Afrikaner is his/her own captor, and that s/he has no empathy for others, but rather revels in self-pity very easily, the final verse brings with it the conclusion that mob justice towards him/her may, in fact, be attributed to such (defensiveness-inducing) 'white' guilt, and the self-pitying tears which so often accompany it.

Hence, this Afrikaner shares the essentialising 'white-black' dichotomy pivotal to the philosophies driving the Decolonisation rhetoric and believes that 'whiteness' and its associated defensive guilt are in his/her blood; in doing so, s/he echoes (albeit slightly more dissonantly) the exclusivist pastoral sentiments projected by Liezel Pieters's song "In Ons Bloed". Considering the line in the lyrics "*Who is going to make your bed when you get murdered in your sleep*?" this Afrikaner's 'self/other' mindset also still bears the 'master/slave' undertones of apartheid, from which it cannot seem to escape.

It is from this world, which *Fokofpolisiekar* exposes for the toxic creature that it is, that escaping ("fucking off") is advocated, and from which the car manages to be ejected. Take note, in this regard, of the intentional tying of the name of the group to the act of leaving. Note, as well, that the figure who escapes in the car wears the very mask associated with crime in the cartoon. Thus, in line with the interpretation above, he is (indirectly) inflicting these crimes on himself. Indeed, by turning this ski-mask image into the lead vocalist, Francois van Coke finally 'becomes' the very Afrikaner criticised in this song: the white person who defensively clings to the guilt associated with a familiar colonial past, but who is seemingly also not given an opportunity to rid himself of this text, due to counter-narratives that equate his (irredeemable) 'whiteness' to this very guilt[176]. This abrupt flash of 'self' recognition, rather than the pastorally – driven repentance required for release from the albatross within "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner", marks FPK's escape from metanarratives chained to a 'white-black' dichotomy. The escape itself – which might be perceived as the depiction of a limit experience – accordingly offers a momentary ghastly glimpse of 'reality' seen for what it is before it merges into nothingness as the song/video draws to a close. Perhaps this space, offering a glimpse of the monster/snake is, in Nuzzo's word "the space in which the laws of the possible and the impossible are altered, [while] the laws which govern these partitions are deactivated, and new combinations become possible" (2013:56).

[176] Note the correlation between my interpretation of the "Dis in My Bloed, Baby" song/video 'package', and Louise Viljoen's interpretation of the Breyten Breytenbach poem "Tuin", which was discussed earlier. Within the latter the human being, likened to a snake, is the coloniser of a strange world that is finally inside him, and which he cannot fully master (Viljoen 2001:15). The only escape from this world, in which he has labelled everything (compare this to the white-black labelling perceived to be underpinning the discourses 'at play' in the video) is to accept the position of migrant/exile. Compare, also, the latter acceptance of escape at the end of the video. Given Breytenbach's likening of the coloniser to a snake, and the snake's internalisation of the world that he has colonised, the final glimpse of the world from which the 'ski-mask' figure escapes in "Dis in My Bloed, Baby", may be likened to (horrifying) self-recognition, and accordingly to a limit experience.

JOURNEY'S END

"We must conceive discourse as a violence which we do to things; or in any case as a practice which we impose on them; and it is in this practice that the events of discourse find the principle of their regularity". [177]

Not only does the preceding mimicking of the 'unwriting' of the text bring the discussion on transformative *Huisgenoot*-affiliated artists to a rather fitting close, but it also marks the point where my investigative journey has run its course.

This two-fold investigation has both explored the perceived Afrikaner identity constructs in the musical coverage of *Huisgenoot* and considered my own personal grappling with these constructs. Whereas Foucauldian thought steered the investigation as a whole, Cook's methodology for multi-media analysis, along with Spry's autoethnography, respectively, guided the analysis of specific songs, and my personal focus on self-transformation. This personal focus was continually sharpened by a grappling with connections between memories of my Afrikaner upbringing and manifestations of Afrikaner identity constructs in these songs. However, although by definition no expectation of an arrival at "absolute truth" has ever been built into the Foucauldian itinerary of this investigative journey (Foucault 1977:117), I nevertheless feel it incumbent upon me to mark its end with summative, descriptive notes regarding both the process and what, in the last instance, amount to the 'findings'. In doing so, I remain cognisant of the ontological hues that will invariably colour the latter and welcome the continued transformative force my 'findings' might generate through countering debate.

The Process

Much of the investigative process was steered by an analysis of songs and accompanying videos that were featured in issues of *Huisgenoot* during 2018 and 2019, and the analyses were, as

[177] Taken from "The Order of Discourse", Foucault's Inaugural Lecture at the Collegé de France (2 December 1970), in *Untying the Test: A Post-Structuralist Reader* (1981:67), edited and introduced by Robert Young.

previously mentioned, guided by Cook's methodology, premised on a consideration of instances of conformance, collision, and contest between multi-media elements. Whereas the selection of songs was facilitated by a collation of all music-related material appearing in the magazine during this period, the analysis was facilitated by the construction of three categories. Two of these categories, namely adherence to more 'closed' and more 'open' identity constructs, were derived from the rationale steering the investigation. However, the third category, namely, *seemingly* reconciliatory/collaborative songs which, in fact, constitute more 'closed' identity constructs, evolved in conjunction with the analysis, due to the identification of a trend corresponding to this description. That is, this was not a category I had foreseen when my investigation first began.

Analysis is, of course, associated with the Apollonian quest for 'absolute truth' and 'enlightenment'. However, my professed awareness of the inevitable textual entrapment permeating this investigation – which finds resonance in Nietzsche's belief that the viability of culture is dependent on an interplay between Apollonian and Dionysian orientations (Megill 1985: 41) – served to steer my rigorously employed act of analysis away from essentialising motives. This was especially important as such analysis was governed by a resolve to present its 'findings' as promptings towards continued exploration.

Similarly, cognisance of the predictive (or even self-fulfilling) bearing that my act of creating distinct categories might have had on 'findings' about the positions of Afrikaner identity reflected in *Huisgenoot*, prompted a broader consideration of songs and artists covered in the magazine: In short, not only songs covered during the period 2018 and 2019 that were not selected for analysis in chapter 5 (either because they were not viewed as "clear" examples of a category or because they were not seen as belonging to either of the initial two categories employed), but also other artists known to be affiliated with *Huisgenoot.* Bearing in mind Foucault's caution to "suspend judgement" up to the very end in quite a literal manner (Brown 2000:22), the closing discussion of the final chapter does, therefore, still constitute part of the consideration of newly introduced musical material. Indeed, such continual caution against assumption-driven premature arrival at conclusions was executed in the spirit of Foucauldian problematisation. In this regard, Foucault indicated that the thought needed to generate problematisation requires a distancing from one's actions/reactions, in order to present these actions/reactions, as well as

their meanings and the conditions governing their possibility, as an object of dialogical thought (1998:386). This is because, only through an 'unwriting' governed by such objectified thought – thought intent on exposing the capacity for subjectification within a text – can essentialist notions of the 'self' be laid to rest. Correlatively, within the terms governing Foucault's 'games of truth' , 'care of the self' (which equates to self-knowledge) can therefore, paradoxically, only be attained through a fearless, self-effacing resolve to ask different questions to the ones that are protecting the validity and consequent power of sterile discourses and the self-understanding associated with them (1998:384) – even if such probing questions were to result in the obligation to sacrifice both stability for the sake of transformation, and the luxury of being "enveloped by speech, and carried away beyond all possible beginnings" (Foucault 1970 in Young 1981:51), for the potentially liberating, but also unsettling, task of initiating innovation.

Accordingly, the process steering the problematisation at hand was underpinned by i) a literature study, focused on *Huisgenoot* and the development of Afrikaner Nationalism along with related discourses, ii) the previously mentioned study of YouTube videos of contemporary Afrikaans songs, and iii) my own close association with *Huisgenoot* since childhood.

To begin with, the literature study about Afrikaner Nationalism assisted in elucidating the symbols employed in the construction of this discourse, most of which were utilised to justify the call for racial segregation that typified the gradual evolution of white Afrikaner Nationalism, particularly in the wake of the Anglo-Boer War. Sensitisation to these symbols, and to the 'white-black' dichotomy bestowed on them, thus also rendered conspicuous the presence of these and/or related symbols in the songs/videos receiving coverage in *Huisgenoot*. In turn, a literature study of Black Consciousness and Négritude metanarratives that were both prominent in countering apartheid, and influential in the development of more recent decolonisation rhetoric, enabled me to expose the reiteration of the same 'white-black' dichotomy, now applied in service of the (converse) valorisation of 'blackness'. Such exposure was deemed relevant to the positions on Afrikaner identity under discussion, in that it thematised one to the philosophies behind the metanarratives at play within the current South African socio-political context. It also allowed for speculation on the impact these metanarratives might have on positions regarding Afrikaner identity.

Accordingly, the literature study regarding the history of *Huisgenoot*, on account of the function of this magazine as a Foucauldian commentary in service of white Afrikaner Nationalism, partially overlapped with a consideration of the above metanarrative/s (Foucault 1970 in Young 1981: 58). It furthermore contributed towards a highlighting of the very definite shift in approach within this magazine during the 1970s: Whereas the role of *Die Huisgenoot*, upon its conception, was the education and upliftment of the (white) Afrikaner – an expectation reinforced in Elizabeth Schoombee's 1924 master's dissertation on the magazine – *Huisgenoot* of the 1970s not only sought to rid itself of the preceding orientation in its name but also shed its educator's robe in favour of a more glitzy, populist attire; something understandably necessitated by the steep competition with which the arrival of television in South Africa confronted the magazine, in the form of glamorous new publications focussed on local and international television celebrities.

Moreover, given the subsequent information explosion, it is only to be expected that the current-day version of *Huisgenoot* had to maintain this populist approach. After all, being in competition with the endless stream of information, along with diverse social connections, and the myriad sources of entertainment offered by the Internet, *Huisgenoot's* up-to-the-minute approach, focussed on easily digestible, sensation-driven info-tainment remains imperative for the survival of the magazine.

The 'Findings'

In previous chapters, mention was made of the seeming lack of substance, and the largely formulaic orientation of much of the material constituting the Afrikaans music boom at the start of the new millennium, despite the brave, transformative strides that the *Voëlvry* movement had taken in contemporary Afrikaans music in the late 1980s. But given the limits imposed on the size of the Afrikaans music market, due to the language factor, it was appreciated that a lack of confidence might, at least in part, have prompted these new Afrikaans artists to opt for safe, generic, international trends, at the expense of (riskier) originality. And such employment of the 'safe' and the 'generic' was also understood as a legacy of the 1970's and 1980's tendency to generate Afrikaans 'hits' through the superimposition of Afrikaans lyrics onto international 'pop'

melodies, with the latter being moulded according to a formulae premised on market considerations.

One could, furthermore, hypothesise that, post-1994 apartheid guilt, coupled with the compulsion to pay lip service to the seemingly redemptive 'Rainbow Nation' ideology (as highlighted in Viljoen 2011), also inhibited Afrikaans music from offering much by the way of criticism of the new ANC-government. Conversely, feelings of uncertainty amongst white Afrikaners about their place in the post-1994 South Africa also initially hampered the development of musical material prompting a more critical inward gaze of the sort found within the *Voëlvry* movement of the late 1980s. Nevertheless, it was argued that it is possible to afford 'transversal status', as theorised by Foucault, to the earlier work of Karen Zoid and Jack Parow, to the current work of Francois van Coke, Willim Welsyn and *Die Antwoord*, and, of course, to the pioneering efforts of the *Voëlvry Movement* itself, on the grounds of criteria formulated by Foucault for 'transversal struggles' in "The Subject and Power" (2000:6). And as discussed, this status needs to be coupled with a displacement/dismantling of 'reason', which is understood as driving discursive subjectification through their music and which has been brought about by the creation of a 'monster', fashioned from a juxtaposing of seemingly disparate elements. In turn, the liberating, Dionysian 'show of madness' characterising this 'monster-making' process, may be aligned with the paradoxical freedom that Foucault attributes to the dreadful treatment of the mad during the 18th and 19th centuries: A freedom premised on the notion that such dehumanisation of the mad alleviated them from the obligation to comply to a normative societal narrative driven by 'Reason' (1988:76), and instead opened up the possibility for them to practice variants of *parrhesia*.

The analysis of selected songs receiving coverage in 2018 and 2019 issues of the magazine in chapter 5, coupled with a more general consideration of artists who frequent *Huisgenoot* covers, and/or who are afforded articles, in chapters 3 and 7, indicated that a coverage of music manifesting both more 'open' and more 'closed' Afrikaner identity positions may currently be found in the magazine. In addition, it must also be noted that there are a multitude of songs covered in *Huisgenoot* that could, in fact, be perceived as being situated on somewhat less

prominent points of the spectrum between these two extremes. And as discussed, while many of these may be likened to the formulaic songs associated with the Afrikaans music boom of the early 2000s, more original material, focussed on a more select market, is also occasionally encountered in the magazine.

Although the highly personal subject matter of many songs belonging to this latter select category is often devoid of explicit reference to Afrikaner identity positions, the more 'closed' identity position manifested by many *boeremusiek* groups, and the more 'open' identity constructs manifested in, for example, the work of David Kramer, Anton Goosen, Hildegardt Whites and Churchil Naudé, also fall within this category. That is, while, for instance, Kramer explores lost Afrikaans songs within marginalised coloured communities, in chapter 7, the hope was also expressed that, given the *boeremusiek* endeavours shared among white, coloured and black musicians in the early twentieth century, a recovery of formerly 'shared' songs might assist in eroding divisive racially-based Afrikaner identity constructs – an erosion that will hopefully extend beyond the 'white – coloured' divide, already addressed by *Huisgenoot*, to include black Afrikaners. Given the perceived transformative potential within the relations of power employed by artists like Kramer and Goosen, it is regrettable that market considerations seemingly render coverage of songs in this 'select' category quite sparse.

Relatedly, a profit-oriented approach is also arguably reflected in the continuation of more 'closed' identity thinking reflected in a number of formulaic songs, which attempt to embrace a 'reconciliatory' message, but which are largely bereft of any attempt at reaching beyond the 'self'. In this regard, Karlien van Jaarsveld's "Sing vir Liefde", Juanita du Plessis's "Koningskind," and Snotkop's "Raak vir My Rustig", all nominated for 2018 *Huisgenoot Tempo* awards – with "Sing vir Liefde" and "Koningskind" being winners in their respective categories – are all cases in point.[178] That is, on the one hand, the songs by Van Jaarsveld and Du Plessis are driven by a projection of the 'hyperreal' *simulacrum*-based 'life style religion' which has, to a large extent,

[178] The discussion of Juanita du Plessis's "Koningskind" in this chapter has highlighted the perceived "hidden monsters" within these highly commercial endeavours, which facilitate their perpetuation of exclusivist norms upheld by notions of the superiority of the 'self'.

replaced the pious Dutch-Reformed underpinnings of white Afrikaans pastoral power, while also perpetuating the exclusivist 'white-black' dichotomy and heteronormativity pivotal to its closed narrative. On the other hand, perpetuation of this dichotomy, and of the chauvinism central to the Afrikaner pastorate – which, of course, underscored apartheid's biopower – is also observable in Snotkop's "Raak vir My Rustig", which may be characterised as a 'jolly' party song. Arguably, even more worrying than the 'closed' leanings of these seemingly reconciliatory *Huisgenoot* songs, is the ample coverage of songs like "Die Land", by Steve Hofmeyr, Bok van Blerk, Ruan du Plessis, Bobby van Jaarveld and Jay du Plessis, which openly indulge in the polemics central to Neo-Afrikaner Protest.

In this regard, a consideration of the general qualities required from musicians to clinch a *Huisgenoot* cover, suggests that the populist appeal of artists contributes largely to their proportionate *Huisgenoot* coverage. Given the way in which the Internet is constantly and relentlessly peppering humanity with a vast abundance of 'trending' material, I have hypothesised that deviation from the populist route previously taken by *Huisgenoot* in the 1970s, would not have made 'sense' from a competitive, profit-driven perspective. After all, this populist route is not only guided by the favouring of artists who project a relatively conservative image – like Juanita du Plessis – with which a more financially stable market is, in Chomsky and Herman's term, more likely to identify – but it also has a sensationalist leaning, addressed by Karen Zoid in her allusion to the "shocking, traumatic stories", and "morbid fascinations" in *Huisgenoot's* coverage of life.

Pertaining to Zoid's statement, it is necessary to distinguish between the calculated, self-serving 'packaging' of quantities of drama, shock, and morbid fascination which underpins certain artists' career-advancing 'confessions' in *Huisgenoot* – regarding events in their personal lives – and the shock-provoking Dionysian function of the previously addressed "monstrare", which strives to demolish essentialist constructs through a controversial juxtaposing and 'exposing' of the symbols utilised to justify such constructions. In terms of this, discussion of *Die Antwoord*, a group adhering strongly to the "monstrare" notion, led to the speculation that their absence in

Huisgenoot might be attributed to a (self-imposed) fear that the magazine will neutralise their shock value, through its neat, profit-driven packaging of their sentiments, in ways that would lead to a 'domestication' of the group. In this regard, mention was made of how Francois van Coke, a radical musician afforded *Huisgenoot* coverage on the grounds of his music sales, strives to combat such *Huisgenoot* packaging by utilising irony in songs such as "Daarsy Boys". Similarly, continuous collaboration with a wide range of diverse artists furthermore assists both Van Coke and Karen Zoid in their attempts to resist the pitfall of 'image capturing' domestication by the magazine. In turn, the discussion on Jack Parow speculated that *Die Antwoord's* fears regarding *Huisgenoot's* 'domestication' might, indeed, have been realised in the case of his career. This is possibly due to an overly snug affiliation with both the *kykNET* television channel and *Huisgenoot* magazine, whose interest in his earlier, more Dionysian endeavours, arguably stemmed from a profit-driven perspective, rather than from any active support for the transformative potential proffered by his shocking 'monstrous transversality'.

In closing, after consideration of the various Afrikaner identity formations reflected within *Huisgenoot* songs, it is of interest that one could conceive of all the artists mentioned, apart from *Die Antwoord*, as being situated somewhere on a horizontal axis between 'most closed' and 'most open' identity formation extremes, with the middle of the spectrum being most representative of optimal dialogical power relations. Conversely, *Die Antwoord's* aesthetic efforts, premised on the continual pushing of their own artistic boundaries, zig-zag widely and wildly around a separate vertical axis, intersecting with the middle of the horizontal axis, but ultimately pursuing a limit experience, involving a radical pursuit of self-overcoming without end.

Huisgenoot is currently the magazine with the highest circulation figures in the country. Accordingly, consideration of the contemporary success that the magazine achieves via the adoption of populist lines, gives an almost tragic slant to Elizabeth Schoombee's idealistic, non-materialistic expectations of *Die Huisgenoot*, articulated in the citation that introduces heading 7.2 in chapter 7. And this is rendered even more poignant when her following recommendation is also recalled:

> Paramount is that the ability of the public to appreciate and to criticise is being developed. (Schoombee 1924: 10)[179]

Schoombee, of course, viewed this 'brand new' magazine as a means of uplifting the white Afrikaner, and the recommendations in her dissertation consequently stand in service of her ideology, drenched in segregationism. However, had cognisance of one's textual entrapment not been the only 'reality' in this instance, the above recommendation that Schoombee makes concerning the magazine's coverage of the visual arts, could perhaps serve as an indictment of the *Huisgenoot* of today – a magazine understood by this investigation as rather too frequently favouring an artist's 'market value' above his/her aesthetic worth, and/or potential to stimulate critical, dialogically-driven debate.

Thus, considering the observations deriving from chapter 6, namely that prominent discourses dominating the current South-African socio-political landscape are premised on a 'white-black dichotomy' *not dissimilar* to the underpinnings of Schoombee's / Betsie Verwoerd's segregationist world, a call for the development of critical thinking through an exposure to stimulating art is arguably justified, irrespective of the author's convictions. But cognisance of one's textual entrapment is, alas, the only 'reality' at one's disposal. Hence, the ontological captivity of my 'observations' – both regarding current South African discourses and the motivations steering the coverage of musical material in *Huisgenoot* – resist absolutising 'truth'-bearing claims, including Schoombee's sparkling words, confidently oblivious to their perpetual inability to either grasp a fixed 'truth', or to map the 'absolutely correct' route to its fulfilment.

Fortunately, though, the "La Meninas" analogy that was loosely drawn with this problematisation at the closing of chapter 4, assists me in keeping nihilistic despair about the absence of any such 'conclusive' or fixed 'truth' at bay: For although the 'truth' that my distant 'fictional' self in the imagined *Skouspel* audience scribbles on a notepad, remains obscured from me – shielded by the Apollonian illusion masking its fictionalisation by the text – my self-sacrificial resolve to believe

[179] In its original Afrikaans this sentence reads as follows: "Hoofsaak is dat die vermoë van die publiek om te waardeer en te kritiseer ontwikkel word".

in the potential effect of this self's world-creating work of art, remains the stimulus for continued critical endeavour, in service of my dialogue both with others, and with her.

POSTLUDE

"You do not do, you do not do
Any more, black shoe
In which I have lived like a foot
For thirty years, poor and white,
Barely daring to breathe or Achoo

Daddy, I have had to kill you.
You died before I had time——
Marble-heavy, a bag full of God,
Ghastly statue with one grey toe
Big as a Frisco seal"[180]

The suicide of Ralph Rabie (Johannes Kerkorrel) in 2002 added an eerie echo to the notes and lyrics through which he strove to unwrite the discourse steering the Afrikaner society of the 1980s. Not dissimilarly, the poet Sylvia Plath's anguish at the seeming futility of her attempts to escape from continual recreations of her father ('s text) found literal dissonant resonance in her death by her own hand.

I am not deaf to the reprimanding whispers of the 'unwritten' author's ghost when I, like Betsie Verwoerd's grandson Wilhelm, appreciate the stark contrast between the dictatorial sermon of the Dutch-Reformed Church of my birth and the fluid, sacrament-focused 'evensong' ritual of the Anglican Church service (Verwoerd 2018:84). Yes, I accept the ghost's insistence on the contradiction between possibilities of an 'Absolute' and a critical acknowledgement of textual entrapment. Yet I, quite curiously, refuse to forsake the, albeit fixed, call and response of 'evensong'.

This ghost is equally quick at reminding me that N.P. van Wyk Louw's legacy had been blemished by his affiliation with the very Afrikaner-Nationalist narrative that I so vehemently reject. Yet I choose not to forfeit the delight that the dark, bitter-sweet trickery of his words have to offer.

[180] Excerpt from *Daddy* by Sylvia Plath

I page through old family albums, thick with the memories of people whose decades of blind devotion to a dehumanising discourse still send shrill sirens through the passage of time, but I almost only hear the familiar voices that carried the phrases of my most intimate fable, far more agonising to unwrite than an -- albeit tightly intertwined -- academic problematisation. So, in this regard, I simply refuse to listen less selectively.

Invariably, the commitment to continual dialogical self/other power relations spells flux, punctuated by elation, fear, doubt, frustration, and occasional Apollonian 'self' deception. Fortunately, though, the dynamic, innovative character of such flux offers some relief, by assuring me that this non-dictatorial stance of choice, and the dizzying options that it offers, paradoxically, is the only course of action that this curious self, fraught with illegitimating 'monstrous' contradiction, could ever hope to take.

There is an Afrikaans folk song which, unlike so many, 'truly' seems to have developed on African soil. It is entitled 'Ek Soek na My Dina' (I am in Search of My Dina). If this 'lass', Dina, is my personal sense of Afrikaner identity, it seems as if I am bound to a never-ending, song-driven search for her.

And that is fine.

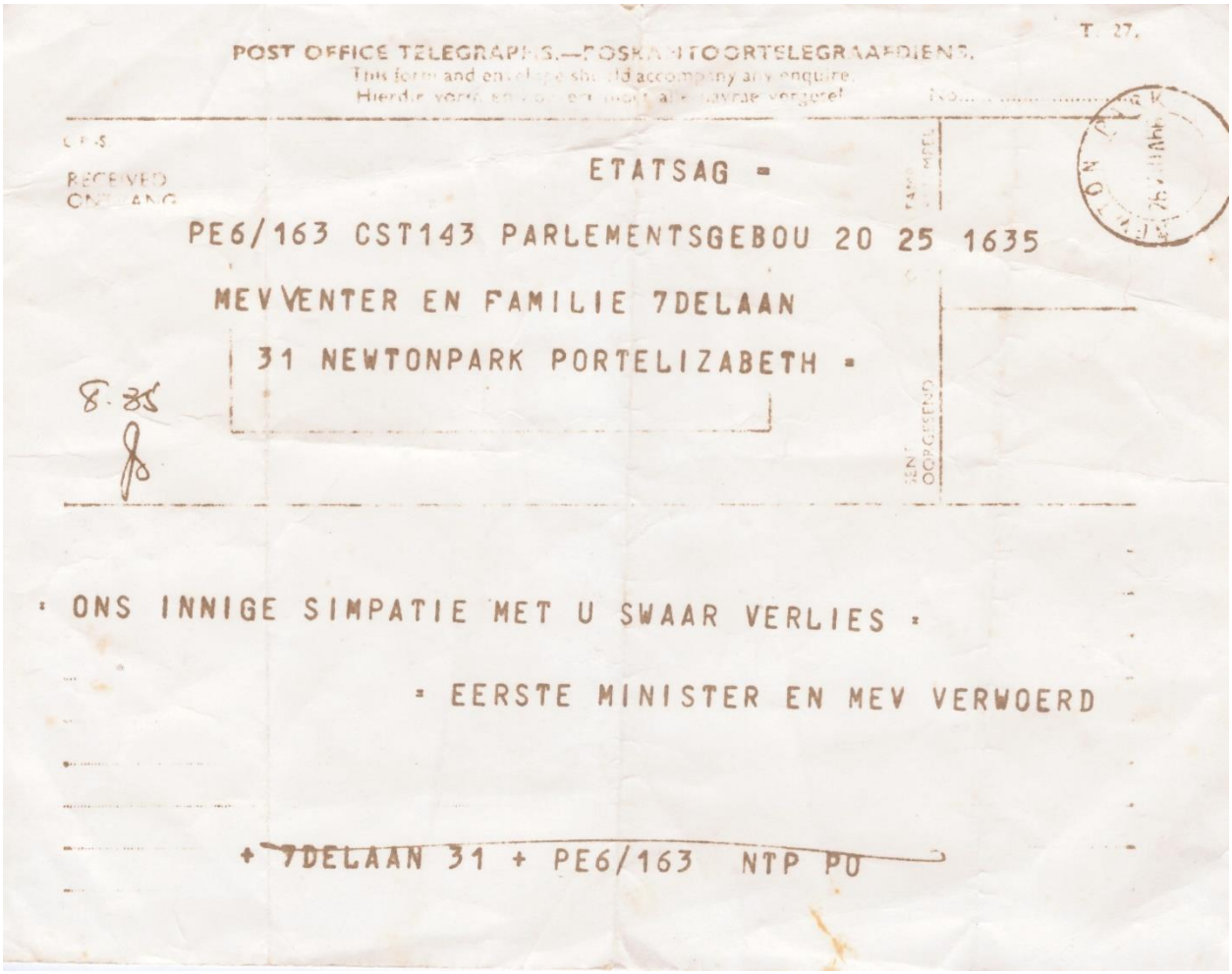
"What I call 'self' can only be the thread stitching change to change.
And death is no ending, it is the final self.
The end product when light at last falls short."[181]

[181] Excerpt from "Writing the Darkening Mirror" in *The Memory of Birds in Times of Revolution* (Breytenbach 1996:2).

ADDENDUM

(All items from the author's private collection)

Figure 6: Telegram from Hendrik and Betsie Verwoerd[182]



POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS.—POSKANTOORTELEGRAAFDIENS.
T. 27.

ETATSAG =

PE6/163 CST143 PARLEMENTSGEBOU 20 25 1635

MEV VENTER EN FAMILIE 7DELAAN

31 NEWTONPARK PORTELIZABETH =

8.35

= ONS INNIGE SIMPATIE MET U SWAAR VERLIES =

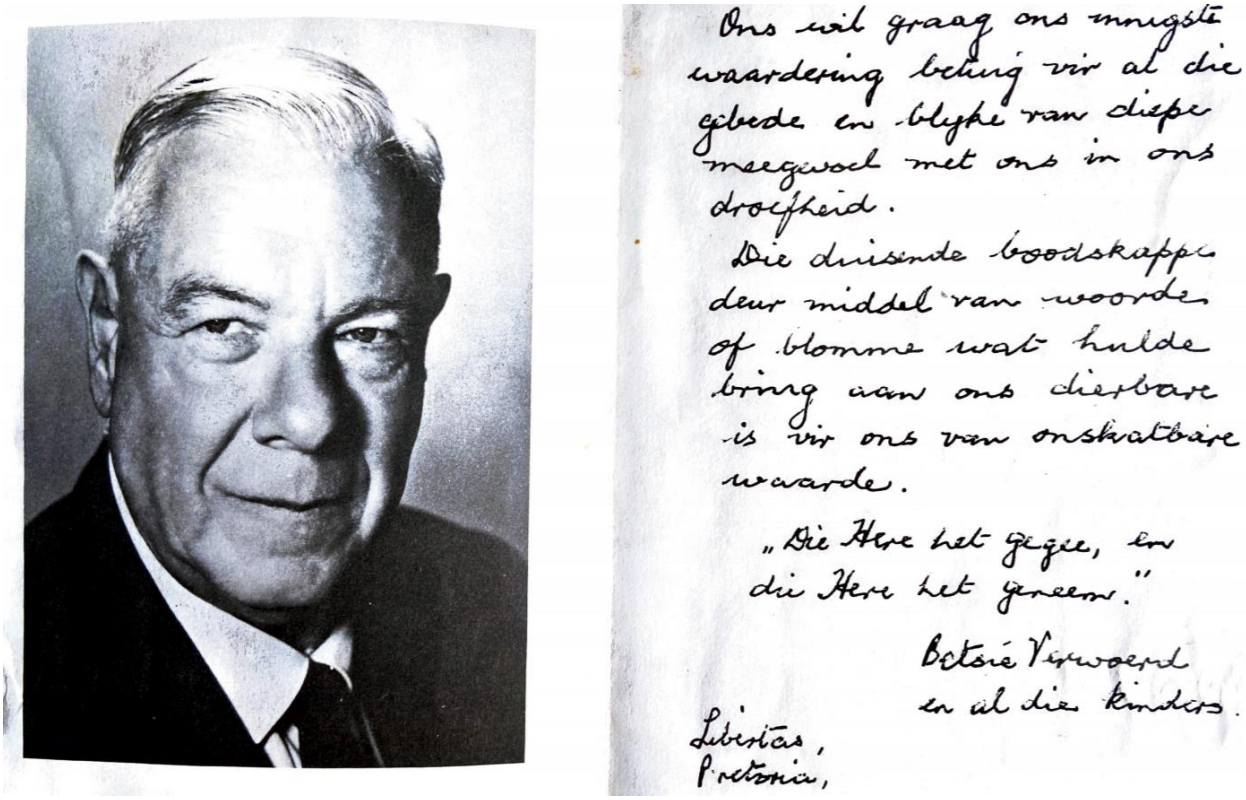
= EERSTE MINISTER EN MEV VERWOERD

+ 7DELAAN 31 + PE6/163 NTP PU

The telegram of condolences that Hendrik and Betsie Verwoerd sent to my paternal grandmother, Johanna Elizabeth Venter (née Viljoen) upon the passing of my grandfather, Phillipus Arnoldus (P.A.) Venter.

[182] Translation of telegram message: Our deepest sympathy with your heavy loss. Prime Minister and Mrs Verwoerd.

Figure 7: Card of thanks from Betsie Verwoerd[183]



Ons wil graag ons innigste
waardering betuig vir al die
gebede en blyke van diepe
meegevoel met ons in ons
droefheid.
Die duisende boodskappe
deur middel van woorde
of blomme wat hulde
bring aan ons dierbare
is vir ons van onskatbare
waarde.
„Die Here het gegee, en
die Here het geneem."
Betsie Verwoerd
en al die kinders.
Libertas,
Pretoria,

The 'thank you' card sent to my paternal grandmother by Betsie Verwoerd in response to condolences received after the assassination of H.F. Verwoerd.

[183] Translation of message on card: We wish to express our sincere appreciation for all the prayers and gestures of deep compassion with our sorrow. The thousands of messages by means of words or flowers which bring homage to our dearest are of inestimable value. "God has given and God has taken". Betsie Verwoerd and all the children.

Figure 8: Newspaper clipping from *Die Burger* (Date unknown): Students *en route* to a voting station during the South African Referendum in 1960

A group of students from the Paarl Teachers' Training College, including my mother (far right), Kathleen Venter (née Heyns), *en route* to the voting polls in 1960 to vote for a republic.

Figure 9: P.A. Venter at a voting station during the South African Election in 1948

Phillipus Arnoldus (PA) Venter, my paternal grandfather, on his way to vote for the National Party in 1948.

Figure 10: P.A. Venter at the Van Riebeeck Festival in 1952.

PA Venter during the Van Riebeeck Festival, celebrating the tri-centennial celebration of Jan van Riebeeck's landing at the Cape of Good Hope.

Figure 11: J. Venter at a monument employing 'wheel' imagery

My father, Jan Venter, in the late 1950s, next to a monument which employs the "wheel-imagery" central to the Voortrekker mythology that underpinned Afrikaner Nationalism.

Figure 12: C.J.S. Langenhoven

C.J.S Langenhoven, my mother's Matric History teacher at Brandwag High School in the Eastern Cape town Uitenhage. He was the cousin of C.J. Langenhoven, the Afrikaans writer who wrote the lyrics for "Die Stem", the national anthem of apartheid South Africa.

Figure 13: A. J. Zietsman (née Meyer)

Aletta Johanna Zietsman (née Meyer), my maternal great-grandmother, and an unidentified friend. Following the widowed Queen Victoria's example, she wore a black dress - as a symbol of mourning - for years after my great-grandfather's passing. Her strong colonial orientation had a lasting influence on Aletta Johanna Heyns (née Zietman), generally known as Alice, my grandmother, who, in turn, instilled a fondness of British colonial culture in me.

Figure 14: A. J. Heyns (née Zietsman)

My maternal grandmother, Alice Heyns, in the backyard of her home in Gates Street, Uitenhage during the late 1940s.

Figure 15: B.J. Vorster and his wife, Tienie

B.J. Vorster, who followed Hendrik Verwoerd as prime minister, and his wife, Tienie, at the funeral of his brother, Izak van der Merwe Vorster ("Vossie"), who was married to my maternal great aunt, Lilian Vorster (née Zietsman).

Figure 16: B.J. Vorster as Pall Bearer

B.J Vorster (front right) as pall bearer at his brother's funeral. The second pall bearer from the left is Johan Greeff, who served as speaker of the apartheid parliament.

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