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Music Education and minority groups’ cultural and musical identities in the Newer South Africa: white Afrikaners and Indians

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Abstract

Music Education, cultural and musical identities are all being renegotiated, post-Apartheid, within the so-called ‘Newer’ rather than the commonly known ‘New’ South Africa. The developing situation with certain minority groups is particularly interesting. Education in general has undergone much change since the first democratic elections in 1994: Music Education specifically has been affected by such change in terms of content, delivery and assessment. Within the South African context, cultural and musical identities are often intertwined with language, racial and even tribal identities, and discussing one implies the others. We are here particularly interested in the role of formal Music Education in relation to white Afrikaners and Indians as they renegotiate their cultural development, including musical aspects.

Introduction

The “newer”, as opposed to the frequently named ‘new’, South Africa is a term coined by the internationally renowned music therapist, Mercedes Pavlicevic, and used in the title of a recent article of hers (see Pavlicevic, 2004). This well reflects reality in South Africa, where not surprisingly, everything is not necessarily suddenly ‘new’. It is interesting that Richard Letts, current President of the International Music Council (IMC), recently described South Africa, first in a personal email and then later in the major report The Protection and Promotion of Musical Diversity: a study carried out for UNESCO by the International Music Council, for which he was the Principal Investigator and to which Caroline van Niekerk was the South African contributor, as a country virtually reinventing itself with new legislation and initiatives covering an enormous range of issues. Yes, South Africa is “new” in many ways, but it is “reinventing itself”, as noted by Letts (2006), obviously from an existing history and basis, and this reinvention also includes musical aspects. This paper does not report on Music Education per se in South Africa and the changes that have taken place since democracy (1994): rather, it explores how minority groups through music and culture and education can retain, maintain and renegotiate their identities. Especially in the South African context, cultural and musical identities are often intertwined with language, racial and even tribal identities, and it is not possible to discuss one without at least reference to the others. In this paper we are particularly interested in the cultural development, cultural and musical identities and their renegotiation, of what are commonly known as (white) Afrikaners and Indians in South Africa. We provide a brief overview of both these minority groups in relation to identity, culture and music.
Identity

The notion of identity is complex and multifaceted. Thorsén (2002) asserts that a person’s identity is a mosaic—a unique set-up of dimensions that is influenced by a variety of factors (social class, ethnic heritage, national belonging, upbringing and religion). Hence we are constantly constructing our identities in relation to our heritage and aspirations. Fornäs (1995) claims that identity is a life long process rather than a product, and it is through our interaction with others that we create and reassess our identity (Björck, 2000). Identity has become a contemporary buzzword and “keyword” according to Williams (1976, p.13). When considering identity, we closely align it here to that which Austin calls “identification”, where a deeper meaning and space is considered (2005, p.7) in relation to “individuals [who] come to be positioned at particular locations” (p.10). Such understandings of identity give us a sense of who are, and how we belong and or fit into a changing and new (er) South Africa. Weeks considers this notion of identity, as “belonging, about what you have in common with some people and what differentiates you from others, at the centre, however, are the values we share or wish to share with others” (1990, p.88). Similarly, like identity, the concept of culture and understanding ourselves as individuals within cultures and sub-cultures is constructed and developed organically in social, political and religious settings, to name but a few. Hall (1991) in his writings on identity and difference makes the point that such constructs need to be recognized historically and politically. In the case of South Africa, minority group cultures like those of the (white) Afrikaner and Indian, according to Homi Bhabha “cannot simply be reduced to unregulatable textual play; but neither do they exist in some essential naturalized form” (1990, p.290). Rather Bhabha considers culture as a form of ‘hybridity’ within which exists a third space, a position we do not explore further in this paper, even though this third space does “open up the possibilities for new structure of authority and for new politics of resistance to be created” (Rizvi, 1994, p.63).

White Afrikaners

The fairly homogeneous Afrikaners – think Afrika/Africa, “of Africa”, although largely understood to mean White/Caucasian and not only speaking one language, but mostly belonging to one of three Protestant churches and the former Nationalist political party so largely the previous ruling elite, and thus now the deposed minority, are still virtually all alive and well and living in South Africa. They do not have an alternative ‘homeland’, as many have emphasized, and still emphasize, themselves. They thus constitute a part of the “newer” South Africa, which is obviously still struggling with ways to be completely “new”. We say “they”, but in the complicated intertwined relationships of the country this pronoun implies less distance than may superficially seem to be the case, although we believe that we observe from Bhabha’s “third space” — and that is a very valuable place to be, if one accepts that it is in these interstices between cultures where hybridization and change lie.

Although Afrikaners may be ‘fairly homogeneous’, as noted above, nothing is that simple, either in South Africa, or in terms of a sociological phenomenon such as cultural identity. When we checked the dictionary definition of “Afrikaner” in the Concise Oxford Dictionary, we found to our interest the description “Afrikaans-speaking white person in S. Africa, esp.
of Dutch descent”. Yet the well-known Afrikaans dictionary, the *Handwoordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal*, often known as the HAT for short, has several definitions of the word. Even if we do not bother about the recognized use of ‘Afrikaner’ to describe a group of wildflowers, as well as a type of cattle, there are still two definitions of interest in the context of Afrikaner cultural identity: that which notes (and we translate) “person who is Afrikaans by birth or heritage; an Afrikaner who respects his (and only the male pronoun is used) mother tongue” and then also “a new arrival who joined the Afrikaners” (Schoonees, Swanepoel, Du Toit & Booysen, 1976).

**South African “Indians”**

Once slavery was abolished by the British Empire in 1833, Indians in search of a new labour system migrated to a number of places in the world including, eventually, to South Africa in 1860. According to Naidoo (1994), Indians in South Africa differ in ethnicity and religion. Broadly speaking, they can be categorized approximately as 68% Hindus (Gujerati, Hindi, Tamil, Telegu and Parsi), 20% Muslims and 12% Christians (Catholic, Anglican, Methodist and many so-called gospel church group denominations). In general the Indians in South Africa have acquired only English and Afrikaans as their official languages as these have been taught at schools. It may be argued that Indian languages have been marginalized at schools, only being taught and learnt at home or at ‘vernacular community schools’.

The Indian community in South Africa has always been under siege during the different rules of successive white governments (Naidoo, 1993). Since 1894, Indians in Natal (now known as Kwa Zulu Natal) were not allowed to vote, they had to carry a pass if they were to move about after 9pm, they could not own property or trade in the Orange Free State province (now known as Free State) neither could they own land in the then Transvaal (a part of which is now known as the Gauteng province). Added to this, they also had to pay a hefty tax for residency permits (Randall, 1969). Given such marginalization, Indian people under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi campaigned against the above. Gandhi, having studied and memorized the Bhagavad-Gita, began to use it against the injustices suffered by the Indian community. As early as 1901, he established the *Indian Opinion*, a weekly newspaper, which not only served to inform people of local and ‘India’ news but also upheld Indian culture and heritage in South Africa. The newspaper appeared in both the English and Tamil languages. To this day, Indian communities in the various provinces continue to produce their ‘own’ Indian newspapers, mainly written in English: however, Hindi, Gujerati and Arabic also appear in some articles.

From as early as 1905, Indian cultural societies were formed (Naidoo, 1994). In 1913, the famous Great March of about 2000 people (see Randall, 1969) campaigned in the Transvaal to protest both a court decision, which made only Christian marriages legal, and against the tax for indentured labourers. In 1914, the Indian Relief Bill was passed which did away with some of the above hardships and all Indian marriages were declared legal (Hindu, Moslem and Parsi). It must be noted that discriminatory laws continued into the 20th century, followed by the harsh Group Areas Act and the then Apartheid legislation. In 2006, Indians numerically still remain a minority group in South Africa. Even though the media pays scant respect specifically to Indian religious and cultural needs, Indians occupy many prominent positions in parliament and other sectors of the country. This also reveals the determination
of a minority community to make its contribution as citizens of the Newer South Africa - a far cry from the days before 1961 when a South African Indian was regarded as a persona non grata, and such Indians were regarded as neither citizens of South Africa nor of India (Naidoo, 1994, p.13).

**Afrikaner Identity**

Over the last fifteen years or so in South Africa (particularly since the country’s first democratic elections in 1994, but also prior to that, when the then President FW de Klerk unbanned Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress), it is white Afrikaners who have in many ways had to completely rethink their cultural identities, “to be able to ‘survive’ in the ‘New South Africa’ (Human, 2006, pp. 5-14) – because they were in such a variety of ways closely tied up with the previous Apartheid structures. In the Apartheid era, says Hammond, the government encouraged whites to refer back to their European roots, where their families originally came from, and now in the ‘New South Africa’, white South Africans, especially, have to reconceptualise their identities to be able to ‘fit in’ (Hammond, 2004, p.104). Apartheid structures benefited the Afrikaans language and education in it, including its songs, to a large degree. Of course that was influential in the development of that language, and now proves to offer many useful lessons in connection with the development of the local African languages and their orthography. In this context it should be remembered that the infamous Soweto Riots of 1976 took place precisely because of opposition to the policy of enforced Afrikaans language instruction for Black South African school-goers.

**Indian Identity**

Indians who migrated from India to South Africa brought with them their religion, language, values, beliefs, culture, music and also their own social practices, hence maintaining their specific cultural identity as a minority group within the new country. Through various religious organizations and cultural bodies, Indian music and culture is promoted and to this day Indians continue to observe and celebrate specific religious and cultural festivals. To promote, preserve and protect the Indian identity, “many cultural bodies have established Eisteddfod committees to organize elocution, drama and music on a competitive basis for adults and children” (Naidoo, 1995, p.149).

In 1894, Hindus, Muslims and Christians set aside their differences and established the Natal Indian Congress in the face of colonial discrimination. Later the Transvaal Indian Congress was established, and members of these congresses then were closely aligned to the African National Congress. As early as 1905, cultural societies were established. Unlike some places in the world where minority cultures were assimilated, this did not on the whole occur in South Africa (Naidoo, 1994), inter alia because there was religious tolerance. Although India broke off ties with South Africa in 1947 due to economic boycotts, it can be argued that Indians have to this day retained their “cultural standards and practices” (Naidoo, 1994, p.13), maintaining their own identity even though they are to a great extent influenced by westernization. Only in 1994 were diplomatic and cultural links between South Africa and India resumed, ending close to five long decades of what Naidoo calls “cultural isolation” (1994, p.13).
Comparative Identities

This paper focuses on the cultural and musical identities of the two minority groups, Afrikaners and Indians, not for any reasons of exclusivity, but for the large and complex topic which they each in themselves form, the interest which we believe it holds, and the limited extent to which these specific musical aspects have been written about, outside the country, in comparison with the information available on the African music aspects. We shall not here even venture into the territory of the crossover musics which have developed, especially recently, and the cultural identities of their listeners and performers. South Africa now has eleven ‘official’ languages; previously there were only two, and both of them what can be classified as “European”, “western” languages: Afrikaans and English. As far as English is concerned, you can hardly write about “English music” in South Africa; this aspect will therefore be discounted, for the purposes of this paper.

An important aspect on which we also do not touch is that of Coloured Afrikaners (who, in fact, are by many understood to be excluded from membership of the group of Afrikaans language-speakers by virtue of the criterion of the colour of their skin). In South Africa this term “Coloured”, sometimes known because of its peculiarity in a sense, as “so-called Coloured”, denotes a person of mixed racial heritage, and many such folk spoke, and still speak, Afrikaans. Although originally a creole, Afrikaans has been known as “pidgin Dutch”; a “kitchen” language. It is grammatically very simple, and as such it often serves as an easy lingua franca. But when, in the Apartheid years, Afrikaans was seen as the language of the ruling White elite, many Coloureds on the one hand did not want to be heard speaking this language, well-known to them, and often even their mother-tongue, in public. On the other hand, White Afrikaners did not really want to answer the question as to whether Coloured Afrikaans speakers were not, by definition, Afrikaners as much as they themselves.

Although both Coloured and Indian people speak Afrikaans, the Indian community does not culturally or ethnically align themselves to the Coloured community. Indian people did, though, align themselves with the Coloureds, especially under Apartheid, as fellow ‘non-whites’; part of a minority group who also fought for freedom and equality. The Christian Indians have perhaps a closer relationship with the Coloureds due to a common shared religious belief system. This may also be true of the Malays (Coloured Moslems) and the Indian Moslems where Islam is their common faith. Although Coloured and Indian people have inter-married and have also lived side by side before and even under the Group Areas Act in South Africa, the two groups have distinct identities and are generally seen as separate (by others and themselves).

In moving on to aspects of Afrikaans music, it is interesting to note that there are what can be labeled as specifically Coloured genres of music, chiefly of the variety found at the annual Kaapse Klopse, sometimes described as a Coon Carnival in the Cape, each year on New Year’s Day. Where such songs have Afrikaans words, can they be thought of as Afrikaans music, but with all the provisos and sensitivities noted above? Afrikaans songs commonly sung by White Afrikaners can also be as well-known by Coloured Afrikaners.
There are literally no truly South African folksongs in English - and that says something notable about the ‘English’ aspect of South African culture, although that is also a very big issue, and further afield throughout Anglophone Africa, too. But there are many in Afrikaans, both songs whose origin is in South Africa, and which refer to specifically South African phenomena, and those derived and translated mostly from English, Dutch and German, so that it can also be argued that they are not inherently Afrikaans, but simply part of a Judeo-Christian, Western cultural heritage. Similarly, this can also be said of Christian Indian songs sung in Tamil, Telegu or Hindi. However, Indian folksongs are rich and ancient, dating back to the Mantra (2,000 to 1,500 B.C.) the Chhand (1,000 to 800 B.C.) the Brāhmaṇa (800 to 600 B.C.) and the Sūtra (600 to 200 B.C.) period (Begum & Rahamin, 1994). Such folksongs date back as far as three thousand years; these were passed down orally and aurally through generations and are also written down. Indian folksongs are “based upon religious faiths, observances, legends and traditions of the country depicting social manners and customs of the people, in the history of the tunes and words of the song” (Begum & Rahamin, 1994, p.28). Hence, the Indian communities have a rich and long legacy of folk music, which they can call and claim as part of their Indian culture, heritage and identity.

Afrikaans children used to grow up and be educated with a common body of songs, many of which could be described as folksongs, which they sang, and this repertoire could be seen as an important binding factor. Church and school and organizations like the Afrikaans equivalent of the Boy Scouts (the “Voortrekkers” - harking back to the name given to the pioneers who "trekked" into the hinterland, in an effort to escape British colonial rule) promoted and reinforced this cultural heritage. Virtually all of these songs could and can be found in what is commonly called “the FAK”, or the “FAK-Sangbundel”, with FAK being the abbreviation for the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Societies. The first FAK was published in 1937 – only 4 years after the publication of the first Afrikaans bible, and containing 314 songs. It grew out of two books (1907 and 1927), containing a total of 78 songs. In the title of one was “Hollands-Afrikaanse” and in the other “Afrikaanse-Hollandse”, clearly demonstrating the origin. The FAK had been founded in 1929 – the 1979 version of the songbook was published to celebrate its golden jubilee year, but by this stage the number of songs had only increased to 388, at which level it remains basically static – the 2001 printing only has 2 more, bringing the total to 400.

It should be remembered, that with our particular policies, it is still well within living memory for many of us that we had legislation ensuring separate schools for Whites and other racial groupings, and largely separate English and Afrikaans schools, too. In this view of Afrikaans and Afrikaners, Coloureds didn’t come into the picture – because they had to be in separate schools for Coloureds! So in Afrikaans schools you really had nothing but monochrome (White), unilingual (Afrikaans) children. They were also basically all Protestant Christians, mostly belonging to one of what are known as the three “sister churches”. And Afrikaans schools only played rugby – never soccer. Cultural identity could thus be described as simple and largely uniform, reinforced by society’s powerful organizational agents such as school and church, plus the knowledge of being part of the ruling elite.
On the contrary, Indian cultural identity is to a large extent seen in terms of more fluid and less tangible aspects such as dress, accent, food, music, culture as well as religion. Within the Indian community there exist sub-cultures within the groups who have distinct characteristics which will not be discussed further here. The Indian Moslem community in South Africa in the main do not practise much music-making as they see it as ‘haraam’ or un-koshered whereas the Hindu and Christian faiths have much music-making as part of their belief systems. Indian music is a product of not just an arrangement of sound, but of Indian history itself (Mukerji, 2002).

Macdonald et al (2002, p.2) write about the current view of “the self as something which is constantly being reconstructed and renegotiated according to the experiences, situations and other people with whom we interact in everyday life”. … All this has changed, specifically for Afrikaners, in less than a generation – 12 years now after our first democratic elections represents the full length of the total number of years of schooling, which learners in South Africa can undergo. And for no other group(s) have such changes been as dramatic – young White Afrikaans-speaking learners, in comparison with their parents, now find themselves in multiracial schools, where they play rugby as well as soccer; where their fellow pupils can be Muslim, Hindu, Jewish, Protestant or Catholic Christian, agnostic or atheist or any other possible religious description. They have classmates speaking a variety of languages and, of course, listening to and performing a wide spectrum of music, although singing very little themselves – this has proved to be one of the downsides of the movement away from the old-fashioned singing classes, and especially “hymn practice” in those previous all-Christian schools.

And so we now find that young Afrikaans-speakers, such as students at the previous "Afrikaans" universities - no longer even know many of the FAK-folksongs. But what do they have in the place thereof? If musical identity can be delineated as the person who you are in musical terms (see Van Heerden 2006, p.2), then who are these young people today? The authors do not address issues of specific listening preferences regarding the relevant minority groups in this article; however, they do have an interest in the role of Music Education and what musical identities, formed both within and outside school, may delineate them differently, as South Africans, from other youth and their listening preferences elsewhere in the world.

**Music Education and musical identities**

How does and can Music Education influence the process of forming a musical identity in South Africa? Although much research (Comte, 1994; Denora, 2000; Khan, 1979; Swanwick, 1994; Nzewi, 2003; Regelski, 1981; Reimer, 1989; Sloboda, 2005) shows the benefits of Music Education, not many attempts have been made to question the actual effect it has on identity forming (Van Heerden 2006, p.7). Research does show (Nzewi, 2003; Järviluoma, 1997; Sacks, 1998; Sloboda, 1998; Storr, 1992; Streeter, 1993; Watt and Ash, 1998; Weinstein, 1995) that exposure to music, whether as part of formal or informal education, contributes to the shaping of a musical identity (Van Heerden 2006, p.8). And the
more musical exposure one obtains, and the more one’s perception of music diversifies, the
more defined one’s musical identity becomes (Van Heerden 2006, p.8).

Music fundamentally shapes who we are and helps mould the image we have of ourselves,
and what we want others to perceive of us (Bumbaco, n.d). It thus helps us to express
aspects of our personal identity, national identity and youth identity. Macdonald, Hargreaves
and Miell (2002) draw attention to the fact that many individuals also construct identities
within music, for instance as a performer or as a teacher. We concur with Thorsén (2002)
who believes that it is within an understanding of one’s own and other music that culture is
then viewed as pluralistic.

Regarding the issue of promoting ‘authentic’ Indian music, much of this is done through
cultural activities and festivals celebrated in and out of school. The notion of a ‘music as
culture’ approach is apt when teaching about minority musics in South Africa. Some
education sites even employ the expertise of an artist in residence, visiting dancers and
musicians and even members from the local community to teach about Indian music. Such
strategies, though, to teach about Afrikaans music, given South Africa’s recent political
history, are unlikely to meet with widespread support.

What then, can and should be the role of Music Education at this point in this country's
history? It must be noted that Indian students at schools seem to prefer musics other than
authentic Indian music (see James, 2000), and the same can no doubt be noted about
Afrikaans-speaking scholars, in terms of their attitude towards “Afrikaans” music, except in
as far as Afrikaans pop music is concerned. Many Afrikaners can trace their origins as far
back as the landing of Jan van Riebeeck and his men in the country in 1652, many Indians
are 4th generation in South Africa, do not speak the Indian languages and hence now have
a stronger alliance to Western music and a fusion where East meets West.

Indian music is “notoriously difficult to describe, partly due to the subtlety and sophistication
of a musical form developed over the course of a thousand years ... partly due to the
‘bewildering variety’ of genres, schools of interpretation, and regional variations” (Hunter,
2005). Further, Courtney (2005) states that: “Indian music has developed within a very
complex interaction between different peoples of different races and cultures”. So the notion
of the current ‘Bombay mix’ (East and West) is, in fact, nothing new to the music and
cultures of India. Since the late 1960s and early 1970s, Western popular music styles, such as
‘rock ’n’ roll’, have merged with Indian music such as filmy (Hindi: ‘film song’) that has
developed as part of the Bombay film industry. So popular have Indian films become that the
centres where they are made (Bombay, India, and Lahore, Pakistan) are nicknamed
‘Bollywood’ and ‘Lollywood’. Such music is popular and available to Indian South Africans:
many of the Indian performing artists (actors, singers, dancers and musicians) have shows,
concerts and workshops in South Africa to promote and maintaining cultural links to
‘mainland’ India.

Another example of Indian music taught at schools and through cultural organizations is
Bhangra, a form of “dance-oriented folk music that has become a pop sensation ... the
present musical style is derived from the traditional musical accompaniment to the folk dance
of Punjab (Bhangra)” (Wikipedia, 2005). As one of the most accessible Indian music cultures, *filmi* has produced tens of thousands of songs since 1931 that have, in some cases, “replaced traditional music genres” (Grove Music Online, 2005). As *filmi* has developed from established Indian and Western musical cultures into a definable style, it, too, has become an example of multiculturalism. In *filmi* there is a rich blend of musical styles that reflects a traditional practice that hails from “the villages, whenever they have a theatre performance … they have songs … dialogue [and] acting” (Hines, 2005a). With the influence of *filmi* in Indian and other contemporary media, “increasingly, the sound of modern India is embracing sounds from the past, as western pop collides with India’s diverse folk music traditions from the Punjab, Gujurat, Uttar Pradesh and even the Gypsy music Rahasthan” (Hines, 2005b).

Since the mid 1960s and the attention paid by such popular performers as the Beatles, a more serious awareness and appreciation of Indian classical music has developed worldwide. Particularly in Britain, with its large Indian community, there is a greater and more authentic representation of Indian musics in mainstream society. Although representations of Indians are becoming more prominent in the South African media, including aspects such as dress, food, cultural festivities like Diwali and Eid and promoting tourism to India, a doctoral study completed by James in 2000 shows that Indian music is preferred least of all the types of musics listened to in and out of school in South Africa.vii

**Conclusion**

If we accept that Music Education promotes personal growth and social skills by enabling development in, through and for music, modes of critical thinking including the development of reasoning and arguing, as well as intrapersonal and interpersonal abilities ... then it develops an understanding of one’s own cultural identity and experience, realizing that one can possess a hybrid identity, in relation to exploring the otherness of other people’s identities and experiences (see Van Heerden 2006, pp. 6-7). So perhaps in our “newer” South Africa we are still at the very beginning of realizing, and not yet even totally accepting, our hybrid identities. This is perhaps particularly difficult for people, who for nearly half a century were compelled to be separated, by Apartheid, and such separation even seriously affected music(s) in the country.

We now have, on paper at any rate, general Arts and Culture in the curriculum, throughout compulsory schooling, and the acceptance of that kind of integration of the arts, in the place of the previous Class Music or Music Education, has meant a serious mind shift for many. Is the further mind shift towards which we all have to work, that of a more expanded view of music and its potential uses and functions? As Linda Dennard (2005) notes: “music may be less of a tool for social control, as one space in which the adaptive dynamics of social relationships occur … dynamic musical space from which a cohesive and resilient public culture might emerge – one that has the capacity to transcend the limits of divisive interest politics in addressing social problems”.

Formal South African Music Education needs to help *all* our learners – South Africa’s now so-called ‘Born-frees’ (including both young Afrikaners and Indians) – not just to fight the legacies of Apartheid but now to construct their own identities, at least in imagining themselves in relation to others. By listening to music and by deciding what is different from their own perception of what “their” music has been and is, in other words, understanding music as a “distinct form of imagining because of its capacity for acquiring connotative meaning” (Robertson, 2004, p. 137) they will then be able to both negotiate and renegotiate their identities (musical and more generally cultural). The powerful tool of music, also within Music Education, can be used as a platform and/or a vehicle for understanding cultural difference in a pluralistic society. Music is one field where minority groups like those of the Afrikaner and the South African Indian can renegotiate their ‘space’ in the newer South Africa.

**Notes**

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i Capital letters are used to denote a recognised subject field.

ii Bhabha (1994: p.38, p.39) discusses the “location” of culture, and explores the “third space” where interaction of cultures takes place, and new “hybrids” are formed. Of course, if we view ourselves as being in this third space, we need to negotiate the different boundaries – and this issue of cultural boundaries is a whole research topic on its own.

iii The Group Areas Act was passed in 1952 by the government of the day. This Act physically separated the different race groups (White, Coloured, Indian and Black) and relocated them to designated residential areas.

iv Apartheid was the policy/system of segregation or discrimination on grounds of race of the previous Nationalist party (often known as Afrikaner) government.


vi The term Non-White is a commonly used term, even in pre-and post Apartheid days, to refer to people of ‘colour’ (Black, Coloured and Indian) in South Africa, in comparison with Whites.

vii It is notable, though, that James did not include ‘Afrikaans’ music as a genre in the 10 types of music, preferences for which she investigated among South African students.

**References**


