



NOSTALGIA AS A DESIGN STRATEGY IN A FACEBOOK CAMPAIGN TO REVITALISE A SOUTH AFRICAN BAKING TRADITION

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DECLARATION

I, CARLA VAN DEN BERG, identity number, _____ and student number _____, do hereby declare that this research project submitted to the Central University of Technology, Free State for the Degree MAGISTER TECHNOLOGIAE: DESIGN, is my own independent work; and complies with the Code of Academic Integrity, as well as other relevant policies, procedures, rules and regulations of the Central University of Technology, Free State; and has not been submitted before to any institution by myself or any other person in fulfilment (or partial fulfilment) of the requirements for the attainment of any qualification.

SIGNATURE OF STUDENT

1 March 2021

DATE

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First and foremost, I wish to thank God, the Almighty. Praise be unto Him for He is with me at all times. He is true.

I wish to express my heartfelt appreciation to my supervisor, Professor Allan Munro for his guidance, support and patience and for sharing his exceptional knowledge of research that proved invaluable in its contribution toward the completion of the study.

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ABSTRACT

In general, contemporary Afrikaner women are no longer in the position to spend a lot of time preparing food. They are tasked with managing every day challenges such as work, family and financial responsibilities and the subsequent impact these responsibilities have on activities seemingly of lesser priority, such as the act of baking. This has resulted in the decline of mother-daughter culinary interaction as a form of intergenerational knowledge sharing and the potential loss of the art of Afrikaner baking. In an attempt to address the speculative decline and loss the researcher, as part of the Afrikaner community and as Graphic Designer, aimed to design a nostalgia-driven visual campaign framework that that could be used to re-introduce traditional Afrikaner baking traditions by using imagery that, based on the data, contains nostalgic triggers to elicit a positive response from the viewer.

The study followed a qualitative research approach that was made up out of three stages. Stage 1 involved reviewing existing literature on Afrikaner food-related traditions as well as that on nostalgia seeing as a thorough understanding thereof was necessary in order to proceed onto stage 2. Stage 2 involved the gathering of data by developing a closed Facebook page consisting of willing participants. Participants were engaged by asking nostalgia and food-related questions (pertaining in particular to baked goods and the contexts of their making and consumption) based on knowledge gained from the existing literature gathered during stage one. During stage 3 the participant responses were analysed and used in conjunction with the researcher's knowledge, personal experience (as baker and Graphic Designer) and fondness regarding traditional Afrikaner baking in developing framework consisting of nostalgia-based visual/verbal designs. The researcher made use of triangulation as each of the above mentioned stages interacted and affected the other during the process that led to the envisioned research output – a visual campaign framework.

The findings from the research indicate the overwhelming presence of sense of community or cultural nostalgia dynamics, which, in turn drove the design



decisions, based on themes of motherliness and support, common and shared goals, and strong connections to nature and heritage. From a visual design point of view, the findings suggest strong use of earthy (and political) colour, encompassing or enclosing line usage, and perhaps most surprisingly, the use of a traditional, non-baking image of the everyday doily. The doily became a metaphor for interconnectedness, community of women and the act of baking.

KEYWORDS

Nostalgia, Afrikaner, Traditional, Baking, Graphic design, Autoethnography, Campaign design, Facebook, Social media, Culture.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH ORIENTATION

1.1 BACKGROUND AND MOTIVATION

The “Rainbow Nation” that is South Africa is made up of a complex array of diverse cultures (Naidoo 2015:1) each with its own history, knowledge and traditions that have been passed on from generation to generation. Some of these traditions have to do with food. This research focussed on traditional fare with the main emphasis on traditional baked goods, as prepared by the Afrikaner¹ community, categorized as such, due to their lineage with the Dutch, German and French Huguenots who settled in South Africa during the 17th century (Abrahamse 2014:2). It is necessary to be knowledgeable with regards to the various historical factors that influenced and developed the food and food ways within the Afrikaner culinary repertoire in general, but particularly with regards traditional baking, given the context of this study. The literature enquiry revealed details about the Dutch origin and how the precarious environmental circumstances at the Cape dictated the attaining, preparing, preservation and consumption of food that would evolve into what is known as *Boerekos* today (Groenewald 2012; Claassens 2003; Coetzee 1977). Compelling and provocative arguments are set forth relating to the cross-cultural assimilation of food – making, consumption and context – from other communities (Ueda 2015:40) such as the Khoikoin and Cape-Malay (Claassens 2003) and how the resulting techniques, dishes and baked items became part of the contemporary Afrikaners gustatory collection and cultural identity (Van der Westhuizen 2017; Van Niekerk 2011). An inquiry was done regarding major influencing factors such as the Anglo-Boer War (Wessels, Heunis, Heunis and Rowan 2016), industrialisation, the rise of Afrikaner nationalism (Callinicos 1987) and the Afrikaner’s identity within the post 1994 socio-political landscape (Van der Westhuizen 2017) around certain key factors that are identifiable within the Afrikaner community’s contemporary situation as it relates to food (baking).

¹ The term “Afrikaner” is used in this study in the same context as Van der Merwe (2008:8) does, in that it refers to white, Afrikaans-speaking South Africans of European decent with their own culture. It should be noted that, for the purposes of this dissertation, although the so-called “Coloured” community is not part of the inclusion criteria, that community has contributed greatly, and, where such contribution is relevant to this dissertation, it will be acknowledged, appreciated and celebrated.

When women started becoming part of the formal work force, their time became a valuable commodity (Niehaus 1999:9). In general, Afrikaner women in today's fast-paced society are no longer in the position to spend a significant time preparing food. This generalisation stems from the researcher's own experience (and supported, albeit anecdotally, by a large number of her female friends) as a contemporary Afrikaner-woman tasked with managing every day challenges and the subsequent impact these responsibilities have on the availability of time, willingness and capability to focus on daily food preparation not to mention additional activities such as baking (see van der Westhuizen 2017, for example). Homemade goods have increasingly made way for store bought items (home industry or retail), and ready-to-use, time saving alternatives have become the order of the day (Niehaus 1999:9). Handwritten recipe books containing generations-old family recipes and cultural gems such as the now almost forgotten *Generaal De Wet* cake stand tucked away in a cupboard or gather dust on a shelf. As the saying goes, "out of sight, out of mind". Yet, with no reminder of their existence or the trove of delicious items hidden between the pages, there will be no interest or willingness to invest any time or energy in their (re-) exploration. The interest must be sparked and the willingness must be triggered. It requires a conscious motive and intention for the specific process to happen (Scripture 1897:28).

This concept of the possibility for 'triggering' a renewed interest in traditional Afrikaner baking for the sake of inter-generational preservation is investigated in this dissertation by exploring the dynamics of nostalgia as a type of emotional response to an external stimuli (Hwang and Hyun 2013:251), and, in particular, those identified in the research as being connected to food. Taking into account the current South African context preceded by the pre-1994 era's tumultuous transition to democratisation and how this has influenced the Afrikaner's search for identity and belonging (Van der Westhuizen 2017:4) the use of food-related nostalgia as reminder of "the good old days" to counter times marked by emotional distress (Abrahamse 2014:7; Muehling and Pascal 2012:102; Marchegiani and Phau 2010:81) seemed particularly appropriate as the driving factor behind conceptualising an effort to facilitate the renewal of interest.

Although modern-day living may have brought about a speculative decline in the physical time spent in the kitchen (negatively affecting the continuation of baking traditions) it has also brought with it an increase in time spent on digital interfaces (smartphones) while accessing digital platforms (for example social media platforms such as Facebook). Most people have access² to one or more forms of audio-visual media exposure due to the advances in such digital interfaces as smartphones (Spence, Okajima, Cheok, Petit and Michel 2015:55) and digital platforms are capable of providing quick and easy access with minimal effort from the user to a multitude of information as well as any food related content such as images and recipes (for digital consumption). The pursuit of convenient methods of procuring numerous versions (mass produced or home industry) of traditional Afrikaner baked fare such as *melktert* (milk tart) and *koeksisters* from outside the personal domestic sphere seemed indicative that these (among others) are favoured items of consumption among members of the community. However, this left the researcher, as an avid home baker, lover of traditional baked goods and member of the Afrikaner community, concerned about the future regarding the practical knowledge needed as well as the socio-cultural significance linked to the history (memory) of, and future continuation of traditional Afrikaner baking practices.

Aspects regarding the use of food related nostalgia contexts and triggers that could be employed in the exploitation of modern social media platforms as easily accessible communicative tools within the Afrikaner community are therefore discussed and form the triangulated sources of information and design stimulus, in this dissertation. Of particular importance was the link between food and its ability to engage in a multitude of senses to trigger positive memories (Baker, Karrer, and Veeck 2005:402), and the subsequent remembrances of how they were captivated, that leads the study to explore the use of sensory stimuli and its role in evoking food related nostalgia. The challenge for the Graphic designer endeavouring to evoke nostalgic recollections using food-related sensory stimuli through a two-dimensional visual platform was investigated in order to determine

² To date the '*Bak, brou en onthou*' Facebook group has in excess of 7 100 members who are able to view contents posted on the page.

the most appropriate method to be used when aiming to achieve multi-sensory engagement through a visual-verbal approach.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Contemporary Afrikaner women (including the researcher) are tasked with managing everyday challenges as well as the subsequent impact these responsibilities have on the availability of time, and, consequently, the willingness and capability to focus on additional activities such as baking. The tradition of baked puddings and cake or tartlets for teatime that was once an integral part of the Afrikaner household has increasingly made way for store-bought, convenient and time-saving alternatives. This has resulted in the speculative decline of intergenerational culinary interaction where yesterday's knowledge is taught at present for use in the future. This lack of inter-generational knowledge sharing may eventually lead to aspects of Afrikaner heritage baking being forgotten and lost over time. To attempt to counter this 'slide,' this dissertation seeks to explore ways and means of exploiting social media platforms, seen through the lens of Graphic Design, so as to determine potentially useful trends in the design process, in pursuit of a reactivation campaign for the revitalisation of interest in Afrikaner baking.

1.3 AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The aim of this study, therefore, is the creation of a visual design framework as a starting point for the subsequent further development of an online introductory Facebook campaign in the interest of traditional Afrikaner baking. An understanding is required regarding the use of a campaign as a deliberate means of visual communication in that the message and stories are shared in a structured manner where the campaign is supported by information that is relevant to its contents (Barnard and Parker 2012:10). Thus, the campaign framework that this study aims to produce may be viewed as the design blueprint that is to be followed during the future development of a campaign geared towards re-introducing traditional Afrikaner baking practice by incorporating imagery and text that, based on the data, contains nostalgic triggers to elicit positive responses from the viewer. In order for the researcher/designer to develop an informed structural framework for the envisioned future campaign that

is anchored on applicable supporting information the following objectives were set out.

The first objective of the researcher was to investigate the dynamics of nostalgia and its potential ability to evoke positive emotions in order to effectively use these dynamics within a cultural context.

The second objective of the researcher was to determine how food and its cultural connotation can contribute towards the evocation of positive emotions by using triggers to elicit such response. As such the possible correlations between food in all its manifestations and the potential emotions that might be triggered by such manifestations needed to be determined.

In refining this possible correlation the third objective was to investigate the nature of nostalgic triggers (images and narratives) in order to design visuals and formulate questions that are in line with the concept of food (in cultural context) being able to evoke positive emotions.

To attempt to gather empirical data on these possible correlations and potential visual triggers, the fourth objective of the researcher was to establish a Facebook page consisting of members who carry knowledge of traditional Afrikaner recipes with particular emphasis on baked goods. This knowledge and these memories that go with turning these recipes into dishes, the situations that such memories evoke and related matters to nostalgia can be gathered through the employment of the Facebook page. This information informs the design of the intended campaign framework.

Drawing all this information led to the fifth objective which was to compose a design framework for a visual Facebook campaign to promote traditional Afrikaner baked goods with the purpose of creating a renewed interest in this part of the Afrikaner culture for the purpose of protecting this part of the cultural heritage.

The following section presents the trajectory of the study, grounds the theoretical and empirical work within the aim of the study, and suggests some of the findings. This is done by providing clear chapter descriptions.

1.4 CHAPTER DIVISIONS

1.4.1 Chapter 1

This chapter provided the contextual background of the study as a summary of the background and motivation behind the research project was given, the problem to be addressed was described and an outline of the aim and objectives were provided. The rest of this chapter outlines what will follow in the dissertation.

1.4.2 Chapter 2

The chapter provides the epistemological position and orientation of the study. It explains and justifies the research methods that were used in the research as a means to gain insight into the possible reasons leading to a general decline in the frequency in which traditional baked goods are produced within Afrikaner households. The chapter indicates the methods used to develop an understanding with regards to social media as a communications platform for visual stimuli designed to trigger an emotional response regarding baking as part of Afrikaner cultural heritage. In addition, the chapter elaborates on the aforementioned and explains and justifies the three types of research methods as set out in following subsections.

1.4.2.1 Stage 1: Literature review

Stage one of the research is concerned with achieving the first, second and third objectives through a comprehensive literature enquiry based on two central themes namely; the concept of nostalgia (as driver behind the design of the online Facebook campaign framework) and traditional Afrikaner cooking/baking (as it determined the content and context of the campaign framework). Nostalgia related literature engaged the following areas:

- 1) the unique nature of nostalgia as an emotional response to external stimuli provided the connection between emotion and the potential visual-verbal triggers that were subsequently used in the designs as part of the visual campaign framework);

- 2) the various types of nostalgia that informed and justified the appropriate kinds of visual and narrative stimuli that were used as elements of the design framework);
- 3) how marketers are able to capitalise on times marked by social distress by using nostalgic advertising to comfort consumers; these provided examples of strategies that was ultimately used based within the context of the contemporary Afrikaner's current sociocultural situation; and
- 4) the role of food and its relation to sensory stimuli that informed the application of visual and verbal design elements in ways most appropriate regarding efforts of (indirect) multisensory stimulation via a two dimensional communication platform.

The literature review within the domain of Afrikaner cooking/baking engaged with relevant information in the following areas:

- 1) the history and defining nature of Afrikaner cooking/baking afforded an insight into what it contained, which provided the necessary background knowledge regarding the origin and evolution of Afrikaner cuisine known as *Boerekos*;
- 2) food-centred traditions that positioned the context of the tradition (apart from the making/baking process) and provided insight into certain food and its prevalence among members within the Afrikaner community that proved useful in identifying the chosen subjects used for the model designs as part of the framework; and
- 3) the modern impact on the continuation of said traditions that allowed for a narrative and insight into the data that emerged from the Facebook interactions.

These aspects regarding the status quo were taken into account and considered throughout the development of the framework. The above mentioned insights into traditional Afrikaner cooking together with the concept of nostalgia (and its relevance within the South African context) provided the researcher with the knowledge needed to develop speculative nostalgic triggers in the form of visual and verbal cues presented as a visual design framework to be used in the future

development of an online Facebook campaign aimed at eliciting emotional responses from the viewer.

1.4.2.2 Stage 2: Data gathering using Facebook

Stage two of the research was undertaken as a means to achieve the fourth objective. Facebook is regarded as the most popular online social network in the world. It is within this ever expanding domain of online social interaction that social scientists have found a platform to observe social behaviour by exploiting Facebook as an effective research tool to add to the growing body of Facebook related literature (Wilson, Gosling and Graham 2012:203). The current study follows suit by employing a specifically created Facebook page named, '*Bak, brou en onthou*'³ that engaged/interacted with members of the demarcated target population namely Afrikaner women. The page took the form of a 'closed group' (limiting the access of information to consenting group members only), creating a "safe" space/community that preserved the confidential demands of research ethics. The initial members (within the parameters of the target group) formed part the researcher's established community of online friends ('convenience sampling'). The participants then proceeded to invited likeminded individuals (unknown to the researcher) to partake and together with Facebook's built-in module of "page suggestions" extended the reach of the online interaction by facilitating the continuous growth in participant numbers, which resulted in a virtual snowball sampling effect (Kosinsky, Matz, Gosling, Popov and Stillwell 2015:7). Participants were engaged by asking about nostalgia and food (pertaining in particular to baked goods) and other related questions based on knowledge gained from the existing literature gathered during stage one and the researcher's own lived experience. The participant responses were then analysed, based on the emerging nostalgic themes (thematic analysis) and food related triggers as they were presented within the narratives and was used in conjunction with the researcher's personal experience (as part of the Afrikaner community) and knowledge as Graphic Designer to inform and justify the designing of the visual and typographic material that became the framework to be

³ "Baking, brewing and remembering" (Translated by the researcher).

used for the development of a comprehensive nostalgia-based visual campaign to revitalise Afrikaner baking traditions.

1.4.2.3 Stage 3: Design strategy used in developing the framework

Stage three makes use of autoethnography within a practice-led research approach to achieve the fifth objective. It is concerned with the linking of the researcher's own experience with that of the subject being investigated (Méndez 2013:280). Autoethnography as a method was used by the researcher to justify the practice and the decision making processes that emerged during the designing of the visual campaign framework.⁴ The decision-making processes were, in turn, motivated by the knowledge gained from theory, the participant responses, the researcher's personal emotions, experiences and subsequent reflection as well as her design knowledge and skill.

1.4.2.4 Triangulation

The above-mentioned interaction through the process of triangulation between the various domains as set out within the three stages of the study, namely the theory regarding Afrikaner baking and nostalgia, the data obtained from participant narratives on Facebook and autoethnography as method within practice-led research, contributed towards the making of informed design choices that were used in the development process that led to the creation of a campaign framework as a creative research output. The framework that was designed is intended as a point of departure in the future development of a nostalgia-driven Facebook campaign to revitalise a South-African baking tradition.

1.4.2.5 Ethical considerations

The researcher obtained ethical approval from the Faculty Research and Innovation Committee (Annexure C) at the onset of the study. Even though the information of the participants was already in the public domain since most of them were regular Facebook users to begin with, it is important to consider issues of security. According to Dwyer, Hiltz, and Passerini, (2007: 3) trust is

⁴ The practice and decision making process in the development of the campaign framework was based on the researcher's professional experience as graphic design lecturer with specified knowledge in teaching 2D and 3D design principles which form the basis of all design processes.

important when exchanging information. Thus, a cover letter (Annexure A for the Afrikaans version and Annexure B for the English translation) outlining the purpose of the '*Bak, brou en onthou*' Facebook page was posted addressing the following main ethical considerations for the qualitative research project (Gaijar 2013:12; Rani and Sharma 2012:46) as follows:

- Voluntary and informed consent by stating the purpose of the research and that participation is entirely voluntary thus giving individuals the choice to accept or decline involvement.
- Anonymity and confidentiality by stating that the data obtained and reported on will not be linked to the participant's identity.
- Avoiding harm to participants by stating that that participants and there family would not be exposed to conditions that could potentially lead to any physical or emotional discomfort.

As a matter of courtesy and in order to show her gratitude the researcher shared the visual design of the campaign framework with the Facebook participants and thanked them for their contributions. The possibility of compiling an electronic version of recipes with anecdotes from the Facebook research will also be considered and discussed since this was mentioned in the information leaflet. All of these matters will be attended to once the dissertation has been finalised and copyright has been secured.

1.4.3 Chapter 3

Chapter 3 describes the types and dynamics of nostalgia as emotional responses to external stimuli (also referred to as 'triggers') and their speculative ability to incite the use of design elements and principles to evoke a positive response in the consumer. The concept of nostalgic advertising as effective marketing strategy is analysed and viewed from within the context of modern-day social media platforms. The notion of food-centred nostalgia and its relationship to sensory stimuli is explored, providing insight into the approach that may be followed in developing two-dimensional 'multi-sensory' visual-verbal triggers in an attempt to stimulate, for example, olfaction. In addition, the field of graphic design and its potential ability to facilitate a revised positive socio-cultural insight and appreciation by using nostalgia as a central theme is explored. Relevant related

literature is examined to create an understanding of nostalgia so that these insights could be applied to the principles of graphic design and their evolution into a modern method of online digital visual communication. This allowed for the building of an analytical model to connect the participant narratives that are shared during data collection undertaken in Chapter 4 and enabled researcher/designer to target specific types of potential nostalgic responses by using visual designs that forms part of the campaign framework.

1.4.4 Chapter 4

This chapter briefly outlines the reasoning that drove the research as well as the historical events that influenced Afrikaner culinary traditions. In addition, it explores the factors contributing to the modern day continuation of the traditional Afrikaner culinary practice that is known as *Boerekos*. The relevant related literature and online Afrikaner food blog discussions together with the narratives provided by members of the '*Bak, brou and onthou*' Facebook page are explored in conjunction with the researcher's own experiences as a member of the community in order to develop an understanding of the origins of Afrikaner cuisine and the particular customs (and experiences) that evolved around it. This provided insight into the current state of affairs related to traditional Afrikaner baking, and revealed a series of shared/communal nostalgic themes and possible triggers as these pertain to the contemporary Afrikaner community. Knowledge obtained from these insights was drawn upon and implemented in the designing of the various visual and typographic components that contributed to the overall "look and feel" of the framework to be used in the future development of a nostalgia-driven Facebook campaign.

1.4.5 Chapter 5

The chapter explains the rationale behind the creation of a visual framework as starting point for the subsequent further development of an online visual campaign. The practical implementation of the information obtained throughout the three stages of investigation, namely the theoretical components related to Afrikaner cuisine and the concept of nostalgia, the researcher's own experience as part of the community and as designer, as well as the data obtained from respondent narratives on the '*Bak, brou en onthou*' Facebook page is illustrated.

The body of knowledge provided by the interface of the aforementioned domains informed and justified the chosen (visual and verbal) design elements used in the creation of a logo, cover page and five model designs as structural outline to be used in the development of a comprehensive nostalgia-driven design framework that will guide the Facebook campaign aimed at revitalising an Afrikaner baking tradition.

1.4.6 Chapter 6

This chapter includes a summary of the trajectory of the study. The findings are demonstrated, shortfalls are documented, and the recommendations regarding further related research are discussed.

Chapter 2

RESEARCH METHODS AND TOOLS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In general, Afrikaner women are no longer in the position to spend a lot of time preparing food. This generalisation stems from the researcher's own experience as a contemporary Afrikaner-woman tasked with managing every day challenges such as work, family and financial responsibilities to name a few and the subsequent impact these responsibilities have on the availability of time and individual willingness and capability to focus additional resources to activities of lesser priority such as the act of baking. In her experience the tradition of baked puddings and cakes, tartlets or cookies for teatime that was once an integral part of the Afrikaner household has dwindled, and is often reserved for special occasions or has made way for convenient store-bought alternatives. This may have resulted in the decline of mother-daughter¹ culinary interaction where the younger generation are taught by the current generation in the ways of the older generation.

In an attempt to address the decline in intergenerational knowledge-sharing from past to future generations, the researcher, as part of the Afrikaner community, aimed to create a renewed interest in this part of the Afrikaner culture among other members of the community in an attempt to aid in the preservation of this part (culinary, more specifically, baking traditions) of the Afrikaner cultural heritage. The aim of this study was to design the framework for the future development of a nostalgia-driven Facebook campaign that would set out to re-introduce traditional Afrikaner baking traditions by using imagery that, based on the data, contains nostalgic triggers to elicit a positive response from the viewer.

¹ Meal preparation was traditionally done by the Afrikaner women. Afrikaner men were not so much concerned with preparing everyday fare as they were with consuming it. Wives would serve their husbands who, in turn, would thank the Heavenly Father for what they were about to eat. According to Claassens (2003:106) praying before (and after) a meal, also known as a *Tafelgebed* (literally 'table prayer: or 'saying grace') has formed part of Afrikaner food culture since the Dutch settlement and each family's version was passed on through generations. Although modern day Afrikaner men often assist their wives in food preparation, the researcher chose to focus on the traditional role of women as a method to develop inclusion criteria for those participating in this study.

Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to present the research methods that were used to gain insight into the possible reasons leading to a general decline in the frequency in which traditional baked goods are produced within Afrikaner households. In tandem with this, the methods were used to gather information from participants, of shared experiences (in the forms of stories, reminiscences, memories, recipes and images, where possible) during the baking processes and consumption, to inform the nostalgia-driven campaign framework. In addition, this chapter indicates the methods that were used to develop an understanding as to how modern day social platforms may be used in conjunction with stimuli designed to trigger an emotional response as aid in creating awareness and, possibly, a subsequent revitalisation of this part of the Afrikaner cultural heritage.

Hence, to elaborate on the aforementioned the current research project required three types of research methods, namely the use of literature, the exploitation of social media as an effective data gathering instrument, and a graphic design and therefore (by extension) a practice-led research component that exploits an autoethnographic approach as it includes the researcher's personal accounts and emotional connection to the engagement with the data. Furthermore, such an autoethnographic approach would also engage with the researcher/designer's own experience, competencies and perspectives in the choices during the design of the visual campaign framework as the researcher designer is 'present' both as an Afrikaner baker and as a Graphic Designer.

This chapter, therefore, explains and justifies the methods used in the project. Besides interrogating the use of existing literature, it also describes the other methods. Existing research on how data-gathering using Facebook was used in guiding the current research with regards to sampling methods and data gathering procedures is explained. Because the researcher makes use of a practice-led research approach as she is a graphic designer, the use of autoethnography as the basis within this approach will be presented as the processes involving the practice included accounts of her own personal and emotional experiences regarding her field of expertise as well as a member of the Afrikaner community. The chapter then suggests how the researcher may use the data gathered from the Facebook page, her personal accounts (experiences, thoughts and emotions) as both a member of the Afrikaner community and as

avid baker with a particular interest in traditional Afrikaner fair, her design experience and practical skill as well as the knowledge gathered from related literature in a form of triangulation, to develop a structural framework as basis for the design of the visual campaign.

2.2 EPISTEMOLOGICAL POSITION AND ORIENTATION

Qualitative research methods were used during this research project. These methods may be viewed as a 'people-centred' approach as it is concerned with the way in which the world is experienced and the interpretation of this 'lived experience' (from the participants' and the researcher's point of view) within a certain context (Munro 2014:52). This particular method of enquiry thus seeks to provide ways in order to develop an understanding of social phenomena (Pope and Mays 1995:43) from both a societal and personal point of view (Denzin and Lincoln 2011:12). This inquest into understanding context-related social occurrences may be viewed from a phenomenological perspective as this approach refers to the understanding of the way in which people experience and draw meaning from these experiences within the world they live (Kafle 2011:182).

The current study followed the aforementioned (qualitative) research approach by analysing the individual and collective thoughts and beliefs of the various participants (McMillan and Schumacher 2006:315) by employing a set of qualitative research (people-centred) strategies. Firstly, a comprehensive literature enquiry was undertaken to discover and describe the historical events that influenced Afrikaner culinary traditions and the possible modern impact on the continuation thereof. With this the concept of nostalgia (as human experienced emotion) was undertaken so as to develop a theoretical model and creative guidelines to develop the campaign framework. Secondly, data gathering and analysis through the use of a social media platform in the form of a Facebook page made up of a group of individuals/members sharing a common interest, was established, to be mined for narratives, images, memories and connections that would form the basis of much of the designed aspects set out as a framework to be used for the future development of the campaign. These two sets of data were then combined with a practice-led research approach that includes autoethnography. The autoethnographic approach led to the use of the

researcher's own experience and knowledge as graphic designer and as a member of the Afrikaner community with a special interest in preserving a part of the Afrikaner heritage in the form of traditional baked goods to be used as method or strategy in order to create and justify the subsequent design process. This inclusion of the "self" into the research process is described by Yeh and Inman (2007:371) as being inseparably linked to qualitative inquiry. Therefore, the project followed a three stage research process, briefly introduced and outlined below and then expanded upon in greater detail in the relevant sections that follow on from the overview.

2.2.1 Stage 1: Through a review of related literature

The researcher investigated the origins and history of Afrikaner food practices, food centred-traditions and the modern impact on the continuation of said traditions. In addition, the dynamics of nostalgia and its effective use within a cultural context, the application thereof in a marketing context, the use of food, its cultural connotation and ability to evoke feelings of nostalgia, and the nature of nostalgic triggers (images and narratives) were pursued. The purpose of this review process, therefore, was to gain insight into the history of Afrikaner culinary traditions and possible modern day influences leading to its decline and to determine the potential connections between the dynamics of nostalgia and the triggers that might be present in food that could be exploited for this project.

2.2.2 Stage 2: Gathering data using Facebook

A Facebook page consisting of members who carry knowledge of traditional Afrikaner recipes, and baked goods in particular, was created. The researcher made use of convenience sampling (Johnson and Christensen 2010:230) by using willing participants who already formed part of the researcher's online Facebook 'friends'.² These members were encouraged to 'invite'³ people from their social circles who they thought would also be able to contribute, which led to a virtual snowball effect that is characteristic of network sampling (Kosinsky, Matz,

² Facebook 'friends' are made up of the individuals that are privy to the content of each other's Facebook posts and may include family members, personal friends, acquaintances or people known only through online social interaction via the digital platform.

³ Facebook invitations to 'like' a particular page or 'join' a particular group may be sent to friends if their existing interests is deemed relative to that of the content share among these online 'communities'.

Gosling, Popov and Stillwell 2015:7). The central purpose of this process of data gathering was to conveniently access willing participants who, through interaction with the researcher and other members of the group, would provide insight into their thought processes and personal feelings regarding traditional Afrikaner baking. The acquired data was then analysed and the emerging themes used as reference during the process of designing the structural framework for the Facebook campaign.

2.2.3 Stage 3: Design strategy

The researcher made use of a practice-led research approach (Sullivan 2010:78) by using autoethnography (Munro 2014:61) as the basis within this approach in an attempt to gain insight into social phenomena using her own personal and emotional experience as a source of primary data (Chang 2016:108). Designing the framework for the Facebook campaign primarily involved accounts of her own personal and emotional experiences regarding her field of expertise as well as that of a member of the Afrikaner community with a special interest in traditional baked goods. The researcher used the data gathered during stage 2, her personal experiences and emotional involvement and practical design expertise as well as the knowledge gathered from related literature to develop the visual campaign framework. The central purpose was to follow a design strategy that was based on existing knowledge in the form of literature, participant data and the autoethnographic component provided by the researcher, all of which inspired the design of the campaign framework as basis for the future content of the Facebook campaign.

2.3 LITERATURE ON AFRIKANER FOOD TRADITION AND THE CONCEPT OF NOSTALGIA (STAGE 1)

Webster and Watson (2002:xv) state that the basis for providing the researcher with knowledge about the area of investigation within any research project lies within the review of existing relevant literature. By reviewing existing scholarly literature on the topic under investigation, the relevance of the study may be improved by preventing the reinvestigation of known information (Vom Brocke, Simons, Niehaves, Niehaves and Reimer 2009:4) as well as gaining insight into current research and perceptions in order to justify and position one's own

arguments and discussion within the area of investigation (Ridley 2012:3). The literature review fundamentally consisted of two central themes. The first theme concentrated on concept of nostalgia because this was to become the driver behind the design of an online Facebook campaign framework. Therefore, comprehensive knowledge on the subject of nostalgia was required in order to justify the subsequent design choices that went into the creation of said campaign framework. The literature review in this domain engaged with information in the following areas:

- 1) the unique nature of nostalgia as an emotional response to external stimuli (which would provide the connection between emotion and other potential triggers in the design);
- 2) the various types of nostalgia based on whether the particular type is directly or indirectly experienced (which would suggest a direct stimulus or a narrative stimulus in the design);
- 3) how marketers are able to capitalise on times marked by social distress by using nostalgic advertising to comfort consumers (which would provide example strategies to be interrogated, used or discarded in the designs), and
- 4) the role of food and its relation to sensory stimuli (which would bring the generic nostalgia dynamics closer to the project at hand).

The content and context of such a campaign framework needed to come from an understanding of Afrikaner cooking/baking. Therefore, during stage 1 the researcher consulted existing literature to gain insight into:

- 1) the history and defining nature of Afrikaner cooking/baking, specifically pursuing what it contained and what made it different from 'other' traditions of baking (and, by extension, what it had appropriated from those traditions, where this could be ascertained or deemed necessary information);
- 2) food-centred traditions (which would begin to locate the context of the tradition, rather than the baking process itself); and

- 3) the modern impact on the continuation of said traditions (which would allow for a narrative to emerge, but would also allow a generational difference in the data arising from the Facebook interactions to be explained and, where necessary, used in the development of the framework).

The literature review on Afrikaner baking is captured in Chapter 4 of this study, whereas the dynamics of nostalgia are documented in Chapter 3 of the dissertation.

The above-mentioned insights into traditional Afrikaner cooking together with the concept of nostalgia (and its relevance within the South African context) provided the researcher with the knowledge needed to develop speculative nostalgic triggers in the form of visual and verbal cues presented as a visual design framework to be used in the future development of an online Facebook campaign aimed at eliciting emotional responses from the viewer. These insights into Afrikaner cooking and the concept of nostalgia (Stage 1) together with the Facebook data (Stage 2) and use of autoethnography (Stage 3) as set out in the following paragraphs, contributed towards the use of the triangulation principle (see 2.4.4 for a detailed discussion) in order to make sense of both the participants' and researcher's lived experience that reflected in the design framework for the visual online Facebook campaign as mentioned above.

The main reason for using the principle of triangulation as qualitative research method was that it assisted in the development of a "thick description". This refers to the way in which the researcher goes about describing (and interpreting) the social interactions of participants observed (within a specific context) by focussing on the thoughts and emotions experienced by these participants in an attempt to award the reader with a "detailed picture" with which they can relate to on a personal level (Ponterotto 2006:542).

2.4 SOCIAL MEDIA (FACEBOOK) AS RESEARCH TOOL (STAGE 2)

According to *Statista* (n.p.), which is an online statistics portal, the number of active monthly Facebook users worldwide for the second quarter of 2018 stood at 2.23 billion, making it the most popular online social network in the world. It is within this ever expanding domain of online social interaction that social scientists

have found a platform to observe social behaviour by exploiting Facebook as an effective research tool to add to the growing body of Facebook related literature (Wilson, Gosling and Graham 2012:203).

The current study followed suit by employing a specifically created Facebook page, '*Bak, brou en onthou*'⁴ to engage and socially interact with members of the target population (Afrikaners but more specifically Afrikaner women) regarding matters pertaining to traditional South African baking (as this part of Afrikaner food heritage holds special interest for the researcher as she is an avid baker). The researcher chose to focus on Afrikaner women as method of demarcation based upon her own experience as a woman familiar with, and as part of, the Afrikaner community. The autoethnographic component within the context of what it was like growing up as a female in a typical middle-class Afrikaner household (two households in a sense, as the researcher's grandmother looked after her during the day up to age 12), as well as being a working wife and mother in a contemporary Afrikaner household, led the researcher to base her assumptions and group aimed questions on the speculative reasons for the decline in traditional Afrikaner baking practices, on her own past and current experiences.

The page took the form of a 'closed group' where prospective members consisting of the researcher's existing community of online friends (creating an informal 'convenience sampling' model – see below) were initially invited to join. A closed group was created as it limits the visibility of the information to only those who the provider of said information has given consent to other members of the group, meaning, thus, that individuals who are not members of the specific group will not be able to see or interact with the contents being posted. It is a way of protecting each participant's contribution by creating a "safe" space/community where contributions are viewed/shared with likeminded individuals within a specific context (Afrikaner baking traditions). As such, this type of interaction preserves the confidential demands of research ethics.

As administrator of the page, and in accordance with the necessary research ethical considerations, the researcher added an Information Leaflet outlining the

⁴ "Baking, brewing and remembering" (Translated by the researcher).

purpose of the page in the form of a 'pinned post'. (The Information Leaflet can be found as Annexure A). A pinned post appears and stays at the top of the page, irrespective of the amount of additional posts made to the pages' 'Timeline'⁵ and is a useful way for the administrator to share important information with all the members of the group. Thereafter, these participants were, in turn, encouraged to invite people from each of their online community of friends to request membership to the page under the conditions laid out in the Information Leaflet. In addition, Facebook has a module that suggests "more pages you may like" based upon the user's current list of 'Liked'⁶ pages as they fall within a category such as 'baking'. This also led to users requesting membership irrespective of whether they were invited by either the page's creator or current members. This proved advantageous as an additional method of conveniently reaching prospective participants without the researcher or current members being actively involved, thus making it an on-going organic process (and one that is aligned with 'snowball sampling', as outlined below).

As was mentioned before, only members belonging to the group were able to see and interact with content posted on the page. This was done with ethical considerations in mind because even though some of the information of the participants is already in the public domain it is important to consider issues of security and trust. According to Dwyer, Hiltz and Passerinni (2007:3) trust is important when exchanging information, and therefore participants were assured that no personal information would be used in the writing of the report without consent.⁷ The researcher/creator of the group could approve or decline member requests from interested public users. (In the actual research none of the member requests were declined as all were deemed to be legitimate Facebook accounts of individuals who belonged to similar food related groups. Should any of the participants have acted in a way deemed inappropriate or offensive through the use of unsuitable language, comments or the posting of inappropriate

⁵ The Timeline can be seen as the "face" of the Facebook page. It contains the cover- and profile photos, name of the page and all images and posts shared on the page in reverse-chronological order.

⁶ 'Liking' a post is a form of online interaction that indicates that the viewer likes the contents of a post. Similarly, by 'liking' a page or group it indicates an interest in the content shared on the page or in the group enabling the viewer to see all future online communication from the page, the group and members within these 'communities'.

⁷ The *Facebook and Cambridge Analytica scandal* of 2018 is an example of the possible violation of user's personal information without consent.

images, for example, the researcher would have been able to remove that participant from the group. One member of the group was however politely asked to limit her amount of non-traditional Afrikaner cooking related posts as she was inundating the timeline with recipes that were not appropriate for the purpose of the page. This member then stopped interacting and participating with the page content all together.)

2.4.1 Sampling method

During qualitative research enquiry the human experience is the main focus and therefore involves the gathering of information from participants that may be able to contribute to the understanding of the experiences under investigation. The participants are selected/'invited' on the basis of the envisioned contribution that can be made towards the character and structure of the experience (Polkinghorne 2005:139). One such selection method is through the use of convenience sampling. Members of the target population are selected based on practicality, availability, accessibility and willingness to participate in the research project (Etikan, Musa and Alkassim 2016:2; Teddlie and Yu 2007:78).

The current study initially made use of convenience sampling as it was deemed a relevant, practical method of selection, as the social media platform Facebook provided the researcher with easy access to prospective participants. Willing individuals that already formed part of the researcher's online community of friends and who were identified as being suitable candidates were selected to participate. The participants were encouraged to invite likeminded individuals willing to partake from their own community of friends not known to the researcher. In addition to the participants and researcher inviting individuals from their various online social groups of friends, Facebook's module of "page suggestions" also contributed to the growing number of participants. As the number of participants grew, so did the reach of the page used for discussion which resulted in a virtual snowball sampling effect (Kosinsky *et al.* 2015:7).

2.4.2 Data collection

Qualitative research involves the gathering of data in the form of either the verbal or written language and may include the use of interviews, observations and

documents as possible sources of information. The data gathered is analysed so that it can be used to determine the thoughts and ideas as expressed by the participants as it relates to the experience that is under investigation (Polkinghorne 2005:141).

During the course of the current study data was collected by creating a Facebook page (*Bak, brou en onthou*) consisting of members who carry knowledge of traditional Afrikaner recipes (with the emphasis on baked goods). The terms 'traditional Afrikaner recipes' within the current context refers to recipes for what is known in Afrikaans as *Boerekos*.⁸ Van Zyl (2012:9) describes *Boerekos* as originating historically from a time when Afrikaner forebears (or *Boers* as they are referred to within a South African perspective) had to make use of whatever produce they had at their disposal (whether it was provided by the veld or cultivated and kept by themselves) taking into account the availability (seasonal and regional) as well as methods of preservation (for example drying and pickling) thereof for later consumption. These recipes were then passed on from generation to generation (the speculative decline of which forms a central aspect of the study) often in the form of handwritten recipe books with yellowed pages and the odd food stain on those that were regularly made. The method and time of consumption often formed part of the tradition as certain foods were bound to certain events and often to certain individuals that may lead to feelings of nostalgia when experienced at a later stage. Van Zyl (2012:9) states "*Boerekos stap saam met nostalgie. 'n Resep staan nie op sy eie nie, hy het 'n omte*".⁹

The researcher attempted to engage the members of the group by posting personal narratives of personal lived experiences, recipes as they appeared in recipe books from her own family heritage, images of traditional Afrikaner baked goods (baked by the researcher), images relating to bygone times as they appeared in old magazines and by posing questions relevant to the nostalgic theme of the research. For example: "What does the smell of cinnamon remind you of?" (A visual example of how this question appeared on the page can be found in Chapter 4.)

⁸ "Farmer's food" (translation by researcher) may be used as an umbrella term for all traditional Afrikaner fair including cooked food, baked goods, fruit preserves, sweets or homemade drinks.

⁹ *Boerekos* and nostalgia go together. A recipe never stands on its own, there is always a story that goes with it (Translation by researcher).

These posts (prompts) by the researcher were informed by knowledge gained from the literature review and by her own lived experience. The researcher started off by posting a short paragraph describing certain aromas and explaining how these are capable of reminding a person of certain bygone times, places and people. She then asked that the members join her to get nostalgic by sharing their own cherished memories. This was done in order to subtly reiterate the purpose of the page as well as to directly ask that the members actively join in the discussion. This short paragraph did not generate much response and the researcher then opted to explain the purposes of the page in more detail and asked the existing members to invite their friends to join the discussion. This yielded a higher member engagement than the previous post. The researcher then proceeded to post “moving” images or cinemagraphs that are essentially still photographs containing animated elements (Chiarini 2016:3). The rationale behind this choice of visual element was two-fold for the researcher. Firstly, it added variety to the page content by adding a dynamic image other than the regular static images/photographs and secondly, it followed the statement made by Park, Bae and Cho (2014:31) that food related cinemagraphs positively influenced the viewer’s perception of the food item as opposed to a static image in an attempt to get a higher level of engagement from the participants. The cinemagraphs did indeed yield a higher level of participant interaction. The researcher periodically posted a welcoming message as the number of members increased, reminding them to read the Information Leaflet at the top of the page as well as explaining the purpose of the page in short as it became evident through the type of interaction from members (such as asking for recipes not related to traditional Afrikaner dishes) that most people neglected to do so.

2.4.3 Data analysis

Polkinghorne (2005:138) states that the evidence that lies within the data gathered during qualitative research (often in the form of written responses, oral accounts written down or narratives provided) should not be seen as the written words themselves but rather in the ideas and thoughts they convey. This is in accordance with the statement from Hesse-Biber (2010:455) that the researcher must interpret and give voice to these ideas, thoughts and lived experiences as provided by respondents. Leech and Onwuegbuzie (2008:592) also state that

data in the form of stories are capable of providing the researcher with insight into how these narratives give meaning to the individual's life. Chang (2016:109) refers to the process of gaining insight into the gathered data as 'meaning-making' and advocates a holistic approach when reviewing the data that has been gathered in order to eventually gain insight into how the various segments of (often supposedly unrelated) data can be correlated within a broader context.

During the course of the current study data was collected in the form of participant engagements and responses (shown as the number of "Likes", written as "Comments" or as the number of post "Shares")¹⁰ to nostalgia and baking related images and questions as they were posted on the *Bak, brou en onthou* facebook page. The data was then analysed by using a coding strategy known as "flagging" and "tagging" whereby the recurring "themes", also referred to as 'theme analysis' (Leech and Onwuegbuzie 2008:592), as they emerged from the data were identified (Munro 2014:54) in order for the researcher to develop a better understanding of the emerging phenomenon (Wong 2008:15). These themes, in conjunction with the theoretical knowledge on Afrikaner food traditions and nostalgia as well as the researcher's lived experience and emotional connection to Afrikaner food culture, influenced the researcher/designer's thought and creative/designerly processes and rationale in selecting the various elements that made up the designs used within the campaign framework.

2.5 AUTOETHNOGRAPHY (STAGE 3)

2.5.1 Principles and rationale

According to Ellis, Adams and Bochner (2011:273) autoethnography can be described as "...[a]n approach to research and writing that seeks to describe and systematically analyse (graphy) personal experience (auto) in order to understand cultural experience (ethno)". It is concerned with the linking of the researcher's own experience with the subject being investigated (Méndez

¹⁰ Each post is accompanied by three options that allow for engagement in the form of a "reaction" by the viewer: Like, comment or share. The "Like" button allows the viewer to respond to the post by selecting one of the following symbols/emoji's: Thumbs up (like), heart (love), laughing face, (haha), gasping face (wow), crying face (sad) and an angry, red face (angry). The "comment" option allows the viewer to engage by leaving a response in the form of a statement or question (or an image) to the post. These comments can then be seen, "liked" and responded by other viewers that have access to the post. The "share" option allows viewers to share the post with either a specific person or persons by "tagging" (placing the "@" before their name(s) or to the viewer's friends.

2013:280). Essentially this method takes the form of written confirmation or justification of that which is already known as well as explaining what has been discovered through the process (Munro 2014:61).

The current study was concerned with the development of a design framework to be used in an online campaign that consisted of a series of visual stimuli that were designed by the researcher herself based on information obtained from the relevant literature on nostalgia, from the member responses on the Facebook group, from her own experience and knowledge as graphic designer and as a member of the Afrikaner community who is passionate about preserving the various aspects (for example family recipes and their connection to loved ones and certain occasions) of Afrikaner baking traditions. Through the use of an autoethnographic approach, the researcher was able to justify the design choices made during the framework design process as they were driven by the knowledge obtained through the relevant literature, data from participants, her own knowledge within the realm of graphic design and her personal lived experience and emotional connections to her culture, creative practice and love of traditional baking.

2.5.2 Connection to practice-led research

According to Smith and Dean (2009:2) practice-led research refers to a creative work being seen as a form of research output. Within the context of the current study, the researcher's own experience, skill and knowledge within the field of graphic design may be seen as one of the key elements in the framework development of the proposed Facebook campaign. As stated by Smith and Dean (2009:5) this specialised knowledge (in the field of graphic design) utilised during the creative practice (designing the framework for the campaign) leads to insights that may be written up as research. This linked back to autoethnography as a method used by the researcher to justify the practice and the decision-making processes that emerged during the designing of the visual campaign¹¹ framework. The decision-making processes were, in turn, motivated by the knowledge gained from theory, the participant responses, the researcher's

¹¹ The practice and decision-making process in the development of the campaign framework was based on the researcher's professional experience as graphic design lecturer with specified knowledge in teaching 2D and 3D design principles that form the basis of all design processes.

personal emotions, experiences and subsequent reflection as well as her design knowledge and skill.

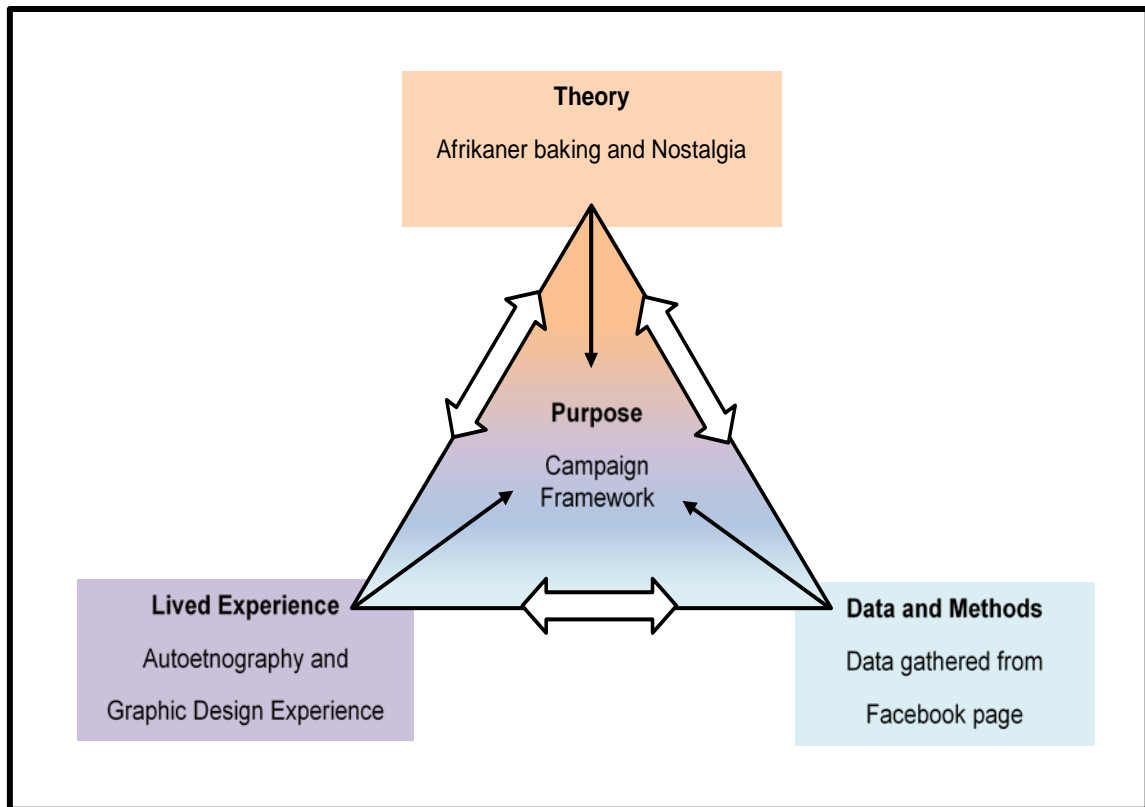
2.5.3 Working methods, including journaling and data analysis

Hiemstra (2001, cited in Pandey [2013:75]) refers to the act of journaling as “a means of recording personal thoughts, daily experiences and evolving insights”. It may be seen as an evocative process that may be used to reflect, clarify and gain insight into an experience within a certain context (Panday 2013:80).

Within the context of the current study the researcher actively kept a journal describing the actions taken and the personal emotions experienced during the design process. Upon reflection after the fact, the journal provided both a written narrative and a body of evidence that illustrated the occurrence of certain recurring aspects and patterns that enabled the researcher to scrutinize the contents. These identifiable clusters of similar data were identified and used in comparison with that which was learned through the existing literature and that of the newly obtained participant data (thematic analysis). The analysis of the journal followed the same thematic analysis as the narrative supplied by the participants.

2.5.4 Triangulation

According to Mays and Pope (2000:51) triangulation is a system of comparison for data from two different methods or even two different sources. This statement is in line with Munro (2014:54) who states that “...[t]he principle of triangulation lies around the interface between two or more fields or domains that interact”. The current study used the principle of triangulation as illustrated by Munro (2014:55) in order to make sense of the lived experience of both participants as well as the researcher that reflected in the framework design for the campaign (Figure 2.1).



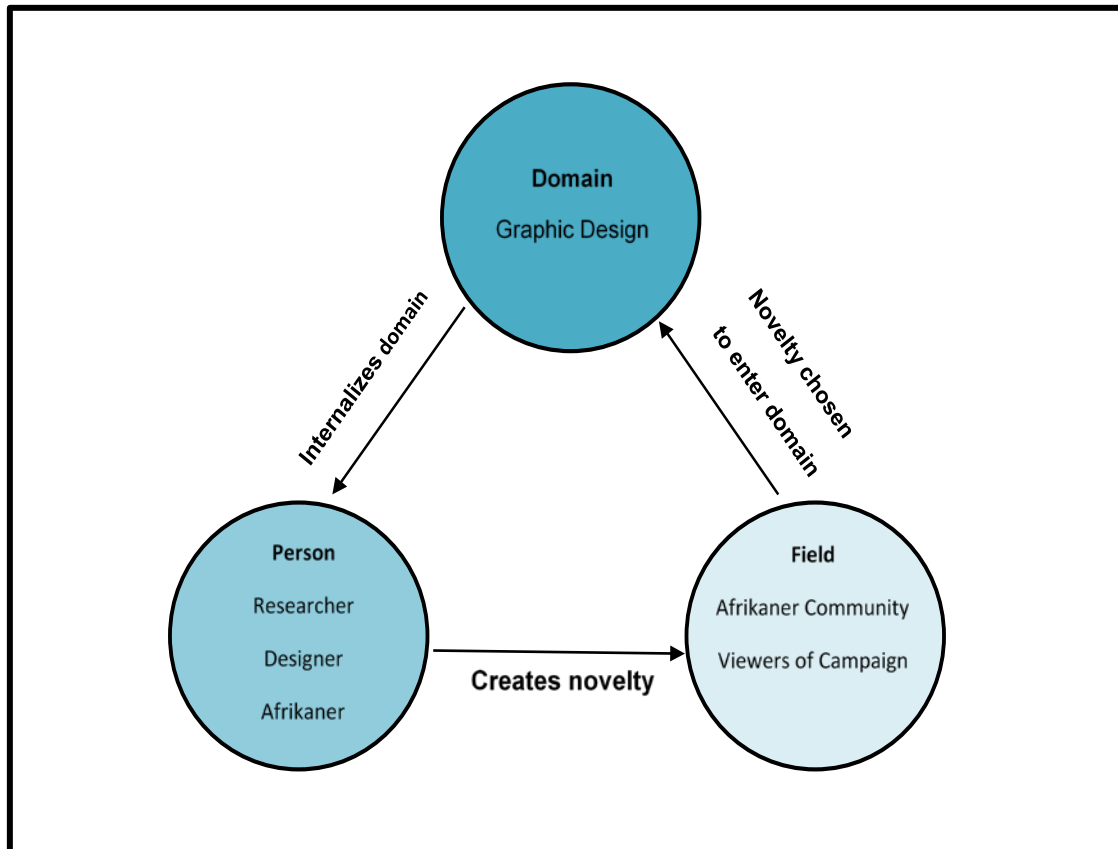
Source: Adapted from Munro (2014:55)

Figure 2.1: The principle of triangulation

Within the context of the current study the process of triangulation and how it was used may be explained as follows: The theory on nostalgia (see Chapter 3 for an indepth description) directly influenced the researcher in the way questions where structured during the data collection process. The theory assisted in interpreting the data as the researcher was able to identify certain nostalgic markers within the participant responses, thus facilitating a better understanding and insight into the lived experience of the participants as well as those experienced by the researcher herself. The researcher was then able to extract and interpret the data (thematic analysis) and together with the existing theory on nostalgia, create a nostalgia-based design framework for the future campaign by using her skill and knowledge as a graphic designer. The creative process during the development of the Facebook campaign framework may be used to further clarify the interconnections between both autoethnography and practice-led research that were used during this research process. The sociocultural definition of creativity as presented by Sawyer (2006:8) proposes that a product (that which

is seen to be creative) as the result of the creative process must be deemed both novel and appropriate (useful) by the community.

To form a better understanding of this definition of creativity (the process and linking of autoethnography and practice-led research) within the context of the current study, the following sociocultural model of creativity adapted from Sawyer (2006:123) may be used (Diagram 2.2).



Source: Adapted from Sawyer (2006:123)

Figure 2.2: Socio-cultural model of creativity

Within the context of the current study the relevance of Sawyer's (2006) sociocultural model of creativity can be explained as follows: The *person* refers to the creator of a novelty (the product – in this case the designed framework for the proposed Facebook campaign) and is concerned with all the idiosyncrasies (history, culture, gender, language, profession, and so forth) that contribute to making the person who she is. Here the autoethnographic component of the study comes forward as it is these idiosyncrasies that directly influence the creative process of the person (in this case the researcher-designer with a

special interest in the preservation of traditional Afrikaner baking) engaged in developing the end product (campaign framework) to be presented to, and validated by, the *field*. The *field* refers to the intermediaries who, in essence, decide whether or not the product they have been presented is novel and appropriate/useful. Often referred to as the *gatekeepers*, the field is made up of the public (in this study, the target audience and participants in the group) and peers (designers who have internalized the conventions of their domain) who, based upon their response, will determine whether the product (the research output in the form of the designed campaign framework) is novel and appropriate/useful.¹² The *domain* includes all the “accepted” products (literature, previous campaigns and other areas pertaining to the graphic design discipline) and conventions, as mentioned above, (language, principles, and current practices) shared by those (varying in expertise) within the *field*.

Based on the above, the interconnection between practice-led research and autoethnography as used in the current research project becomes evident as it shows that the creative output as a result of the practice is directly influenced by the three (autoethnographic) dynamics (*person – researcher*), *field (the imagined community of which the researcher forms part)* and *domain (researcher’s field of expertise)* at play. Therefore, autoethnography may be used to form a better understanding into what role the idiosyncratic plays within the creative design process.

2.6 TRUSTWORTHINESS OF THE RESEARCH

According to Amankwaa (2016:121) any qualitative research project must contain evidence of rigour or, rather, ‘trustworthiness’ as the preferred naturalistic (qualitative) terminology. The researcher in pursuit of undertaking and presenting such a research project may strengthen the value of the study by ensuring the ‘trustworthiness’ thereof through the following four criteria, as set out by Lincoln and Guba (1985, cited in Amankwaa [2016:121]), namely; credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

Cope (2014:90) states that the researcher may employ specific strategies during the research process in order to address each of the afore-mentioned criteria

¹² To the list might be added all examiners and assessors of the product.

with examples of these strategies as applicable to each within the context of the current research study being:

- 1) Credibility: the detailed, thick description of the human experience of both researcher (autoethnography) participant verification in the form of narratives and the reliability thereof among individuals who share the same experience (members of the Facebook page),
- 2) Transferability: the provision of sufficient background information with regards to the context of the study (driven by nostalgia), the role and involvement of the researcher (as female member of the Afrikaner community and as graphic designer), the participants and the processes (the three stage research process as described under 2.2. and thereafter described in detail) that were used that would allow the reader that did not take part in the study to be able to associate and identify with that which has been found within their own situations and experiences,
- 3) Dependability: the provision of a detailed description of the research methodology (as detailed throughout this chapter) which would allow for a similar outcome should the study be replicated within a similar context, under similar conditions and with similar participants and,
- 4) Confirmability: through the use of triangulation by using multiple sources of data to counteract researcher bias during the development of the final research outcome (designed campaign framework).

2.7 SUMMARY

The current study followed a qualitative research approach that was made up out of three stages. Stage 1 involved reviewing existing literature on Afrikaner food-related traditions as well as that on nostalgia, seeing as a thorough understanding thereof was necessary in order to proceed onto stage 2. Stage 2 involved the gathering of data by developing a closed Facebook page consisting of willing participants. An Information Leaflet was added in the form of a “pinned post” at the beginning of the pages’ timeline that outlined the purpose of the page and contained examples of the researcher’s own lived experience of nostalgic memories associated with traditional Afrikaner baked goods, thereby positioning

the researcher as fellow group participant. Participants were engaged by asking about nostalgia and food (pertaining in particular to baked goods) and related questions based on knowledge gained from the existing literature gathered during stage one. The participant responses were then analysed and used in conjunction with the researcher's knowledge, personal experience and fondness regarding traditional Afrikaner baking in developing the framework for a nostalgia-based visual campaign. The researcher made use of triangulation as each of the above-mentioned stages interacted and affected the other during the process that led to the envisioned research output (a designed campaign framework).

The following chapter focuses on the concept of nostalgia because this was to become the driver behind the design of the envisioned framework to be used in an online Facebook campaign. The aim is to provide comprehensive knowledge on the subject of nostalgia required in order to justify the subsequent design choices that will go into the creation of the online campaign framework. The literature review in this domain will engage with information in the following areas:

- 1) the unique nature of nostalgia as an emotional response to external stimuli (which would provide the connection between emotion and other potential triggers in the design);
- 2) the various types of nostalgia based on whether the particular type is directly or indirectly experienced (which would suggest a direct stimulus or a narrative stimulus in the design);
- 3) how marketers are able to capitalise on times marked by social distress by using nostalgic advertising to comfort consumers (which would provide example strategies to be interrogated, used or discarded in the designs), and
- 4) the role of food and its relation to sensory stimuli (which would bring the generic nostalgia dynamics closer to the project at hand).

Chapter 3

NOSTALGIA AND GRAPHIC DESIGN

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the previous chapter was to present the research methods that were used in this research project, including providing insight into the relatively new field of using social media as a research tool. The project required three types of research methods, namely the use of literature, the exploitation of social media as an effective data-gathering instrument, and a Graphic Design component that exploits an autoethnographic approach to the engagement with the data. Existing research on how data-gathering using Facebook was used in guiding the current research with regards to sampling methods and the data gathering procedure was explained. Because the researcher makes use of a practice-led research approach as she is a Graphic Designer, the use of autoethnography as the basis within this approach was presented. The chapter then suggested how the researcher used the data gathered from the Facebook page, her own design experience and practical skill together with the knowledge gathered from related literature in a form of triangulation, to develop the design framework for the visual campaign.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the concept of nostalgia as emotional reactions to external stimuli and its speculative ability to provoke the use of design elements and principles to evoke a positive response in the consumer, as nostalgia is presented in relevant literature. The field of graphic design and its potential ability to facilitate a revised positive socio-cultural insight and appreciation by using nostalgia as central theme will be explored thereafter. Strategically this will be done by examining related literature to create insight into nostalgia so that these insights can be applied to the principles of graphic design and their evolution into a modern method of visual communication. The reason for doing this is to determine how nostalgia, in the context of Afrikaner food culture, can be used as a central element to develop the design framework for an online Facebook campaign aimed at revitalising traditional Afrikaner baking. Thus, the reason for this chapter is to present the dynamics of nostalgia and Graphic Design principles so that their interface can be used as part of the

justification for choices made in developing the framework for the visual campaign (as presented in Chapter 5).

3.2 NOSTALGIA

3.2.1 What is nostalgia?

The term 'nostalgia' has its origins in the Greek language and is an amalgamation of the words *nostos* ('return to') and *algos* ('longing, yearning or grief') (Abrahamse 2014:2; Hwang and Hyun 2013:251). It is characterised as an emotional response arising in individuals when they are exposed to external stimuli that trigger feelings of sentiment and a yearning for the past (Hwang and Hyun 2013:251). Research into the subject has shown that nostalgia is a common experience affecting individuals across all walks of life, transcending, for example, age, gender and social class (Sedikides, Wildschut and Baden 2004:210).

Historically, nostalgia was initially classified as a medical disorder in the form of a neurological disease (that is to say, a response that manifested physically as both a cause and a symptom) by the Swiss medical doctor Johannes Hofer, in 1688. This came as a result of the psychological and physiological symptoms displayed by Swiss mercenaries operating in foreign lands. Symptoms manifested themselves as insomnia, loss of appetite, lethargy and a general feeling of "homesickness" (Smith and Campbell 2017:614, Abrahamse 2014:3, Batcho 2013:2).¹ According to Wildschut, Sedikides, Arndt and Routledge (2006:3) the Swiss doctor Johannes Hofer argued that these symptoms were as a result of lingering animal spirits vibrating deep within the midbrain, conjuring up thoughts of the individual's homeland. In turn, the physician J.J.Scheucher theorised that nostalgia was caused as a result of increased blood flow to the brain due to physical pressure on the body brought about by changes in atmospheric pressure (Wildschut *et al.* 2006:3). Scheucher based his theory on the premise that the Swiss soldiers affected were used to the higher altitude of their mountainous home as opposed to the lower altitudes experienced on the fighting plains of Europe (Wildschut *et al.* 2006:3). In addition to Hofer's and Scheucher's theories on why the Swiss in particular were so susceptible to

¹ The notion of "sickness" is significant as it suggests a physical or bodily response and manifestation.

feelings of nostalgia, military doctors argued that the reverberating sounds of the cowbells distinctive in the Alpine regions from whence the soldiers hailed caused auditory and neurological damage (Wildschut *et al.* 2006:4). Although the science of these conclusions has been debunked, they do suggest the importance of experience, experiences in different contexts that suggest the original context and current context, and the nature of stimuli from the original context that trigger seemingly physical and emotional reactions in the current context.

It was only during the early 19th century that nostalgia was no longer regarded purely as a (physical) neurological disease. Nevertheless, it was still referred to under the field of psychological disorders, most noticeably as a form of depression due to feelings of homesickness. In this sense the ‘disorder’ was predominantly seen as something that needed to be ‘treated’ but the potential interventions were now clustered around the psychological and, by extension, the emotional. This remained the case up until later in the 20th century when Davis (1979, cited in Wildschut *et al.* [2006:7]) stated that individuals associated words such as *warm* and *childhood* more readily with the sentimental concept of nostalgia (longing for the past) than with the more negative concept of homesickness (longing for one’s home). Critically, thus, nostalgia moves from the specific nature of a past (or distant) home, to the past, in general. This opens the debate into the nature both of what that past might be, and, more specifically, what the nostalgic individual’s sense of that past might be.

Contemporary research into the unique nature of nostalgia has shifted the understanding thereof to be more from a sociological (which emphasises the move to engaging with ‘the past’) and its psychological/emotional responses, to more than a medical (“disease” or “disorder”) perspective (Abrahamse 2014:3). In essence, nostalgia is a paradox because of its inherent duality that brings about feelings of joy (perhaps because of the act of remembering or ‘revisiting’), tinged with a hint of sadness or a “bittersweet” longing for times gone by (perhaps because of the realisation of things ‘lost’) (Abrahamse 2014:3; Muehling and Pascal 2012:102; Marchegiani and Phau 2010:88; Baker and Kennedy 1994:169). The joy arises because of the memory of ideal (or idealised) past experiences and sadness is evoked because of the realisation that those experiences can never be relived (Bambauer-Sachse and Gierl 2009:392). It is

this bittersweet aspect of nostalgia that distinguishes it from reminiscence, although its premise is also based in remembering the past. Reminiscence typically involves recalling specific events that are not necessarily of major importance or emotionally charged (Sedikides *et al.* 2004:205; Merchant, Latour, Ford and Latour 2013:151). In contradiction, nostalgic recollection involves memories of a personal and meaningful nature and often serves to counteract uncomfortable psychological positions by providing the individual with positively valenced emotions (Sedikides *et al.* 2004:208).

Nostalgia is seen as a coping mechanism in times of cultural angst by reminding us that we lead meaningful lives (Abrahamse 2014:7) and by boosting self-esteem and enhancing feelings of social consecutiveness (Muehling and Pascal 2012:101). This is due to shared past experiences, current situations and future expectations. According to Abrahamse (2014:7) young adults today are faced with a present filled with economic uncertainty, environmental concerns and the threat of international terrorism. It is amidst this fear and uncertainty that associations with, and references to, 'the good old days' play a pivotal role in counteracting such psychological distress (Abrahamse 2014:7; Muehling and Pascal 2012:102; Marchegiani and Phau 2010:81). It should, however, be noted that referring to the past as the 'good old days' does not mean that that period in time had any fewer problems. It is due to a phenomenon referred to as 'positive memory distortion' (or 'idealisation' as outlined below) whereby negative experiences are more readily forgotten and positive memories idealised as being better than they actually were (Hwang and Hyun 2013:253).

Where idealisation as a concept is concerned, the following explanation on the acceptable construction of mathematical models by Awrejcewicz and Krysko (2006:1) proves (perhaps metaphorically) useful within the context of the current study. "[C]ertain processes are taken fully into account, others are considered to a certain extent only, while others become entirely neglected. To a high degree, this procedure, known as an *idealisation process*, is responsible for the final success of the investigation". From this definition it becomes evident that the process of idealisation within the context of nostalgia may be viewed as consisting of three key elements. Firstly, when the positive elements or highlights of past experiences are taken fully into account, they are remembered fondly and

even exaggerated and romanticised. These highlights become definitive 'markers', shaping the positively valenced emotions towards the past. Secondly, partial consideration of certain elements puts these positive markers into context by noting the circumstances under which these highlighted events occurred. Thirdly, negative elements become entirely neglected over time, seen as less influential, filtered out, or forgotten, placing even more emphasis on the positive markers.

Drawing on *The Free Dictionary by Farlex* (n.p.) the following synonyms for idealisation may be used to further demonstrate how the process links back to the concept of nostalgia. 'Glorification', which is defined as an "enhanced or favourably exaggerated version" or account, 'romanticisation,' defined as "a portrayal of something as ideal", and 'sentimentalisation' which is defined as "the act of indulging in sentiment". When these concepts (of idealisation, glorification, romanticisation and sentimentalisation) are read in conjunction with the notion of bittersweetness, one encounters the emotional impact of memory as well as the key notions of moments in the past that are 'marked' for such processes. Furthermore, such marking is, inevitably, brought about by distorting fact and history.

For nostalgia, however, these positive distortions of past memories are referred to as a "redemption sequence" whereby negative thoughts are "redeemed" over time so that they are not able to influence the overall positive emotional effect that the memory induces (Muehling *et al.* 2014:74; Sedikides *et al.* 2004:205). In order to better understand the notion of redemption one can turn to the meaning and synonyms for "redeem" as set out by the *Cambridge English Dictionary* (n.p.). To "redeem" is to make better, to 'mitigate', 'relieve' or 'alleviate'. This seems to be in line with the following statement regarding a "redemption sequence" from McAdams, Reynolds, Lewis, Patten and Bowman (2001:474): "The bad is redeemed, salvaged, mitigated, or made better in light of the ensuing good". An alternate way of engaging with this concept is to suggest that the nostalgia process allows certain aspects of the memory to be foregrounded, certain aspects to be relegated to contextualisation, and certain aspects to be 'deleted'. This approach, known as 'idealisation,' was expanded upon in the previous section.

3.2.2 Types of nostalgia

Nostalgia can be categorised according to the type of emotional response solicited by the stimulus provided (Baker and Kennedy 1994:171). Stimuli, also referred to as cues or triggers, are often specific to which type of nostalgic response they elicit and may include objects, persons, experiences, and sensory inputs to name but a few (Baker, Karrer and Veeck 2005:402). Numerous researchers (Muehling *et al.* 2014:74; Hwang and Hyun 2013:251; Merchant and Rose 2013:2620; Marchegiani and Phau 2010:81; Havlena and Holak 1998:218) have investigated the sociological impact of these past associations (stimuli, cues and triggers) and the relevance thereof in our daily lives (Baker and Kennedy 1994:173). Drawing on the abovementioned scholars the various types of nostalgia can then be categorised as follows: personal or real nostalgia, historic or vicarious nostalgia, simulated or interpersonal nostalgia, cultural or collective nostalgia, and virtual nostalgia. The following section focuses on the various types of nostalgia as summarized in Table 3.1 and provides a more detailed discussion of each. These different types of nostalgia will assist in two ways in this study. Firstly, they will allow for the building of an analytical model to connect the participant narratives that are shared during data collection (to be undertaken in chapter 4). Secondly, the types will allow for the Graphic designer to target specific types of potential nostalgic responses in the development of the designs (which will form the basis for chapter 5).

Table 3.1: Types of nostalgia

Type	Defining characteristics
Personal nostalgia, also referred to as Real nostalgia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Directly experienced ▪ Individually unique
Simulated nostalgia, also referred to as Interpersonal nostalgia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Not personally experienced ▪ Relived through the recollection of the past by a loved one
Historic nostalgia, also referred to as Vicarious nostalgia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Not personally experienced ▪ Refers to thoughts of an idealized past
Cultural nostalgia, also referred to as Collective nostalgia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Directly experienced ▪ Based on shared symbols from collective memory ▪ Refers to emotional connection felt by the individual towards members of the same culture ▪ Group specific
Virtual nostalgia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Indirectly experienced ▪ Based on fantasy embedded in a collective experience of own cultural history

Source: Muehling *et al.* (2014:74); Hwang and Hyun (2013:251); Merchant and Rose (2012:2620); Marchegiani and Phau (2010:82); Havlena and Holak (1998:218); Baker and Kennedy (1994:170)

Personal or real nostalgia can only be experienced by an individual who has had an actual lived experience of a particular past event (Muehling *et al.* 2014:74; Hwang and Hyun 2013:250; Marchegiani and Phau 2010:82; Baker, Karrer and Veeck 2005:402; Baker and Kennedy 1994:171). The sense of self is prevalent (Marchegiani and Phau 2010:82) in that the nostalgic recollection of an idealized past is done so from a uniquely personal perspective (Reisenwitz, Iyer and Cutler 2004:58). According to Baker and Kennedy (1994:171) individuals tend to favour authentic stimuli when it comes to placing the recollection into context with the emotion felt during an original event, over similar stimuli. For example, an actual photograph of the individual's childhood taken during a family vacation at a well-known place versus a photo taken within the same time frame of an unknown family vacationing at the same place, makes the nostalgic reaction real or personal. Baker and Kennedy (1994:171) state that, although similar stimuli are

likely to trigger a personal memory, it is far less efficient in eliciting the intense emotional response that is associated with personal nostalgia stimuli. Stimuli that are often related to personal nostalgia can include triggers drawn from concepts of home, love and familiarity (Marchegiani and Phau 2010:82).

In contrast to personal nostalgia, *simulated nostalgia* refers to the emotional longing of an indirectly experienced past (Chen, Yeh and Huan 2013:355; Russell 2008:104; Baker and Kennedy 1994:171). It is a result of learned memories (Sierra and McQuitty 2007:100) through direct interpersonal contact with an individual (loved one, close friend or family member) telling stories about past events (Baker and Kennedy 1994:171). For example, while paging through an old family photo album with a family member, he/she recounts some of the events from days gone by depicted in the images. The teller of the story has actual experience and the listener experiences a sense of nostalgia by 'being there' as they relive them (Baker and Kennedy 1994:171). It may be argued that much of this nostalgia is connected to dynamics of sympathy and empathy, which, in turn, rely on the recognition of parallel experiences. This may be particularly relevant in terms of empathy as it is described by Nickerson, Butler and Carlin (2009:43) as a "[S]hared or vicarious feeling; to empathise with another is to imagine oneself in the other's situation and to experience, to some degree, the emotions that the other is experiencing". This perception of empathy as a vicariously experienced emotional response ties into the notion of what simulated nostalgia is. Sympathy is also an emotional response to another's emotional state but differs from empathy, (which can include both positive and negative emotions) in that the emotional response is characterised by sadness or concern towards another (Eisenberg and Eggum 2009:71).

Historical nostalgia differs from both personal and simulated nostalgia in the fact that the events are from a time before birth (Muehling *et al.* 2014:74; Marchegiani and Phau 2010:83; Baker *et al.* 2005:402; Baker and Kennedy 1994:171). It refers to the emotional experience of connecting and idealizing past eras and can be triggered by literary works, films, media and narratives concerned with historic events outside of the lived or living memory (Muehling *et al.* 2014:75; Merchant and Rose 2013:2620; Baker *et al.* 2005:402). An example would be celebrating the hundred-year anniversary of an influential historic event. Those attending

such a celebration might feel nostalgic because, as stated by Baker and Kennedy (1994:171), people tend to glorify and reconstruct past events even though they had no direct experience in them. This may be due to the ability of an individual to psychologically identify with the events by using the imagination (Quintal, Asenjo, Phau and Marchegiani 2009:5). Critically, however, it should be noted that this type of nostalgia relies heavily (although unconsciously) on the dynamics of idealisation, romanticisation and sentimentalisation. Furthermore, such processes are often 'doubly mediated', as the film or literary work, for example, can also be read as an act of nostalgia, which is then further idealised by the nostalgic experienter.

Cultural or collective nostalgia is directly experienced (Holak, Havlena and Matveev 2005:196) and refers to the longing of a past that is representative of a certain generation, culture or nation (Baker and Kennedy 1994:171; Russell 2008:104). It is a collectivistic (Baker and Kennedy 1994:171) group-level emotional experience among individuals who perceive themselves as part of a particular social identity or group (Cheung, Sedikides, Wildschut, Tausch and Ayanian 2017:303; Wildschut, Bruder, Robertson, Van Tilburg and Sedikides 2014:3). There is a common thread linking the memories experienced among the members (Baker and Kennedy 1994:171; Holak *et al.* 2005; Wildschut *et al.* 2014:4) and because collective memory is group specific, and each group will have its own set of symbols, events and objects that are related to it (Baker and Kennedy 1994:171; Wildschut *et al.* 2014:4), which can function as triggers, stimuli and clues. It is more likely to be experienced when the individuals think of the group's contemporary situation being worse than that of the past (Cheung *et al.* 2017:303). For example, when long-term employees of an organisation are faced with work place relocation, collective nostalgia unifies the individuals during the transitional period (Cheung *et al.* 2017:303).²

Although the terms "culture" and "collective" are used interchangeably to describe this type of nostalgia, it may prove useful to differentiate between the two within the context of the current study. According to Lustig and Koester (1999, cited in Spencer-Oatey [2008:4]) culture is learned. It is passed on from adults to children

² This understanding of nostalgia becomes especially imported when dealing with the subject of this dissertation, namely the so-called culture of Afrikanerdom, and the 'culture of cooking and baking.'

from the earliest social interaction. This includes values, beliefs and behavioural conventions that influence, but do not necessarily determine, how each member of the group behaves, and interprets the behaviour of other members. For example, responses to the biological need for food are often influenced by culture. Ferraro (1998, cited in Spencer-Oatey [2008:7]) states, “What we eat, how often we eat, how much we eat, with whom we eat, and according to what set of rules, are regulated, at least in part, by our culture”.

A “collective” refers to a group of people who share a common interest. Drawing from the example given by Cheung *et al.* (2017:303), an organisation made up of different individuals can be seen as a “collective” as they are all employed by the same company. However, this “collective” may consist of different levels of authority (hierarchy) each with its own culture (values, beliefs and behaviour).

Therefore, the difference between “culture” and “collective” may be based upon how they are structured. Culture involves a group of members who have been taught from one generation to the next what to value, what to believe and how to behave. Members of a collective group may be sub-divided into various cultures, each with its own values, beliefs and behaviour but, who, as a whole, share a common interest.

The *‘Bak, brou and onthou’* Facebook page that took the form of a closed group may be viewed as an example of such a collective. Although the researcher created this page with an imagined, culturally specific target audience (Afrikaner³ women, of which she forms a part) in mind, a significant portion of the members requesting access to the page content turned out to be Afrikaans speaking Coloured⁴ women. The researcher initially decided to include this previously

³ The *Google definition* (n.p.) of the term ‘Afrikaner’, when referring to a person refers to “an Afrikaans-speaking white person in South Africa, especially one descended from the Dutch and Huguenot settlers of the 17th century”.

⁴ According to *The Free Online Dictionary* (n.p.) the term ‘Coloured’ when used within a South African ethnical context refers to “a person of mixed ethnic parentage or descent”. It should be noted that the use of the term ‘coloured’ to identify people within a certain ethnic group has been a topic of current debate most notably due to unionist and former Western Cape Congress of South African Trade Unions’ (COSATU) secretary Tony Ehrenreich’s open letter to South African President Cyril Ramaphosa in which he calls for the replacement of the (as he stated “derogatory”) word. According to an online article featured on *‘The South African’* by Tom Head (2018 [n.p.]), Ehrenreich proposed that the term ‘coloured’ be replaced by the word ‘camissa’ which is the name of a river flowing underneath the city of Cape Town. However, based upon the response from community members on the social media platform ‘Twitter’ it would seem that Ehrenreich’s assumption that he speaks for all members of the community may have

'unimagined' (by the researcher for this project) group of participants as it formed part of an organic process previously not anticipated but still, eagerly received. From an autoethnographical perspective this development led the researcher as Afrikaner, woman and Graphic Designer to feel a social obligation towards designing the envisioned campaign framework to revitalize a South African baking tradition so it includes more than just 'Afrikaner' women but woman from another "imagined community" (Anderson 1983) who share knowledge and a passion for traditional Afrikaner (or perhaps more appropriately, 'Afrikaans' baking). The use of the word 'Afrikaans' becomes more appropriate because, speculatively, the more inclusive participant formation may have been the result of a shared language (all communications on the page was in Afrikaans) as well as a common interest in its content, namely baking, seemingly without taking the presence of the word 'Afrikaner' into consideration. In addition, the Coloured community largely originated in the Cape Colony (Adhikari 2005:2) where the influence of the European settler's food culture paved the way for the development of Afrikaner cuisine referred to as '*Boerekos*' (Claassens 2003:40). Furthermore, the Information Leaflet made no mention of designated groups being excluded from participating. Thus, although sub-divided into different cultures, the collective that made up the Facebook group shared a common interest.

Benedict Anderson's (1983) concept of imagined communities provides a useful and compelling argument to these dynamics, both of culture and of community. Anderson's concept is based on the premise that a member of a culture or a community imagines that fellow members of the community (whether she has met them or not) share the same values, beliefs and behaviour. Cultural nostalgia may serve as an example of a type of "imagined community" because it is experienced within the notion of imaginary communality.

This notion of imagined communities is of particular importance as it relates to nostalgia and more in particular, the types of nostalgia and how it links to Graphic

been misguided as the 'Tweets' (comments made by individuals with regards to the subject matter under discussion) indicated that they (those who commented) view the term 'Coloured' as part of their ethnic identity. Currently the term, 'Coloured' is still in use although, as Van der Westhuizen (2017:21) mentions, it may be replaced by the term 'Brown' (translated from the Afrikaans word 'bruin') which is post-apartheid terminology for people classified as 'Coloured' during the previous regime.

design and the importance of market segmentation and subsequent stimulus development. Further elaboration in this regard will follow after the upcoming section about *virtual nostalgia*.

Similar to cultural nostalgia, *virtual nostalgia* is also collectively experienced but it is based on fantasy and experiences shared in an indirect manner (Gineikienė 2013:116; Rodrigues, Kastenholz and Morais 2012:86; Havlena and Holak 1996:218). It often involves the individual's own heritage (Rodrigues *et al.* 2012:86; Havlena and Holak 1996:218) and may arise as a result of historic information obtained from literature, video material or from experts and scholars who, themselves, have no direct experience with the events or objects (Gineikienė 2013:116). Examples of what would feed virtual nostalgia include visits to museums and the recreation of historic cultural events (Rodrigues *et al.* 2012:86). Speculatively, the most powerful version of this is might be encountered in the stories that are to be found in a particular cultural heritage, often carried over from generation to generation within the family. (The notion of stories told will become significant in the research approach undertaken in the dissertation, as it is stories that the participants relate about what the food and food image triggers that will need to be interpreted in the design process).

Taking all of the different types of nostalgia into account it becomes apparent that in all (except personal nostalgia due to it being a directly experienced account of the lived past) the role of the imagination and its influence on constructing an "idealised past" plays a pivotal part in the nostalgic experience. Taking Anderson's (1983) concept of "imagined communities" into consideration and referring to it when considering *simulated, historical, cultural and virtual nostalgia* it comes to light that all of the aforementioned types of nostalgia are reliant on the individual's ability to conjure up (following a triggering event) mental images, rooted in an imagined communality of experience, based on secondary accounts relating to historically relevant events. One can refer to it as a process of "double mediation" in that the past is imagined as being ideal (idealisation process) and that the community/culture represented in that past ideal is imagined as sharing the same values, beliefs and behaviours based on that idealised view of the past.

This approach bears a striking resemblance to the process the graphic designer working with nostalgia has to follow in developing marketing material aimed at evoking a positive emotional response from the consumer/viewer. The first step in the design process is where the designer imagines what the nostalgic triggers (pertaining to the idealised past) might be based on, from information obtained through the narratives that form part of the basis/heritage/history of the imagined target audience (culture/community). The second step in the design process is where the designer must attempt to imagine which design elements will be effective in triggering the appropriate type of imagined nostalgia in these imagined communities.

Drawing on the above it would seem that nostalgia in all of its complexity as human experienced emotion has its foundation in the individual's ability to construct meaningful past experiences when triggered by relevant stimuli. Although past experiences consist of both negative and positive components, the key driver – the defining feature if you will – of the nostalgic experience lies in the idealisation (imagining) of the past as being better than the status quo and the 'bittersweet' yearning to that idealised yet unattainable past.

It may point to the need to preserve one's individual identity (Baker and Kennedy 1994:169) by imagining one's self as part of a community who share common interests. Sierra and McQuitty (2007:100) seem to agree with this notion by stating "Nostalgia is used to develop, sustain and recreate individuals' identities. Such identity construction results from experiences shared with other group members from a certain era". Yet again, Anderson's [1983] "imagined communities" come to mind. Within the context of the current study this seems especially relevant as the research is concerned with designing a marketing campaign aimed at using nostalgia to positively influence individuals who form part of such a community (Afrikaner).

Therefore, the selection of appropriate nostalgic triggers as 'imaginatively' provided through the participant narratives and subsequently 'imaginatively' interpreted by the researcher may (if successfully done) appeal to members of the (imagined) community to such an extent as to aid in triggering the individuals sense of identity and their sense of belonging. However, the appropriate

application of these triggers into a visual language capable of having such an emotional effect may depend on the designer's ability to apply the design principles in such a way as to facilitate the appropriate response from the viewer as it was intended (or rather imagined) by the designer.

3.2.3 Nostalgia and marketing

Given the various strands of nostalgia with their powerful emotional dynamics at play, it seems inevitable that nostalgic advertising has become increasingly popular since the 1990's (Muehling *et al.* 2014:73; Pascal, Sprout and Muehling 2002:40) and has become an important marketing tool that influences trends in various fields such as design and advertising (Bambauer-Sachse and Gierl 2009:391). Pascal *et al.* (2002:40) state that the rise in nostalgic advertising may have been due to marketers wanting to exploit the cultural anxiety brought about by the end of the millennium (the *fin de siècle* effect) as well as the aging baby boomers who may be starting to face their own mortality. In both cases nostalgic advertising provides a way for the consumer to look back in time, counteracting present day insecurities and anxiety (Pascal *et al.* 2002:40). Within the South African context, given the immense changes that have come about following the dawn of democracy, and given the different communities and cultures that are in play, it seems possible that such advertising might flourish as well. (Speculatively this has not come about in the public domain due to political tensions and the possibility that the so-called Afrikaner culture may be more severely affected due to such a group's precarious status as the oppressors in the previous regime). Relevant to the context of the current study, Van der Westhuizen (2017:4) notes that the tumultuous aftermath of democratisation has brought about a renewed search for social identity and belonging amongst Afrikaner women (forming part of the envisioned campaign's "imagined community"). According to Van der Westhuizen (2017:4) these women seek to re-establish their identity and moral-worth presumably, by adhering to specific forms of femininity. For the purpose of this study the form of femininity will be viewed from limited perspective, focussing on the traditional role of a woman as 'nurturer' associated with household duties such as cooking, as, speculatively, this may be one of the themes that may arise during the relation of nostalgic experiences in the participant narratives.

In line with Pascal *et al.* (2002:40), Merchant *et al.* (2013:151) agree that marketers have indeed capitalised on times marked by social distress by increasingly making use of nostalgic advertising to reassure and comfort consumers. The positive emotions evoked through the use of nostalgic triggers (music, themes, images, slogans, to name a few) in these advertisements have shown to have positive effects towards the advertisement, featured brand or product and the intention to buy (Bambauer-Sachse and Gierl 2009:391). Baker and Kennedy (1994:170) state that any dissatisfaction in the consumer's current situation will lead to an increased tendency to want to refer back to an idealised past. Afrikaners⁵ are currently experiencing a form of cultural angst in that they are still struggling to establish a new identity and a sense of belonging as a result of the shift in political power, post 1994. It can be assumed that this would make the Afrikaners a viable audience for nostalgia-based advertising (Abrahamse 2014:14).

The success of nostalgic advertisements will depend on the advertisements' ability to 'connect' with the audience (Muehling and Pascal 2011:107). Baker and Kennedy (1994:173) suggest that the types of nostalgia, and the extent to which evoked emotions will influence the vividness of the memories, should be considered for marketing communications. Critically, such marketing would need to determine the most effective markers that would act as stimuli, or triggers, for the consumer. According to Muehling and Pascal (2011:109) nostalgia can be separated into two dimensions, personal versus collective and direct versus indirect, thereby implying that, because of their relative predictability, certain types of nostalgia may be more suited than others depending on the marketing context. Therefore, it would serve marketers well to be able to distinguish between the types of nostalgia (Marchegiane and Phau 2010:82) because the nostalgic stimuli, triggers or cues used in the advertising material will be based on which type of nostalgic response is desired and which type of "imagined community" is envisaged.

Within the marketing domain, the types of nostalgia that are referred to are either "personal" (directly experienced) or "historic" (indirectly experienced) (Muehling *et*

⁵ It should be reinforced, here, that reference to the 'Afrikaner' is seen, also, through the lens of Anderson's "imagined communities" and cannot be taken to be a monolithic concept.

al. 2014:74; Muehling and Pascal 2012:103; Marchegiane and Phau 2010:82) with personal nostalgia generating a greater and more positive consumer response when compared to historical nostalgia (Muehling *et al.* 2014:74; Muehling and Pascal 2012:105). This is due to the inherent nature of personal nostalgia as it is experienced as a result of actual lived experience because this leads to the recollection of vivid memories (Marchegiane and Phau 2010:84). Vivid, 'true-to-life' recollections of past events and the order in which they occurred are characteristic of autobiographical memory (Sedikides *et al.* 2004:205). The distinction between autobiographical memory and nostalgia, particularly personal nostalgia, can be made by recognising that the events recalled in autobiographical memory typically are not important or affect-laden, whereas nostalgia revolves around personally significant events (Sedikides *et al.* 2004:205).

According to Hwang and Hyun (2013:251) the various triggers can be subdivided into three main categories, namely: social aspects, sensory inputs and memorable past events. Each category contains a number of elements that may be used in nostalgic advertising to affect an emotional response from the viewer. For example, social aspects may include people who made a positive impression, or had a positive influence in the individual's past. This may refer to, among others, family members, friends, neighbours, organisational leaders, influential persons and idealised characters who each, within the context of the past event, becomes the central figure around which a nostalgic memory is constructed. Marketers may use images relating to the abovementioned social aspects to trigger a nostalgic response.

Sensory aspects may include the engagement of one or more of the following senses: visual (sight), auditory (hearing), olfactory (smell), gustatory (taste) or tactile (touch). A brief description of the act of baking and consuming homemade bread may serve as a simple example. Reading the recipe (visual), mixing ingredients and kneading the dough (tactile), smelling the aroma as it bakes in the oven (olfactory), cutting through the crispy crust (auditory) and tasting the slice (gustatory) present a full range of sensorial events, any of which, either singularly, or in combination can trigger nostalgic events. In a marketing context, the use of sensory triggers, such as visual images and music, may be used to

evoke a positive response. For the Graphic designer working with nostalgia, choosing the most effective sensorial trigger(s) for the project at hand becomes a cardinal, imagination driven, activity.

Past events may be memorable for a variety of reasons. For example, the event may have occurred only once (the birth of a child), for the first time (the first day of attending school), or it may have been part of a tradition (family vacations). The aforementioned examples all have positive underpinnings. However, it is worth noting that the event may also have been a distressing one – memorable due to the impact it had on the individual at the time. Feeling nostalgic with regards to a stressful or traumatic event may relate back to the “redemption sequence” (as mentioned under section 3.2.1). The negative aspect of the event is mitigated by focusing on the positive aspects thereby affectively reshaping the distressing event into a more victorious/acceptable one. According to Hwang and Hyun (2013:252) the amount of time that passes between the actual event and the nostalgic moment plays a role in filtering out the negativity thereby suggesting that, the older the negative memory, the lesser the negative impact on the present self. It is within this preservation of self (individual identity) that marketers may aim to capitalise on the individual’s tendency to associate certain triggers of belongingness such as friends, family and memories of times gone by (Muehling *et al.* 2014:75) with memorable past events, such as anniversaries, birthdays, holidays and graduations in order to evoke a favourable response toward a certain product or brand that can be associated with those events.

Drawing from the above it seems that a marketing approach via the use of nostalgia is a viable way to create awareness and promote consumer goods and products, especially in today’s unstable economic environment, by providing the consumer with ways to reconnect to a past as a way to preserve individual identity. The saying “Nostalgia is the ability to remember yesterday’s prices while forgetting yesterday’s wages” (Source unknown, cited in Baker and Kennedy [1994:170]) seems an apt description of the idealisation process that accompanies nostalgia within an unfavourable economic environment. Through careful consideration of the target audience, various types of nostalgia and the accompanying inter-contextual markers, marketers may use either one or a combination of social, sensory or event related triggers to affect a positive

emotional response from the consumer. It is within this realm of social, sensory and event-related triggers that food and the relation thereof to the Afrikaner culture, may play a pivotal role in the development of a marketing campaign aimed at revitalising the baking tradition.

3.2.4 Food as nostalgic trigger

Food and the way it is prepared and consumed play an important role in the maintaining and preserving of identity, especially if the community to which it relates, is in a diasporic⁶ situation (Holak 2014:188). Many Afrikaners are still struggling to find their place within the New South Africa post-1994 and are looking for answers to the questions “Who are we?” and “Where do we belong?” (Abrahamse 2014:11). It may be useful to refer to this sense of displacement awareness as a form of “diaspora consciousness” which is characterised by its dual nature (Vertovec 1999:8). According to Vertovec (1999:8) the dual nature that characterises “diaspora consciousness” can be described as consisting of negative experiences such as discrimination and exclusion as well as positive experiences such as being able to identify with a cultural heritage.

Nostalgia is strongly linked to the diasporic condition and can be experienced in situations where the individual has not necessarily moved from a certain location but the location (circumstances) in itself has changed (Holak 2014:185). According to Holtzman (2006:363) food-centred nostalgia is a popular theme within diaspora studies. On account of the aforementioned it becomes evident that food, its role in preserving identity and its ability to be used as nostalgic trigger to evoke positive reactions among individuals, may prove a valuable marketing tool for the designer in approaching the design of a visual campaign aimed at revitalising a South African baking tradition.

According to Holak (2014:188) nostalgic food-related memories have room to contain vast recollections of tastes, sounds and smells. It is in the ability of food to engage a multitude of senses (Baker *et al.* 2005:402), and the subsequent

⁶ Initially the term was used to refer to the displacement and victimisation of the Jews who were exiled from their homeland and the accompanying dream of return (Vertovec 1999:2). Fundamentally it deals with a community that is geographically displaced from a ‘homeland,’ longs to return, but is caught between the current homeland and the initial one. Within the Afrikaner community this can be seen being situated in Africa, but hankering after the ways of the West, for example.

remembrance of how they were captivated, that leads the study to explore the use of sensory stimuli and its role in evoking food related nostalgia. Food and its relation to the senses may be viewed through the concept of *synaesthesia* meaning “the union of the senses” (Sutton 2010:n.p). This refers to the notion that memory is made up of a multitude of sensory registers that interact with one another (Sutton 2010:n.p). It is this *synaesthesia* that allows the mere sight of food to create an anticipation of what it might smell and taste like by triggering olfactory and gustatory memories (Sutton 2010:n.p). This concept may prove valuable to remember because, even though the focus might be on using one form of sensory stimuli to evoke a sense of nostalgia, there will be an interaction between the various sensory registers when a food related memory is recalled.

Research has shown that the sight of food could result in a craving for it and that even reading, talking or thinking of it may result in a physical yearning thereof⁷ (Booth, Sharpe, Freeman, and Conner 2011:n.p). Therefore, visual stimuli in the form of images, photographs and artefacts such as recipes may serve as nostalgic trigger. Recipes may prove an especially valuable form of visual stimulus because, according Baker *et al.* (2005:402), they often represent ritualistic acts of food preparation or dishes prepared only on special occasions. Recipes can contribute towards intergenerational continuity in that the act of cooking and the subsequent stimulating of the senses can evoke memories referring to cherished individuals and memorable occasions (Baker *et al.* 2005:402).

According to Waskul, Vannini and Wilson (2009:6) one sense that is especially adept at evoking memories of the past is olfaction. For example, the smell of peeling a citrus fruit may remind one of carefree vacations spent with one’s best friend, running and playing in the family orchid, enjoying the tart-sweetness of the fruits one so freely plucked and ate. The citrusy aroma acts as a vessel, transporting one back to the idyllic times of youthful innocence and camaraderie. The smell of cinnamon may evoke childhood memories of one’s grandmother baking pancakes on rainy afternoons. It is within the distinct spicy aroma that images of a loved one and the warmth of a home that shelter against the cold

⁷ This is of particular importance to the current research as visual and written cues will form the basis of the proposed campaign.

and wet climate are conjured up. Waskul *et al.* (2009:11) states that certain smells/aromas may be favoured specifically because they are associated with certain people, places or events and the accompanying feelings of nostalgia they produce.

An example of this tendency to associate certain people with certain smells may perhaps be found in the poem *Sproeireën* (Mist)⁸ by the Afrikaans poet D.J. Opperman:

My nooi is in 'n nartjie,
my ouma in kaneel,
daar's iemand... iemand in anys,
daar's 'n vrou in elke geur.

As ek 'n stukkie nartjieskil
tussen my vingers buig of knak,
breek uit die klein sproeireën
wat geurend om my hand uitsak,
die boorde weer van Swartfoloos
en met die nartjies om my heen
weet ek hoe 'n vrou kan troos.

O my nooi is in 'n nartjie,
my ouma in kaneel,
daar's iemand... iemand in anys,
daar's 'n vrou in elke geur.

Source: Maroela Media:n.p

There exists a particular challenge for the designer who wishes to make use of olfaction as a means to trigger nostalgic memories as there is no physical means to stimulate the sense of smell through a two-dimensional platform. "Olfactory

⁸ Translated to English by the researcher the poem reads as follows: My heart resides in tangerine, a matriarch in cinnamon, there is someone to be found in anise, all scented embodiments of Eve. The bruising of tangerine rind, between extremities of hand, release a gentle misty spray, sprinkling down in scented strands. Back to Swarfoloos' orchards, by tangerines besieged, again become familiar with, the comfort brought by Eve. O my heart resides in tangerine, a matriarch in cinnamon, there is someone to be found in anise, all scented embodiments of Eve.

stimulation” may, in a sense, be achieved by trying to verbally convey what a certain aroma is like (as in the poem, above) but, as Waskul *et al.* (2009:13) mentions, language (written or spoken) is incapable of adequately describing odours. It may prove useful to make use of a multisensory approach by combining visual cues with descriptive olfactory cues and then rely on *synaesthesia* to trigger olfactory memories.

It may be possible for an individual to perceive an item of food and smell the aroma emitted by it by having no direct physical contact with the item. However, to be able to taste an item of food requires physical interaction in the form of ingestion (Korsmeyer 2002:217). Apart from the daily consumption of food and drink that form part of the human body’s needs for sustenance, the act of eating certain foods and the tastes associated with it often forms part of social events or cultural heritage. It is therefore not surprising that certain tastes can trigger gustatory nostalgia. For the designer wanting to make use of taste as a means to trigger nostalgic memories it would seem that the same approach would have to be taken as in the case of olfactory triggers. By using language, the designer can attempt in describing the taste of food by using words commonly associate with the sense of taste such as “sweet”, “salty”, “sour”, “bitter” and “umami” (commonly referred to as savoury).

The sense of touch normally goes ‘hand-in-hand’ with the act of food preparation and eating. Tactile sensations may form an integral part of these food-related activities and may aid in evoking nostalgic memories, for example, the act of peeling potatoes and the difference in texture starting out with the rinsing of the rough outer skin of the potato with the odd indent or knobbly sprout “eye”, to the peeling and the revealing of the smooth ivory coloured skin and the starchy white residue left on the hands afterwards. Unlike olfactory and gustatory stimuli, tactile stimuli (surface texture) do not have to be physically encountered or be reliant on descriptive language to be ‘experienced’. Visual texture is used in a two-dimensional format and refers to the perception of a surface as having textural surface properties (Pentak, Roth and Lauer 2013:192). Thus, the designer may use photographs and images (moving, stills or sequential) to visually communicate the tactile qualities of an object. The addition of descriptive language often associated with textures (rough, smooth) together with a visual

representation may aid in conveying the message to the viewer in an attempt to trigger nostalgic memories. Textures can also be captured through the careful use of lighting an image, to accentuate roughness or dimension.

The above mentioned sensory stimuli and how they are related to food consumption are found in literature on food-related nostalgia. However, auditory cues are not as commonly related to food as is the case with visual, olfactory, gustatory and tactile triggers. Literature on auditory nostalgia is primarily concerned with the effect of music (or sound-effects) as nostalgic trigger (Barrett, Grimm, Robins, Wildschut, Sedikides and Janata 2010:390). Within the context of food related sensory triggers, the description of certain familiar sounds (sizzling meat, boiling water) may prove useful in enhancing the sensory appeal of the visual stimuli. Furthermore, the effective use of voice-overs, for example, can enhance the process, both in terms of the words chosen, but also in terms of the voice selection. There are a number of voice artists in Afrikaans that trigger auditory nostalgia (Nic de Jager is but one such example).

In light of the above it would seem that food and food-related activities such as preparation and consumption may be a viable tool in triggering nostalgic memories. Speculatively the designer can use sensory stimuli associated with food in order to trigger nostalgic associations between the item of food and people and/or events from the past. Referring to Hwang and Hyun (2013:251) who proposed the division of nostalgic triggers into three categories namely: social aspects, sensory inputs and memorable past events, one returns to the notion that food and the sensory aspects related to it, may link to both social aspects and past events when used as nostalgic trigger.

3.3 PRINCIPLES OF GRAPHIC DESIGN PRACTICE

Imagination, and its role in constructing an “idealised past,” plays a central role in the nostalgic experience. A designer working with the concept of nostalgia as key driver in the development of visual stimuli (aimed at evoking a positive emotional response from the viewer) must be capable of imagining what design elements will be most effective in triggering the desired type of imagined nostalgia. In effect, the designer is responsible for ‘transforming’ the concept of a nostalgic trigger into a visual language capable of ‘connecting’ with the viewer on an

emotional level. This could be referred to as a form of creative problem-solving and the following section will provide further insight into this process as practiced by the designer.

3.3.1 Design

“Design is an activity of transforming something given into something preferred through intervention and invention” (Aakhus 2013:112). In short, design may be described as: to plan or to organise a solution for a certain problem (Pentak *et al.* 2013:4; Cheatham, Cheatham and Owens 1987:vii). It may be seen as a way of creative problem-solving that is an implicit element within all of the various art forms involving practically the entire field of two- and three-dimensional production. To be able to start the creative ‘problem-solving’ process the designer must be aware that there is indeed no fixed set of solutions and that the subsequent process will require knowledge about the problem before attempts can be made in working on a solution. (To a large extent the previous section delineated many of these designer problems.) The design process, as it is often referred to, can be summarized into three simple steps: thinking (about the problem, about the solution, about the intended audience), looking, (inspiration from natural and human sources) and doing (visual experimentation) (Pentak *et al.* 2013:7).

Thinking about the problem usually involves the addressing of certain questions. By answering these questions, the designer will have a general framework on which to build by having a clearer understanding of what is required. According to Pentak *et al.* (2013:9) the questions relating to the problem may include the following: What must the design accomplish? Are there certain requirements visual or stylistically? What are the set limitations? What is the time frame? (And so forth).⁹ By answering these questions time spent on the solution may be optimally applied (Pentak *et al.* 2013:9). Secondly, thought must be given to the solution and how it may be achieved. Brainstorming is an important tool for a designer and provides a means of sketching out or listing possible solutions for the given problem based on the answers to the abovementioned questions.

⁹ The answers for these questions that apply to this study will be engaged with in Chapter 5 where the design process is described and analysed. The purpose of this section is simply to outline the generic processes that a Graphic Designer might follow and, indeed, which this study followed.

Thirdly, thought must be given to whom the intended target audience is. A simple example would be the difference between an all-male versus an all-female audience. Design elements (colour, shape, style) that may succeed in communicating an idea to one audience may not necessarily be as effective in conveying that same message to the other.

Finding inspiration is another step in the design process and may be drawn from looking at the natural world and all the living and inanimate elements it is made up of, from existing artwork and designs and how they were created and by which processes and by simply learning to look at everyday life and the different aspects it encompasses. Looking happens on a conscious level and result in a visual recollection of that which has been seen (Pentak *et al.* 2013:19).

Doing involves experimentation with possible materials and processes, work on the design, reflection on what has been done and refinement into a final product. These three steps do not necessarily follow a logical or chronological order and can involve thinking about or doing all of the aforementioned activities at once or by switching between them. Most importantly, each step must occur during the pursuit of a viable end-result (Pentak *et al.* 2013:20).

3.3.2 Graphic design

As is the case with design in general, graphic design may also be defined as a means to plan and to organise (Golombisky and Hagen 2010:4). Whereas design may be applicable to both two- and three dimensional space (Pentak *et al.* 2013:4; Meggs 1992:viii), graphic design primarily functions within the two dimensional realm. It may be viewed as a hybrid discipline as it involves the thoughtful arrangement of various elements, symbols, typography and pictures (Meggs 1992:8) with its main purpose being the visual communication of a predetermined message (Golombisky and Hagen 2010:5; Wong 1993:41). Frascara (in Bennet and Heller [2006:28]) proposes this working definition: “Graphic design is the activity that organises visual communication in society”. The current study’s ‘predetermined message’ might be seen as communicating an awareness of the cultural importance in the continuation of traditional culinary practices.

Societal impact may be seen as the extent to which the communicated message influences the audience. Marketing or advertising design (as a part of graphic design) may be used as a fitting example as it may be used to create awareness of social issues and to promote products and services. The efficacy of the communication¹⁰ (in the form of marketing) may be measured in terms of the extent to which the viewer's attitude and actions have been influenced. Conventional marketing metrics used to measure the efficacy of marketing may include, but are not limited to, increases in sales, consumer attitude, repeat buying and brand awareness (Doyle 2000:300). However, within the sphere of Internet marketing or more specifically social media marketing as it relates to the current study, the relevant metrics for a social media application such as Facebook may be considered based upon a set of objectives. For example, if the objective is to determine brand awareness the marketer may look to the number of page members or followers and when the objective is to determine the degree of consumer-brand engagement the marketer may look at the number of comments, active users, 'likes' and 'shares' (Hoffman and Fodor 2010:46).

For the graphic designer who is attempting to effectively convey information, the exercise involves more than knowledge about how to do so in an aesthetic manner by using the appropriate technological tools. It involves constant and clear communication between the client and the designer in order to achieve the desired design goal. For example, knowledge needed to promote confectionary will vary from the knowledge needed to develop educational material aimed at pre-school children. Taking this into consideration and the fact that the same designer may be commissioned for both, it becomes apparent that the nature of graphic design may be viewed from a cross-disciplinary standpoint (Frascara in Bennet 2006:29).

According to Golombisky and Hagen (2010:6) effective graphic design will *capture* the audience's attention, *control* the viewer's eye patterns to follow a sequence designed to *convey* information that will *evoke* an emotional response

¹⁰ Communication within the context of the current study refers to the selection of nostalgic triggers as provided in the participant narratives on the 'Bak, broou en onthou' Facebook page and the subsequent interpretation and application thereof when designing a visual language capable of eliciting an ('imagined') emotional response.

resulting in behavioural change. Therefore, to be able to produce effective graphic designs the designer must have knowledge on the subject matter to be communicated as well as knowledge on the principles of visual organisation. These principles of design form the basis of visual communication (Wong 1993:41). The principles presented here supply the terminology and concepts that will be used in the descriptions of the creative project, analysing the Facebook page responses that provide the impetus of this research project.

3.3.3 Principles of design

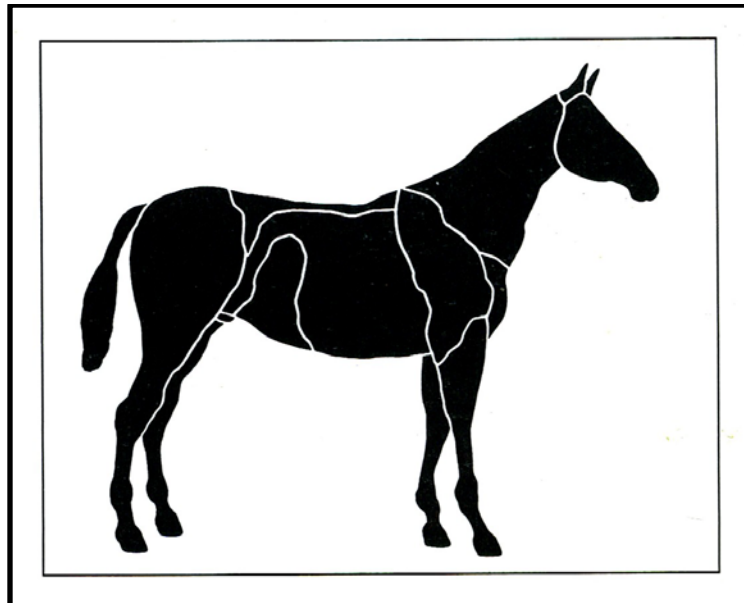
Visual organisation may be used to refer to a composition consisting of either one or a combination of typographic and pictographic elements, structured within a space in such a way that the viewer visually perceives these individual elements as a unified whole (Golombisky and Hagen 2010:76; Landa 2018:1). This concept of visual perception is rooted in psychology and is concerned with how the eye (seeing) and brain (thinking) function together during the process of perception (Cheatham *et al.* 1987:2).

Gestalt theory was developed by German psychologists Max Wertheimer, Kurt Koffka and Wolfgang Kohler during the 1920's and is based on how humans tend to look for structure and order while processing visual information. Gestalt laws, rules or principles as these are interchangeably referred to, allow the designer to validate the implementation of design elements (Figure 3.1) when structuring a meaningful, visually effective composition (Figure 3.2) (Graham 2008:3).



Source: Cheatham et al. (1987:3)

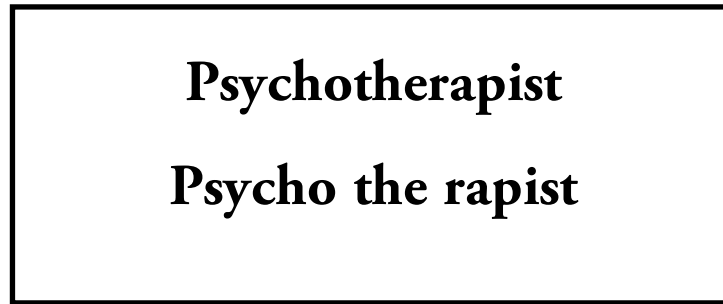
Figure 3.1: Various design elements



Source: Cheatham et al. (1987:3)

Figure 3.2: Design elements organised into a meaningful whole

This structuring of meaningful compositions into unified wholes may also be illustrated by using text as an example. When reading a section of text, the reader does not see individual letters but instead perceives whole words, each structured within a sentence that is 'designed' or constructed in such a way as to convey a certain message. Care must be taken in sentence construction as careless spacing may alter the meaning of the word(s) (Graham 2008:2).



Source: Graham (2008:2)

Figure 3.3: Gestalt theory of unity in typography

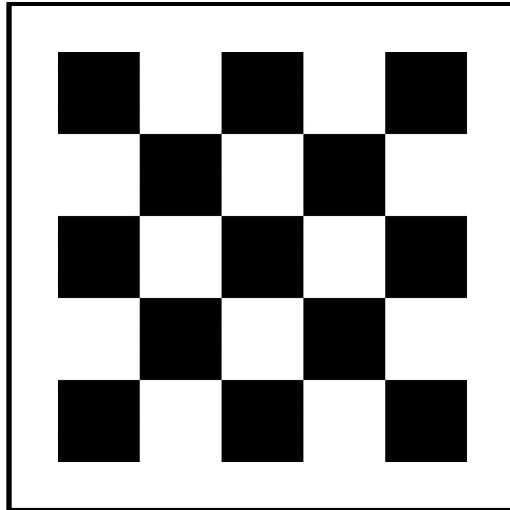
The following section will aim to provide a brief overview of the Gestalt principles namely, figure/ground, proximity, closure, similarity, continuation, repetition together with graphic examples on the application thereof in achieving visual unity. The *figure/ground* principle is what allows the viewer to distinguish between objects or figures (form, foreground, positive space) and the background (ground, background, negative space) (Landa 2018:21; Graham 2008:3; Chang, Dooley and Tuovinen 2002:10). Landa (2018:21) states that the mind seeks for discernible shapes in order to make sense of what is depicted. For shapes to be identifiable this principle is reliant on contrast as there should be enough visible difference between the foreground and the background in order for the viewer to distinguish between the two (keeping in mind that multiple objects within one composition may be viewed as a figure). The poster "Stop the plant" by designer Woody Pirtle (Figure 3.4) can be seen as an example of figure (smoke-stack and smoke) and its relation to background (blue sky) (Landa 2018:21).



Source: Landa (2018:21)

Figure 3.4: Figure/ground Woody Pirtle. Stop the plant. 2005

In general, when viewing a black and white design, the tendency is to regard the black area(s) as positive space and the white area(s) as negative space. This however is not always the case as it depends on the interrelationship between the forms (Wong 1993:47). *Figure/ground reversal* may be achieved when both negative and positive shapes are equally distributed to produce an equivocal or ambiguous relationship (Figure 3.5) or when negative shapes are designed in relation to the surrounding positive shapes in such a way that they become identifiable as positive images (Figure 3.6) (Landa 2018:21).



Source: Landa (2018:21)

Figure 3.5: Equivocal or ambiguous figure/ground relationship

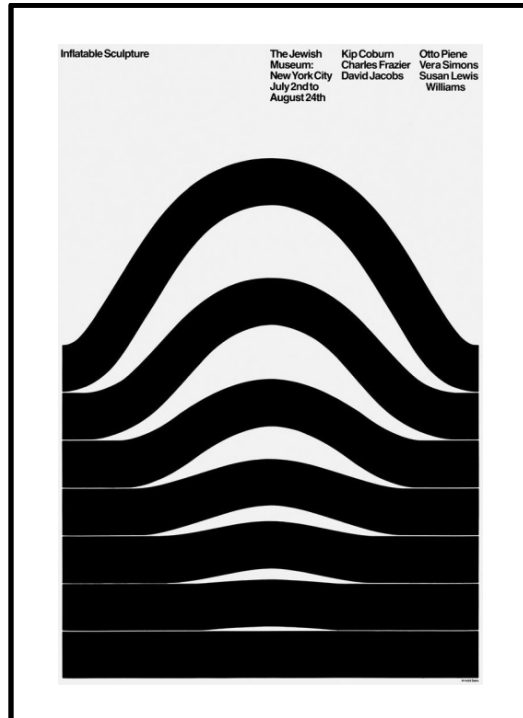


Source: Landa (2018:22)

Figure 3.6: Ronald. J. Cala II. Hope for peace. 2007

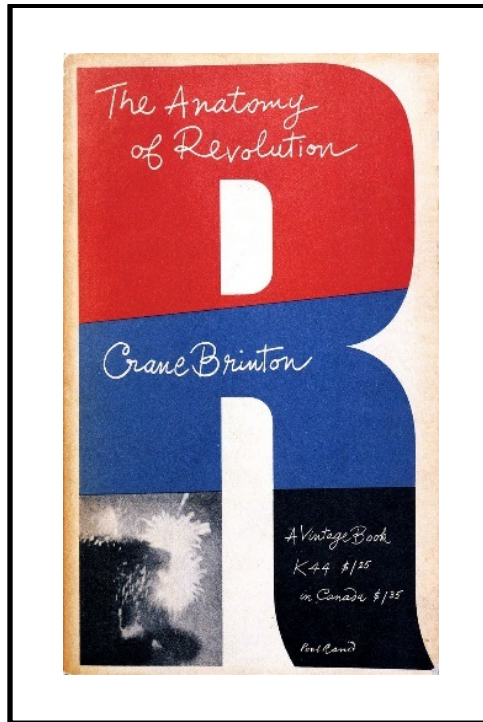
The *proximity* principle refers to how elements that are placed close together are perceived as a visual unit (Pentak *et al.* 2013:34; Evans and Thomas 2012:15; Graham 2008:4; Cheatham *et al.* 1987:6). According to Cheatham *et al.* (1987:6) there are different methods that the designer may use to implement the principle of proximity. These are, *close-edged relation* (the space between elements are reduced to such an extent that the element appears locked together) (Figure 3.7), *combining* (placing smaller elements within larger elements) (Figure 3.8),

touching (elements are placed close enough to visually touch) (Figure 3.9) and *overlapping* (when viewed the overlapped elements will have a single unified outline) (Figure 3.10).



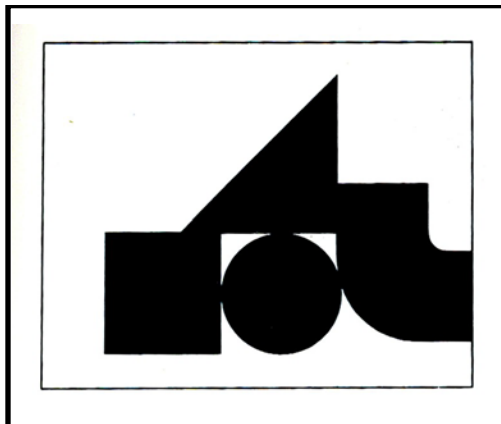
Source: Cheatham et al. (1987:7)

Figure 3.7: Proximity through close edge-relation. Arnold Saks. Inflatable sculpture poster. 1968



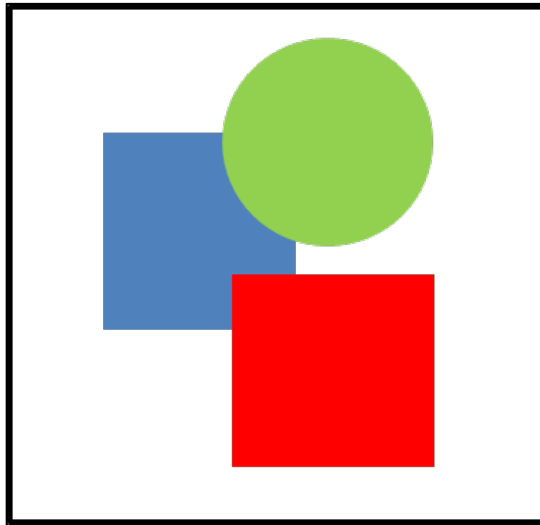
Source: Cheatham et al. (1987:10)

Figure 3.8: Proximity through combining. Paul Rand. The Anatomy of Revolution book cover. 1965



Source: Cheatham et al. (1987:11)

Figure 3.9: Proximity through touching



Source: Cheatham et al. (1987:13)

Figure 3.10: Proximity through overlapping based on the example by Cheatham

The *closure* principle is based on the human tendency to perceive partial images as unified wholes by mentally filling in the missing sections (Landa 2018:29; Graham 2008:7; Chang *et al.* 2002:8; Ocvirk, Stinson, Wigg, Bone and Cayton 2002; Cheatham *et al.* 1987:19). The efficacy of this method of achieving visual unity depends on the nature of the image and on the relative position of one object to another (Cheatham *et al.* 1987:19). Visual tension might be created by positioning the individual elements close enough to one another in order for the viewer to visually perceive a unified whole Graham (2008:8) (Figure 3.11).



Source: Graham (2008:8)

Figure 3.11: Closure

The *similarity* principle is based on the premise that elements that share the same visual characteristic will be perceived as belonging to a group (Landa

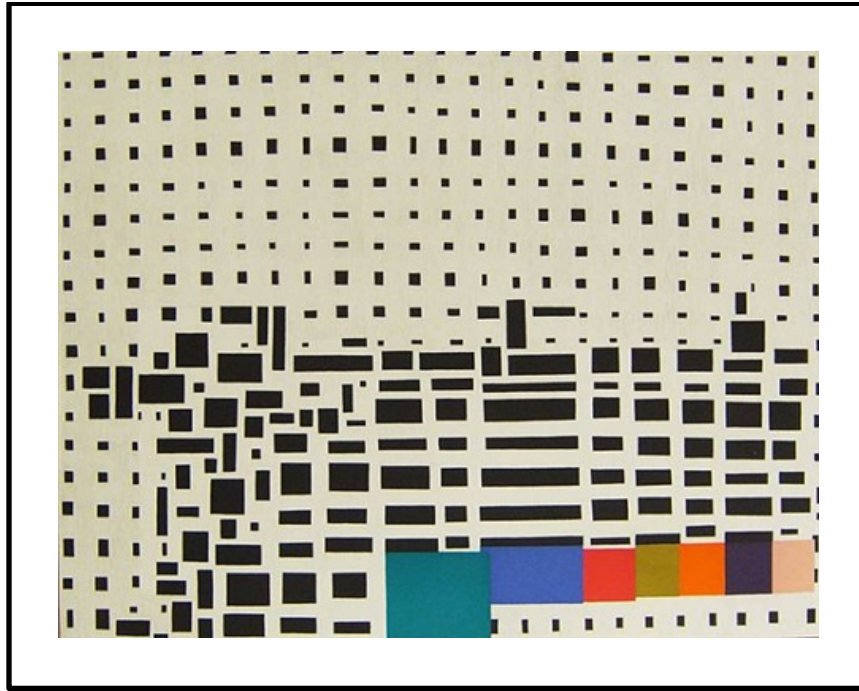
2018:29; Graham 2008:9; Chang *et al.* 2002:7; Cheatham *et al.* 1987:26). Similarity can be achieved by having visual elements share a similar size, shape or volume, proximity, direction (Figure 3.12), colour or value (Graham 2008:9; Cheatham *et al.* 1987:26).



Source: Cheatham *et al.* (1987:30)

Figure 3.12: Similarity of direction. Bridget Riley. Current. 1964

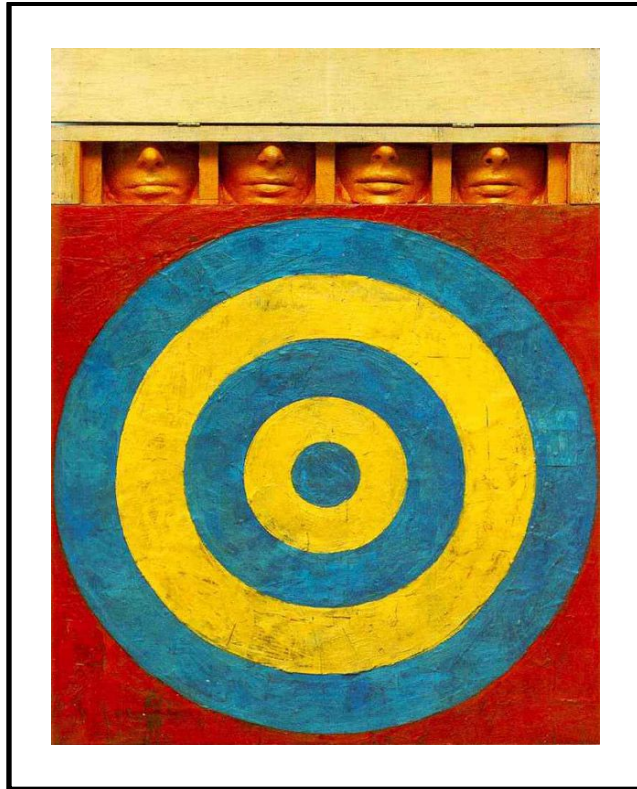
Due to the fact that similar elements are visually grouped, the presence of a dissimilar object would be apparent (Graham 2008:9). This may be helpful for the designer who wishes to emphasise a certain part of the composition. By using an element that is different from the overall look of the elements in a composition, the designer may capture the viewer's attention by drawing the viewer's gaze towards the contrasting element thereby creating a visual *focal point* (Figure 3.13) Pentak *et al.* 2013:56).



Source: Pentak et al. (2013:59)

Figure 3.13: Emphasis through contrast of colour. Thomas Nozkowski. Untitled. 2006

Another common way to achieve visual unity is by using the *repetition* principle. This principle involves repeating elements (shape, colour, direction, size) within a design (Figure 3.14) (Pentak *et al.* 2013:58). Even though repetition can be used to create visual harmony and strength, the callous use thereof may result in a monotonous, uninteresting design (Wong 1993:51; Cheatham *et al.* 1987: 122). This may be counteracted by introducing a variation into the dominating elements within a design in the form of an *anomaly*. An anomaly is an element(s) that can be subtly or prominently introduced and, when done skilfully, award an otherwise ordinary design with a sense of uniqueness (Figure 3.15) (Cheatham *et al.* 1987:122). This method echoes the use of dissimilar elements to create a focal point when employing the principle of similarity.



Source: Cheatham et al. (1987:125)

Figure 3.14: Repetition of size and form. Jasper Johns. Target with four faces. 1955



Source: Ocvirk et al. (2002:36)

Figure 3.15: Creating a visual anomaly through colour variation. Paul Manes. Eiso. 1995

Drawing on the above one may be able to find the interrelatedness between each of the aforementioned design principles. Figure must be discernible from ground while simultaneously forming a unified visual relationship. The close proximity of elements occupying this space/background allows these objects/figures to be seen as a visual unit as is also the case with objects which share similar visual characteristics. The designer may capitalise on these unifying methods by introducing a dissimilar object or by using less proximity in order to draw the viewer's eye to a certain part of the design. This is similar to introducing a visual anomaly when using repetition as a unifying principle. Therefore the designer, in the pursuit of creating visually unified compositions to aid in visual communication can, justify the arrangement of elements by using one or a combination of the aforementioned principles. How these principles will be implemented in the final 'look' (form) of the visual will be dictated by what it aims to achieve (function). In other words, the form will follow the function (Golombisky and Hagen 2010:3).

In line with the aforementioned section on creating visual unity one may find the notion of 'visual-verbal synergy'. Advocated by copywriter Bill Bernbach of the Doyle Dane Bernbach advertising agency, it refers to the relation between image and word working in unison to convey a specific message (Meggs 1992:17). As is the case in Gestalt theory, the visual and verbal (text) must be perceived as a communicative unit and not as separate elements within the composition. This may be of particular importance for the designer of marketing material aimed at conveying a specific message to a selected audience. Meggs (1992:17) states that type may be used to connect an image to a particular meaning ruling out the possibility of individual interpretation by the viewer.

3.3.4 Visual marketing campaigns

According to Landa (2018:1) graphic design as a form of visual communication may be effective enough to influence audience behaviour. It may result in the purchasing of a certain product or be the deciding factor in the use of a specific service or even influence people to take part in societal activities such as donating blood. Thus, graphic design is intentionally created for communicating with a specific audience. This is in line with Atkin and Rice's (2013:527)

description of a communication campaign's function. The authors describe it as a means of informing, motivating or persuading a target audience toward behavioural change over a period of time through organised communication across mass, online and/or interactive media platforms. Graphic design's role in the development of visual campaigns may become evident, as the essence that makes up each concept runs parallel to that of the other namely, communicating a specific message/idea across various media platforms to a specific target audience.

The following statement from Dahlén, Lange and Smith (2010:xvii) with regards to marketing campaigns echoes parts of Atkin and Rice's (2013:527) description and includes an important consideration about the context in which contemporary marketing campaign is set to function. Dahlén *et al.* (2010:xvii) state that effective marketing campaigns are built on three pillars, namely message, media and target audience within the context of a constantly evolving technological and information-hungry landscape. These advances in modern day technology have the potential of turning everyone who has access to it into a communicator of sorts with the ability to share ideas, information and opinions with a broad group of individuals with relative ease (Barnard and Parker 2012:10).

According to Mangold and Faulds (2009:360) the advent of Internet-based social media platforms (such as Facebook) has altered the way in which companies communicate with their customers. In addition to the traditional methods of 'company to consumer' communication, social media allows for 'consumer to consumer' communication as an amplified version of the traditional 'word-of-mouth'¹¹ communication (Mangold and Faulds 2009:362). Kaplan and Haenlein (2010 cited in Ngai, Tao and Moon [2014:33]) define social media as "a] group of internet based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0,¹² and allow the creation and exchange of user generated content". This shift from passive consumers on the receiving end of marketing communication, to engaged, connected consumers with the ability to be actively

¹¹ De Valck, van Bruggen and Wierenga (2009:185) use the term 'word-of-mouse' to contextualise the speed and scope of information sharing amongst online consumers.

¹² The Web 2.0 model refers to the attributes of social media platforms as a means of bi-directional communication as opposed to the mere consumption of given content without the possibility of engagement as is the case with the traditional Web 1.0 model (Cormode and Krishnamurthy 2008:6).

involved in the communication process may be viewed as a form of ‘conversational marketing’ (Dahlén *et al.* 2010:35).

These engaged and connected consumers are likely to gravitate towards online environments where they can communicate with other consumers who share a common interest (Chan and Li 2010:1033). These online environments or gatherings are often referred to as ‘virtual communities’ consisting of members who are unlikely to physically meet (Kozinets 1999:253) but who presumably share the same interests (Wu, Chen and Chung 2010:1025; De Valck *et al.* 2009:185) values and beliefs, thereby identifying with other members of the group. (This concept is again reminiscent of Benedict Anderson’s [1983] concept of “imagined communities” as discussed under 3.2.2).

Marketers may seek to capitalise on these ‘virtual communities’ by designing online marketing campaigns tailor-made for the members of these ‘communities’ based on their presumed common interests, values and beliefs. This may be seen as a form of narrowcasting through means of market segmentation (identifying the target audience) of like-minded users within the digital media landscape (Atkin and Rice 2013:528).

Drawing on the abovementioned literature it would seem that shifts in the nature of marketing communication from the traditional ‘company to consumer’ method to the more interactive ‘consumer to consumer’ method made possible by social media platforms, have awarded marketers with the means of actively engaging the consumer as a form of ‘conversational marketing’. Speculatively, knowledge gained from these ‘conversations’ may award marketers with valuable insights into the nature of the consumer. Marketers may capitalise on this knowledge by providing the designer of the subsequent marketing campaign with the relevant information needed to produce content that may resonate with the consumer in terms of their interests, values and beliefs.

3.4 SUMMARY

Nostalgia is characterised as a predominantly positive emotional response arising in individuals when they are exposed to any external stimuli that trigger sentimental feelings and a yearning for bygone times. It can be viewed as a coping mechanism during trying times characterised by psychological distress

brought about by present day fears and uncertainties. The subsequent yearning for 'the good old days' or a past perceived to be better than now, counteracts these feelings of anguish by enhancing self-esteem through the development of individual identity and purpose often within the context of shared past experiences between individuals from a certain era and similar background in the form of a community, albeit 'imagined, communities' [Anderson 1983].

Marketers have increasingly capitalised on times marked by economic uncertainty and social distress by making use of nostalgic advertising to reassure and comfort consumers. By using various nostalgic triggers marketers are able to use the concept of nostalgia as an effective marketing strategy in order to positively influence the consumer. The success of nostalgic marketing depends on its ability to connect with the target audience (community) through determining the most effective markers for the development of appropriate nostalgia triggers. Knowledge of the different types and characteristics of nostalgia (personal, simulated, historic or virtual) either directly or indirectly experienced may aid in designing the most appropriate advertisement material. Modern day internet-based social media platforms have altered the way in which companies and consumers communicate. It has brought about a shift from the traditional, passive, one way "company to consumer" form of marketing communication towards a more "consumer to consumer" approach where consumers may be actively involved in this conversation process and thus gravitate towards online environments where they can converse with others as part of this 'imagined' community' who share a common interest, and are driven by nostalgia.

The purpose of the following chapter is to outline the historical events that influenced Afrikaner culinary traditions and to explore the factors contributing to the decline in these traditional food practices. Potentially this will be undertaken through the lens of nostalgia, as developed in this chapter. This will be achieved by consulting the relevant related literature in order to develop an understanding of the origin of Afrikaner cuisine and the customs that evolved around it and to gain insights into the current state of affairs surrounding these food centred traditions. The reason for doing this is to determine to what extent these traditions are still practiced in the modern Afrikaner household and what influencing factors may contribute to the current state of affairs.

Chapter 4

AFRIKANER COOKING

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the previous chapter was to explore the concept of nostalgia as emotional reactions to external stimuli and its speculative ability to provoke the use of design elements and principles to evoke a positive response in the consumer, as nostalgia is presented in relevant literature. The field of graphic design and its potential ability to facilitate a revised positive socio-cultural insight and appreciation by using nostalgia as a central theme was explored. Strategically this was done by examining related literature to create insight into nostalgia so that these insights can be applied to the principles of graphic design and their evolution into a modern method of visual communication. The reason for doing this was to determine how nostalgia, in the context of Afrikaner food culture, could be used as a central element to develop an online Facebook campaign aimed at revitalising traditional Afrikaner baking. Thus the reason for the previous chapter was to present the dynamics of nostalgia and Graphic Design principles so that their interface could be used as part of the justification for choices made in the designed campaign (as presented in Chapter 5).

The purpose of this chapter is to briefly outline the reasoning that drove the research, to outline the historical events that influenced Afrikaner culinary traditions and to explore the factors contributing to the decline in these traditional food practices. Potentially this will be undertaken through the lens of nostalgia, as developed in the previous chapter. This will be achieved by consulting the relevant related literature as well as the narratives provided by members of the '*Bak, brou and onthou*' Facebook page in order to develop an understanding of the origins of Afrikaner cuisine and the customs (and experiences) that evolved around it and to gain insights into the current state of affairs surrounding these food centred traditions. The reason for doing this is to determine to what extent these traditions are still practised in the modern Afrikaner household, what the influencing factors are that contribute to the current state of affairs and what type of nostalgic triggers may possibly prove useful when designing the campaign.

4.2 RATIONALE AND BACKGROUND

South Africa is made up of a complex array of diverse cultures (Naidoo 2015:1) each with its own history, knowledge and (food) traditions that have been passed on through generations. The current research project focuses on traditional fare as prepared by the Afrikaner¹ community, categorized as such, due to their lineage with the Dutch, German and French Huguenots who settled in South Africa during the 17th century (Abrahamse 2014:7). *Boerekos* consists of a rich variety of recipes (Van Zyl 2012:9). Young women during the post-Anglo-Boer war (post 1902) era were not only educated in language practice, music and accounting but was also expected to be skilled in the kitchen (Vicky Heunis in Wessels *et al.* 2016:9). Traditional dishes were prepared without the use of printed recipes (V Heunis in Wessels *et al.* 2016:9). Thus, the tradition of handwritten recipes originated (V Heunis in Wessels *et al.* 2016:9; Van Zyl 2012:9). For working women time became a valuable commodity (Niehaus 1999:9). According to Celnik, Gillespie and Lean (2012:4) a lack of time (perceived as time-scarcity) is common in industrialised nations and may be a defining factor influencing food related activities such as food choice particularly due to women being employed outside of the domestic sphere leaving less time for household tasks such as cooking. Over time homemade goods made way for store bought items (home industry or retail) and ready-to-use, time-saving alternatives (Niehaus 1999:9) became popular solutions as a means of speeding up, shortening and substituting time-consuming food related activities (Celnik *et al.* 2012:5). Although favourites like *melktert*, *koeksisters* and *Hertzoggies* are on offer in these stores, family recipes for traditional gems like *Jan Smuts koekies* (tartlets) and *Generaal de Wet* cake are regularly to be found tucked away in between the tattered pages of old recipe books.

In addition, most people have access to one or more forms of audio-visual media exposure due to the growth and advances in digital interfaces such as smartphones (Spence, Okajima, Cheok, Petit and Michel 2015:55) which have

¹ The term "Afrikaner" is used in this study in the same context as Van der Merwe (2008:8) in that it refers to white, Afrikaans speaking South Africans of European decent with their own culture. It should be noted that, for the purposes of this dissertation, although the so-called "Coloured" community was not initially part of the envisioned inclusion criteria, that community has contributed greatly to certain aspects of what is termed as traditional Afrikaner cuisine and, where such contribution is relevant to this dissertation, it will be acknowledged.

become a popular method of information gathering across an almost infinite variety of topics such as food and cooking. Speaking from an autoethnographical perspective the researcher admits to often making use of these online platforms herself in search of recipes as she often deems it time saving and more convenient than searching through actual recipe books. This also became evident from the members of the '*Bak, brou en Onthou*' Facebook page whose comments regularly included ones such as "*resep asseblief*" (recipe please) after viewing posts about traditional baked items such as *koeksisters* thus, being in line with the researcher's own experience engaging in this form of convenient online information consumption. As the saying goes, "out of sight, out of mind". Therefore, re-introducing these traditional recipes by means of a digital online visual campaign to remind, re-ignite and encourage the continuation of making and discovering traditional baked goods in Afrikaner homes can be beneficial for the preservation of this aspect of the cultural heritage for future generations.

4.3 HISTORY OF AFRIKANER COOKING

4.3.1 Early influence

Claassens (2003:24) states that it is necessary to be knowledgeable about the various influences on the Dutch food culture prior to its South African introduction in 1652 to be able to fully understand its contribution towards traditional Afrikaner cooking. According to Claassens (2003:24) Persian, Roman and Arabian food culture largely influenced the Dutch, German and French ways of cooking which, in turn, led to their influence on Afrikaner food culture as practised today. It could be presumed that these varied contributions toward the Afrikaner food culture make it difficult to attribute a single source as the main influence, but Claassens (2003:39) argues that research has proven the contrary. To gain a better understanding of this statement it may prove useful to look at these varied contributions, their subsequent impact on the development of Afrikaner food culture, and social hierarchy from a simplified, chronologically-funnelled point of view. As previously stated, the Dutch culinary culture has its roots in Persian, Roman and Arabic food practices.² The Dutch were the ruling authority in the

² See Claassens (2003) for a comprehensive discussion on the European historical background prior to 1652.

Cape from 1652 up until the Second British occupation in 1806. The Dutch food culture (made up of various influences), as authoritatively practiced, is thus thought to be the main contributing factor in the subsequent development of the Afrikaner food culture (Claassens 2003). Speculatively, this may have been related to the different social classes that existed among the Cape community where it seems unlikely that the commanding, class-conscious Cape elite would take on the food culture and practices from those with a lower social standing (slave population) (Claassens 2003). That it was unlikely may be true when viewed within the context of social stratification³ but that the probability of such influence occurred cannot be dismissed especially when taking into account that those charged with preparing the food (Malay cooks and kitchen servants) may well have had a hand (in further) developing the food culture of the Afrikaner. Baderoon (2009:99) illustrates this concept through excerpts from Rayda Jacobs's historical novel *The Slave Book*.⁴ A section describes a discussion between the owner of the farm *Zoetewater* (Andries) and his wife (Marieta) regarding supper arrangements. Andries tells Marieta that he told a slave (Somieia) to make the same dish as she did on a previous occasion whereby Marieta antagonistically replied that Somieia cannot cook. Andries argues that she can and that it was she who made "the, what's it called again?" aiming the question directly at Somieia. Another slave (Rachel, who has worked on the farm for a longer period) answers that it was a cabbage *bredie*. Marieta replies that, whatever it was, they would not be having it, not for guests (suggesting that "whatever" may be permitted on an everyday level) and that Rachel will cook what she is told and that they will serve what they usually serve (roast meat, potatoes and carrots). It is with reference to the above that Baderoon (2009:100) argues that the clear distinction between the "whatever" and the "usual" points toward an eventual permeability between the boundaries of such social constructs that has led to the intertwining of Malay, Dutch and subsequently Afrikaner cooking.

The effects of this permeability can be seen in similar dishes in both the cooking traditions of those with Malay and Dutch lineage respectively. An example would

³ "The hierarchical structures of class and status in any society" as defined by *Collins Dictionary* (n.p.).

⁴ Jacobs, R. 1998. *The Slave Book*. Cape Town: Kwela.

be a cinnamon spice milk drink referred to as *boeber* in Malay cooking and as *melkkos* in Afrikaans. Another example of a connection between the food traditions would be the use of similar names for different dishes such as the Malay name *koesister* (koe'sister or koesiester) and the Afrikaans *koeksister* (Baderoon 2009:100). According to Baderoon (2009:100) the similarities found across food cultures in Cape Town remain largely unexplored presumably due to the sensitivity associated with certain terms and their relation to the lingering effects of the previous political era.

It is important to note that this chapter is not presented, nor should it be interpreted from within a political frame. The purpose of this chapter is simply to briefly discuss the key historical events (whether deemed socially acceptable or not) that influenced the target (Afrikaner) group's food culture which has subsequently led to what is now referred to as *Boerekos*.

4.3.2 Dutch settlement

After the discovery of the European-Asia trade route leading around the southern tip of Africa known as the Cape of Good Hope (named in 1487 by Portuguese naval explorer Bartolomeu Dias (Abrahamse 2014:7), the Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie* commonly referred to as the VOC) became aware of the strategic advantages of a permanent port capable of providing passing ships with fresh water and food provisions (Fourie and Von Fintel 2010:4; Stapleton 2010:1; Ross 2008:22). The Dutch East India Company tasked Jan Anthonisz van Riebeeck with the responsibility of setting up such a trading post (Ross 2008:22; Claassens 2003) and he, together with his wife Maria de la Queillerie and a small party of Dutchmen arrived in Table Bay on 6 April 1652 (Claassens 2003). The Dutch settlement at the Cape differed from that of other strategically created Dutch settlements in that it was not done alongside an already well-established indigenous institution with a notable agrarian tradition. The settlers at the Cape were therefore tasked with the development of, essentially, a new environment with known European as well as exotic food plants and livestock within an unknown setting (Pooley 2009:5).

In the time following their arrival various factors, including a particularly harsh winter, heavy rainfall (often accompanied by hail storms) that hampered the initial

sowing of vegetables and grain, failure to trade livestock with the Khoikhoi⁵ (Ross 2008:23), the absence of expected food supplies from the returning European navy (due to the fear of British attacks on the Cape as a result of the war between the Netherlands and Britain), coupled with the fact that the bulk of the provisions they did have had to be made available to the ships making use of the trade post to replenish their stock, all contributed to a systematic reduction in the settlers' food supplies (Claassens 2003). The subsequent unobtainability of familiar homeland foods within such a precarious setting (partnered with the lack thereof due to additional biological and logistical constraints such as perishability over long voyages from, say, the Netherlands to the Cape) brought about the inevitable acceptance of certain locally available forms of sustenance (Ueda 2015:40). This was evident during the harsh adjustment period and the ensuing threat of starvation when the early settlers became more creative with respect to the procurement of especially meat for consumption purposes. For example, *dassies*⁶ (described by van Riebeeck to be the size of six week old porklings with meat even tastier than that of lamb) (Coetzee 1977:26) were eaten instead of rabbits, seals, penguins (other and marine birds)⁷ instead of mutton and beef, and hippopotamus and porcupine instead of pork to name but a few. Hippopotamus and sheep lard often replaced butter on bread and where it was required for cooking purposes (Claassens 2003).

Van Riebeeck's culinary description, likening the taste of *dassie* (local mammal) to that of lamb (known meat), illustrates an association between the lived personal experience and that of the current situation. In this instance the lived experience refers to the taste of a familiar (previously experienced) food source and the subsequent bestowing of those characteristics onto the new and previously unknown food source in a possible attempt to familiarise it to some degree. It may be possible to view Van Riebeeck's romanticized description of the available (*dassie*) in the absence of the preferred (lamb) as a positively

⁵ The settlers were dependent on the Khoikhoi's livestock even though there was an abundance of game. This was due to the fact that they themselves were less than skilled at hunting and trapping (Claassens 2003).

⁶ Derived from the Dutch word "das" meaning badger the *dassie* or rock hyrax is a small, robust mammal. *South African National Biodiversity Institute* (n.p.).

⁷ The sailors were superstitious and did not eat albatross as they believed it would bring misfortune on their ships (Claassens 2003). This bird is commonly believed to carry the souls of deceased sailors (Pittman 2006).

valenced, personal psychological response given the fear and uncertainty linked to the survival of the community that he was charged with overseeing.

Initial attempts to cultivate agricultural commodities were mostly fruitless, yet the settlers did manage to eventually grow a variety of vegetables (mainly to supply the ships but also for personal consumption) that was often the only available food source given the challenges regarding the procurement of meat and precarious grain production⁸ (Groenewald 2012:1; Claassens 2003; Coetzee 1977:21). It could be assumed that the popularity of various vegetable dishes during a single mealtime (the norm in many Afrikaner households) could be traced back to those early days of depravity (Van Zyl 2012:9). Claassens (2003) states that the prevalence of various vegetable dishes continued even after meat became abundant and that Lady Anne Barnard⁹ wrote in 1797 that it was not uncommon for a typical Cape meal to include a host of various types of vegetables.

In light of the constant food shortages faced by the settlers it is only logical that the Europeans looked towards the indigenous Khoikhoi and their methods of utilising the landscape for survival – arguably the most sensible step when taking into account the workers who were doing hard labour were sustained on only leafy vegetables for breakfast and half a penguin for supper and who were so hungry that they once resorted to eating the flesh of dead baboon. One such example of *veldkos* (food from the land) is *waterblommetjies*.¹⁰ As a food crop it was eaten in soup but particularly in stews (*bredie*). *Watterblommetjie bredie* originated locally and is to this day considered as one of the most beloved traditional Cape dishes (Claassens 2003). It has even been immortalised in song by well-known South African singer songwriter Anton Goosen (affectionately referred to as the *Liedjieboer*).¹¹ Written for artist Sonja Herholdt the song ‘*Waterblommetjies*’ featured on her 1978 album with the same name and

⁸ The settlers were heavily dependent on visiting ships for the provision of especially rice and bread (the latter often dried for preservation and was referred to as *skeepsbeskuit* (mariner’s rusks) (Coetzee 1977:24). Claassens (2003) also made mention thereof but used the term *hardebrood* (hard bread).

⁹ The wife of colonial secretary Sir Andrew Barnard (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* n.p.).

¹⁰ (*Aponogeton distachyos*) An aquatic flowering plant found in ponds in the Western Cape region of South Africa (*PlantZAfrica* n.p.).

¹¹ Farmer of songs.

illustrates Goosen's use of personal nostalgia and romanticized views of his own past experiences as a child in the Cape (Stofberg 2018:27).

The above-mentioned factors related to the trading post's struggles towards consistent and adequate food provision (and the subsequent high costs incurred by the VOC in order to provide for their employees by shipping provisions from Batavia) contributed towards the VOC's ultimate decision to consider van Riebeeck's proposal of releasing¹² some of their employees (company officials) by introducing a system of *vryburgers* (free burghers) (Groenewald 2012:2) as a means of supplementing and increasing food production (Fourie and Von Fintel 2010:5). This system came to pass on 21 February 1657 when van Riebeeck issued the first nine chosen burghers¹³ with the appropriate documentation regarding their free status and rights to land (Du Plessis 1957:252). These free burghers were to farm on selected plots of land and could be divided into two main groups namely: agriculture and stock-farming (Claassens 2003). The first of the afore-mentioned groups practiced mainly in viticulture and grain growing (although they also had some livestock) in areas surrounding the Cape (Paarl, Stellenbosch, Somerset-West, Wellington and Malmesbury) and the latter, in the raising and keeping of livestock (in the inland districts of Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet) (Claassens 2003).

Between their arrival in 1652 and up to the introduction of the free burgher system in 1657 women were not required to take part in food preparation. Only after food allowances were given to all married civil servants did the wives become responsible for cooking for their families (Claassens 2003; Coetzee 1977:28). This is evident based on a letter dated 28 April 1655 from Van Riebeeck addressed to Batavia in which he mentioned that there were four official cooks. Two cooks were charged with meal preparation for the labourers and two were responsible for the commander's table, including all who were received as guests there –officials and civil servants including their wives and children as well as regular travellers to the port (Claassens 2003; Coetzee

¹² Although these burghers were no longer employed by the VOC and were able to own and farm their own land they remained subjects of the VOC, meaning that any produce was to be sold exclusively to, and at prices determined by, the Company (Groenewald 2012:2; Du Plessis 1957:250).

¹³ The burghers were members of the community comprising various professions and positions such as tradesmen, vendors and farmers (Claassens 2003).

1977:28). However, entertaining guests in a manner befitting someone of his and his guests' social standing was vastly expensive for the VOC and highly uncomfortable for Van Riebeeck himself. His proposal of setting up an establishment that would cater to the lodging and food consumption needs of visitors was thus approved by the Company (Groenewald 2012:3).

In 1656, the Political Council sanctioned the establishment of a guest house that would provide meals and accommodation to passing travellers. Annetje Joris, wife of head gardener Hendrik Boom was tasked with running the establishment which included the cooking and provision of meals. It is worth mentioning that Annetje was a formidable woman known for her enthusiasm and experience in farm work. Nicknamed 'Annetje de Boerinne', she was the woman seen as responsible for establishing the dairy industry at the Cape (Groenewald 2012:3; Coetzee 1977:28). Living on a plot of land in close proximity to the Fort, she and her husband received the VOC's milk cows in *pacht* (lease) in 1656, whereby the milk and butter produced would be supplied at a predetermined price to the trading station and ships. In addition, added incentive to ensure successful produce was given as Hendrik and Annetje was permitted to sell any excess milk and butter to anyone at their own rate (Groenewald 2012:3). The guest house was so successful (and Van Riebeeck equally determined to rid his table of unwanted guests) that permission to keep a second inn was granted to Jannetje (Johanna) Boddijns in 1657. Annetje and Jannetje were thus the first women to provide food in exchange for financial compensation (Claassens 2003).

4.3.2.1 Cape community

After the initially tumultuous process of establishing the trade post, the Cape community during the time between 1707 up until the British occupation in 1806 could be categorised as follows: the town's folk (the gentry and the burghers living at the foot of Table Mountain and Lion's Head in an area known as Table valley), the agricultural farmers (viticulture and grains) in the Boland region between the coast and Drakenstein Mountains, and the stock farmers in the plateau behind the afore-mentioned mountain range (Claassens 2003; Coetzee 1977:37). Amongst these groups a further distinction could be made. The relevant wealth among some of the top gentry and many of the wine farmers in

and around Cape Town stood in stark contrast with the poor living standard of most of the stock farmers on the frontier (Fourie 2013:421; Du Plessis and Du Plessis 2012:127; Claassens 2003). The disparity between the groups of settlers is predominantly based on the subjective personal accounts as witnessed and experienced by individuals who travelled to the various regions within the colony (Fourie 2013:424),¹⁴ although historians, too, are of the opinion that some farmers did indeed attain great prosperity as illustrated by the Cape Dutch mansions still found on some wine farms (Fourie and Von Fintel 2010:5). This must be seen, particularly, when compared to the houses and living standards (some lived in tents or wagons) of the nomadic pastoral farmers on the frontier (Fourie and Von Fintel 2010:6). The German doctor and explorer Henry Lichtenstein noted in his journal accounts¹⁵ how the nomadic stock farmer's houses he encountered were small, often consisting of only two rooms (Claassens 2003).

This interregional inequality that was evident in the economy during the 18th century was due to various factors. The geographic location of the agricultural farms allowed for the steady supply of commodities such as wheat and wine to the city and ships passing by the trading station (Fourie and Von Fintel 2010:5) whereas the distance the stock farmers had to travel limited direct trade to once per annum (Claassens 1993). Property ownership allowed these farmers to accumulate capital, whereas the absence of such property rights and subsequent nomadic lifestyle of the stock farmers limited their ability to amass capital only to that which could be packed up and moved once the grazing was depleted (Fourie and Von Fintel 2010:6).

The 18th century saw a rise in living standards particularly for the established agricultural farmers and VOC officials in and around the Cape, many of whom enjoyed lifestyles similar to that of European aristocracy (Du Plessis and Du Plessis 2012:126). There existed a form of competitive comparison regarding the vastness of the homes and the value of its contents (Claassens 2003).

¹⁴Fourie (2013) provides a more detailed account of the material wealth of the Cape Colony based on evidence obtained from probate inventory and auction roll records. Although these accounts provide new insight into the economy under Dutch-rule, it does not contest that disparities existed between the groups as stated above.

¹⁵ *Travels in Southern Africa* (as mentioned in Claassens 2003).

Claassens (2003) states that the overtly class consciousness at the Cape was as a result of the same brazen display of material wealth among the VOC officials in other parts of Europe. Governor in the Cape, Ryk Tulbagh, even imposed sumptuary laws in 1755, similar to those implemented by the VOC in Europe in 1753, in a bid to prevent the ostentatious public display of wealth (Oberholzer 2017:6; Fourie and Von Fintel 2011:21).

In addition to the materialistic display of grandeur, food and the way it was served as well as the manner and magnitude in which it was consumed (activities that centred on the table and its societal setting) was also a means by which the host could demonstrate wealth and social standing (Van Niekerk 2011:77). The situation regarding foodstuff in the Cape had markedly improved by the end of the 17th century as evident in a letter written by Simon van der Stel to the VOC in which he wrote of the abundance of wine in the cellars, grain in the attics and meat and fish on the tables (Coetzee 1977:34). Van Niekerk (2011:78) mentions the expression “keeping a good table”. This expression refers to the spectacle of the table and the display thereof to persons of equal social standing who are in a similar habit of keeping good tables thereby justifying its existence. “Good tables” in the Cape are intrinsically linked to “good eating”. Suggestive evidence of such habits may be seen when referring to a letter written by Joan van Hoorn, (husband to Jan van Riebeeck’s granddaughter) dated 16 March 1710. Claassens (2003) quoted an excerpt from this letter to his in-laws where he wrote: “*t is of de Caab van vretten en suypen aan malkander hangt*”.¹⁶ Claassens (2003) offers further examples: French writer Jacques-Henri Bernardine de Saint Pierre commented that the food in the Cape was good and that the good people would eat constantly, as well as quotes from Dutch traveller Cornelis de Jong’s travel journal wherein he recounted that: “*In het algemeen zijn de tafels opgepropt met spijzen*”¹⁷ and whose impression of the people he expressed as: “*Over het geheel ken ik geen menschen, die sterker eten, sterker drinken en meer slapen*”.¹⁸ Lichtenstein mentioned that when received by wealthy farmers everything produced on the homestead found its way to the table

¹⁶ It is as if the Cape consists of people who constantly overindulge in food and drink (Translation by researcher).

¹⁷ In general, the tables were overloaded with food (translation by researcher).

¹⁸ Overall, I know of no people who could eat more, drink more and sleep more (Translation by researcher).

as well as recounting being a guest at such a meal where the dishes served was so abundant that he was unable to count them all. According to Claassens (2003) this overtly decadent culinary display among certain farmers, burghers and officials in the Cape could possibly be attributed to two factors; firstly, as was mentioned previously, as a marker of social status mimicking that of the affluent Europeans tables and secondly, as a response to the deprivation and hardships that was suffered during the time from arrival up until the latter part of the 17th century.

As mentioned above, decadent living was part of every-day life for many of the Cape residents. In contrast to the living standards of certain parts of the Cape society in and around the city, the majority of the stock farmers in the more inland districts led a simpler often difficult life (Claassens 2003).

Circumstances dictated the food (type) and food ways (matters relating to the preparation and consumption) of the nomadic stock farmers. Often these farmers and the Khoikhoi who worked on these farms were faced with difficult situations such as having to deal with predatory animals, the possibility of attacks from roaming groups of indigenous people and low rainfall (Claassens 2003; Coetzee 1977:38). This led to a more focussed approach relating to the well-being of the livestock as opposed to the cultivation of agricultural commodities such as vegetables, fruits and grains. What resulted was a predominantly meat-based diet consisting of mutton, beef, goat and venison with the availability of water determining whether or not fruit and vegetables would be planted near the homestead. Although these farmers took with them the culinary practices as practised in the Cape it was the above-mentioned environmental aspects together with the remoteness of these farms that led to the development of a distinctive food culture involving only a few and very basics ingredients (Du Plessis 2019: n.p.; Claassens 2003; Coetzee 1977:38).

One such a distinct example is *biltong*¹⁹ or dried and cured meat. Although Claassens (2003) makes mention that dried and cured meat was used from the

¹⁹ Biltong is usually made from cow's meat (beef) although game, (such as kudu and springbok) ostrich and even chicken and fish may be used. Dried fish (usually whole mullet) is commonly referred to as *bokkoms'* (Du Plessis 2020:54).

earliest days²⁰ of the colony drawing on Dutch writings where mention was made of *robbiltong* (seal biltong) because of its non-perishable nature and particular suitability for travel purposes, the author adds that it was amongst the pastoral farmers that this foodstuff really came into its own. Claassens (2003) remarks how a Cape Town magistrate by the name of Petrus Borchers once told of how these farmers have had to sustain on *biltong* for months on end because of the shortage of fresh meat and yet, seemed perfectly strong and healthy in spite of it. Even though Claassens (2003) states that the process of drying and curing meat was already part of the European food culture before its introduction to the Cape it is worth noting that it is the belief of some that the Khoikhoi had practiced the preservation of meat by drying it in the sun long before the European settlers set foot ashore. According to Du Plessis (2020:55) the lack of documentation regarding this matter has resulted in a lasting dispute as to its actual origin. Jones *et al.* (2017:743) state that the settlers may have adopted the practice of sun drying meat from the indigenous people but that they added the use of vinegar²¹ and spices that were abundant in the Cape colony. Although its exact beginning may be contested its positioning as traditional Afrikaner fair cannot be disputed as many South Africans (notably the Afrikaner) claims heritage to this foodstuff as a legacy from their past. Where necessity dictated the drying and curing of meat for survival purposes the development of modern day food preservation techniques such as canning, refrigeration and freezing to name a few have considerably extended the ability to safely consume food past the date of initial harvest. Thus, the popularity of biltong as part of the contemporary Afrikaner's culinary repertoire has little to do with food preservation as a necessity for physical survival and possibly more to do with the preservation of Afrikaner identity as a form of cultural survival. In order to substantiate this statement one could look at Du Plessis (2020:56) who likens the intergenerational teaching and learning of the processes involved in the preservation of biltong (as with the processes involved in the preservation of

²⁰ Prior to the establishment of the trading station seafarers have long had the habit of salting and pickling meat in wooden barrels to provide them with food during long voyages (Jones, Arnaud, Gouws and Hoffman (2017:743).

²¹ The use of vinegar in the curing process is a unique attribute of South African biltong and is not used in any other country's speciality dried meat products. Another unique aspect is the fact that biltong is referred to as a "ready-to-eat" product as it does not require any additional preparation such as re-hydration, desalting or cooking before consumption (Jones *et al.* 2017:744).

various other foodstuffs considered as part of traditional Afrikaner cooking such as fruit and vegetable preserves) to a symbolic act of teaching and learning to preserve Afrikaner history and culture. Nowadays, biltong manufacture varies in scale from small, in-home production²² to larger industrial manufacture to accommodate for popular demand (Jones *et al.* 2017:743) and may serve as daily snack or be served and consumed ritualistically as part of certain social occasions²³ (Du Plessis 2020:54).

Despite the predominantly meat-based diet other foodstuffs were also prepared and consumed when available. Swedish naturalist Anders Sparrman wrote of his stay on one such inland farm and recounts how he and his company had to be satisfied with consuming only meat for days on end because the farmer refused to grind any wheat. It was only with the arrival of some coarse flour that Khoikhoi in their company was able to bake *askoek* (ash cake or bread baked in ashes) (Claassens 2003). This traditional Khoikhoi method of baking bread involves burying the dough under hot ashes (to bake and to infuse flavour as they believe the ash adds a salty taste to the food). As the dough cooks it rises through the ashes after which the ash is typically struck off using a wooden paddle²⁴ (Coetzee and Minos 2009:106).

“Ash-baking” was not the only baking technique employed by the Khoikhoi. Other techniques included “sand-baking” (using the hot sand underneath a burnt out fire) and “ant hill ovens” (making a fire inside a hollowed out ant hill to warm the dome after which the coals were removed, food placed inside and the hole

²² The researcher fondly remembers the sights and smells relating to her own experience with in-home biltong production as experienced in her childhood home. She recalls how wire was put up in criss-cross fashion in the garage close to the ceiling and how by untwisting a paper clip a small meat hook could be fashioned. She recalls her excitement as the smaller pieces were deemed dry enough for consumption and waiting in anticipation as her father expertly carved a few pieces using his pocket knife. The look of the ceiling adorned with meat of various sizes and the distinct smell that filled her nose when entering the space is relived only to a certain extent when she now visits the local butcher.

²³ Biltong is often served as snack food together with other savoury snack foods such as potato crisps and salted biscuits particularly when entertaining guest prior to a ‘*braai*’ (a collective term for a social gathering with the aim of roasting meat on a fire) or when watching sports such as rugby. It is also popular practice to give as a gift for birthdays or other particular occasions such as Father’s day.

²⁴ The characteristic sound made from hitting the baked ‘*askoek*’ is emulated in a well-known form of Khoikhoi dance known as the ‘*askoekslaan-dans*’ (hitting the ash cake dance) (Coetzee and Minos 2009:106). It is demonstrated by hitting the right foot securely above the left knee. The depiction of the ‘*askoek*’ (and many others such as ‘*perdegallop*’ (galloping horse) and ‘*bokwagter*’ (goat herder) forms part of a particular style of Khoikhoi dance known as ‘*riel*’ or ‘*rieldans*’ and is regarded as the oldest form of cultural dance in Southern Africa (Nel 2015:n.p).

sealed using clay and branches (Coetzee and Minos 2009:76). These makeshift ovens were also used by the stock farmers while trekking (traveling) and were replaced in later years when more permanent settlements were found by more enduring arched-shaped brick ovens (Van Rooijen 1940: 14). After being introduced to European wheat the Khoikhoi developed a unique range of bread using their traditional cooking methods and equipment. In addition to *askoek* the Khoikhoi also made *potbrood* (pot bread) that was first made in clay pots placed in hot coals and later in iron pots by adding hot coals onto the lid for additional heat (Coetzee and Minos 2009:108). The nomadic stock farmers employed these same techniques when trekking and made *potbrood* in a designated iron “bread pot”. These pots usually had a flat bottom, two iron handles and a lid that was placed on a ‘*driepoot stander*’ (three-legged stand). The pot was placed over hot coals with additional coal placed on top of the lid (Van Rooijen 1940:13). The *roosterkoek* (griddle cake or toasted bread) is another form of bread that originated from the Khoikhoi (Coetzee and Minos 2009:111) that was also made by the stock farmers. These took the form of smaller lumps of dough baked on a steel or wire grid over the fire leaving a distinct griddle pattern (Coetzee and Minos 2009:111).

Nowadays, the above-mentioned breads are still enjoyed as a popular accompaniment at many a *braai* (Coetzee and Minos 2009:106). *Roosterkoek* has become synonymous as a type of ‘*loop en kou*’ (to eat while walking around) takeaway fair. A local personality, Tannie Poppie van As from Laingsburg in the Western Cape started her road side *roosterkoek* take-away stall as a means to earn an extra income. She has since become renowned for her product and has appeared on television shows and in magazine articles. A local cyclist by the name of Stan Engelbrecht was drawn to the stall by the aroma of fresh *roosterkoeke*. Stan was so impressed by Tannie Poppie’s personality and by the quality of her *roosterkoeke* that he invited her to bake at cycling events that he organised. It was through this exposure and Stan’s contacts in the cycling world that Tannie Poppie received an invitation from the Italian representatives of *Eroica South Africa* to travel to Italy and showcase her skills at a cycling event in Gaiole, Tuscany.²⁵ On the local front it is popular at cultural festivals and events

²⁵ Van der Merwe (2019:n.p.) Geliefde ‘roosterkoek-tannie’ se droom word verwesenlik.

such as the *OppiKoppi* music festival and the *Vrystaat Arts Festival*. ‘*Kobus se Gat*²⁶ is a well-known festival food stall specializing in *roosterkoek* and according to an online article published by eNews Channel Africa (ENCA) in 2014 (n.p.) has been known to bake an estimated 7,200 loaves per day at such festivals. The same article makes mention of the well-known South African singer, actor and cookbook author Lochner de Kock who upon enquiry into his take on making this traditional bread mentioned that his was a slight variation on the traditional method and that he calls it “*Roosterkoek Cordon Boer*”.²⁷

In addition to *biltong* Coetzee (1977:38) makes mention of the development of other unique dishes that originated due to the circumstances relating to what was available for consumption when trekking. Dishes with peculiar descriptive names such as *galopsop* (gallop soup or soup at a gallop) was made by quickly boiling freshly slaughtered meat and *skuinskoek* (skew cake or slanted cake) that was made by cutting bread dough at an angle and deep frying the pieces in sheep’s lard. According to Van Zyl (2012:201) *skuinskoek* was popular trek food as it was fairly dry due to the lard used for frying and stayed relatively fresh over a period of time. Today, cooking oil (for example sunflower oil) is convenient and accessible and is commonly used for frying traditional dough-based delicacies (for example *koeksisters*, *oliebolle* (donuts) and *vetkoek* (fat cakes) yet, according to the older generation should not be used as substitute when making *skuinskoek*. They – ‘*die oumense*’ (the old folk) – are of the opinion that this results in an overly greasy end-product *wat skoon verkeerd smaak* (that simply tastes wrong) (Van Zyl 2012:201). The cooking habits that originated with the stock farmers would greatly develop particularly during the Great Trek (as discussed under 4.3.4).

4.3.2.2 Hospitality

The visible difference in the type of fare served in the Cape versus that on the inland farms may be illustrated through the accounts of Lady Anne Barnard who,

²⁶ The owner Kobus Lategan also owns a Karoo restaurant situated in Oudtshoorn, Western Cape of the same name (ENCA 2014:n.p.).

²⁷ Presumably the name refers to his trade mark “*Cordon Boer*” that includes a range of spices and a book of the same name published in 2001 titled: *Cordon Boer-Kosboek*. Pretoria: LAPA Publishers. The term that inspired the name is presumably “*Cordon Bleu*” that, according to the Collins Dictionary (n.p.) “is used to describe cookery or cooks of the highest standard”

on her travels, had experienced both. In her account of a breakfast enjoyed in the city she refers to being presented with an array of various baked goods in the form of cakes and pastries. This stands in contrast with the meat, eggs, potato and butter she was served on a visit to an inland farm (Claassens 2003).

Though the fare served may have differed from city district to farm region, one distinct characteristic was shared by all Afrikaner communities, namely hospitality. As mentioned earlier in this chapter (referring to the accounts of de Jong and Lichtenstein) the Cape was renowned for the generous and often overly indulgent way that guests were entertained, yet it was the hospitable fashion in which strangers and travellers inland (in the absence of guesthouses) were received that has resonated with the recipients of such a hearty welcome (Claassens 2003; Coetzee 1977:81). Author and traveller John Barrow once noted that the Afrikaner's hospitality to strangers "is one virtue in which they eminently excel..." a statement shared by William Burchell who also made mention of the Afrikaner's hospitality, often attempting to persuade visitors to prolong their stay and extending a standing invitation for return visits in future (Claassens 2003). Taking the remoteness of these inland homesteads into account one could speculate that the motivation behind such willingness to accommodate guests whether foreign or known links to the basic human need for social connection (Cacioppo and Patrick 2008:5) as a means to form and maintain meaningful relationships (Walton, Cohen, Cwir and Spencer 2012:513). The renowned readiness of these Afrikaner farmers to welcome and accommodate travellers may have been a comforting thought to all those who aimed to undertake a hard and dangerous exploration inland. Guests were always welcome (Coetzee 1977:81) and would share in whatever was served for that day however simple or abundant it might have been (Pretorius 1987). Not only was this hospitality beneficial for the explorer but also for the host, as travellers often brought with them the latest news from the city (something that could have alleviated the feeling of isolation from the larger community). In addition, the creation of meaningful relationships may have led to the reciprocation of such hospitality in the event that the initial host should require the same generosity in future (Claassens 2003).

It may be fair to assume that the hospitable nature that was characteristic of the Afrikaner farmers still forms a part of the community today. Dine van Zyl (2010) refers to Afrikaners as having a “*plattelandse mentaliteit*” (country or rural mentality). As part of the Afrikaner community, the author is of the opinion that this type of mentality today has little to do with geographical location but instead forms an integral part of the Afrikaner heart (the being) irrespective of whether you find yourself on a farm amongst cows and chickens or in a city amongst concrete buildings and urban pigeons.²⁸

The author typifies a *plattelandse hart* (country heart) as welcoming, considerate and caring, with a willingness to give and the graciousness to receive (all the while making mention of food and its role in relaying these characteristics). It is worth noting that amongst the data obtained from participants in the ‘*Bak brou en onthou*’ Facebook group, mention is often made of fond childhood memories on a farm together with the mention of previous generations within a single post. The prevalence of the word ‘farm’ used in conjunction with reference to the older generation (*ma* mother, *ouma* grandmother) may be seen as indicative of the *plattelandse hart* as mentioned by Van Zyl (2010) seeing as respondents often chose to include the place and people within nostalgic recollections without being directly asked to do so.

Pretorius (1987) likens the hospitality of *die oumense* (the old folk) to that of Abraham and the three visitors as written about in the Bible. Pretorius (1987) is of the opinion that the following excerpt from the Book of Genesis chapter 18 verses 2 through 5 exemplifies the hospitality of the old folk:

18 The LORD appeared to Abraham near the great trees of Mamre while he was sitting at the entrance to his tent in the heat of the day. ² Abraham looked up and saw three men standing nearby. When he saw them, he hurried from the entrance of his tent to meet them and bowed low to the ground. ³ He said, “If I have found favour in your eyes, my lord, do not pass your servant by. ⁴ Let a little water be brought, and then you may all wash your feet and rest under this tree. ⁵ Let me get you something to eat, so you can be refreshed and then go on your way—now that you have come to your servant.” (*Genesis 18:1-5 New International version.*)

²⁸ Interestingly, pigeons were considered a delicacy and as exceptionally suitable nourishment for the sick (Pretorius 1987).

The above hospitality of Abraham bears a resemblance to Anders Sparrman's recollection of his experience during an encounter with an inland farmer. According to Sparrman he was warmly welcomed and offered wine, food and tobacco. A young girl (presumably the farmer's daughter) presented a meal of lamb and carrots and afterwards served some tea (Claassens 2003). The mention of being served by a young girl is of particular importance. Even though it was often necessary for women to engage in hard, physical farm labour together with their husbands (in the absence of workers or where sons were still too young) it would seem that there was an early development in duties defined by gender in Afrikaner culture. The culture of subservience within the patriarchal construct of the Afrikaner household was instilled during childhood as the norm and then intergenerationally transferred (Van der Merwe 2012:19). This intergenerational transferal is still evident in some contemporary Afrikaner households even though a certain resistance from some of the younger generation is evident. According to Van der Westhuizen (2017:128) it is not uncommon for daughters to take on the household duties in the absence of the mother as illustrated by the example of the farmer's daughter above. However, resistance to this type of feminine service becomes evident in an interview response noted by Van der Westhuizen (2017:128) whereby the 32-year-old female respondent stated "I refuse to be that humble Afrikaner woman who is now suddenly helping in the kitchen and not sitting at the *braai* with the men. I know my mother-in-law thinks I am a terrible rebellious Johannesburg woman". The mention of an older woman's disdain towards the younger woman's attitude illustrates the longevity of this culture of subservience. It is worth noting that respondents on the '*Bak, brou en onthou*' Facebook group often made mention of a mother or a grandmother in their nostalgic recollections as it related to food which further substantiates the intergenerational transferal of the Afrikaner woman's perceived role within the domestic sphere. The historic culture of female subservience and its relation to food is not limited to Afrikaner women. According to Allen and Sachs (2012:23) the social-cultural domain has always been intrinsically linked to women irrespective of class, culture and ethnicity.

As mentioned earlier there was a visible difference between the kinds of fare that was served in the Cape versus that on the inland farms yet both types

presumably incorporated the use of spices. It could be assumed that spices would have formed part of the provisions such as coffee, tea and sugar that would have been acquired during their annual visit to the city. In addition, the use of spices as mentioned below was a part of their culinary culture before they left the city and therefore its continued incorporation would be assumed.

4.3.2.3 The use of spices and possible slave influence

The use of spices was a common occurrence in Dutch cuisine prior to their arrival in the Cape, hence their promotion of the trade route to the East (Claassens 2003) where, towards the end of the 15th century, they had managed to monopolise the trade in spices such as black pepper, cinnamon, cloves, turmeric, nutmeg and ginger (Etkin 2009:50). The following section will briefly outline the use of spices and the assumption that Eastern slaves are to be credited with its introduction into what would become Afrikaner cuisine. Information as presented in the relevant literature with a notable contribution from Claassens (2003) in her extensive work on the history and origin of *Boerekos* will be used.

Spices have long played a central role in the preparation of food as a means to impart flavour (to either enhance or disguise), add an aesthetic quality, to preserve and even, by its use, as a display of the consumer's social standing. In addition, the type, application, prevalence and amount consumed have played an important role as a means to differentiate between cuisines associated with different groups, cultures and ethnicities (Etkin 2009:66).

According to Claassens (2003) food writers often (mistakenly) propagate that it was Malay²⁹ women that brought the art of cooking with spices to the Cape. According to the researcher this would not have been probable, nor possible when taking the following factors into account. At the time when the trading post was established it was the norm as it was in the rest of Europe to employ male cooks. Official cooks during Van Riebeeck's time in the Cape were men whereas

²⁹ The term *Malay* used to refer to Eastern slaves as a group (irrespective of their country of birth) was the result of the use of Malay or Malay-Portuguese as language by some of them (Claassens (2003). Malay was the trade language used in the East-Indian Archipelago. After the Portuguese seized control of the spice trade in 1511 the Portuguese language became an important additional means of communication. The result was a form of creolized language known as Malay-Portuguese due to cultural assimilation. Subsequently, it became the *lingua franca* of the East-Indian trade route (Claassens 2003; Fernandis 2003:284; Baxter 1988:6).

the slave women were renowned for their needlework and did mainly sewing. Apparently, this was still the case at the beginning of the 19th century where it was customary to use male slaves as cooks in affluent households (by that time Khoikhoi women were used as cooks in poorer homes). These cooks were not given *carte blanche* in the kitchen and functioned under strict supervision from the house wife. Another factor to be considered was that there was never a large group of slaves sharing a common cultural heritage at the Cape and that no ethnic group was purposefully housed together in a specific venue, thus making the development of a shared culture highly unlikely. During the early years of the settlement (before the Afrikaner food culture was established by 1725) the slaves made up the smaller portion of the population, of which the majority did outside labour. In addition, there seem to have been linguistic challenges amongst the slaves given the various areas from whence they came taking into account that India in itself had approximately thirteen main languages. Among the reasons for this language problem was the caste system in India (Hindu's) where those who belonged to the lower caste mimicked the language as spoken by those in the higher caste. The result was a constant change in the variations of the language spoken by the higher caste in attempts to confirm their superiority. Differentiation amongst certain groups based on social stratification seems to have been the norm in the East. Royalty in Java (East Indian Islands) spoke *Noko* and regular citizens *Kromo* which happen to be two variations of the same language. The Muslim community also differentiated between groups and individuals were not allowed to marry outside of these group-defined boundaries.

Each of the groups had their own specific food culture and the prohibition of inter-group matrimony would make the sharing of such food culture and accompanying rituals unlikely. With regards to specific food cultures in India, Owen (1981:43) states that these are as a result of two dominating factors (that may be viewed in conjunction with the above-mentioned social and linguistic factors) namely, regional variations and distinct food habits of Hindu's and Moslems (as mentioned above) in practically all of these different regions. To add further to the afore-mentioned, the existing social stratification present in the Cape led to the development of yet another language spoken amongst the slave population. Cape-Dutch as spoken by these individuals included elements of the Dutch

language as it was spoken by the majority (European) of the population. According to Whitehead (2004) the evolution of such a simplified language is necessary for cross-cultural communication and is usually (as mentioned above) based upon the dominant language within the region. The missionary John Arnold remarked during his visit to the Cape in 1870 that he found his knowledge of the Malay language useless as the slaves spoke a form of Dutch (Cape-Dutch) similar to that of the Europeans (Claassens 2003).

In an attempt to determine if, and to what extent, the food culture of the slaves had an influence on the Afrikaner food culture in the Cape, a brief exploration into these food cultures from the slave's countries of origin may prove insightful. The following areas namely, Indonesia, India and Malaysia will be touched upon as, according to the literature, they made up the main countries from whence the Eastern slaves at the Cape were acquired.

According to Wijaya (2019:3) Indonesia consists of 17,508 islands (the largest archipelago country) with a variety of natural resources (beaches, forests, rivers and wildlife) and a varying climate depending on a specific region's geographical location (the western islands are green in comparison to the eastern island's more arid conditions). In addition, it is home to an excess of 1340 tribes (with distinct languages and dialects) and 366 ethnic groups each with its own local food, methods of preparation, presentation and consumption (Wijaya 2019:3; Handoyo, Claudia and Firdayanti 2018:147). These unique food ways form part of an intergenerational culinary culture ingrained as part of each group's distinctive food practice. Initially, as is most often the case where food related activities are concerned, ingredients were sourced from what was available locally in each region and in Indonesia – the steaming of dishes in banana leaves (constituting of mainly starches in the form of rice and cassava) was a popular way of food preparation.

The initial culinary period was followed by the introduction of various influences from various traders, most notably the Dutch (Wijaya 2019:3; Handoyo *et al.* 2018:3). The result, due to more than 300 years of colonisation of the archipelago, was a cultural assimilation between immigrants and locals in term of food ways. An example of this is the *rijsttafel* (rice table) that consisted of a

variety of dishes (with rice featuring prominently) served all at once on one table. Traditionally, Indonesian food is still served and consumed in this way with rice still forming an integral part of meal times. According to Wijaya (2019:4) another addition to Indonesian food culture that may be attributed to the Europeans was the introduction of chilies which was originally brought from South American colonies by the Spanish and Portuguese. The use of chilies as an ingredient in meals is a significant characteristic of Indonesian cuisine. Substantiating this statement, Claassens (1993) has also mentioned that the modern day standard meal of many Indonesians still consists of a starch, fish and chilies.

Throughout history, multiple differentiating factors contribute to food related practices in India such as the caste system, religion and ethnicity to name but a few (Leong-Salobir 2011:17). It is these dynamics as well as linguistic variations as mentioned earlier that would make it difficult to identify particular food ways as dominant factors towards what could possibly be seen as a national cuisine (Leong-Salobir 2011:17). Rangarao (1968, cited in Claassens [2003]) states that food is still a dividing factor and that due to the variations in the taste of a particular dish, depending on who prepares it and where, the generalization of what could be deemed a recognisable cuisine would not be possible.

Historically, native Malaysian cuisine has been significantly influenced since the arrival of various traders during the 15th century. These influences included that of Arab, Indian and Javanese to name a few. Taking these various cultural influences into account and the subsequent assimilation process that followed, it proves difficult to determine what constitutes a traditional Malaysian cuisine. As a result, Malay cuisine varies in taste and flavour based upon the geographical region where it is prepared, yet certain unifying elements may be found in all. Rice (as a staple) is served with most meals (that include a protein source in the form of meat, poultry or seafood), coconut milk is used extensively and chili is a prominent ingredient (Raji, Ab Karim, Ishak and Arshad 2017:223).

When reviewing the above mentioned food cultures as practiced by these groups of people in their countries of origin the use of chili as a noticeable ingredient in food preparation becomes apparent. The absence of this characteristic in what is considered traditional *Boerekos* in conjunction with other contributing social

factors as discussed previously may be seen to add validity to Claassens' (2003) statement regarding the unlikeliness that *Boerekos* could have been influenced by the native food cultures of the Eastern slaves in the Cape.

It is important to note that those of Eastern origin did not solely consist of those from poorer communities brought to the Cape as slaves but also of exiled political prisoners of considerable standing. Known as *Orang Cayen* – meaning “freedom fighter” – these émigrés included royalty as well as religious leaders³⁰ who were exiled from Indonesia in order to remove their influence within their land during the time of conflict between them and the Dutch colonisers (Van Bart 2012:108). These individuals were accompanied by their families and a contingent of slaves of their own (Van Bart 2012:108; Claassens 2003). As touched upon earlier the food culture of these people of higher social class differed substantially from those of the slaves (poorer communities) from the same country of origin. In terms of the possible culinary influence that these high ranking political prisoners may have had on the Afrikaner food culture in the Cape it may prove insightful to establish what historically influenced their particular food culture. According to Claassens (2003) the food culture as practiced by Eastern nobles had its origin in Mongol culture. During the 13th century the Mongols under leadership of Genghis Khan overthrew the caliphate of Bagdad thus pushing the Arabs out. Due to their own ‘limited’ culture they (Mongols) adopted the Persian language and food culture of the conquered that they would eventually take with them to China. The same Persian-influenced Mongol culture would also make its way to India where the nobles there were introduced and who subsequently adopted these culinary practices. The latter was of particular importance seeing as it was the same Persian-influenced food culture that the high ranking political prisoners brought with them to the Cape. Taking this into consideration, as mentioned before under 4.3.1, the Persian, Roman and Arabian food culture largely influenced the Dutch, German and French ways of cooking that in turn formed the basis of Afrikaner food culture. This implies that, in essence, both food cultures stemmed from the same root and the intersection of these related food ways would result in a

³⁰ The most prominent was the Muslim leader Sheikh Yusuf of Macassar, founder of the Islamic faith in the Cape (Mahida 1993:3).



complementary amalgamation regarding the Afrikaner food culture as practiced in the Cape, due to their inherent similarities.

According to Claassens (2003) it is a common misconception (evident in many twentieth-century writings about the topic)³¹ that all spices were of Eastern origin and that it was the Eastern slaves who brought with them the knowledge of the skilful gastronomical incorporation of spices that influenced the Dutch way of cooking. Yet, based upon the literature, cooking with spices was a well-known practice promulgated by the Dutch when they arrived at the Cape, and the use of spices within the slave community who originated from the poorer regions in their country of origin was mostly uncommon except for their extensive use of chilies. However, that the use of certain spices (as used in the traditional Cape-Dutch sense) survived better in the Malay community versus in that of the Afrikaners in the Cape would be a relevant argument. This is because by the time of the Second British occupation (1806) the Cape Malays were an established homogenous group that, due to their religion, would have made them less susceptible to outside influence as was the case with the Christian community (Afrikaners) and the food related culture of fellow Christians (the ruling British). Hilda Gerber (1954, cited in Claassens [2003]), who documented Cape Malay recipes during the 1940's, mentions in her book titled *Traditional Cooking of the Cape Malays* that older generation Malay cooks consistently reassured the author that they cooked the traditional Dutch way.

In conjunction with the above-mentioned conservation of traditional Cape-Dutch food ways within the Cape Malay community it is of particular relevance to note the influence of the creolized language (Cape-Dutch) as spoken by the slave community, its possible influence and the resulting impact thereof on traditional Afrikaner cuisine albeit only where the names of dishes are concerned. Claassens (2003) states that the likelihood that non-Dutch names were given to certain Afrikaner dishes by the slave community (although it has no relation to the original dialect such as *kerrie* [curry] derived from the Tamil word *kari* for a sauce used to add flavour to rice or variations such as *bobotu/bobotok/babotu* that

³¹ Examples of this misconception is given by Claassen (2003) where the researcher made mention of the following two authors; Firstly, Dine van Zyl who wrote in *Boerekos* (1985:5) that it was the Malays that taught us (Afrikaners) about the wondrous spices such as cloves, all spice (wonder pepper) and the lovely bay leaf. According to Claassens (2003) neither all spice nor bay leaves are of Eastern origin but hail from America and Asia Minor (Anatolia) respectively. Secondly, R.E. Painter is mentioned who wrote an article on: *Voedsel en die voorbereiding daarvan tydens die Groot Trek* (Food and the preparation thereof during the Great Trek), featured in the October 1988 edition of the magazine *Lantern*. The article states that spices imported from the East and made famous by the Malays were used.

became *bobotie*) exists and that this would be the reason why many still assume that these dishes were of Malay origin.

Here the social dynamics of language within the household sphere come into play. Child care duties were performed by the slave woman who looked after and cared for the children of settler families. These women functioned as wet nurses³² and formed an integral part of the family as they were primarily responsible for breastfeeding the infant(s) and caring for the settler children up until they reached the age of approximately six years (Arnott 2019:13; Claassens 2003). Taking this intimate relationship between carer and child into consideration it would be logical to assume that the Cape-Dutch language spoken to, and learned by the children would include the Non-Dutch names used for certain Afrikaner dishes thereby becoming part of their vocabulary (Claassens 2003). To further substantiate this statement regarding the incorporation and subsequent adoption of different names for certain dishes one could look to Whitehead (2004) who states that “borrowed words for particular items are easily and conveniently assimilated into a language”. It would therefore be a reasonable assumption that the childhood introduction of these names would lead them to become part of the Afrikaner culinary vocabulary.

4.3.2.4 Dutch baking roots and contemporary Afrikaner nostalgia

4.3.2.4.1 Small cakes, biscuits and tartlets

In a diary entry dated 3 December 1659 Van Riebeeck wrote about fine flour that would be acquired from Holland to enable the bakers to make *koekjies* (*koekies*/cookies), *kraekelingen* (*krakelinge*/pretzel-shaped Dutch pastry biscuits) and other delicacies, although no detailed description was given as to what the latter entailed (Claassens 2003). The following section will touch upon a historical account of select baked goods as mentioned by Claassens (2003) together with contemporary literature on these items in order to illustrate how they may still form part of the Afrikaner’s baking repertoire. To limit the scope of the discussion only to those baked items that were made by the Dutch and that are popularly

³² The slave women mentioned here are those from Eastern origin as there is no evidence of Khoikhoi women in these roles. However, this lack of evidence should not be seen as a definitive indication of their absence within this role (Arnott 2019:14) especially since the Khoikhoi were mostly employed for outside and domestic labour on the inland farms as opposed to the Malay women in the Cape.

regarded as traditional Afrikaner baking will be discussed although mention of other baked items will be made where appropriate.

One such an example of confection³³ that was baked in the Cape and that still forms part of the contemporary Afrikaner's baking tradition is a *kolwyntjie* (or more commonly referred to as a cupcake). *Kolombintje* as it was known in the Netherlands (and from whence the Afrikaans word *kolwyntjie*) refers to a small, single serving cake that is typically baked in a paper or foil cup. Apparently the name of this confection was derived from that of Saint Colombino as it was commonly baked on a day that commemorated this holy figure (Claassens 2003). According to Van Deventer-Terblanche (n.d., cited in du Toit [2014: n.p.]) a documented recipe for *kolombintje* can be found as early as 1740 in a certain Gerrit van den Brenk's recipe book titled "*Zaamenspraken tusschen een Mevrouw en Banketbakker*" (Talks between a Lady and a Pastry Chef).³⁴ The popularity of these little cakes seems evident when referring to official documents from the National Association of Dutch Pastry Chefs where mention is made of a *kolombintjiekлуб* (cupcake club).

Americans have staked a claim to the origin of the cupcake based upon a recipe that appeared in *American Cookery* published in 1796. Although Van Deventer-Terblanche made no precise mention of the specific American recipe it presumably refers to the recipe titled "A light cake to bake in small cups" as it appears in the 1996 reprint of the book under the same title (Simmons 1996:48). Today, the Afrikaans word *kolwyntjie* seems to have been replaced to a large extent by the American word cupcake especially within the spoken language. Du Toit (2010: n.p.) makes mention of another term that has been used for these little cakes namely *koppiekoekie* which is a direct translation from the English word cupcake. Taking into account that Claassens (2003) states that Afrikaners are known for using descriptive names for food items this literal term seems understandable.

³³ The term confectionary can generally be divided into three main categories based upon the most prominent ingredient namely, chocolate confectionary, sugar confectionary and flour confectionary (Edwards 2018: n.p.). Within the context of the current study where the focus is mainly on baked goods (incorporating flour as key ingredient) the basic term used to refer to these food stuffs is simply *confectionary*.

³⁴ Translated from Dutch to English using Google translate [online].

Speaking from an autoethnographic point of view the researcher herself attests to generally make use of word ‘cupcake’ even though she is familiar with the Afrikaans term *kolwyntjie* since being introduced to it by her maternal grandmother during childhood. She states that even though her mother still exclusively refers to *kolwyntjiepanne* (cupcake pans) she would often use *kolwyntjie* and cupcake interchangeably³⁵ when referring to the baked item itself. Interestingly, the researcher’s seven year-old daughter has no knowledge regarding the word *kolwyntjie* but knows exactly what a cupcake is and referred to it as *cupcakes* when she started to verbalise words. The above mentioned account may be seen as particularly relevant within the context of the current study as it illustrates (to a certain extent) a decline in intergenerational knowledge sharing regarding Afrikaner confectionary even if it is only on a linguistic level. One may then be tempted to ask, “What is in a name”? *Kolwyntjies* or rather cupcakes and its increased popularity from the colourful, sprinkled versions found at children’s parties to it becoming a popular choice amongst adults for anything from tea parties to wedding cakes does not seem in danger of becoming forgotten any time soon. Yet the name *kolwyntjie* and its position as part of traditional Afrikaner baking seems to be in a more precarious position as it is not commonly seen as having the same cultural significance as some of its historic counterparts such as *soetkoekies*’ (sweet biscuits). One could speculate that the absence of descriptive adjectives such as *outydse* (old-fashioned) which commonly accompanies names like *soetkoekies*, the international acclaim amassed by the contemporary cupcake and its lack of mention in books about *Boerekos* could be possible reasons for its non-traditional status. Perhaps the inclusion of Afrikaans words such as *outydse*, *toeka* or *tradisionele* that refers to previous generations or bygone times to act as nostalgic triggers would aid and encourage the Afrikaner towards taking ownership of this part of their culinary heritage.

The researcher herself confesses to have been oblivious to the historical origin and cultural significance of the *kolwyntjie*. Coincidentally, the popularity and versatility of the modern *kolwyntjie* or cupcake was what motivated the

³⁵ The phenomenon is known as code-switching whereby a bilingual or multilingual speaker uses a word from the embedded (second or other) language while communicating in their matrix (first) language (Kriel 1997:76).

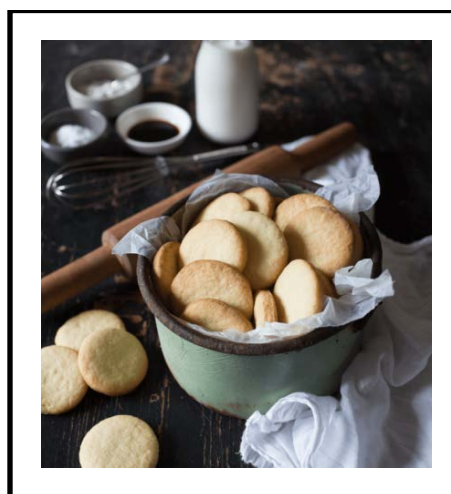
researcher to bake these nifty little cakes on a commercial basis. Her love of baking together with the creative incorporation of her knowledge as Graphic Designer inspired an online driven home bakery called “*Sweet Hearts*”. A Facebook page was created where prospective clients could view the products (Figure 4.1) and contact the researcher/baker for enquiries. (The above mentioned Facebook page will be discussed in Chapter 5).



Source: Researcher

Figure 4.1: Rainbow cupcake from Sweet Hearts Baked goods

Contrary to the lesser known traditional status of the *kolwyntjie* the *soetkoekie* (Figure 4.2) is seen as a typification of what traditional Afrikaner heritage baking is.



Source: <https://www.aninas-recipes.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/soetkoekies7-960x1054.png>

Figure 4.2: Outydse soetkoekie

Errieda du Toit (2015:n.p.) states “*Van al die kleinkoekies in ons gebak-skatkis, is die outydse soetkoekie die kosbaarste.*”³⁶ According to Claassens (2003) the origin of these biscuits could be traced to the German *Pfefferkuchen*. The author explains that although the name translates to *peperkoekie* (pepper cookie) it contains no pepper but various spices, thus making it more of a *speserykoekie* (spiced cookie). This in itself may cause some culinary confusion. Upon further investigation into the question as to what a so-called “true” *soetkoekie* is made up of, it would seem as if food aficionados such as Herman Lensing (2020:n.p.), Peter Veldsman (cited by Lensing [2018:n.p.]), Errieda du Toit (2015:n.p.), Hetta van Deventer-Terblanche (n.d. cited in Du Toit [2013:n.p.]), Dine van Zyl (2012:200) and S.J.A de Villiers (1992:161) to name a view, agree that the recipe must contain spices (cinnamon, cloves, ginger, nutmeg) and some type of sweet wine. Yet, some recipes such as the one by author and food editor Arina du Plessis (2019:n.p.) makes no mention of spices or sweet wine although her recipe for *speserykoekies* contains exactly the same ingredients listed for her *soetkoekies* recipe but, with the addition of cinnamon, ginger and mixed spice³⁷ (made up of a blend containing dried radurised cassia, coriander, pimento, cloves, ginger and nutmeg). A recipe featured in “*Huisgenoot*”³⁸ dated 3 March 1988 titled “*Mev. Levine se soetkoekies*” (Mrs. Levine’s sweet cookies) makes no mention of spices nor sweet wine. “*Outydse soetkoekies*” (old-fashioned sweet cookies) from a Mrs. Bettie van Tonder featured in “*Sarie*” dated 15 March 1995 mentions mixed spice but not sweet wine. “*Knuppeldik Aan Koningskos*”³⁹ a well-known recipe book, feature three recipes namely two under the name “*Outydse soetkoekies*” and one under “*Soetkoekies*”. The ingredients for the first ‘*outydse*’ recipe contain spices and sweet wine and the latter two do not. A recipe for “*Outydse Speserykoekies*” (old-fashioned spice biscuits) featured in “*Soet en Lekker*” (Sweet and Delicious), a supplementary booklet for “*Huisgenoot*” dated 8 December 1983, contains all of the same spices deemed necessary for a “true” *soetkoekie* but does not include sweet wine. Food bloggers Jaco and Marietjie Swart who emigrated to New Zealand and co-author a blog called “*Rainbow*

³⁶ “Of all the small cookies in our baking treasure trove, the old-fashioned sweet cookie is the most valuable” (Translation by researcher).

³⁷ Ingredients mentioned are from the commercially available product *Robertson’s Mixed Spice*.

³⁸ Weekly Afrikaans magazine with the English version of this publication called “YOU”.

³⁹ The English version is of the publication is called “Fit for a King”.

Cooking. Mostly South African Cooking” featured a recipe containing all of the spices and sweet wine yet the heading read “Old-fashioned soetkoekies (Traditional South African spice biscuits)”. The question thus remains, which recipe would then be considered the most authentic given the various versions available? In an online article featured on Sarie.com titled “*Waar kom outydse soetkoekies vandaan?*” (Where do old-fashion sweet cookies come from?) Veldsman (n.d., cited in Lensing [2018:n.p.]) states that although he is not sure whether it came with van Riebeeck to the Cape he could determine that the first recipe (no further details are supplied) in the Netherlands was published in 1703. Veldsman also hints that the name *outydse soetkoekies* may be due to the historical significance of the original *Hollandse koeckje* and further speculates that the “honorary status” of *outyds* may have been bestowed upon the confection during a revival period of Afrikaner nationalism during the 20th century.

The researcher found that the *outydse soetkoekies* that she grew up with was one of those recipes without any spices or sweet wine. “*Ouma Hester*⁴⁰ *se soetkoekies*” became “*Ouma se soetkoekies*” and the large *Tupperware* holders always had some in them to be served when the next-door neighbour lady came around for tea or simply for when the grandchildren were looking for something to nibble on. The researcher remembers them as being round, flat and too big to fit into a mug of coffee or cup of tea or a glass of milk or fruit squash. If you had the urge to dunk one in your beverage of choice you had to break it in half. During her search for the family *soetkoekie* recipe the researcher asked her mother whether it was in actual fact *outydse soetkoekies* that she remembers eating at her grandmother’s house upon which her mother replied, “*Natuurlik is dit! Daai was my ouma se resep*” (“Of course it is! That was my grandmother’s recipe”). The above-mentioned response indicates that the word *outyds* in the specific context had nothing to do with the ingredients but rather the “oldness” or age of the recipe and its association with the older generation.

The popularity of these cookies is evident in its prevalence in recipe books and online searches and, whether the recipe includes spices and sweet wine, mixed spice, or none of the aforementioned, seems irrelevant when viewed from within the context of its nostalgic significance. *Soetkoekies*, whether *outyds*, or just an

⁴⁰ Ouma Hester was my grandfather’s mother and thus my great-grandmother.

old recipe, whether baked for certain occasions such as beach vacations (Du Toit 2013:11; Niehaus 1999:166) or during Christmas (Marais 2020:n.p.) seem to hold a prominent place in the hearts and minds of many Afrikaners.

Other popular *kleinkoekies* (referring specifically to cookies that are hard when cooled and keeps their shape) that are often found together with their sweet compatriot in cake tins, recipe books (handwritten, published and online), and home industry stores include *gemmerkoekies* (ginger biscuits), *kondensmelkkoekies*, (condensed-milk cookies), *koffiekoekies* (coffee cookies), *vlakkoekies*, (custard cookies), and *skurwejantjies*⁴¹ (crunchies or oats cookies) to name a few). Errieda du Toit (2015:n.p) gives a wonderful description regarding the nostalgic significance of a cake tin (biscuit tin) and its contents. The author states, “*n Vol koekblik is ’n wonderlike ding. Dis bêreplek vir ouma se koekies, vakansiekoekies en dominee-kom-kuiervoekies. Selfs al is die blik leeg, dra dit die herinneringe...*”⁴²

The above mentioned section focussed mainly on what would be categorised under dry, hard cookies. The following baked goods are often mentioned in conjunction with the above as traditional favourites.

According to Claassens (2003) one of the most beloved tartlets in the Netherlands during the 17th century was triangle shaped apple tartlets known as *kwartierterjies*. Although the author gives no further description as to the origin of the name, an enquiry into the meaning of the Dutch word *kwartier* revealed that it could be interpreted as *quarter* (Translate.com 2020: n.p.). Taking the physical appearance of the tartlet into account as being triangular, one may speculate that it is due to a square sheet of pastry being folded diagonally over the filling and may elude to how four triangles together make up a square.⁴³ The closest

⁴¹ This is another example of the descriptive names for things that Afrikaners are so fond of and speculatively refers to the physical appearance and rough (*skurf/skurwe*) texture of these cookies. Why the name *’jantjie*’ was added is an open question. The Afrikaans for a Smoothie is *gladde jantjie*. For more on the inclusion of the word *jantjie* in various Afrikaans words see Luther (2019: n.p.) <https://viva-afrikaans.org/lees-luister/blog/item/504-jantjie>

⁴² “A cake tin full of cookies is a wonderful thing. It is the nestling place for grandma’s cookies, holiday cookies and for when-the-pastor-is-coming cookies. Even when it is empty, it carries the memories...” (Translation by researcher).

⁴³ Interestingly, Annette Human (2002:18) indicates that after making the puff pastry the dough is cut into quarters, each quarter covered and put in the refrigerator to rest. The author then suggests taking out and working with (rolling out and cutting) one quarter at a time.

example to a modern day Dutch tartlet fitting this description is “*Appelflappen*” (Apple turnover) (Figure 4.3).

These triangular tartlets are made of puff pastry with a filling of cubed or grated apple, raisins, cinnamon and sugar (Oostveen 2017:n.p.).



Source: https://img.freepik.com/free-photo/puff-pastry-triangles-filled-with-apples-dutch-appelflappen_80013-1502.jpg?size=626&ext=.jpg

Figure 4.3: Dutch Appelflappen

In addition to *kwartiertertjies* the Dutch also had a particular affinity for *comfyt tartes* (jam tartlets) (Claassens 2003). Today, Afrikaners refer to these as *konfyttertjies* which is a literal translation or by using a combination of English and Afrikaans in the form of *jam tertjies*, sometimes written *jêmtertjies* (Van Zyl 2012:192). Other names include *handtertjies* (hand tartlets) because it can be eaten without a cake fork, *halfmaan tertjies* (half-moon tartlets) due to its shape or *toe tertjies* (closed tartlets) (Van Zyl 2012:192; Human 2002:17) (Figure 4.4).



Source: https://delivery.proagri-cdn.co.za/new_site/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/DSC_0178.jpg

Figure 4.4: Jam tartlets

According to (Claassens (2003) the popularity of jam tartlets grew, so much so that it eventually became a favourite amongst the Afrikaners and eventually became part of *Boerekos*. The author states that there may have been two reasons why these tartlets started enjoying preference, namely, the abundance of fruit available for making jam⁴⁴ and the lack of apples particularly in the more inland regions. The absence of recipes for these tartlets in early Cape recipe manuscripts may be due to their simplistic nature. Preparing these confections required only puff pastry (known in the Cape due to the French-Huguenot contribution) and jams (typically made from apricots)⁴⁵ yet they seemed to have been a popular choice for special social occasions such as birthdays and Christmas (Human 2002:18; Coetzee 1977:90). Johanna Duminy's 1797 diary includes an inscription of her preparing them for her son Fransie's birthday (Claassens 2003). According to Human (2002) and Coetzee (1977:90) women went to particular lengths to ensure that only the best confections were served especially for the head of the house's (husband's) birthday. Jam tartlets together with *soetkoekies* formed a popular part of the confections enjoyed during Christmas and were made and kept in the pantry prior to the celebrations (Coetzee 1977:91).

⁴⁴ The abundance of fruit during the summer months were utilised by making jam, jellies and preserves – a tradition still practiced by certain contemporary Afrikaner women (Claassens 2003).

⁴⁵ According to Claassens (2003) the French Huguenots may be credited with the abundance of apricot plantations, so much so that by the late eighteenth century it was considered “the fruit of the colony”.

Although jam tartlets are simple to make the puff pastry is still relatively time-consuming and requires a cool temperature for optimal consistency. The absence of refrigerators in the Cape meant that puff pastry during warmer months was often made very early in the mornings when the butter was still hard (Claassens 2003). Because of its fastidious nature people are often nervous to make home-made puff pastry (Human 2002:18). Today, ready-made puff pastry is frequently available from retail stores and together with a variety of canned and bottled store-bought jams makes the baking of jam tarts easier and less time consuming. However, there is no comparison between these and the more time-consuming home-made version deserving of, as Van Zyl (2012:192) puts it, “[d]ie beste appelkooskonfyt wat goud glansend in die fles staan”.⁴⁶ Van Zyl (2012:190) describes, almost poetically, the qualities of home-made puff pastry when she wrote, “Die skilfertjies van die kors klou aan jou lippe en val op die vloer. Die gebakte bottergeur streel in ‘n warm wasem oor jou verhemelte. Jy onthou vanmelewe se tantes met arms wat skud met elke ferm vou van die deeg en groot boesems wat gemoedelik wieg met die ritmiese rol van die stok.”⁴⁷

As with most pastries containing a filling, care must be taken not to overfill the dough but sufficiently enclose the contents. In the case of jam tarts the same principles apply seeing as the hot jam has a tendency to bubble and leak out of from the sides. According to Human (2002:18) the *old folk* purposefully made a stiffer batch of apricot jam during jam making time (specifically for use in jam tartlets) and the general advice is to wet the edges of the dough and press them firmly together using a fork, ensuring proper cohesion. Inevitably, some of the tartlets will end up leaking. The researcher’s father tells how he would hope that there would be some flops (failures or, rather, leaked tarts) when his mother baked them for Christmas. He remembers being particularly fond of the chewy texture of the slightly burnt jam on the outer crusts. His childhood recollections of the time leading up to Christmas include fond memories of his mother baking in the kitchen and how she used to fill cookie tins (made especially for her by his father from old paraffin cans) with an array of baked goodies. In particular, he

⁴⁶ “Only the best apricot jam that gleams like gold in the jar” (Translated by researcher).

⁴⁷ “The flakes from the crust first stick to your lips and cheeks before falling to the floor. The aroma of baked butter caresses your palate in in a haze of warmth. You remember the aunties from the days of old, their arms wiggling with every fold of the dough and the convivial swaying of their bosoms with the rhythmical movement of the rolling pin” (Translated by researcher).

fondly remembers how he and his cousin would pinch their favourites and then eat them clandestinely in their tree fort.

4.3.2.4.2 Deep-fried dough

The term 'baking' is most commonly applied for items (such as those mentioned above) that are cooked through a process of dry heat (Singh and Matz 2020:n.p.). The following section discusses food items that are cooked by a process of submersion in a heated greasy medium. This process is typically referred to as frying or deep-fat frying but the researcher will use the term 'baking' as this is the general term used when cooking the following flour based food stuffs.

According to Claassens (2003) the most popular cake eaten in the Netherlands was *stroopkoek* (syrup cake) or *oliekoecken* (oil cake). Schotel (1868 cited in Claassens [2006]) describes the popularity of *oliekoecken* at festivals where the bakers had to work hastily to meet the high demand. Speculatively, it started out in similar fashion to regular *vetkoek* (fat cakes) that were made as a quick meal option out of bread dough (Claassens 2003). Some of the bread dough was purposefully kept aside, rolled into balls and baked in fat. This was then on offer for hungry members of the household while the actual bread was still baking (Van Zyl 2010). *Vetkoek* (Figure 4.5) still forms a part of the contemporary Afrikaner's culinary vocabulary. Du Toit (2017) refers to a *vetkoek culture* and mentions *basaarvetkoek* (market fat cakes) filled with curried mince and the comfort that a *vetkoek* filled with cheese and apricot jam can give.



Source: Researcher

Figure 4.5: Vetkoek

It is a shared sentiment among many (based upon the amount of online literature on the subject) that *vetkoek* is part of traditional South African fair. The following section will focus specifically on the Dutch influence on *vetkoek* as part of the Afrikaner culinary heritage. The researcher shares Du Toit's (2017:n.p.) sentiment for *vetkoek* and its ability to evoke a sense of comfort. Her mother used to bake *vetkoek* for the family on Sunday evenings. It was proper sourdough *vetkoek* that made use of yeast as leavening agent and required kneading the dough and letting it rise (like bread dough). Her father preferred the darker, crispier ones that were baked a little longer. He was always privy to the first one and preferred it handed to him skewered on a fork. That is how he ate them, without any filling. '*Kaal vetkoeke*' (naked fat cakes) is what he called them. She recalls how the whole ritual revolved around her mother standing at the stove because, as she baked, everybody ate. This Sunday-night tradition was passed on from her maternal grandmother who used to bake the most beautiful, large, plump (sourdough) *vetkoeke*.⁴⁸ *Vetkoek* at her house was also baked as a substitute for when the bread was finished and she had to feed my mother and her five siblings. The researcher confesses that although she has tried to mimic

⁴⁸ Ouma Carry was a deft hand when it came to *vetkoek* and even used to sell them from her house when she moved to Malmesbury from Bloemfontein.

her grandmother's *vetkoek* it is something that she is yet to master. The difficulty lies in getting the oil temperature just right, especially when attempting to cook large pieces of dough. When the oil is too hot, the end-result is a very unappetizing combination of burnt outside - raw inside. Today, many South African retail stores such as Pick 'n Pay, Checkers and Spar offer ready-made bread dough that can be purchased as a time saving alternative as well as offering ready-to-eat *vetkoek* that can be bought plain or with a savoury filling such as curried mince.

Unlike the more time consuming sourdough *vetkoek* the *kitsvetkoek* (quick fat cake) or *bakpoeier vetkoekie* (little baking powder fat cake) uses baking powder as leavening agent (Figure 4.6).



Source: Researcher

Figure 4.6: Bakpoeier vetkoek

Although technically not a *vetkoek* in the true sense of the word, these *pooffers* are smaller, also baked in oil, can be filled the same way as the sourdough version yet require much less time to prepare. Du Toit (2017:n.p.) states the fastest way to a nostalgic experience for her would be these quick and versatile *vetkoekies*. On her foodblog *Huiskok.com* Du Toit (2017:n.p.) recounts how her mother, who referred to it as *lepelvetkoek* (spoon fat cakes), used to make these in a jiffy on Sunday evenings. Coincidentally, a respondent on the '*Bak, brou en*

onthou' Facebook page made a similar comment about remembering *bakpoeier vetkoek* on Sundays. The respondent⁴⁹ commented, “*My ma het altyd op Sondagaande gemaak as die brood op is en die boeties is nog honger*”.⁵⁰ Another respondent stated, “*Ons was mal daaroor dat my ma dit bak! Saam met botter en stroop!*”⁵¹ Two other respondents spoke to the versatility thereof as mentioned by Du Toit (2017:n.p.). One respondent stated that it is delicious with pieces of fried bacon added to the batter while another said that she adds left-over meat, cooked minced meat or corned beef to her version. Variations on these *vetkoekies* do not only include adding ingredients to the batter but also enclosing ingredients in the batter before baking. One such an example is the combination of dunking/coating *frikkadelletjies* (small meatballs) in the batter before baking it in oil. A recipe featured in Annette Human (1990:48) “*Die Beste van Wenresepte*” is from a Mrs. Marie Botma titled “*Katkoppe*” (cat heads) although no explanation is given as to why it is called that. The researcher found a similar cut-out⁵² recipe for *vetkoek-frikkadelletjies* in one of her mother’s recipe books. This recipe from a Mrs. Marie Joubert made use of sourdough and had an equally descriptive title namely “*Vetfrikkie*” (fat frikkies).⁵³

As mentioned before it is thought that *vetkoek* later evolved into a sweeter version with the addition of fruits, spices and sugar. The recipe for *oliekoeken* given in “*De Verstandige Kock*”⁵⁴ published in 1686 is made up of flour, raisins, finely chopped apples, almonds, cinnamon, ginger, cloves, butter, yeast and milk all mixed together to form a slightly runny batter (in Afrikaans known as a *drupbeslag*) that was presumably spooned (similarly to *lepelvetkoek* mentioned above) into deep fat (lard heated until a liquid consistency) and baked until cooked and puffy. These *poffertjies* were then pressed in melted sugar (here the

⁴⁹ The word ‘respondent’ refers to a female member of the ‘*Bak, brou en onthou*’ unless otherwise specified.

⁵⁰ My mother always made it on Sunday evenings when the bread was finished and the brothers were still hungry” (Translated by researcher).

⁵¹ We were crazy about it when my mother made it! With butter and syrup! (Translated by researcher).

⁵² Speculatively from a *Huisgenoot* based on the addition of an “H” added at the end of the recipe.

⁵³ The name is probably an amalgamation of *vet* from *vetkoek* and *frik (kie)* from *frikkadelletjie*. Notable is that Frik or Frikkie (sometimes as alternative for Frederik) is a Afrikaans (male) first-name and in combination with the word *vet* as descriptor for physical appearance it may be a comical association between the roundness of the foodstuff and that of a person.

⁵⁴ “The sensible cook”.

molten sugar is referred to as syrup although it was not the liquid form used for dunking/submersion).

As mentioned by Claassens (2003) *oliekoecken* was a prominent part of Dutch food ways. One of the Dutch Golden Age artists, Aelbert Cuyp's, *Meid met olieballen* (1652) (Figure 4.7)⁵⁵ immortalized their presence as “[e]vidence of aspects of Dutch cultural life” (Barnes ,cited in Barnes, Rose, Gehrin and Minty [2002:15]).



Source: <https://eetverleden.nl/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Vrouw-met-schaal-olieballen-Albert-Cuyp-ca-1652-Dordrechts-Museum.jpg>

Figure 4.7: Albert Cuyp. 1652. Meid met olieballen. [Oil on panel]. Dordrechts Museum, Netherlands

Older Arabic manuscripts feature recipes where sourdough, liquid syrup and later sugar were used. The dough was made into balls, left to rise, baked in oil or fat and dunked/submerged in the syrup, (which reminds very much of modern day *koeksister* except for the shape). A later version involved the sprinkling of sugar (Claassens 2003). The term *oliekoek* eventually became *oliebolle* (oil balls) in the

⁵⁵ Image sourced from an online article on eetverleden.nl titled “*Oliekoecken uit de 17e eeuw*” (2018:n.p). <https://eetverleden.nl/oliekoecken-uit-de-17e-eeuw/>

Cape and according to later recipe manuscripts became *bollas* which is the term still used by the Cape Malay community for this traditional sweet treat (Claassens 2003). *Bollas* are typically small dough balls that are baked in oil, then dunked in syrup and rolled in desiccated coconut (Du Toit 2019).

According to Claassens (2003) what became the traditional Afrikaner *koeksuster's* origin may be traced back to the 15th century Italian chef Martino da Como's recipe for *crePELLI* (contemporarily referred to as *cenci*) whereby dough was twisted or plaited before being baked in oil and then sprinkled with cinnamon and sugar. Speculatively, *Krullers*⁵⁶ as it became known in the Cape was the result of the baking practice in the Netherlands of rolling the pieces of the dough between the hands and giving it a twist as opposed to the later method of rolling out, cutting and plaiting (Claassens 2003). The method of rolling out the dough, cutting it in squares consisting of three strips and then plaiting these strips (Figure 4.8) were practiced by most cooks and this is presumably where the novel Cape name *koeksuster* originated.



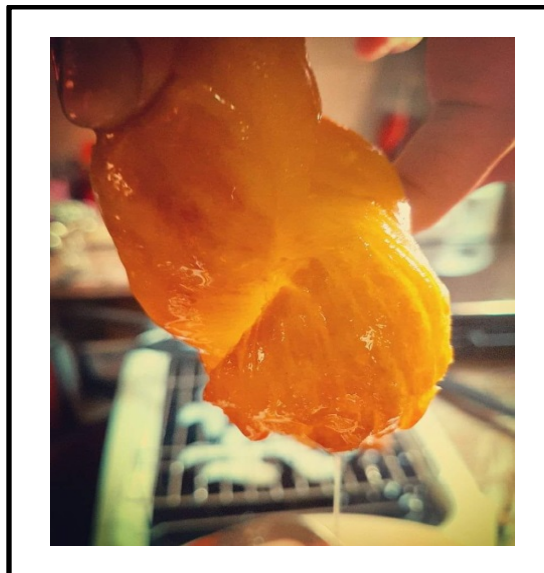
Source: http://www.bakersbrigade.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/IMG_8806-534x400.jpg

Figure 4.8: The steps in cutting and plaiting a koeksuster

The argument behind the name is the possibility that the three strips may have been associated with three cakes namely '*Groote zuster*' (Big sister), '*Kleine zuster*' (Little sister) and '*Kuische zuster*' (Modest sister) that appeared in *De volmaakte*

⁵⁶ A name that presumably resulted due to the Dutch word '*krul/crul*' meaning twist (Claassens 2003).

Hollandsche keuken-meid (1761) (Claassens 2003). Eventually the name changed to *koeksister* (which in itself has no clear explanation) other than the speculation that it was as a result of poor pronunciation and English influence or even the ‘*sis*’ sound the dough makes while baking in the oil (Du Toit 2019:n.p.; Claassens 2003). Traditional Afrikaner *koeksisters* should however not be confused with Cape Malay *koesisters* (sometimes referred to as *koe’sister/koesiester*). Although the name sounds similar there is a distinct difference. Naseer Abdullah described the difference in an online article by Hillary Biller (2019:n.p) titled “*What’s the difference between koeksisters and koesisters?*” as follows: “The Afrikaans original, *koeksister*, is a golden, twisted plait, crisp on the outside with a sweet syrupy centre” (Figure 4.9).



Source: Researcher

Figure 4.9: Koeksister

“*Koesisters*⁵⁷ are a Cape Malay delicacy, oval dough balls with a doughnut-like texture, flavoured with spices and naartjie peel and much darker in colour” (Figure 4.10).

⁵⁷ The inauguration of *World Koesister Day* took place on 1 September 2019 to celebrate *koesisters* as part of Cape Malay culinary heritage (NtlaHla 2019:n.p).



Source: <https://www.capetown.travel/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/koesister-south-african-foods.jpg>

Figure 4.10: Cape-Malay 'koesister'

Although, in this description no mention is made of desiccated coconut Abdullah's recipe does mention a coconut coating. Errieda du Toit (2019:n.p.) describes the syrup-laden *koeksister* as "*die soetste suster*" (the sweetest sister) when comparing it to the more fragrantly spiced *koeksister*. This description immediately reminded the researcher of the possible connection between the three *cake sisters* (which literally translates to *koeksisters*) and whether Zoete zuster (sweet sister) might have been an apt description, taking DuToit's (2019:n.p.) comment into account.

Making traditional Afrikaner *koeksister* is not an undertaking to be attempted lightly. The whole process requires foresight and preparation. Van Zyl (2012:197) puts it: "*Jy kan nie vandag besluit nou gaan ek koeksisters maak nie. Jy moes dit al gister besluit het, want om goeie koeksister te bak moet jou deeg en jou stroop goed koud wees.*"⁵⁸ This statement is echoed in Du Toit's (2019) comment about the effort that goes into *koeksister* making when she said "*Om koeksisters te eet is pret, maar om dit te maak is nie kinderspeletjies nie.*"⁵⁹ In her book "*Die groot boerekosboek*" Van Zyl (2012:196) recalls a tale from her youth about baking *koeksisters* whilst living in *Hoopstraat* (Hope Street) in Robbertson. According to her the children all played together and the mothers often worked together in

⁵⁸ "You cannot decide on a whim that today you will bake *koeksisters*, you should have decided that yesterday because to bake a good *koeksister* your dough and the syrup must be properly chilled" (Translated by researcher).

⁵⁹ "To eat *koeksisters* is fun but, to make it is not child's-play" (Translated by researcher).

baking and making treats to sell at a bazaar or for a fundraiser. One such occasion called for the baking of *koeksisters* and she remembers how all of the children, whether boy or girl, whether in primary or secondary school, were all employed to form part of the production line as “plaiters”. Illustrated by the section above one can gather that the procedure is quite arduous and a time-consuming process that could be eased should more than one person be involved. This deduction is supported taking the following statement from a cut-out recipe (from the researcher’s mother’s recipe collection) for *Kraaklekker koeksisters* as it appeared in the 24 June 1988 edition of “*Keur*” magazine which states “*Koeksisters is nie ‘n lekkerny wat ‘n mens sommer in ‘n japtrap aanmekaarslaan nie, maar as jy ‘n ekstra paar hande het om met die bakkery te help, gaan dit gouer*”.⁶⁰ The researcher can attest to the fact that the making of a proper *koeksister* is a labour of love and one that takes an experienced person who knows how to get the correct balance of crunchy exterior and soft syrupy interior. After her (first and only) attempt she vowed to buy rather than make it herself because, as she puts it “*dis net te veel moeite*” (“it is just too much effort”). Due to the tediousness of plaiting she eventually resorted to rolling the dough into little balls. She posted an image of the finished product on the ‘*Bak, brou en onthou*’ Facebook page under the heading “*Koeksissies vir die dag as jy nie lus het vir vleg nie... Hierdie is ‘n opsie vir as die lus vir koeksisters eet die lus om die werk te doen wen*.”⁶¹ (Figure 4.11)

⁶⁰ “*Koeksisters is not the kind of treat that can be made in a jiffy but, if you have an extra pair of hands to help with the baking it will go quicker*” (Translation by researcher).

⁶¹ “*‘Koeksissies’ for when you don’t feel like plaiting... These are an option for when the craving for ‘koeksisters’ is bigger than the willingness to work*” (Translated by researcher).



Source: Researcher

Figure 4.11: 'Koeksissies'

Speculatively, it is this attitude of rather paying for it than making it yourself that has made the home-made *koeksister* industry so popular. Du Toit (2019: n.p.) states in an article titled “*Die sisters se storie*” (featured “*Afrikaanse erfenis*” added as supplementary section to *Rapport* dated 22 September 2019) that at a church bazaar or agricultural show it is usually the *koeksister* table that is sold out first. With the high demand for home-made *koeksisters* it is not surprising that many home-bakers have been able to successfully earn money off of its sales (whether for a personal or a charitable cause). The importance of the place of the *koeksister* (as well as the women who bake them) as Afrikaner heritage cuisine is illustrated by the *Koeksister Monument* (Figure 4.12) erected in the South African town *Orania*.



Source: <https://orania.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Besienswaardighede-Koeksister.jpg>

Figure 4.12: The Koeksister Monument in Orania

According to an online article by Independent Online (2003:n.p.) the two meter high carbon fibre sculpture was unveiled on 20 September 2003 by Anna Boshoff,⁶² and stands as a tribute to the fortitude of generations of Afrikaner women who raised money for orphanages, schools and churches by baking and selling *koeksisters*. This statement is similar to that of a respondent on the ‘*Bak, brou en onthou*’ Facebook page regarding a post about *koeksisters*. The respondent commented “*Hmmmmm!! Watter heerlikheid. Koeksisters het baie kerke help bou, studente laat leer, ’n nuwe motor gekoop en nog vele gaan nog so gehelp word. Dankie aan baie ma’s en oumas.*”⁶³ Lida Strydom, co-designer of the sculpture and chairwoman of Orania’s *Kaalvoet Women’s Organisation*⁶⁴ states that the baking of *koeksisters* is an integral part of Afrikaner tradition yet, due to the fast pace of modern living there seems to be little time to make them resulting in the skill becoming lost among the younger generation. A more recent addition of the *koeksister* as art for public consumption is in the form of a first of its kind *koeksister*-shaped “*selfie*”⁶⁵ bench situated at the bottom of the stairs in front of the *Voortrekker Monument* in Pretoria (Figure 4.13).

⁶² Daughter of former prime minister of South Africa, Hendrik Verwoerd (Independent Online 2003: n.p.).

⁶³ “*Hmmmmm! Such deliciousness. The selling of ‘koeksisters’ have helped to build churches, students to study and new cars to be bought and many more will also be helped in this way. Thank you to so many mothers and grandmothers*” (Translated by researcher).

⁶⁴ The name was inspired by the ‘*Voortrekker*’ Susanna Smit’s (apocryphal) statement that she would rather walk barefoot over the Drakensberg than suffer the rule of the British (Independent Online 2003:n.p.).

⁶⁵ “A photograph that one has taken of oneself, *especially* one taken with a smartphone or webcam and shared via social media” Oxford English Dictionary (n.p).



Source: https://rekordeast.co.za/wp-content/uploads/sites/85/2016/03/KoeksisterbenchatVo_26508.jpg

Figure 4.13: Pieter Mathews. 2014. Koeksister bench. [Cement]. Voortrekker Monument, Pretoria

The *Koeksister Bench* (designed by Pieter Mathews) forms part of the “*Let’s Sit Campaign*” commissioned by Cool Capital where ten benches were installed around the city of Pretoria. Visitors can sit on the bench and take a “*selfie*” of themselves or together with friends/family with a good view of the *Voortrekker Monument* in the background (South African Pavilion: n.p.). According to Sonja Lombard (Chief Executive Officer of the Voortrekker Monument), the location of the bench and its representation of Afrikaans culinary heritage are perfectly suited in conjunction with the Voortrekker Monument as major heritage centre in South Africa (Monama 2015:n.p). The inclusion of the *koeksister* as a functional art installation aimed at facilitating and indeed encouraging conversations and social interaction on a modern-day media platform illustrates yet again the contemporary importance of the confection in Afrikaner culture. The challenge lies in not only stimulating a conversation but also inspiring the younger generation regarding the continuation of a baking tradition (relating to all Afrikaner heritage baking) within a modern day context, ideally so as to ensure that the monuments and sculptures (and generation’s old recipe books) of the “eg

*Afrikaanse koeksister*⁶⁶ do not eventually stand as a mere aide-mémoire to a forgotten skill and baking tradition.

4.3.2.4.3 The cinnamon connection

In keeping with the notion of ‘consumable monuments’ celebrating culinary traditions one could look at the *melktert* (milk tart) and its part in Afrikaner heritage baking. Du Toit (2017:n.p.) states that “*melktert is ‘n monument vir die selfbemaagtiging van die tannies [...] wat met die inkomste van hul tuisnywerheidmelkterte hul kinders geleer kry. So ‘n tert verdien ‘n nasionale dag.*”⁶⁷ *Nasionale melktert dag* (National Milk tart) was instituted by the monthly magazine *Weg!* in 2013 and is celebrated on 27 February.

Indicative of its cultural significance is that an insight into the history and originality of this tart even forms part of Rachel Botes’s Master’s degree titled “*The South African milk tart: origin and originality*”. In an article by Jeanne-Marie Versluis featured in Rapport online [n.p.] dated 14 April 2019, Botes discussed certain aspects as touched upon in her study. According to Botes (cited in Versluis [2019:n.p.]) the period between 1652 until 1890 in the Cape yields no literature regarding recipes for *melktert*, speculatively due to it forming part of private, unpublished recipe collections (and presumably passed on from mother to daughter). Claassens (2003) states that the origin of *melktert* may be traced as far back as die Middle Ages. The consumption of dairy products, meat and eggs was prohibited during the days of abstinence in the Netherlands. What could possibly be the earliest version in the evolution of the *melktert* can be found in Thomas van der Noot’s (1510) recipe manuscript where he gives a variation of a recipe depending on the church determined fasting days. It was for a type of porridge that was made using almond milk, flour, plant oil, ginger and cinnamon, of which the almond milk was replaced by dairy milk and eggs when the fast was over (Barnes *et al.* 2002:17; Claassens 2003). Milk in its natural state (fresh) was not readily consumed as it was considered unhealthy due to it spoiling so easily. Instead it was preserved as butter or cheese and sometimes cooked, often as

⁶⁶ The inclusion of “eg *Afrikaanse koeksister*” refers both to its origin and that the Afrikaans word *koeksister* has no other language translation.

⁶⁷ “Milk tart is a monument to the self-empowered women [...] who pay for their children’s education by selling milk tarts at home-industry stores. A tart like this deserves a national day” (Translated by researcher).

custard with an occasional pastry base (Sys 2017:7; Barnes *et al.* 2002:18) A later example of the dish that would eventually evolve into the *melktert* may be found in the form of *mattentaart* in the first printed Dutch-language recipe book by Thomas van der Noot (1514) titled “*Een notable boecxken van cokerijen*” (Sys 2017:11). As stated before, the absence of *melktert* in Cape manuscripts during the period between 1652 and 1890 makes it difficult to determine to what extent the recipe further developed. According to Botes (n.d. cited in Versluis [2019]) the oldest recipe in the Cape that describes making the milky-custard filling for *melktert* can be found in Hildagon Duckitt’s (1819) “*Hilda’s Where Is It? of recipes*” under the heading “*Dutch specialité*” (Dutch speciality).

Melktert is rated among one of the most beloved baked goods in South Africa, as illustrated by the instituting of *National melktert day*. It is a popular choice to make for special occasions, tea parties and church bazaars where it is usually accompanied by other traditional favourites such as *koeksisters* and *konfyttertjies* (Du Toit 2017:n.p.). Yet, it is not reserved for occasional events only. The product has undergone a process of commercialization and is available at many retailers and home-industry stores. Botes (n.d., cited in Versluis [2019]) explains that its widespread popularity and commercial availability resulted in the development of a multitude of variations on the product itself. The following are examples of products that the researcher have observed that include *melktert* or milk tart as a flavour descriptor: a cream liqueur called “*Tant’ Sannie se melk tert, Traditionele poeding in a glas*”, “*Milk tart flavoured Tinkies*” (limited edition), “*Milk Tart Kit Kat*” (limited edition), “*Ricoffee Milk tart flavour instant cappuccino*” and “*Gourmet fudge’s Karoo Milk tart flavour*”. To add to the above variations the baked item in itself has undergone a transformation that includes time-saving alternatives such as pre-mixes that require only cold milk added to the dry mixture, recipes for *kits melktert* (quick/instant milk tart or no-bake milk tart) and quick and easy crust options⁶⁸ (such as *smeerkors* (spreadable dough crust), *broskors* (biscuit crust pressed into the baking vessel), *koekiekors* (made from crushed cookies such as coconut tea-cookies mixed with melted butter) and store-bought pastry).

⁶⁸ Traditional *melktert* is made with puff pastry the same as *konfyttertjies*. This was a particularly labour intensive exercise especially in the days before domestic refrigerators. Niehaus (1999:19) states that in those days the baker was measured by the quality of her puff pastry.

One could argue that all of the above-mentioned products and variations have made the *melktert* more accessible thus contributing to its continued popularity. Yet, the continuous allure of the *melktert* is rooted in the nostalgia inducing multi-sensory experience that it presents. It could be described as smelling the warm comforting aroma of cinnamon that fills the air, the look of a beautifully thick, slightly wobbly slice as it stands on the plate and the heavenly smooth taste of the creamy milk and egg custard filling. Add to this a traditional family recipe as made by a beloved grandmother or mother and it holds the potential of transporting you back to your childhood. Du Toit (2017) aptly describes an example of nostalgia related to a popular practice of ‘eating from the pot’ (which is the same principle as licking off the whisks) as follows, “*Groot mans huil in hulle harde baarde as die troostende geure hulle terug vat na die duimvashou as kind dat daar genoeg vlapap in die kastrol sal oorbly om uit te eet.*”⁶⁹ Men’s affinity towards a maternal figure’s *melktert* is echoed in a statement by Botes in an article by Kelly Minnie (2020) titled “*Melktert bring vir SA troos*”⁷⁰ (*Rapport Beleef* 1 March:13. Botes states everybody still loves the traditional (*outydse*) version (Figure 4.14) and that men in particular can remember the ones made by their mothers or grandmothers and that they do not desire any other.



Source: (Photo by Ian du Toit)

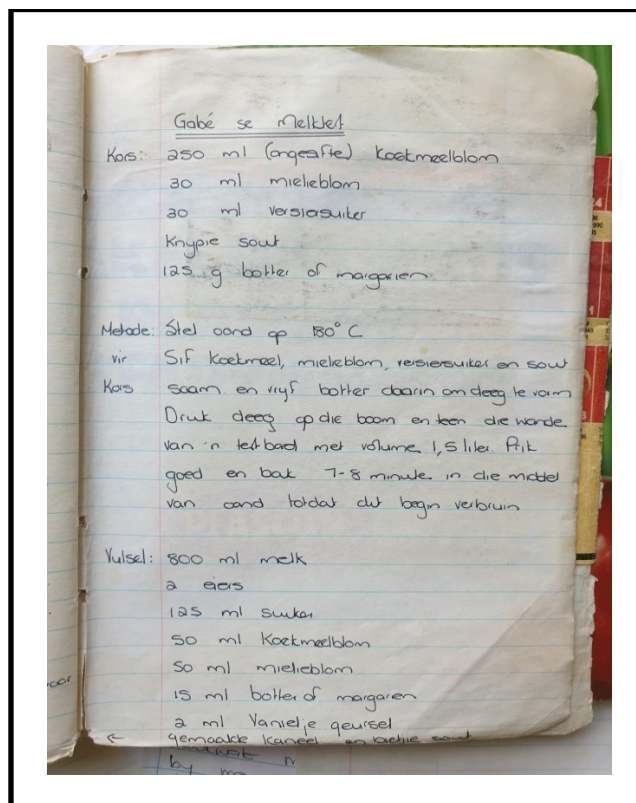
<https://cdn.24.co.za/files/Cms/General/d/3728/0bf4b794b74c4e58bf41756563c9a0b0.jpg>

⁶⁹ “Grown men weep into their beards as the comforting smell transports them back to a time when they used to hold thumbs that there would be enough of the custard left in the porridge for them to eat” (Translated by researcher).

⁷⁰ “Milk tart provides comfort for SA” (Translated by researcher).

Figure 4.14: Traditional melktert

The researcher is able to relate to this statement. Her mother has a specific *melktert* recipe that she named after my father because it is his favourite. Due to the abundance of recipes shared on social media platforms my mother has the tendency to try out one or two if so persuaded by the post. Some of these happen to be different versions of the beloved *melktert*. Upon me inquiring whether he liked the latest version he answered, “*Ek verstaan nie hoekom doen sy dit nie. Ek hou nie van hierdie nie. Plaas sy maak net die een waarvan ek hou.*”⁷¹ (Figure 4.15).



Source: Researcher

Figure 4.15: Gabé se melk tert in the researcher's mother's recipe book

Yet another example of male influence and preference regarding *melktert* may be found from Deona Tait's tale as a child living in Belville which was published in *Sarie Kos* (2018: n.p.) titled, “*Wenresep: Melktert*”. Her recipe won during the 2009 “*Sarie Kos milk tart competition*.” Tait recalls her father being very fond of a

⁷¹ “I don't understand why she does this. I don't like these. I would rather she make the one I like” (Translated by researcher).

particular lady's *melktert*. *Tannie* (auntie) Helie Williams was famous for her *melkterte* (which she baked until her advanced years prevented her). She remembers how her father insisted that she and her sister learned how she made them in order for him to enjoy it in his own home. Tait states that since she was taught by *tannie Helie* her recipe is the only one she always makes. This is another example of intergenerational transfer and although it is between women there is no blood-relationship between the parties involved. Although some women jealously guard their recipes (stating often that it is an old family recipe) this is a wonderful example of sharing outside of the familial bond that may keep a recipe “alive”.

Another very popular South African foodstuff often on sale at events such as farmer's markets, bazaars, carnivals and even out of mobile food stalls are *pannekoek* (pancakes). The historical popularity of this thin, round and supple cake baked in a flat round pan that would become so popular amongst contemporary Afrikaners is evident in a statement by Schotel (1871:22) where the author notes that “*Onder de oudste en meest geliefde lekkernijen behoort de pannekoecken...*” (Among the oldest and most beloved delicacies are pancakes). Indeed, some of the oldest printed recipes for *pannekoecken* date back to Van der Noot's (1514) “*Een notable boecxken van cokerijen*” and its continuous presence in recipe books throughout the following centuries illustrate its popularity. Early visual evidence of its popularity in the Netherlands is found in paintings (De Moor 2002:68) such as the one by Pieter Aertsen (1560) titled “*De Pannekoeckenbackerij*” (The pancake bakery) (Figure 4.16).



Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/bc/Pieter_Aertsen_017.jpg

Figure 4.16: Pieter Aertsen. 1560. De Pannekoekbackerij. [Oil on panel]. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam

It would be an obvious assumption based on the above mentioned literature that the early Cape settlers would have brought knowledge about *pannekoek* with them. According to Claassens (2003) there seems to be only one recipe dated 1670 that could be found in early Cape recipe manuscripts, possibly because there seemed no need to write such a simple recipe down. The three recipes that appear in “*De Verstandige Kock*” show variations added to the base ingredients of flour and egg. *Groeninger pannekoeken* (Groeninger pancakes) contain currants, *Gemeene pannekoeken* (Regular pancakes) are made with milk and *Beste pannekoeken* (Best pancakes) are made with water, cloves, nutmeg, cinnamon and foil with a sprinkle of sugar onto the cooked pancake (Claassens 2003). The *pannekoek* that is the most popularly eaten by contemporary Afrikaners is made with unseasoned batter (except for a bit of salt) and is sprinkled with cinnamon sugar⁷² (Figure 4.17).



Source: http://regtig.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/aimg_8844-1024x683.jpg

Figure 4.17: Pancakes with cinnamon sugar

Many variations of savoury and sweet fillings may be added because of its versatility. One such example is a combination of two Afrikaner favourites rolled

⁷² Cinnamon sugar is made up of approximately one part fine cinnamon powder (for example 80 millilitres) mixed with two parts sugar (160 millilitres) (Van Zyl 2012:187).

into one in the form of a *melkterpannekoek* (milk tart pancake) consisting of a pancake with a milk tart filling.

Together with its sweet compatriots *koeksisters* and *melktert*, the *pannekoek* is a mainstay at public social events where *loop en kou* (eating while walking around) is a popular method of consumption. In addition to this similarity it also forms part of the traditional Afrikaner method of baking and selling popular foodstuffs for fundraising and charitable events as indicated by this statement from Van Zyl (2012:189), “*By elke fondsinsameling en skoolbyeenkoms word pannekoek gebak. Pannekoek het al kerksale gebou en nuwe busse vir die hoërskool aangeskaf. Dit het swembaddens gebou, en vir die matriekafskeid betaal*”.⁷³ This statement echoes that of a respondent’s statement about *koeksisters* on the ‘*Bak, brou en onthou*’ Facebook page (see Footnote 61).

Pannekoekweer (Pancake weather) is a popular term used among Afrikaners for rainy days. It is uncertain how this saying originated or how this tradition came about, yet it seems to be an ‘unspoken rule’ that pancakes and rainy weather go together. Van Zyl (2012:189) writes how it is tradition in the Cape winelands (Boland) to bake pancakes when it rains. The author states “*Buite kan dit stormweer, binne in die warm kombuis kraak die suiker onder jou tande en die kaneel kruip saggies op in jou neuskanale*”.⁷⁴ The following personal accounts from the writers of online food blogs further illustrate this phenomenon. In an entry titled ‘*Outydse pannekoek*’ dated 30 April 2014 on her blog titled ‘*Melkkos en Merlof*’ Lizet Hartley wrote how as a child she remembers the rainy season being her favourite. In her childhood home the baking of pancakes was synonymous with rainy days, although she does not know where her mother came up with the idea. What was particularly interesting about this blog entry was a reply in the comments section dated 24 May 2015 from a reader. The reader commented that she was thankful for the *pannekoek* recipe and the fact that it was written in Afrikaans. The reader continued to write how she resents the fact that she did not spend more time learning how (to bake them) and writing down

⁷³ “Pancakes are baked at every fundraiser and school gathering. Pancakes have built church halls and have bought new busses for the high school. They have built swimming pools and have paid for the matric farewells” (Translated by researcher).

⁷⁴ “Outside may be stormy but inside the warmth of the kitchen the sugar is crunchy in your mouth and the aroma of cinnamon softly ascends your nose passages” (Translated by researcher).

recipes made by her grandmother when she was still alive. According to the reader her grandmother made everything from memory and try as she might she could not find any recipes for *soetkoekies*, *pannekoek* or *melkkos* (milk food dusted with cinnamon sugar) that resembled that of her late grandmother. This statement seems to validate the notion that simple recipes are not necessarily always written down whereby the intergenerational transference of knowledge would be necessary for said recipe to 'live on' as older generations inevitably exit the equation. In this case, similar recipes with similar ingredients would still be able to act as nostalgic triggers and speculatively the nostalgic experience may be even more pronounced as the 'bitter sweet' memory is tinged with a sense of regret.

Referring back to the notion of *pannekoekweer*, food blogger Marli Visser wrote an entry titled '*Pannekoek Weer*' on her blog titled '*Boesmanland Langtafel*'. In this entry (dated 20 April 2020) she writes how her family (who lives and farms in an area known for fickle rainfall) have always associated rain with a prosperous farming season. She writes how, when the first drops of rain would fall, her mother would start mixing the pancake batter and take out her pan. For this family of farmers, pancakes are a way of celebrating the rain and its promise of prosperous times in a tangible and consumable way. The researcher can attest to this association of rain and pancakes. In an entry on the '*Bak, brou and onthou*' Facebook page the researcher preceded the question "What does the smell of cinnamon remind you of?" with her own nostalgic recollection regarding the specific aroma (Figure 4.18).⁷⁵

⁷⁵ "As a child I used to stay with my grandmother. What a privilege. I miss her every day. The living room at my grandparents' house had two LARGE windows. I could see the school children as they walked past. When it was stormy there would be a noticeable darkness that befell the room. Just as the 'pre-school me' started getting anxious there would be an assuring aroma wafting through the house. Pancakes! The smell of cinnamon was warm, friendly, homely, safe ... Just like my grandmother. Every time I am greeted by the familiar aroma of cinnamon, I think of her. My grandmother ... That is why I say, my grandmother is in cinnamon. What does the aroma of cinnamon remind you of?"



Source: Researcher

Figure 4.18: Screen shot from the 'Bak, brou en onthou' Facebook page

The above mentioned accounts from individuals including the researcher illustrate the association of a baked item with certain weather conditions, people, and events. The pancake and all it represents seem part of the collective memory shared by these Afrikaners' as it relates to group identity. Instances such as these may lead one to revisit the concept of Benedict Anderson's (1983) concept of imagined communities based on the premise that a member of a culture or a community imagines that fellow members of the community (whether she has met them or not) share the same values, beliefs and behaviour (See also Chapter 3). Unfortunately, this specific post yielded only one response but the response is a notable one nonetheless. The respondent commented that on cold and rainy days she misses the phone calls from her late mother-in law where she said that they must come and fetch pancakes on their way home from work.

Although the following two items do not fall under the term 'baking' *per se* they are worth a mention under traditional Afrikaner cuisine especially where the nostalgia inducing combination of dough and cinnamon is concerned. As is the case with milk tart and pancakes, *souskluitjies* (saucy dumplings) and *melkkos*

(milk food) are often considered as 'comfort food' due to their connection to beloved people and bygone times.

Dumplings were a popular foodstuff in Europe and subsequently also in the Cape considering the Dutch were familiar with its preparation and consumption (Claassens 2003). Along with being filling, its popularity stemmed from its versatility to be prepared either savoury or sweet and its capability to greatly stretch an otherwise sparse meal.⁷⁶ According to the author the version that is known today as *souskluitjies* (sprinkled with cinnamon sugar) presumably originated from the German *Dumfnudeln* (sourdough balls cooked in a shallow milk bath in a lidded pot). On an online food blog called 'My German Cooking' (n.p.) the author (known only as Barbara) states that *Dumfnudeln* may sometimes be referred to as *Germknödel*, particularly in Austria where the first part of the word 'Germ' represents 'yeast'. According to the author the main difference between the two is the method of cooking. *Germknödel* is cooked over steam and *Dumfnudeln* in a liquid combination of cream, milk, butter and sugar. Taking the food shortages experienced during the early days in the Cape into account it may be presumed that milk would have been replaced with water (Claassens 2003). A recipe for 'Meel Kluitjies' (flour dumplings) in 'Di Suid Afrikaanse Kook-, Koek-, en Resepteboek' by E.J. Dijkman (1979)⁷⁷ mentions the use of water and the addition of raisins to the dough. Contemporary recipes for *souskluitjies* such as those given in *Kook en Geniet* and *Die Groot Boerekosboek* also make use of water although no mention of dried fruit is made. All of these recipes include the use of cinnamon sugar added to the saucy dumplings (Figure 4.19).

⁷⁶ Dumplings as a way to add substance to a meal was so popular during the 1930's depression that a recipe book titled 'Die praktiese kookboek vir Suid-Afrika' (*The Practical Cookery Book for South Africa*) by S. van H. Tulleken dedicated a whole chapter to dumplings in 1937 (Claassens 2003).

⁷⁷ The first edition was published 1891 by D.F. du Toit & Co., Paarl.



Source: <http://www.melkkos-merlot.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/souskluitjies.jpg>

Figure 4.19: Souskluitjies

Another popular Afrikaner favourite comes in the form of *melkkos* and its variants. Melkkos can be made in one of three ways: (1) by incorporating the flour directly into the milk, which thickens the liquid mixture resulting in a smooth and creamy consistency, (2) by using *frimmels* (dough frills) in the form of flour and water mixed and rubbed together by hand until incorporated in the form of small frilly pieces of dough and added to the milk as thickening agent, or (3) by using *snyseis* (strips of dough) added to the milk. *Melkkos met frimmels* (milk food with dough frills) as well as *melksnyseis*' (milk strips) apparently originated with the Persians and eventually spread to Europe and subsequently to the Netherlands from whence the Dutch brought knowledge of the dish with them to the Cape (Van Zyl 2012:186, Claassens 2003). Modern day variations include the adding of commercially available products such as macaroni, spaghetti or sago⁷⁸ which is often used as timesaving alternatives to the traditional *frimmels* or *snyseis*. *Melksnyseis* is often comically referred to as *Slinger-om-die-smoel* (sling around the mouth) (Figure 4.20) due to the dough strips being long and

⁷⁸ Sago is a food starch derived from the trunks of sago palms and exported for commercial use in the form of small round pearls (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* [n.p]). Known for their descriptive words, Afrikaners often refer to sago as '*padda-ogies*' (frog's eyes) and the larger tapioca pearls as '*padda-eiertjies*' (frog's eggs) (Niehaus 1999:99).

difficult to eat (Claassens 2003) without it inevitably landing on the outside of your mouth.



Source: <https://cdn.24.co.za/files/Cms/General/d/6561/bbad473252e648868b946711f17cb27a.jpeg>

Figure 4.20: Melksnysels or Slinger-om-die-smoel

Melkkos in its many forms are often referred to as *trooskos* (comfort food) (Lensing 2020; Du Toit 2013; Potgieter 2013). In an article dated 11 September 2013 (featured on Netwerk24.com: n.p.) titled “*Die troos van kaneel*” the author, Anneke Potgieter, writes about how D.J .Opperman’s poem ‘*Sproeireën*’ (See also Chapter 3 under 3.2.4) beautifully illustrates the connection between aroma and its possible connotations. The author writes how the aroma of cinnamon within a personal context is intrinsically linked to a pot of *melkos* bubbling away on her mother’s stove as counteraction against the winter cold and pre-work week woes.

The above mentioned statement is similar to some of the comments from respondents on the ‘*Bak, brou en onthou*’ Facebook page in response to the question “Watter een laat jou verlang? Pannekoek, melksnysels of kluitjies?” (Which one evokes a feeling of longing? Pancakes, milk strips or dumplings?” (Figure 4.21).



Source: Researcher

Figure 4.21: Screen shot from Bak, brou en onthou's Facebook page

Out of the 45 responses 25 chose all of the options given, 8 respondents chose *pannekoek*, 4 respondents chose *melksnysels* and 8 chose *kluitjies*. Although most of the comments were limited to answering the question only, some of the responses included a short narrative. One respondent who chose all of the options stated that “*As die weer bietjie opsteek bak ek pannekoek en ‘n koue aand sal ek sommer laataand gou melkkos maak. Mal oor kluitjies maar dis een ding wat ek nie kan maak nie want dis ‘kluitjies’⁷⁹ maar die kaneel en sous (is) heerlik*”.⁸⁰ Another respondent wrote the following “*Al drie. Ouma kon sommer vinnig ‘n baksel deeg aanmaak as die weer opsteek en vir ons pannekoek bak, selfs toe ons al uit die huis was. Dan word ons gebel om na werk dit te gaan haal. En souskluitjies was ook iets wat sy moeiteloos kon aanmaak terwyl jy met*

⁷⁹ Used within this context the term “*kluitjies*” refers to the consistency and appearance of the cooked product. When referring to dumplings specifically, cooks often use the term “*toeslaan*” (clotted or compacted) (Van Zyl 2012:209; De Villiers 1992) which refers to the dumpling being heavy and flat, often cooked on the outside yet raw on the inside. Van Zyl (2012:209) humorously suggests that in the event of this happening you should throw it to/at(?) the birds.

⁸⁰ “When it starts looking like it’s going to rain I bake pancakes and on a cold night I will make late-night milk food. Crazy about dumplings but that is one thing I cannot make because it comes out clotty but the cinnamon and sauce is divine” (Translated by researcher).

haar gesels. Melkkos was ook altyd bederfkos".⁸¹ Another wrote "*Al drie... As die kaneelgeur in die lug hang... Groot heimwee*".⁸² Relating to this comment regarding the aroma another respondent commented "*Kluitjies soos my ouma dit gemaak het! Ek ruik sommer die kaneel!*"⁸³ One respondent commented twice. One response was where she stated how they all reminded her of the good old days in her mother's kitchen and another where she wrote how she misses her mother. In a different comment the respondent stated that all of the options were notable as she grew up with them all. Interestingly, one respondent's comment was actually based on a negative childhood experience. The respondent stated "*Melksnyfels, want ek het elke Donderdag aand 'n pakslae gekry omdat ek dit nie wou of kon eet nie want dit was nie lekker nie. En tot en met vandag het ek dit nog nooit gemaak of geëet nie.*"⁸⁴

As illustrate by the above-mentioned comments the association of a particular food stuff may trigger positively valenced emotions in the form of nostalgic recollections of a particular individual (for example a beloved maternal figure), a place (mother's kitchen), the weather (rainy or cold) and circumstances surrounding the making (chatting in the kitchen). All but one of the respondents' recollections revolved around fond memories of a personal and meaningful nature. However, this does not negate that of the respondent who mentions a negative experience as it had a memorable impact on the individual at that time. Here the notion of the "redemption sequence" (as mentioned under 3.2.1) whereby any negative aspects are mitigated and affectively reshaped into a more acceptable one becomes an important factor.

A notable aspect of the above mentioned items of Afrikaner heritage cuisine namely *melktert*, *pannekoek*, *souskluitjies* and *melkkos* is the continuous presence of cinnamon. A study done by Ilmberger, Heuberger, Mahrhofer,

⁸¹ "All three. Grandma could quickly whip up a batch of batter and bake pancakes when it started get stormy. Even when where no longer living at home. Then she would phone and tell us to come and pick up some pancakes when we get off work. And dumplings were also something she could make effortlessly while having a chat with you. Milk food was always a treat" (Translated by researcher).

⁸² "All three... When the aroma of cinnamon fills the air... An immense sense of longing"(Translated by researcher).

⁸³ "Dumplings like my grandmother used to make! I can literally smell the cinnamon!"

⁸⁴ "Milk strips, because I would get a hiding every Thursday night because I wouldn't or couldn't eat it because it wasn't nice. Up until this day I have never once made or eaten it" (Translated by researcher).

Dessovic, Kowarik and Buchbauer (2001, cited in Jin [2015:11]) found that the spicy aroma of cinnamon provokes a warming sensation and one may speculate that in the form of an olfactory trigger it serves to counteract negative psychological positions (such as unhappiness due to it being cold or rainy, or stress about unknown future challenges) by eliciting memories relating to a warm feeling of being loved, cherished and safe. The influence of an aroma's effect via the olfactory system on areas in the brain, notably the hippocampus and limbic system that activate latent memories (Clower 2020:n.p., in Orey [2020]) points to olfaction as being one of the most powerful sensory-based external stimuli with regards to evoking positively valenced nostalgic responses.

The section above described the various influences that led to the development of the Afrikaner culinary culture. It is important to note that the food culture at the Cape was firmly established by 1752 (Claassens 2003) and any environmental or social influences were of a complimentary nature and not responsible for affecting a remarkable change. Popular baking items as introduced by the Dutch was discussed in conjunction with modern day accounts that illustrate to what extent these baked goods have stayed a part of Afrikaner heritage cuisine. The following sections will discuss the influence of events on Afrikaner food ways that had a more long-term, yet not permanent effect on certain culinary practices except for the increased popularity of cakes and puddings. It adds to the above mentioned discussion about the Afrikaner food culture as it illustrates how circumstances dictated the adaptation of certain aspects of the already established food culture in terms of preparation and consumption.

4.3.3 British occupation

The British first seized the Cape in 1795 during the aftermath of Napoleon's takeover of the Netherlands as a pre-emptive measure against it being taken by the French. After a relatively short period of time Britain relinquished their control to the Batavian Republic in 1803 (Godby 2014:28; Ross 2008:37). During this eight year time span there was no remarkable change in Cape food habits other than the momentary inclusion of chili that was speculatively brought to the Cape via British officials once stationed in the East. That his trend did not have a lasting impact on the culinary practices in the Cape is evident in the lack thereof

in recipe manuscripts from that time as well as its absence in what became traditional *Boerekos* (Claassens 2003). However, the Second British occupation (1806) had a greater influence on the culinary practices in the Cape. Here the notion of the subject taking on the culture of the ruler is again to be considered. Van Zyl (2012:8) (referring to the notion of 'being respectable') wrote that the Afrikaners started following the reigning British's culinary practices as a means of being socially acceptable. Taking the class consciousness in the Cape into account it provides a valid argument that this might have been the case even if these were not necessarily improvements on, or changes to, the practices prior to that point. According to Claassens (2003) these changes included the disappearance of serving stewed fruit as part of a meal, the use of certain vegetables, cultivating domestic herb gardens and the most notable being the reduction in the use of herbs and spices in particularly fruit and vegetable dishes.

Despite the presence of the British in the history of South Africa from this time onwards, there was very little influence to be found in terms of baking. However, a notable British influence was the popularity of *groot koeke* (cakes) and puddings. *Doekpoeding*, so called because of the method of steaming the pudding in linen tied around it, was a popular dessert as it could be made by those without ovens because it required only heat from below for the water to boil and create steam. Afrikaners often refer to it as *waterbul* (water buffalo) or *jan-in-die-sak* (Jan-in-the-bag) (Wessels, in Wessels et al. 2016:148; Van Zyl 2012:210; Claassens 2003). Plum pudding (also steamed) was actually not made with plums but with raisins and currents. Steamed puddings containing fruit such as raisins or dates are also known as *Krismispoeding* or *Kersfeespoeding* (Christmas pudding) as these were commonly associated with Christmas (Claassens 2003). The older generation Afrikaner women had a habit of adding coins known as *tiekies*⁸⁵ into the batter before steaming the pudding. This was then called *Tiekiepoeding* (Tickey pudding). In an online article dated 6 June 2018 titled "*'n Tiekie vir elke bakkie doekpoeding*"⁸⁶ Riana Scheepers writes about her personal recollection of *Tiekiepoeding*. She writes that she came to know of this pudding through her *ouma Willemien* who always used to mix one

⁸⁵ *Tiekie* was the Afrikaans name used to refer to what was known in England as the three pence (South Cape Coins). It was also spelt "thrupenny".

⁸⁶ "A three pence for each bowl of steamed pudding" (Translation by researcher).

tiekie into the batter. She explains that the idea behind this was that whoever found the coin in their piece of pudding would know only happiness in the coming year. In the same article she makes a statement that nobody makes steamed puddings anymore. Then she speculates that it may be the case as it is seemingly too much effort for the modern day generation.

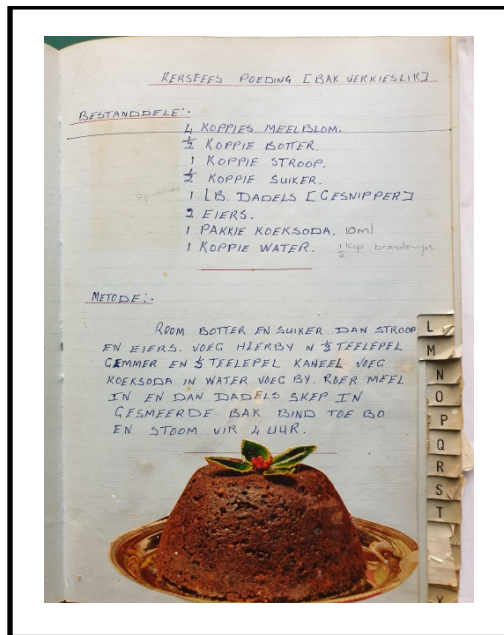
Kobus de Wet (2013: n.p.) wrote a beautifully animated account of his childhood memories of Christmas and *Tiekiepoeding* on his online blog *Prutpot*. In the narrative under the title “’n Tiekie vir Kersfees”⁸⁷ he writes how as a young lad he remembers Christmas as being synonymous with good times in between two family farms (where he would profit from all the aunts’ and cousins’ baking efforts) and above all the “*Groot Eet*” (Big eat or eating a lot). Mostly he remembers the steamed *Tiekiepoeding*. He states that he has never been known to decline anything sweet and when there was money to be made it almost seemed too good to be true. According to him there was just one major problem, “*al wat oumens was, was mos dadel-behep*”⁸⁸ and he was deeply repulsed by dates. He confesses that he could not bear the thought of missing out on the *tiekies* but, before any conscious decision could be made regarding whether ‘the want’ for money outweighed ‘the need’ to vomit, he would be given a generous helping. According to him the eating process was a complex affair comprised of disguising the dates with home-made custard, not appearing appalled and eating slowly (eating the pudding too fast was taken as a sign of its deliciousness and you would be given another date-riddled helping). Accompanying this tale is his admission that in retrospect, everything was worth it as no amount of money would be able to buy the fond memories he has of Christmas as a child. (Again, the theory of redeeming unpleasant memories becomes apparent). Similar to Scheepers’ comments, he too states that he does not know of anyone who still makes steamed puddings for Christmas.

Autoethographically speaking, the researcher would have been delighted to respond to both Scheepers’ and De Wet’s trepidations regarding the continuation of the traditional Christmas steamed pudding. The researcher’s mother still religiously makes this pudding every year for Christmas according to her late

⁸⁷ “A three pence for Christmas” (Translated by researcher).

⁸⁸ “The majority of the old folk was obsessed with dates” (Translated by researcher).

mother-in-law's recipe (without the addition of coins although, *ouma Myra* used to include *tiekies* and later small charms when she made it). This particular version of Christmas pudding was and still is the researcher's father's favourite annual treat. After she passed away the researcher's mother was asked if there was anything amongst *ouma Myra's* earthly possessions that she would like to take. She took only the recipe book (Figure 4.22) containing the recipe and the original enamel bundt pan that was used to make it in.



Source: Researcher

Figure 4.22: Ouma Myra's Kersfeespoeding

4.3.4 The Great Trek

Although some of the Afrikaners (those in and around Cape Town) accepted the influences and changes that came under British administration, all were not equally keen. During this time various factors resulted in an expedition inland by a group of Afrikaners in 1836 as a means to free themselves from British rule (Venter 1991:14; Storm 1992:924; Saunders 2002:1; Van Zyl 2012:8; Abrahams 2014:8). This expedition came to be known as *Die Groot Trek* (The Great Trek). Although inland expeditions had been undertaken by frontier farmers or *Trekboere* (nomadic stock farmers) since the time of the VOC, those expeditions were aimed at acquiring fertile grazing. In contrast, The Great Trek was an organised exodus with the aim of breaking ties with the British colony and

establishing separate, independent communities in the interior (Saunders 2002:2). The Afrikaners who participated in The Great Trek are referred to as *Voortrekkers* (pioneers).

During this time cooking methods became even simpler (see food and food ways of nomadic stock farmers under 4.3.2.1) and the distinct food culture featuring basic ingredients evolved even further. This due to the fact that there was limited space on the wagons already containing all of the *Voortrekkers'* chosen⁸⁹ earthly belongings leaving little space for the accommodation of additional extras such as a supply of herbs and spices (Van Zyl 2012:8). It must however be noted that they did take items that could be easily transported such as seeds, pips and cuttings that could be cultivated into agricultural provisions once more stable living conditions were acquired (Wessels 1994:1). Meat (fresh and in the form of *biltong*), bread (*potbrood*, *askoek*, and *roosterkoeke*) and milk were the main source of sustenance with the occasional addition of potatoes, pumpkin, carrots, crushed corn and crushed wheat. Coffee (also referred to as *Boeretrees*)⁹⁰ was an important beverage often consumed by the *Voortrekkers* (Van Rooijen 1940:83).

4.3.5 The Anglo-Boer War

Once the *Voortrekkers* became settled farming communities with the establishment of *Die Republiek van die Oranje Vrijstaat* (Republic of the Orange Free State) and *Die Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek* (The South African Republic or Transvaal), agricultural activities were central in ensuring a constant supply of fresh produce for daily consumption (V Heunis in Wessels *et al.* 2016:8). The outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War on 11 October 1899 and the subsequent consequences had a major impact on Afrikaner food and food ways (V Heunis in Wessels *et al.* 2016:9).The following section will briefly discuss matters surrounding events and circumstances during this time and the subsequent

⁸⁹ Due to the lack of space on the wagons and the harshness of the terrain, material items were often small and restricted to functional items that would not break easily. For example, tin plates were used during the time on the road and in the event of them becoming worn through they would be melted down and cast as ammunition. The limited valuables that were taken, such as porcelain crockery, were packed away for such time as when more permanent living conditions were established (Van Rooijen 1940:80 of 190).

⁹⁰ Farmer's solace (Translated by researcher).

impact thereof on the Afrikaner culinary practices. Literature regarding the aforementioned culinary aspects is mainly from the book “*Hartskombuis: Boerekos van die Anglo-Boereoorlog tot nou*”⁹¹ compiled by the War Museum of the Boer Republics.

The Anglo-Boer War was characterised by two phases; firstly, the conventional phase (October 1899 until August 1900) (Pretorius 2000:111) whereby larger forces were concentrated at specific locations and, secondly, the guerrilla phase involving surprise engagement of the enemy by small, mobile forces (September 1900 until May 1902) (Pretorius 2000:117). During the initial phase of the war the Afrikaners were assisted with supplies and food rations by the republican commission. However, it soon became clear that the commission was ill-prepared and could only meet the most basic requirements. Bread, rusks and military biscuits were the second most important food next to meat (fresh and *biltong*). The state-appointed bakeries’ baked goods were of poor quality and led to complaints, where the biscuits were compared to *vloertegels* (*vloerteëls* or floor tiles) and *oogklappe* (blinkers) (MC Heunis and Wessels in Wessels *et al.* 2016:18). Soon the *Boer* commandos (made up of Afrikaner males of varying ages) became responsible for their own provisions and relied heavily on their families and fellow countrymen for assistance in this regard (MC Heunis in Wessels *et al.* 2016:18). *Boer* women (presumably in groups) made large amounts of bread and rusks (*Boerbeskuit*)⁹² at home for distribution to those in the field. At times the commandos were responsible for their own daily bread (so to speak). When flour, bicarbonate of soda, fat and water were accessible they would often make basic fat cakes nicknamed *Stormjaers*⁹³ (storm chasers) or *potperd* (pot horse) presumably because it was quick to prepare. In the event where bicarbonate of soda could not be added, it was said to feel heavy in the

⁹¹ “*Heart’s Kitchen: Boer cuisine from the Anglo-Boer War up to today*” (Translated by researcher).

⁹² The pieces were known to measure an average of 20 centimetres in length and up to 10 centimetres in width (MC Heunis and Wessels in Wessels *et al.* 2016:18).

⁹³ Within the context of *veld*-cooking in the midst of war the term may refer to the speed of preparation. It resembles the name of the Nazi paramilitary units collectively called *Storm troopers* that emerged during the First World War (Siemens 2017) (although its date of inception was after the time of the Anglo-Boer War). A more direct link may be found at a later stage when a group of Afrikaners established the *Ossewa-Brandwag* (OB or Ox wagon Sentry) in 1939. As sub-cell of this movement (who opposed the participation between South Africa and Britain during the Second World War) was called the *Stormjaers* who engaged in various operations to undermine the government through such acts as sabotage (Blignaut 2012).

stomach and cause nightmares of the enemy. In addition to *Stormjaers* the commandos also made *Maagbommen* (stomach bombs) that were in fact *rooster-* or *askoeke* (MC Heunis and Wessels, in Wessels *et al.* 2016:36).

As mentioned, the most important food for the commandos was meat. This was due to the vast amounts of game and the availability of farm animals (beef, mutton, pork and goat) throughout the republics (MC Heunis and Wessels, in Wessels *et al.* 2016:48). During the first phase of the war the hunting of game was strictly forbidden as this was seen as an unnecessary waste of ammunition. Due to the inevitably varying quality of the cuts of meat that were distributed amongst the group (most preferred to *braai* their own portion) an individual was appointed to do so in an impartial manner. The *vleeschkorporaal* (meat corporal) would stand with his back to the assembly and simply take a piece of meat and hand it to whoever came to stand before him. The quickest method to cook meat was to *braai* it over an open fire using handmade grids or skewers (although other methods have been known to be used such as in pots, pans, turned over lids, steel plates, shovels and metal railway cross-sections). One of the most popular preparation methods out of the above-mentioned was to skewer pieces of meat onto a wire or stick, alternating between fat and lean portions then roasting it over the fire. These were then referred to as a *bontspan*⁹⁴ (colourful mix) and were in essence a *sosatie* (kebab) but without the conventional spices or marinade (MC Heunis and Wessels in Wessels *et al.* 2016:48). Domestic poultry (chicken, duck, goose and turkey) as well as wild fowl (guineafowl, pigeon, pheasant and partridge) and eggs (including ostrich eggs) were also considered valuable food sources (MC Heunis, in Wessels *et al.* 2016:48).

The nature of conventional warfare whereby commandos were stationed in strategic areas for extended periods of time made the acquisition of fresh fruits and vegetables extremely difficult at times as many such perishable items would spoil before it reached them. In order to address the issue of deterioration, fruits would be dried or preserved before these were sent. Less perishable items such

⁹⁴ Referring to various oxen in one drove. Other interesting descriptive names include *skilpad* (tortoise) for liver wrapped in caul fat and *pofadder* (puff adder) for a type of sausage made by stuffing liver into intestinal casing (MC Heunis and Wessels in Wessels *et al.* 2016:49).

as potatoes, onions and lentils were also relatively successfully transported (MC Heunis, in Wessels et al. 2016:100).

There were times during the first weeks of the war where men would return to their homesteads for a period of time. It is presumed that during this time various matters relating to the farm would be tended to and quality time would be spent with the family before they returned to their commandos. It may be a logical assumption that their wives and mothers would be particularly attentive during this time which would include the type of fare served. When the time came for the *Boers* to return to their commandos they were supplied with various sweet treats such as pancakes, milk tart, *koeksisters*, cookies and preserved fruits to take with them on their journey (MC Heunis, in Wessels et al. 2016:152).

The second phase of the war saw many commandos being divided into smaller groups and sent back to their respective districts. The most prominent leading figures during the guerrilla phase were Jacobus Herculaas de la Rey (referred to as Koos and nicknamed “Lion of the West Transvaal”) and Christiaan Rudolf de Wet in the Orange Free State. The tactics employed by the *Boers*, namely speed and surprise,⁹⁵ proved effective in that they succeeded in harassing the British to such an extent that the British resorted to extraordinary measures to break the *Boers’* fighting spirit and make emotional and physical survival for these commandos as difficult as possible. Lord Roberts (commander-in chief of the British forces) legalised a proclamation in 1900 that would see *Boer* farm houses burnt to the ground (Pretorius 2000:121). What was known as the *Verskroeiende-aarde-beleid* (Scorched earth policy) took on even more devastating measures under Lord Kitchener in 1901 where orders were given to burn whole towns, farms and agricultural commodities and to either seize or simply slaughter all livestock (Strydom 2017:2, Pretorius 2000:121). Effectively this meant that food and food products became extremely rare. Bread became unavailable and the commandos had to substitute it with *poetoepap* (porridge made from ground maize)⁹⁶ eaten dry due to the absence of sugar, butter and milk (MC Heunis and Rowan, in Wessels et al. 2016:58). Game animals that were off-limits at the

⁹⁵ The mobility of the commandos meant that food provisions had to be lightweight and able to keep well over a period of time as these had to be carried with them in the saddle bags.

⁹⁶ The planting of corn was one of the most important agricultural practices throughout the republics (MC Heunis in Wessels et al. 2016:58).

beginning of the war became the main source of meat (together with *biltong*) and were often “seasoned” using the ashes from the fire (see also “ash baking” by the Khoikhoi under 4.3.2.1) as salt (and sugar) became an almost unobtainable luxury. The acquisition of vegetables was almost non-existent except for happy coincidences where root vegetables such as sweet potatoes were not completely destroyed by the fires. However, contrary to the first phase, fresh fruit was often easily obtained as the British forces seldom considered burning or destroying fruit-bearing trees. Food shortages led the commandos to intercept provisions meant for the British forces where a variety of food stuffs such as canned meats and puddings, condensed milk, chocolates and syrup were ‘acquired’ (MC Heunis, in Wessels *et al.* 2016:152).

In addition to the physical onslaught in terms of physical wellbeing, the *Boers* were also subjected to emotional assault. One of the most profound consequences of the scorched earth policy was the subsequent internment of people in concentration camps, most notably the women and children that was left without refuge. Unfortunately, not much could be said about the food in these concentration camps except for the deplorable quality and enormous lack thereof. It is allegedly said that the food was too little to survive off of, yet just enough to prevent death (Van Wyk and V Heunis, in Wessels *et al.* 2016:15). Living conditions in the concentration camps were appalling, with food rations often consisting of a meagre amount of flour or maize, and meat from sickly, starved animals. To add insult to injury, wood and coal for cooking purposes were generally in short supply, resulting in food having to be eaten barely cooked. Fruit, vegetables, milk and drinkable water was almost entirely absent. The nurturing and wellbeing of their families would have been a major concern for the women (Van Wyk and V Heunis, in Wessels *et al.* 2016:15). Everyday camp life was marred by malnourishment, sickness and death with an excess of 22 000 children⁹⁷ (four times the number of *Boers* who perished in battle and as prisoners of war) dying as a result of the conditions (Strydom 2017:3).

A remarkable feature that emerged as a result of the scorched earth policy and the concentration system was the *Boer* women’s astonishing steadfastness that left both the *Afrikaner* as well as the British stunned. Indeed, the violation of their

⁹⁷ Referred to by historians as “the lost generation” (Strydom 2017:3).

domestic domain (family life) and purposeful desecration of their property fuelled their derision and solidified their contempt for the British even more (Giliomee 2020, in *Rapport Weekliks* 8 March: 8).⁹⁸ The living conditions and circumstances surrounding food in Boer POW (prisoners of war) camps were markedly different from those of the concentration camps. This is illustrated through the presence of *Die Vierkleur*⁹⁹ *Koffiehuis* (Four-colour coffee house) in the Deadwood camp on the island of St. Helena. The coffee house was owned by *De Meillon & Co.* and offered pancakes, *mosbolletjies* (moss balls or sweet bread), *boerbrood* (farmer's bread), coffee, tea, cakes and tarts (Grey 2014:10; Wessels, in Wessels *et al.* 2016:172).

However, all of the hardships endured did not dampen the Afrikaner's patriotic spirit and many baked goods were named after Boer generals for example, *General de Wet Cake*, *Paul Kruger Cake* (V Heunis in Wessels *et al.* 2016:152) *President Steyn Cake* and *General de la Rey's cake* (Moolman 2012).

4.3.6 Twentieth century

After the peace treaty was signed on 31 May 1902 poverty due to the large scale destruction of farms and a plethora of droughts and disease amongst cattle and the Great Depression led many Afrikaners to towns in search of a living (Callinicos 1987:69). The time between 1900 and 1930 saw an increase in the number of women engaged in labour outside of the domestic sphere (Vincent 2000:62). Poverty in the towns and food shortages meant that these women workers often had to survive on stale bread and jam as it was all they could afford after paying rent and sending a meagre amount of money to their families. It is possible that circumstances such as these may have led to some previously well-known recipes and ingredients becoming lost or forgotten over time (V Heunis, in Wessels *et al.* 2016:8). The Afrikaner's living standards gradually improved after the implementation of a policy to cut unemployment by the Afrikaner Nationalist movement giving rise to a sense of national consciousness (1920-1930) (Callinicos 1987:224).

⁹⁸ Giliomee, H. 2020. *Maverick Africans. The shaping of the Afrikaner*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.

⁹⁹ *Die Vierkleur* was the official flag of the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek*. It was designed by pastor Dirk van der Hoff and was made up of four colours namely green, red, white and blue (Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (n.d., n.p) (<https://www.afrikanergeskiedenis.co.za/?p=23950>)).

This leads to another example of confectionary named after prominent Afrikaner figures. As mentioned before, the period after the Anglo-Boer War saw various cakes patriotically named after influential Boer leaders. The rise of Afrikaner nationalism again saw apricot jam featured as filling (see also jam tartlets under 4.3.2.4.1) but this time as part of a politically inspired coconut tartlet.

In order to form a better understanding it is necessary to discuss these jam and coconut meringue tarts known as *Hertzoggies* in conjunction with two other jam tartlets known as *Smutsies* (*Jan Smuts koekies*) and *Twêegevreetjies* (also spelled *Twêegevrietjies*). *Hertzoggies* were named after General James Barry Munnik Hertzog (often referred to by his initials J.B.M) who was the leader of the National Party and prime minister of the Union of South Africa from 1924 until 1939 (Duncan 1993:106). Although some authors claim that the naming of the tartlet was because, presumably, it was the General's favourite confection (Human 1990:178; Lensing 2018:n.p.), the common consensus seems to be that his avid female supporters baked these in his honour (Fourie 2018:n.p.; Lensing 2018:n.p.; Du Toit 2014:n.p.; Van Zyl 2012:198). The tartlet consists of a cup-shaped biscuit crust, apricot jam filling and a coconut-meringue topping (Figure 4.23).



Source: <https://www.my-easy-cooking.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/Hertzoggies8.jpg>

Figure 4.23: Hertzoggies

As is the norm regarding political parties, there is, of course, the opposition. In this case it was the South African Party under leadership of General Jan Christian Smuts. He served as prime minister of the Union of South Africa from 1919 to 1924 and again from 1939 to 1948 (Duncan 1993:106).

The devoted Smuts supporters also made a jam tartlet in his honour and aptly named them *Smutsies*. Similar to *Hertzoggies*, these tartlets consisted of a biscuit crust and jam filling but had a batter topping instead of coconut-meringue (Fourie 2018:n.p.; Lensing 2018:n.p.; Du Toit 2014:n.p. ;Van Zyl 2012:198) (Figure 4.24).



Source: https://2.bp.blogspot.com/-ndFghBE8lgU/VvpQXq-8_BI/AAAAAAAAAC6I/BSwtEOdy7oM/s1600/js1.jpg

Figure 4.24: Smutsies

Apparently, the supporters on both sides vehemently refused to make or consume what was considered the opposition tartlet (Van Zyl 2012:198). There seems to be a difference of opinion as to which of the two tartlets came first and which *tantes*¹⁰⁰ (aunties) made their version in response (Fourie 2018:n.p.). Speculatively, one could argue that *Hertzoggies*, due to their contemporary popularity as well as the order in which the tartlets are discussed within available literature on the subject (*Hertzoggies* first and *Smutsies* second), was the first to

¹⁰⁰ Commonly used in Afrikaans, the word ‘tantes’ is defined by the Lexico online dictionary (n.p) as “a mature or elderly woman who is related or well known to the speaker (often used as a respectful form of address)”.

be developed. Of course, the latter could merely be the result of alphabetising the recipes.

The literature uses the words 'female', 'supporters' and in the case of Fourie (2018:n.p.) *tantes* all of which, when considered within the context of when these tartlets were conceived, would indicate that it originated within the Afrikaner community. Yet, there exists another version of events regarding the origin of specifically *Hertzoggies*. In Gabeba Baderoon's (2014) book titled "*Regarding Muslims: From slavery to post-apartheid*" the author writes about the origins of the tartlet as told by food historian and authority on Cape-Malay cooking Cashifa Abrahams (better known as Cass Abrahams). According to Abrahams (n.d. cited in Baderoon [2014]) during his electoral campaign J.B.M. Hertzog pledged to give voting rights to women and make the Malays equal to the whites. In response to this promise the Malay women put together a special tartlet in his honour that they named *Hertzoggie*, consisting of a biscuit-crust, filled with apple jelly and topped with a coconut-meringue topping. Yet, when Hertzog did come into power he reneged on this promise. (He kept one part of his promise by giving voting rights to women however; this had no bearing on the Malay women as he did not follow through on his promise regarding their equal status). As a result of this betrayal the Malay women took the same tartlet (yet it is not clear whether apple jelly was still used or if it was here that the apricot jam still used today came into the equation) first made as token of support and turned into a consumable symbol of protest by filling one half with apricot jam (Fourie 2018:n.p.) and the other with coconut-meringue and covering one half of the tartlet with brown icing and the other half with pink icing. They then dubbed it *Tweegevreetjie* (two-faced or hypocrite) (Figure 4.25).



Source: <https://fatimasydow.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Two-Tone.jpg>

Figure 4.25: Tweegevreetjies

What the exact origin of the *Hertzoggie* is proves difficult to determine. Taking each argument into account both seems wholly plausible especially taking into consideration the use of coconut in Malay-cuisine, something that is not seen in traditional Afrikaner cooking. Yet, it forms part of what is considered Afrikaner heritage baking. Reactions from respondents on the ‘*Bak, brou and onthou*’ Facebook page’ in response to a question about the difference between the above-mentioned confections showed that all knew what a *Hertzoggie* was but that *Smutsies* and *Tweegevreetjies* were a foreign notion, not to mention the history behind their creation. *Tweegevreetjies* have stayed a part of Cape-Malay cuisine but ‘*Smutsies*’ seems to have become the forgotten middle-child (that is if *Hertzoggies* were indeed the first on the baking scene). What is of particular interest is the concept of the intertwining of food culture (as mentioned under 4.3.1). Irrespective of the exact origin, Duff (2014: n.p.) states that placing these confections within the context of culinary tradition may prove insightful. Over the years *Hertzoggies* have been a staple in various recipe books on Afrikaner cuisine and they are often accompanied by recipes named after prominent Afrikaner figures such as *President Steyn cake*, *General De Wet cake*, *Paul Kruger cake* and of course *Smutsies*. When viewed within this context where baking has been named after well-known Afrikaner leaders would it not result in an obvious interpretation as ‘*eie-goed*’ (your own things) within the Afrikaner cultural sphere? And yet there are the exact same ingredients packaged as

‘traditional Afrikaner’ as well as ‘traditional Cape-Malay’ (except for the addition of icing) that suggestively illustrates a certain degree of cross-cultural culinary influence. *Tweegevreetjies* that form part of the contemporary Cape-Malay community’s repertoire of traditional fair may serve as example of what happened during the post-apartheid era after the democratic elections of 1994. Where the creation of the two-tone confection served as silent protest against the unjust nature of the time, the contemporary popularity of Cape Malay cuisine on television programmes such as *Kaap, Kerrie en Koesisters*¹⁰¹ and social media¹⁰² pages serves as reminder of how food is (re)claimed as part of a community and its cultural heritage. During an interview by Murray La Vita (2018) Fatima Sydow stated how she aims to bring the community together by sharing recipes given to her by her mother and grandmother. According to her the majority of the younger generation are not being taught these recipes because they are more focussed on their careers, socialising and spending time on their phones resulting in a break in the connection between generations. This statement is in line with the motivation behind the current study regarding the possible reasons for the decline in intergenerational knowledge sharing within the Afrikaner community. The development of an online Facebook campaign aimed at revitalising Afrikaner baking traditions also seems a viable method of connecting and communicating the importance of heritage baking amongst generations (current and future) who gather and communicate information via digital rather than interpersonal (direct or indirect familial relationship) sources. Based upon the above it would seem that the food cultures of the Cape Malay and Afrikaner communities are further intertwined with the remarkably similar challenges faced in the continuation of said food related activities.

Precisely how it came about that *Hertzoggies* became the most popular (as opposed to *Smutsies*) with regards to Afrikaner baking is an open question yet its prevalence in home-industry stores and even larger retail stores may be seen as indicative of its popularity. There are also an abundance of twists that has been created surrounding the base ingredients such as *Hertzoggie cake* and *Hertzoggie squares*. This confection also evokes feelings of nostalgia among

¹⁰¹ *Cape, Curry and Koesisters* is a popular cooking show broadcasted on the Afrikaans lifestyle channel VIA (DStv channel 147) presented by sisters Fatima Sydow and Gadija Sydow Noordien.

¹⁰² *Fatima Sydow Cooks* <https://www.facebook.com/CapeMalayCookingWithFatimaSydow>

current and previous generations. Marie Du Plooy mentions in an online article featured in 'Sarie Kos' dated 4 June 2020 how *Hertzoggies* for her, conjure up the most wonderful memories of her mother's green and white striped cake tin as it sat in the kitchen cabinet, filled with her mother's *Hertzoggies*. She also states that since then she has never had one that is better or more delicious than that of her mother's. Du Plooy's tale of her mother's cake tin may be used as an example of how an item, its contents and the person it belonged to, whether individually or seen as a concept as a whole, may trigger a feeling of nostalgia. This sense of belonging is echoed in Du Toit's (2019) statement that "what you have underneath the lid (in a tin or other container) explains who you are and where you come from".

4.4 SUMMARY

In order to develop a better understanding of the food culture of the contemporary Afrikaner it is necessary to look into the historical events that influenced the culinary tradition as well as the factors contributing to the modern day practice regarding what is known as *Boerekos*. Dutch gastronomy was authoritatively practiced in the Cape from 1652 and arguments within the literature state that social stratification and class consciousness made it unlikely that the ruling food culture could have been dramatically influenced by that of any 'subordinate' one (although still believed to have been the case among many South African food authors). Although this is a valid argument given the supporting facts, the likelihood of cross-cultural influences brought about by permeability across culinary boundaries is a worthy consideration. Examples of non-Dutch fare that became part of traditional Afrikaner cuisine include traditional *waterblommetjie bredie* that was influenced by Khoikhoi *Veldkos* as well as *askoek*, *potbrood* and *roosterkoek* developed through their indigenous baking techniques. Based on the literature, the Cape-Malay contribution toward the development of traditional Afrikaner cuisine seems limited to the conservation and naming of dishes only, yet the intertwining of Cape-Malay and Afrikaner cultural foodstuff is not only visible in baked goods such as *Hertzoggies* and *Tweegevreetjies* but in a sense also in the need for both cultures to facilitate the continuation of culinary tradition within modern day context. The creolized language (Cape-Dutch) as spoken by the slaves within the Dutch domestic

sphere of food preparation and child-minding presumably led to the childhood introduction of non-Dutch names that eventually formed part of the Afrikaner culinary vocabulary.

The struggle towards adequate and consistent food sources eventually led to the free burgher system aimed at supplementing local food production. Two distinguishable groups of farmers emerged namely those in the agricultural- and those in the stock farming sectors. The free burgher system also saw the establishment of an urban guest house in 1656 as a means to provide meals and accommodation for passing travellers. The success of this guest house under management of Annetjie Joris led to the founding of a second such establishment a year later in 1657 under the management of Jannetjie Boddijis. This could be viewed as the start of the hospitality industry in the Cape as these women were the first to provide food (and lodging) in exchange for financial compensation. Older generation Afrikaner women (often in group format) have also been known to use their baking prowess as a means to obtain financial compensation, particularly as a means to aid in financial matters regarding the community, schools, charities and of course their families.

A rise in living standards among the urban Cape community during the 18th century saw the grandiose display of material wealth and food related consumption rituals serve as markers for an elevated social status. The practice of 'keeping good tables' in the Cape stood in stark contrast with the basic food culture of the Afrikaners on the frontier. Rural living gave rise to a distinct food culture where the preservation of fresh food was regarded an essential practice for survival. One such example of preservation is *biltong* which forms an important part of the contemporary Afrikaner's culinary repertoire. Today it is seen as a typical Afrikaner foodstuff whereby the process of preservation may have shifted from a need for physical survival to an emotional response symbolising the preservation of Afrikaner identity and continued cultural existence. Within this context the necessary intergenerational teaching and learning of the processes involved in the preservation of *biltong* (as with the processes involved in the preservation of various other foodstuffs considered as part of traditional Afrikaner cooking such as fruit and vegetable preserves) has become a symbolic act of teaching and learning to preserve Afrikaner history and

culture. The same can be said for Afrikaner baking and the impact that modern living has on the continuation of these intergenerational teaching and learning processes. The declining nature is not limited only to the frequency and methods of preparation but also on a linguistic level as traditional Afrikaans names are substituted with English names made popular through modern day culture. Perhaps by shifting the focus back to traditional Afrikaans names with the inclusion of descriptive words such as *outydse* or *tradisionele* that refers to previous generations or bygone times to act as nostalgic triggers would aid and encourage the contemporary Afrikaner towards taking ownership of this part of their culinary heritage.

A characteristic shared by all Afrikaner communities irrespective of wealth or social standing is hospitality. This is evident from the first urban guesthouses and splendid guest receptions in the Cape to the renowned hospitality of the Afrikaners in the countryside. It is seemingly the rural Afrikaner's hospitable nature towards strangers and acquaintances alike that has led to generations of Afrikaners being said to have a country mentality or a country heart, even warranting a Biblical reference to Abraham's hospitality toward the three unknown visitors in the Book of Genesis. The defining traits of the country heart are said to be welcoming, considerate and caring with a willingness to give and the graciousness to receive.

Early Cape travellers' accounts make mention of women's roles with regards to food preparation and service within the domestic sphere. It was not uncommon for girls to take on this role in the absence of their mothers pointing towards an early development in gender related duties within the Afrikaner culture. The intergenerational transferal of regarding the subservience of women within the patriarchal construct was instilled during childhood and is still evident in some contemporary Afrikaner households. However, a certain resistance to this type of feminine service among younger generation Afrikaner women have become noticeable (presumably as the promotion of the 'self' by delaying marriage and children in favour of a career has, in a sense, taken the place of promoting the well-being of others such as a partner and children). This in itself poses a challenge towards the continuation of traditional "gender based" food related practices as it results in a tendency to want to spend less time in the kitchen.

Respondents on the 'Bak, brou en onthou' Facebook group often made mention of a mother or a grandmother in their nostalgic recollections as it related to food which further substantiates the intergenerational transferal of the Afrikaner woman's perceived role within the domestic sphere. However, these nostalgic recollections were not related to a woman's role as "servant" within the household but from a deeper emotional response regarding the feelings of nurture, love, warmth and security associated with food and a maternal figure. Speculatively, shifting the negative connotation of the perceived service role of woman in the kitchen towards a more positive one through nostalgic recollection may prove beneficial as a means to 'redeem' self-identity and reclaim the kitchen space as one of joyous recollection through tradition-inspired recreation.

The emotionally valenced responses relating to memories of a person, physical objects (grandmother's cake tin), places (childhood home, kitchen or grandparent's farm), events (Sunday night food traditions, birthdays and Christmas) and sensory stimuli (the smell of cinnamon, the sweet taste of syrup, the sound of dough bubbling in hot oil or the crunchy texture of a freshly baked cookie) are all capable of triggering nostalgic responses when experienced individually or in combination, making the nostalgic experience not only multi-sensory but also multifaceted. In addition to the personal significance, certain stimuli, such as the combination of (for example) rainy weather, people and the aroma of cinnamon may trigger a collective nostalgic response among a group of individuals. One such example pertaining to the afore-mentioned stimuli may be seen in what many members in the Afrikaner community refer to as *pannekoekwêr* (pancake weather). Therefore, it is necessary for the designer of a nostalgia-based campaign framework to take all of the social aspects, both historic and contemporary, as well as the personal and, especially collective memories as it pertains to the community into consideration. Consequently, the designer may attempt to develop visual material that might not only spark a conversation among the viewers but may also inspire actions leading towards the continuation of a culinary tradition.

The following chapter will briefly discuss the rationale behind the creation of a visual framework as starting point for the subsequent further development of an online visual campaign aimed at reintroducing a traditional Afrikaner baking



practice based on the speculative factors that may have led to its decline as well as discuss the reasoning behind the chosen method of modern day communication as a means of addressing the presumed occurrence. In addition, it will illustrate the practical implementation of the information obtained through the investigation into the theoretical components related to Afrikaner cuisine and the concept of nostalgia, the researcher's own experience as part of the community and as designer as well as the data obtained from respondent narratives on the '*Bak, brou en onthou*' Facebook page.

Chapter 5

DESIGNING THE DESIGN FRAMEWORK

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the previous chapter was to briefly outline the reasoning that drove the research, discover the historical events that (arguably) influenced Afrikaner culinary traditions and explore the possible factors contributing to the speculative decline in these traditional food practices. It was approached through the lens of nostalgia, as these dynamics were discussed in Chapter 3. This was achieved by consulting the relevant related literature as well as the narratives provided by members of the '*Bak, brou and onthou*' Facebook page. This facilitated an understanding related to the origin, influences, development and cultural significance thereof, among the Afrikaner community. Narratives provided insights into the individual and shared emotional connections that members within this community had in terms of the 'ability' that food related aspects possessed to evoke nostalgic memories.

This chapter will briefly discuss the rationale behind the creation of a visual framework as starting point for the subsequent further development of an online visual campaign aimed at reintroducing a traditional Afrikaner baking practice based on the speculative factors that may have led to its decline as well as discuss the reasoning behind the chosen method of modern day communication as a means of addressing the presumed occurrence. In addition, this chapter will illustrate the practical implementation of the information obtained through the investigation into the theoretical components related to Afrikaner cuisine and the concept of nostalgia, the researcher's own experience as part of the community and as designer as well as the data obtained from respondent narratives on the '*Bak, brou en onthou*' Facebook page. As such, a series of practice driven designs that establish the style and interwoven visual approach or framework, to guide the visual content of the more extensive campaign will be presented, explained and justified by drawing on the range of theoretical, historical and human centred responses from both the researcher/designer, and that which was shared on the social platform.

5.2 RATIONALE

The working woman's time is a valuable commodity (Niehaus 1999:9). In general, this places the Afrikaner women in a challenging position in terms of the availability of time that can be spent preparing food. The researcher as a contemporary Afrikaner-woman can attest to how the managing of everyday challenges have impacted the availability of time, and, consequently, the willingness and capability to focus on both daily food related activities and additional undertakings such as baking. Homemade goods have made way for store bought items (whether home industry or retail) as popular time-saving alternatives (Niehaus 1999:9).

Speculatively, visual reminders of traditional baked goods in the form of printed or handwritten recipe books rely on a conscious physical effort from the prospective viewer. In other words, the act of getting the book is preceded by the will to get it. This willingness must be triggered. It requires a conscious motive and intention for the specific process to happen (Scripture 1897:28). A possible method that taps into using visual reminders that would be more accessible to the majority of people might be accessed in the use of digital platforms such as Facebook. Most people have access¹ to one or more forms of audio-visual media exposure due to the exponential growth and advances in digital interfaces such as smartphones (Spence, Okajima, Cheok, Petit and Michel 2015:55). It was the above-mentioned accessibility of social media that drove the researcher to use social media as digital communications platform for her own online home bakery called "*Sweet Hearts*" (Figure 5.1).



Source: Researcher

Figure 5.1: Sweet Hearts logo designed by researcher/designer. A variation in the colour of the last four letters in 'Heart' was purposefully done to represent both the art of baking as well as the aesthetic quality of the items.

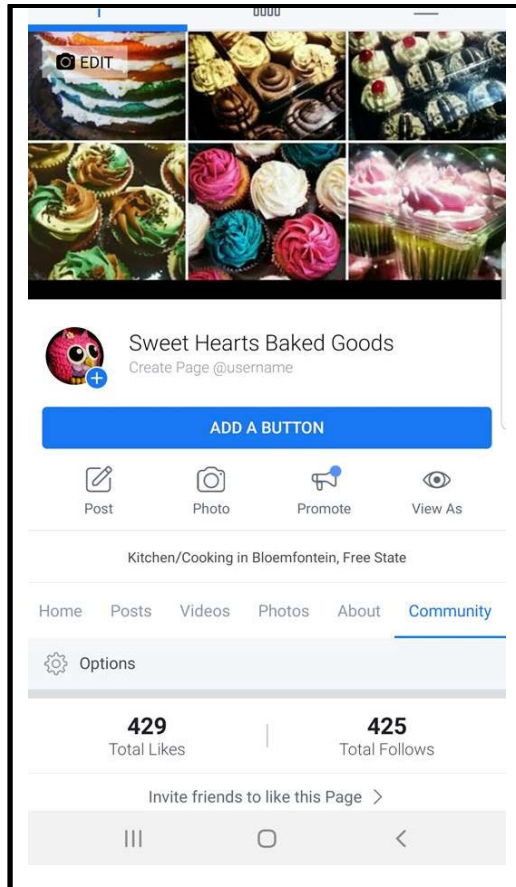
¹ To date the '*Bak, brou en onthou*' Facebook group has in excess of 7 100 members who are able to view contents posted on the page.

5.2.1 Sweet Hearts: for the love of baking

The following section briefly describes the motivation that led the researcher towards the line of enquiry in the form of the current study. It will provide insight from an autoethnographic perspective regarding aspects such as intergenerational knowledge sharing (among members belonging to the Afrikaner community), baking tradition, nostalgic recollection, and a modern day version of the continuation of a baking tradition through a practical approach. (In this recounting, one will note, perhaps inevitably, a significant number of trends that emerged from the previous chapter).

As mentioned before, the researcher “inherited” a love for baking from her maternal grandmother with whom she had the privilege of staying during childhood. It was during this time that she was exposed to traditions such as the baking of “themed” birthday cakes, the baking of cookies and pudding for Christmas, *koeksisters* for church bazaars and *pannekoeke* on rainy days as well as baking in general to ensure that there was always something for the hungry grandchildren and for when the neighbouring ladies unexpectedly showed up of tea. Old photographs depicting this period in the researcher’s life, as well as the smell of cinnamon in particular, act as powerful personal nostalgic triggers towards the researcher’s recollection of a care-free and cherished childhood.

Her inherent love for baking in conjunction with a precarious financial situation led the researcher to follow the example of generations of Afrikaner women who have been able to supplement their income by selling baked goods. In retrospect, the researcher confesses that the act of baking and the associated smells functioned as a comforting retreat during this particularly stressful time. Previous exposure to online promotional activities (and the ease with which they could be accessed) led the researcher to follow suit and she established a Facebook page under the name “*Sweet Hearts Baked Goods*” (Figure 5.1) where prospective clients could view the baked products and contact the researcher/baker for enquiries.



Source: Researcher/Page author (<https://www.facebook.com/Sweet-Hearts-Baked-Goods-500072706811923/>)

Figure 5.2: Sweet Hearts Baked goods Facebook page (Screen shot)

Initially, the researcher started out by baking interesting flavour variations of the ever popular *kolwyntjie*. In addition to the more common vanilla and chocolate variations the researcher made cupcakes incorporating elements from well-known South African desserts such as peppermint crisp tart and *melktert* as well as other possibly unusual flavours such as peanut butter, cappuccino, red velvet and vanilla-rainbow to name a few (Figure 5.3).



Source: Researcher/Baker

Figure 5.3: Various cupcakes by Sweet Hearts

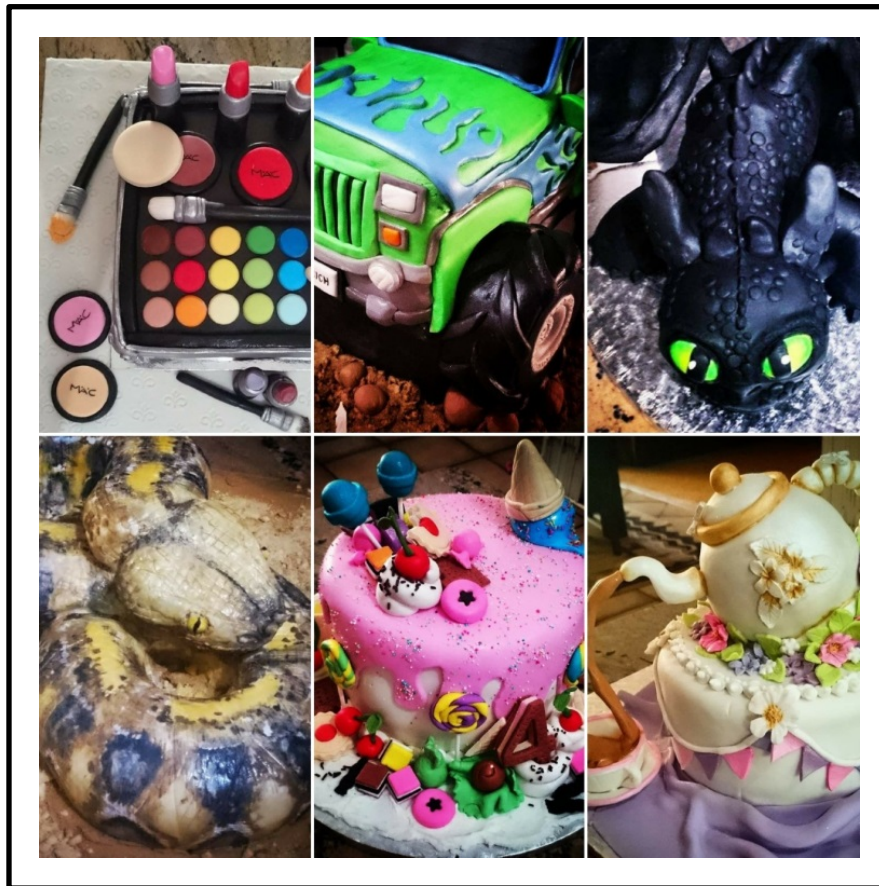
This led to enquiries regarding the making of themed cupcakes for social events such as birthday parties and baby showers (Figure 5.4).



Source: Researcher/Baker

Figure 5.4: Themed cupcakes for birthdays (top row) and baby showers (bottom row)

As ‘word-of-mouth’² (see Chapter 3, and particularly 3.3.4) continued to spread the demand grew to include themed cakes (Figure 5.5).



Source: Researcher/Baker

Figure 5.5: Themed birthday cakes

In addition to the above-mentioned speciality baking the researcher/baker started receiving inquiries regarding more traditional baked fair such as roll-cakes, puddings and (mini) milk tartlets (the researcher made these according to her mother’s recipes) (Figure 5.6).

² De Valck, van Bruggen and Wierenga (2009:185) use the term ‘word-of-mouth’ to contextualise the speed and scope of information sharing amongst online consumers.



Source: Researcher/Baker

Figure 5.6: Examples of more traditional baked items

These type of inquiries that related to items which (in the researcher's opinion) could presumably be made by anyone as they require no special skill (apart from following a recipe), were the impulses that led the researcher to speculate whether certain modern day Afrikaner women would rather buy traditional baked goods than spend time and energy in making them themselves. Coincidentally, as the researcher's own responsibilities outside of the domestic sphere increased she was unable to continue with her online baking business and *Sweet Hearts* was forced to close its virtual doors. The researcher found herself buying traditional baked goods either from home-industry stores (which tend to be more expensive) or from retail stores (which are generally less expensive due to mass production and, inevitably, less tasty) as an act of convenience when buying other household necessities.

The above mentioned autoethnographical account aims to illustrate how the researcher's personal experience as part of the contemporary Afrikaner community ignited the concern regarding possible modern day influences on the continuation of an Afrikaner baking tradition. In addition, the researcher's familiarity regarding the online marketing of a product/service as well as her active involvement in the digital consumption of food related material (due to the

ease of its accessibility) was what led to the speculation that social media might be a valuable visual communication tool as a means to create awareness regarding the current situation.

Therefore, Facebook was chosen as a platform for a visual marketing campaign as a means of re-introducing these traditional recipes by using nostalgia as driver behind the baking related designs. The relative success³ of nostalgic marketing depends on its speculative ability to connect with the target audience by identifying themes that would aid in the development of appropriate nostalgia triggers. The following section will highlight the nostalgic themes as they arose during an investigation into the relevant literature, online articles and respondent narratives on the '*Bak, brou en onthou*' Facebook page including autoethnographical accounts from the researcher. These nostalgic themes in conjunction with the possible triggers formed the basis for the design of the visual campaign framework.

5.3 NOSTALGIC TYPES, THEMES AND TRIGGERS

Information gathered from the various sources as mentioned above revealed two types of nostalgia under which certain trends within the narratives were recognised. These trends were noted and the emerging themes and possible triggers relating to these themes were identified.

5.3.1 The two types of nostalgia

Participant narratives were based on personally experienced accounts (*personal* or *real nostalgia*) that are individually unique. The importance of this type of nostalgia when designing the visual campaign was to take into account that authentic stimuli are favoured above merely similar stimuli. According to Baker and Kennedy (1994:171) individuals tend to favour authentic stimuli when it comes to placing the recollection into context with the emotion felt during an original event however, similar stimuli are still capable of triggering a personal memory although the emotional response is less intense (see Chapter 3, and particularly 3.2.2). Certain stimuli often related to personal nostalgia can include triggers drawn from concepts of home, love and familiarity (Marchegiani and

³ According to Atkin and Rice (2013:530) the success of a campaign is not necessarily measured by absolute standards but rather by whether the objective was met as set out by the designer.

Phau 2010:82). This aspect was of particular importance as the campaign will be aimed at an audience of people within a certain 'imagined' community. By determining the overarching themes that emerge from the personal accounts the designer could start imagining how a visual representation thereof may appeal to prospective viewers.

The overarching themes (also directly experienced) form part of *cultural* or *collective nostalgia* and are representative of a certain generation or culture (Baker and Kennedy 1994:171; Russell 2008:104). The key feature of this type of nostalgia is that it is a group-level emotional experience among individuals who perceive themselves as part of a particular social identity or group (Cheung *et al.* 2017:303; Wildschut, Bruder, Robertson, Van Tilburg and Sedikides 2014:3). Because this type of collective memory is group specific, the group will have its own set of symbols, events and objects related to it (Baker and Kennedy 1994:171; Wildschut *et al.* 2014:4), which can function as triggers, stimuli and clues. It is more likely to be experienced when the individuals think of the group's contemporary situation being worse than that of the past (Cheung *et al.* 2017:303). Taking the above-mentioned types of nostalgia into account the researcher/designer will make use of collective nostalgia with the hopes of triggering personal nostalgia among the viewers.

5.3.2 Nostalgic themes

During the course of enquiry the following overarching themes were identified. The following (memory-centred) themes were flagged based on the prevalence thereof within the literature, online articles, respondent narratives and the researcher's autoethnographical account.

Memories relating to a person (particularly maternal female figures such as mother and grandmother), physical objects (grandmother's cake tin), places (childhood home, kitchen or grandparent's farm), events (Sunday night food traditions, holidays, birthdays and Christmas celebrations particularly experienced during youth) and sensory, particularly olfactory, stimuli. In addition to the personal significance, the combination of certain stimuli such as rainy weather, people and the aroma of cinnamon may trigger a collective nostalgic

response among a group of individuals, as encountered in the case of *pannekoekweer* (pancake weather).

5.3.3 Possible triggers as they relate to the themes

The following section will set out possible triggers as they fall under each of the above-mentioned themes. Although certain examples are directly obtained from the various lines of enquiry the nature of the campaign in terms of the type of nostalgia must be taken into account. Because the campaign will be directed at a group of people within an ‘imagined’ community the researcher (as part of this community) must use the identified themes as points of departure when imagining the visual depiction of ‘similar’ triggers in an effort to create a ‘personal’ emotional response from the viewers. Visual and linguistic cues relating to people, objects, places, events and sensory aspects will include not only some mentioned within the narratives but also imagery and words (imagined by the researcher/designer) that are deemed familiar and may be associated with the themes. Examples of the above-mentioned themes and possible triggers are summarised in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Nostalgic themes, possible triggers and symbolic representations

Theme	Possible triggers	Symbolic representation
People	Grandmother, mother	Images of women, knitting, flowers, doily, actual word
Objects	Cake tins, kitchen objects	Plates, utensils, rolling pin, tea pot, tea cup, umbrella, telephone
Places	Home, kitchen, farm	Farm animals, wind mill, actual word
Events	Vacation, Christmas, Sundays	Road sign, actual word
Sensory	Visual of baked item, verbal representation of aroma, taste, texture and physical feelings for example warm, cold and wet.	Actual word, food images colour, spices, fruit, clouds

5.4 SETTING THE TONE: DESIGN ELEMENTS AS POINTS OF DEPARTURE

According to Atkin and Rice (2013:527) the process of designing a campaign structure or framework begins with an evaluation of the current situation. Within the context of the current study the researcher had to develop an understanding regarding the status quo (seen as a decline in Afrikaner baking tradition due to contemporary influences), the method of approach (social media, in this case) and the elements contributing towards the execution of the message (design), all of which had to be acquired prior to the design of the campaign and the development of the conceptual framework. The following section will discuss the steps in the design process together with a justification behind the chosen visual and textual (design) elements.

5.4.1 Designing the “look and feel” of the Facebook page

5.4.1.1 Profile picture with logo

The first step towards designing the visual and verbal elements that will form the structural visual outline of the campaign was to set up a designated Facebook page to use as communication platform. The researcher/designer designed a logo based on the ‘*Bak, brou en onthou*’ Facebook group name (used as data source) which could be used as a *profile photo*⁴ for a page dedicated to the online campaign. The acronym ‘*BBO*’ is used as an alternative to the whole name due to spatial limitations of the format. The logo was designed to include a full name with the slogan “*Waar knus-kos koning kraai*” (Where comfort food is king), without the slogan or with the acronym only. The icon (picture) is designed using the two ‘B’s’ (*Bak* and *Brou*) placed back to back in close proximity and manipulated to give the impression of a two layer cake with drippings of icing that are deliberately positioned to enable the brain to recognise the letters (even if not immediately). The letter “O” (*Onthou*) is placed at the top in red to represent a

⁴ Typically on social media platforms the *profile photo* would be a photo of the person who the account belongs to. On a Facebook page for example the photo would act as an identifier of the person who the Facebook page belongs to enabling other viewers to see who the person is with whom they would potentially want to connect. It aids in personalising the Facebook page as it will appear alongside Facebook activities such as the posting of a picture thus letting the viewer know by whom the post was made. The same principle of personalising and identification applies for brands. Here the logo forms the profile picture and was designed at 400 pixels square.

cherry. This type of logo is referred to as a ‘smart logo’ or ‘hidden symbolism logo’⁵ considering that the image is perceived as a simplified image of a cake with a cherry on top before further inspection reveals the individual (letter) components contributing to the whole (see also the theory of perception under 3.3.3). The inherent softness conveyed by the rounded shape of the design as well as the very nature of the consumable object it represents, symbolises the sweet memories of feeling safe, nurtured and enveloped by love so often associated with the tenderness of a maternal figure. Figure 5.7 shows the variations of the logo. These include a colour version, white on black, black on white and vintage variation with the acronym, as examples. The first three image representations are standard in presenting a logo design. The “aged” image characteristics of the vintage variation were added as sepia (and black and white) images are often associated with an “oldness” that could be linked to nostalgia (Muehling *et al.* 2016:77; Havlena and Holak 1996:35).

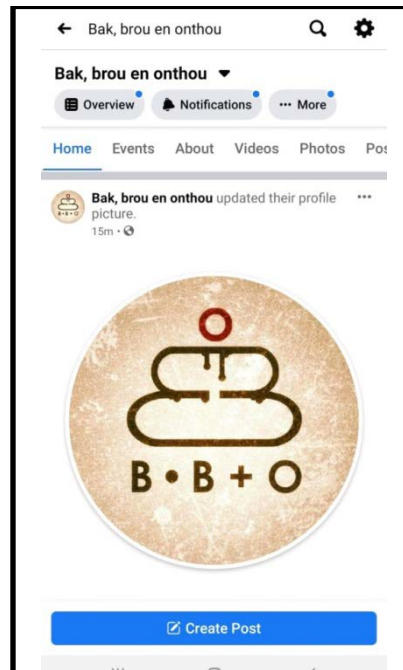
The vintage version was chosen as an example of how the logo as the profile picture could appear on a page (Figure 5.8).



Source: Researcher

⁵ These types of logos are uniquely designed to contain a surprise element through the thoughtful application of individual design elements, typography and colour to convey messages related to the brand, what it stands for and its particular client base (Millar 2018 [n.p])

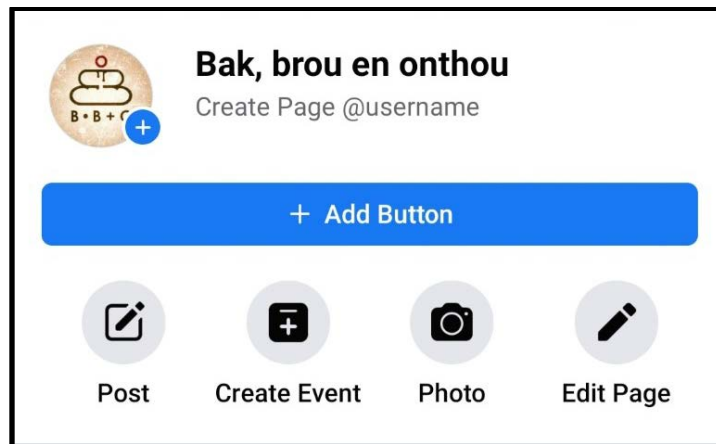
Figure 5.7: Logo variations



Source: Researcher

Figure 5.8: Vintage logo variation used as profile picture on the Bak, brou en onthou Facebook page (Screen shot)

When viewing the Facebook page the complete name of the page (*Bak, brou en onthou*) appears to the right of the profile picture (Figure 5.9) thus facilitating the association between the full name of the page and the acronym in the logo. (Note: the blue “+” will not be visible to members of the public as it only appears on the administrator’s version to be ‘clicked’ in order to change the image).



Source: Researcher

Figure 5.9: The profile picture as it appears next to the full page name (Screen shot)

5.4.1.2 *The cover page design*

In addition to the profile picture the researcher/designer also designed a *cover page*⁶ to appear at the top of the Facebook page. This enables the viewer to see a visual representation of the type of content that may be expected to appear on the *timeline* (information/images posted by the administrator). The decision taken regarding the visual elements and typographic message was informed by the themes as they were presented in the data gathered throughout the enquiry. The decision to use both visual and verbal cues (throughout the designs) was based on a suggestion for future research made by Muehling and Pascal (2011:120) wherein the authors speculated about the possible multiplicative effect that it may have in triggering a nostalgic response as opposed to using only the one (that is, only images) or the other (that is, only text). The overarching nostalgic theme of a maternal figure in the form of a grandmother was represented in a dynamic visual representation (implying movement during the process of doing) of an older female figure bringing a spoon toward her mouth as an indication of physical consumption related to food. The female figure is enclosed in a circle representing a doily. The representation of the doily was chosen from an

⁶ The cover page is the image that appears at the very top of the Facebook page and is the first thing a viewer sees when visiting the page. This area may be used as the first opportunity to communicate information regarding the content and context of the information that will be featured on the page and should work in conjunction with the logo to communicate the overall “look and feel” of the page. The cover page dimensions were designed in accordance with the Facebook recommendation of 820 pixels x 360 pixels.

autoethnographic point of view as the researcher remembers how her grandmother often made use of crochet doilies on the arm rests of furniture or paper doilies as decorative item on cake plates. Doilies were even sugar-starched into decorative little bowls often used as container for mints or potpourri.⁷ The researcher imagines that this may also have been the case in other older generation Afrikaner households.

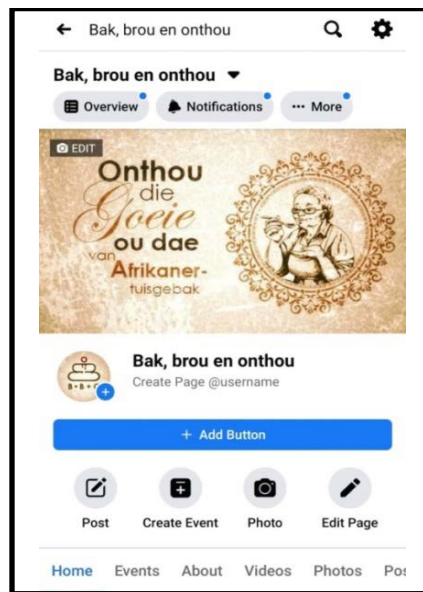
The typographic elements consist of a variation of fonts. In addition to being functional (conveying information) the layout was chosen for its aesthetic appeal and to facilitate cohesion throughout the page as the typography accompanying the campaign images where designed using the same method. The *call to action* (telling the viewer what to do) was given as “*Onthou die goeie ou dae van Afrikaner tuisgebak*” (Remember the good old days of Afrikaner home baking). Words like ‘remember’ and ‘good old days’ are commonly linked to nostalgia and ‘Afrikaner’ and ‘home baking’ points towards a baking tradition of a certain community – all of which are relevant to the current study and emerging campaign. Similar to the logo the cover page design includes both a colour and vintage version (Figure 5.10). In keeping with the nostalgic themed imagery represented in the logo the designer also used the vintage version for the example of the cover page (Figure 5.11).



Source: Researcher

⁷ The crochet doily is treated with a mixture of sugar and water and shaped over a dome and left to dry.

Figure 5.10: The two cover page variations



Source: Researcher

Figure 5.11: The cover image as it appears on the Facebook page (Screen shot)

5.4.2 Modelling the campaign design framework

The design framework involved the incorporation of existing knowledge in the form of literature, participant data obtained through the 'Bak, brou en onthou' Facebook group and the autoethnographic component provided by the researcher, all of which inspired the creative incorporation of both visual and verbal elements that make up the five model designs. Although each composition is an individual design in its own right certain aspects regarding the overall appearance were used throughout the variations in order to establish a sense of consistency. The layout of the visual elements consistently followed a radial design pattern whereby a central focal point (an image of the featured baked item) was accompanied by related imagery. The focal point was designed to draw the viewer's attention through its placement (centred) differentiating colour (full colour against the monochrome background imagery) and contrast (that is, saturated versus less saturated background imagery). Certain visual elements were repeated and featured in each individual design and included a plate (a literal reference to food), a name banner/ribbon (using the same font) and colour block at the bottom of the composition. The function of the last is to facilitate the

addition of the BBO logo, supporting typography and to create visual balance (in the form of 'weight,' as positive space in the form of solid colour is perceived as 'heavier' than the white background or negative space). The spatial relationship between the images (left) and the accompanying text (right) were designed in accordance with how individuals in the Western world read (from left to right) and was done in an attempt to ensure that the visuals (which should be main, sensory, focus) were perceived first, with the added typography (aiding the visual message perception) second.

An important consideration on the use of colour is its ability to draw attention to and influence a viewer's emotional perception of a visual representation (Aslam 2006:2). Both physical (visible and/or tangible) and abstract (feelings/emotions) concepts may have certain colour associations (Mohammad 2013:1). For example, green may be associated with nature (leaves, grass and plants) as well as symbolise prosperity and health. The same "concept-colour associations" can be made regarding all colours although it is not possible to determine the extent to which people agree on these associations (given their differences in socio-cultural background). The colour choices for each individual design were 'imagined' by the designer (based on the researcher's own associations) and the justification for each choice will be given under the respective designs.⁸

Each of the model designs consists of two examples (as is the case with both the logo and cover page design): one presents a more contemporary colour version and the other a visually "older" (vintage) variation. The rationale behind this decision was to facilitate the speculative future use of both sets (colour and vintage) to use as points of departure within the context of a nostalgia-driven campaign. Whereas the vintage version may presumably appeal more to the previous or older current generation the more contemporary version may have the ability to draw the attention of a younger audience. Thus, the campaign framework has the visual flexibility to be used twice by speculatively shifting the focus on the age group within target audience. Each design as a part of the campaign framework may be seen as a visual-verbal inspiration for the later addition of various related visual materials (such as photographs of the relevant

⁸ An in-depth investigation into the colour preference and possible cultural association among members of a certain community may prove beneficial for future research.

baked goods, recipe cut-outs, items, objects and places) linked to the chosen nostalgia related design elements already presented.

The following section will describe and explain the respective designs in accordance with the chronological appearance of each chosen baked item as they were discussed in Chapter 4. For the purpose of this study the researcher chose five baked items based on the contemporary popularity of these items among the Afrikaner community. The rationale behind these choices was to use the more popular and familiar baked items as introduction to the contents and context regarding the purpose of the envisioned Facebook campaign and thus will provide the core strategies for the design framework. After the audience have been introduced to the notion of the cultural significance regarding the continuation of Afrikaner baking through exposure to the 'familiar' the designer may start introducing 'less-familiar' (or unknown) items such as *Generaal De Wet* cake. The section contains each of the five full colour designs (each developed at a size of 850 pixels x 1200 pixels as it will be displayed on the Facebook page) accompanied by a discussion justifying the choices regarding the individual components used to make up the composition. Each discussion will include a short summary of the baked item in order to position it within the context of traditional Afrikaner baking (a comprehensive discussion of each was done in Chapter 4), an explanation regarding the selected individual visual elements (and the connection to the nostalgic themes as previously identified), the choice of colour, and clarification regarding the verbal aspects and how they were used in conjunction with the visual elements for the purpose of information communication. The end of each section will include an example of the vintage version of each design.

5.4.2.1 Design 1: Soetkoekies

(Figures 5.12 and 5.13).



Source: Researcher

Figure 5.12: Soetkoekie design (colour)

As mentioned before (see Chapter 4), Errieda du Toit (2015:[n.p.]) is of the opinion that *soetkoekies* are probably the most valuable baked confectionary in the treasure trove that is Afrikaner heritage baking. Recipes for these traditional sweet biscuits are abundantly found in recipe books and in online searches. *Soetkoekies* are often baked in preparation for (and therefore commonly associated, among members of the Afrikaner community, with) certain familial events such as vacations and Christmas celebrations.

The image of the rooster at the top was chosen for its association with life on a farm, as poultry is often kept as a source of both eggs and meat. Roosters are known to crow at the break of dawn and this aspect symbolises the excitement of children waking up early on Christmas morning. The rooster as the leader of the flock also represents the *soetkoekie*'s positioning as the most valuable/important baked item as per Du Toit's (2015) statement. In a sense the *soetkoekie* may then be seen as "*die groot kokkedoor*"⁹ which is the Afrikaans equivalent for

⁹ According to Afrikaans in Europa (n.p., n.d.) online the Afrikaans term '*kokkedoor*' is a deformation of the French term '*coq d'or*' meaning '*haan van goud*' (cock/cockerel of gold). Apparently, a golden rooster was a popular yet extremely expensive artefact to own. The owner of such an item was deemed wealthy

saying someone (or in this case something) is considered important and within the current context as ‘the bigwig of biscuits’. The image of eggs was chosen due to its relation to chickens and farm-life as well as it being a prominent ingredient in baked items. The road sign with the word ‘*vakansie*’ (vacation) was incorporated as visual-verbal element suggesting road travel towards a holiday destination. Succulents were chosen as these represent tenacity (the ability to grow in circumstances that would be less than favourable for other plants) and, it could be argued, plants and flowers symbolise the femininity and the steadfastness associated with (older) generations of Afrikaner women. Cutlery (the spoon and fork) represents items found in the kitchen used for the preparation and consumption of food. The image of the doily was chosen both for its feminine aesthetic¹⁰ as well as imagined nostalgic significance, and creates a visual connection to the image of a doily used on the cover page.

The main colour scheme is maroon with variations of this colour in the form of red and pink. Known as being part of the warm colour spectrum these colours are often associated with heat, love, femininity and softness. Red is also commonly associated with Christmas. The addition of orange was used to echo the colour of the visual focal point in the area of text to visually connect the image and the typography as part of the whole composition. Orange as a (warm) colour is often associated with warmth and excitement.

The typographic section verbally communicates the intended message of the visuals by reading “On the farm or at the sea, remember the cookies for your tea”. The words ‘farm’ and ‘sea’ were used as indications of places (and, by association, events) related to the consumption of the baked item. The word ‘remember’ is often associated with times past (nostalgia), and the inclusion of ‘tea’ (as beverage and physical act) symbolise the social aspect of consumption often within a group setting. The colour bar at the bottom includes the BBO logo and a sentence that reads “It tastes like the farm” referring to the association of

and of some importance and subsequently referred to as the big ‘coq d’or’ (<https://aie.ned.univie.ac.at/oor-afrikaans/grammatika/300-spreekwoorde/>). *Kokkedoor* is also the name of a popular reality television food competition broadcast on KykNET (DStv channel 144).

¹⁰ Rounded and organic shapes are often used by designers to signify femininity or to appeal to a feminine audience. In contrast, geometric and angular shapes are used to represent masculinity and tend to appeal more to a male audience. It is acknowledged that this might be seen as a gross simplification, but might be useful given the target market of the envisaged campaign.

the baked item with a beloved place and the accompanying nostalgic memories associated with spending time there.



Source: Researcher

Figure 5.13: Vintage version of Soetkoekie design

5.4.2.2 Design 2: Jêm Tertjies

(Figures 5.14 and 5.15).



Source: Researcher

Figure 5.14: Jêm Tertjie design (colour)

“The flakes from the crust first stick to your lips and cheeks before falling to the floor. The aroma of baked butter caresses your palate in in a haze of warmth. You remember the aunties from the days of old, their arms wiggling with every fold of the dough and the convivial swaying of their bosoms with the rhythmical movement of the rolling pin” (Dine van Zyl 2012:190). There is something to be said for a simple baked item that is capable of eliciting such a poetic description. It illustrates the effect of how the sensory, human and practical aspects related to a generations-old traditional foodstuff are capable of evoking nostalgic memories. Similar to its sweet compatriot the *soetkoekie*, the buttery-sweet *jêmtertjie* is also a common sight in cake tins and containers burgeoning with the promise of carefree vacations, joyous Christmas celebrations and the unmatched deliciousness of a secretly appropriated tartlet in a childhood tree fort.

The strelitzia (a bush with a striking orange flower that is indigenous to South Africa) features at the top, and is commonly referred to by Afrikaners as a *kraanvoëlblom* (crane flower) – it features on the South African 50 cent coin. The popular name and visual appearance of this plant may even be associated with the *Bloukraanvoël* (Blue crane) which is the national bird of South Africa. These

(imagined) aspects of 'national significance' were what led the designer to include the flower as symbol for the group identity of the Afrikaner as well as for the tendency of flowers to be linked with aspects associated with female identity. The inclusion of crockery in the form of the teapot and teacup and saucer was used to illustrate the social act of having tea with friends and as a symbol of Afrikaner hospitality. Apricots were used to represent the traditional practice of making fruit preserves and more specifically in reference to apricot jam used as a filling for the tartlets. The doily makes yet another appearance as a nostalgic symbol of traditional old-time practices and its association with a female figure as well as for its visually aesthetic quality.

The colour green was chosen as the predominant colour scheme for this design for its association with concepts such as nature, the environment, re-birth, hope and growth. Terms associated with this colour that support these notions such as "greener pastures" and "the grass is greener on the other side" were what motivated the use of this colour as it reminded the designer of how the Afrikaner farmers were so intrinsically tied to nature and their environment that it required constant movement in the hope of finding a favourable environment that would facilitate growth and survival. It may also be seen as a symbolic representation of the contemporary Afrikaner's (in general terms) search for a 'place' that would enable growth towards a sustainable form of 'cultural survival'. The use of orange in conjunction with the overall green colour scheme was based on four factors; firstly as combining factor between the visual focal point and the accompanying typography, secondly for its ability to be associated with the colour of apricot jam (perceptually amplified by the word itself), thirdly for its prevalence as name within the Afrikaner heritage context for example *Orange*¹¹ *river*, *Orange Free State*, and *Orania*, and lastly, as a subliminal reference to the colours used by the non-governmental civil rights organisation *AfriForum*. This organisation is dedicated to promoting the interests of Afrikaners and has a strong online presence on social media platforms. The colours in their logo that are generally used for all digital communication material are green and orange. This may speculatively lead to a subconscious association of viewers across the groups

¹¹ Named in honour of the Dutch House of Orange-Nassau (Earle, Malzbender, Turton and Manzungu 2005:1)

based on the visual (colours) and cultural (Afrikaners) similarities. Green is also a colour commonly associated with Christmas.

The typographic section used words to communicate memories related to childhood experiences. Translated, the sentence reads “The longing of a childhood marked by crumbs in your teeth and jam on your cheeks”. The section aims to provide a verbal analogy of a carefree childhood where dirty little faces were acceptable as part of learning and social development. The word ‘*Jêm*’ was written in orange using a textured yet flowing font to visually represent the tactile attributes of jam. It was enlarged as a means to focus visual attention and symbolise its importance as defining ingredient. The words ‘*longing*’ and ‘*childhood*’ are used as verbal triggers for nostalgic recollection. The word ‘*tande*’ (teeth) was purposefully misspelled to read ‘*tanne*’ as it relates to a common pronunciation of the word (through a process of assimilation) as well as for its acoustic similarity to the word ‘*wange*’ (cheeks). ‘*Jêm Tertjies*’ was also intentionally written as two words to focus attention on the Afrikaans incorporation of an English word (*jêm* for jam). The sentence at the bottom reads “It feels like home,” relating to a childhood association with home and of carefree times growing up.



Source: Researcher

Figure 5.15: Vintage version of Jêm Tertjie design

5.4.2.3 Design 3: Koeksisters

(Figures 5.16 and 5.17).



Source: Researcher

Figure 5.16: Koeksisters design (colour)

The *koeksister* and its position as part of Afrikaner heritage cuisine is well-known considering that there is the *Koeksister Monument* in Orania and the *Koeksister Bench* (situated at the foot of the Voortrekker Monument) in Pretoria. This plaited syrupy confection epitomises various aspects connected to Afrikaner cultural nostalgia as it symbolises the generations of self-sufficient Afrikaner women collectively applying their baking prowess in aid of the Afrikaner community and themselves.

The image of the Protea was chosen for the following reasons; The *King Protea* is the South African national flower, the nectar produced by the flower of the *Protea repens* was harvested (by shaking the flower) and used by the Dutch in the Cape as sweet substitute for sugar (syrup or crystallised) in beverages, food and baking. This led to this species of Protea being known as the *Suikerbos* (Sugar bush) (Claassens 2003:283). There is also a popular Afrikaans folk song called “*Suikerbossie*” (Little sugar bush) in which the name is used as a term of (female) endearment. As with the previous designs the flower is again incorporated as a visual representation of femininity. The bees were chosen as a symbol of teamwork within a community relating to the Afrikaner women who

often work “as a community for the community”. The rolling pin as a baking aid represents the kitchen (as a place of creation and communality) and the act of rolling out of the dough before it is cut and plaited. The doily again makes an appearance and was again used for the same reasons as set out under the previous designs. The image of the wind pump/windmill was used as it is a distinct and well-known object associated with (Afrikaner) farms. Apart from its familiarity, the designer incorporated this visual element as symbol of hope (where there is a working windmill there is water), tenacity and adaptability needed for (individual and cultural) survival within given circumstances.

The designer chose the colour blue (together with the white background) as predominant colour scheme in visual reference to traditional Dutch Delft pottery. This was done to represent the historic origins of this part of the Afrikaner baking heritage and as illustration of continued traditions. Orange was used as additional colour to compliment the colour of the focal point in the image and to create cohesion between the image and the typography. In addition it may serve as subliminal reminders of the South African flag during the era preceding the 1994 elections although this was a visual fluke and not a purposeful design decision. It could however seem a happy coincidence considering the historical concept behind this specific design. It triggered this association for the designer and it may speculatively do the same for some viewers.

The accompanying text reads “Let the sweetness of longing for your grandmother drip like syrup from your mouth (*smoel*)”.¹² The word ‘sweetness’ refers both to the characteristic taste of *koeksisters* as well as to a characteristic associated with nostalgia. ‘Longing’ and ‘grandmother’ were both used in reference to verbal nostalgic triggers. The sentence was written to be interpreted in two ways: firstly as a literal act of eating a *koeksister* with syrup dripping from your mouth and secondly as a figurative representation of talking and sharing sweet words related to a beloved person. The sentence at the bottom reads “It tastes like home” relating to the sweet memories associated with a person, the act and a place associated with the taste.

¹² The word *smoel* refers to mouth (see also *Slinger-om-die-smoel* as an alternative name for *Melksnyfels*, discussed in Chapter 4, Figure 4.21). It was included as a novel reference indicating ‘messy eating’ due to the inherent quality of the food item. It also foregrounds a type of informal acceptance of the right to be messy under these circumstances.



Source: Researcher

Figure 5.17: Vintage version of Koeksister design

5.4.2.4 Design 4: Melktert

(Figures 5.18 and 5.19).



Source: Researcher

Figure 5.18: Melktert design (colour)

In keeping with the notion of 'consumable monuments' celebrating culinary traditions one could look at the *melktert* (milk tart) and its part in Afrikaner heritage baking. Although no physical monument stands built in its honour, the

annual celebrating of *Nasionale melktert dag* (National Milk tart day) attests to its popularity and allure (as multi-sensory nostalgic trigger).

The two dairy cows (*Holstein-Friesian*, were chosen as they are from Dutch origin)¹³ represent life on the farm (a popular reference as beloved place among participant narratives) as well as for the unmistakable role of this dairy product as major ingredient in the baked item and the inclusion of the word in the name. Star anise (although not an ingredient) was used for its resemblance to a flower present in all of the above-mentioned designs. This resemblance to a flower and the fact that it is used as a spice is symbolic of the importance of aroma linked to a person (a specific perfume associated with a female figure) and also to baked items that include a potent olfactory component such as cinnamon. It, together with the aesthetic resemblance, was chosen as design elements to symbolise its speculative association to both aroma and femininity. The image of wheat was chosen for both historic significance as agricultural commodity and for its importance as basic ingredient (in its refined form as flour) needed for the making of baked goods. At the top of the composition is the visual representation of two knitting needles and a piece of knitting attached to a ball of yarn visible at the bottom (although the yarn connecting the two visual elements is obscured by the rest of the imagery in the foreground, the eye can follow the imaginary line represented by the visible yarn at the top and its presumed but invisible path towards the emerging yarn at the bottom.) The inclusion of this element was autoethnographically inspired as the researcher remembers how her grandmother used to knit on a daily basis. Even as an adult she recalls being surprised by scarves and home-made “sleeping socks” that were sent to her as gifts when the distinct crispness of winter could be felt in the air. Before her passing the researcher’s grandmother knitted a small blanket and three knitted sweaters for the researcher’s daughter. These items, made so tenderly by her grandmother’s hands for her great-granddaughter, bear a particular bitter-sweetness for the researcher as her grandmother passed away before she could see the great-granddaughter wear them. This specific association of how an object (known for its nostalgia-evoking ability) so lovingly made could have the

¹³ Images of Holstein-Friesian dairy cows were chosen due to their Dutch origin (Holland and Friesland) as visual nod to the link between Dutch and Afrikaner cooking (<https://www.britannica.com/animal/Holstein-Friesian>).

ability to weave together four generations of women reminded the researcher of the Bible verse where it is written: “You knit me together in my mother’s womb.” (Psalm 139:13 New International version). Within the context of the current study it symbolises the intergenerational act of maternal creation (and the knowledge accompanying such creation by ‘an old hand’) as a caring act aimed towards the nurturing (physical and/or emotional) of her loved ones.

The predominant colour scheme chosen for this design was brown as it symbolises the visual colour of cinnamon (and a variety of other spices) and its importance as olfactory trigger. In addition, brown is often associated with the earth, certain agricultural commodities and is often related to wholesomeness or a more natural state in terms of food related items, for example brown bread, brown rice and brown sugar. The colour is also often used to indicate the desired visual property of certain baked items such as “baked until golden brown”.

The colour of the text was chosen to complement the colour of the visual design in order to create continuity. The choice of words verbally describes how olfaction may trigger nostalgic memories in that it reads: “The warm aroma of cinnamon is like the adoring love of your mother”. The word ‘warm’ was chosen as descriptor relating to the association often given (through the literature) to the ‘feeling’ linked with the aroma of cinnamon. ‘Cinnamon’ was written in a ‘heavy’ and dark typeface in all capital letters to draw attention to it and to represent its importance as part of the ingredients as well as the spice’s ability to act as a nostalgic trigger. Other words such as ‘adoring’, ‘love’ and ‘mother’ were used as certain food and the accompanying sensory stimuli (most often olfactory but also tactile, visual and gustatory in the case of actual food items) are associated with a sense of longing for a time filled with feelings associated with safety, love, and nurturing associated with ‘home’ and a maternal figure. The sentence at the bottom reads “It smells like home” acts as additional verbal reminder of how the smell of cinnamon may foster sensory stimuli capable of evoking nostalgic memories.



Source: Researcher

Figure 5.19: Vintage version of Melktert design

5.4.2.5 Design 5: Pannekoek

(Figures 5.20 and 5.21).



Source: Researcher

Figure 5.20: Pannekoek design (colour)

Among the oldest and most beloved delicacies are pancakes.¹⁴ Together with its sweet cinnamon sprinkled compatriot *melktert*, the cinnamon-sugar laden *pannekoek* is a mainstay at public social events and has been a popular baked item made and sold for fundraisers and charitable events by and for the members of the Afrikaner community. The combination of thin, rolled up cake filled with the sweet and spicy mixture of cinnamon-sugar is so popular among the Afrikaner community that many refer to cold and rainy weather conditions as *pannekoekweer* (pancake weather). This association is illustrated in Dine van Zyl's (2012:189) statement (see Chapter 4) regarding the tradition of baking of pancakes during rainy weather in the Cape. She states "*Buite kan dit stormweer, binne in die warm kombuis kraak die suiker onder jou tande en die kaneel kruip saggies op in jou neuskanale*".¹⁵

The chosen visual elements for the *pannekoek* design were informed by elements that may be directly associated with the Cape. Whereas the other designs included visual references representative and symbolic to farms (often associated with the more inland areas as it relates to the historic significance of the nomadic stock farmers) this design aims to place emphasis on the coastal region of the Cape due to its importance regarding its history and place of origin for the Afrikaner food culture. The lighthouse was chosen as it is specifically related to coastal areas (such as the Cape coast) giving the viewer a visual cue to facilitate the association between the image and the intended setting. In addition, as a lighthouse's primary function is to act as a beacon of light to aid seafarers towards safely navigating the coastline, so too was it the designer's intent to use it as symbol representing nostalgic recollections associated with 'home' and 'safety' amid tumultuous (modern day) circumstances. The storm clouds accompanying the lighthouse represent the stormy weather often associated with coastal regions such as the Cape as well as the weather's association with the baked goods under discussion. The inclusion of birds represents freedom and perseverance (although the species are indiscernible the designer 'imagined' that it would be a type of marine bird such as a seagull, based on the visual context). The image of cinnamon sticks literally illustrates the

¹⁴ "*Onder de oudste en meest geliefde lekkernijen behoort de pannekoeken...*" (Schotel 1871:22).

¹⁵ "Outside may be stormy but inside the warmth of the kitchen the sugar is crunchy in your mouth and the aroma of cinnamon softly ascends your nose passages" (Translated by researcher).

spice as well as figuratively represents the warm feeling so often associated with its aroma. The image of an umbrella was chosen for its obvious association with rainy weather. ‘*Waterblommetjies*’ was chosen as the floral element for this particular design due to its historical connection to the Cape region and sustained popularity as part of Afrikaner heritage cuisine (in addition to the continued use of floral elements throughout all of the designs and the accompanying feminine association). The teacup and saucer represents the consumption of a hot beverage as a means of obtaining physical warmth during cold weather as well as emotional well-being associated with the social interaction of having tea with friends or loved ones. The image of an old rotary dial telephone was included as reference to an ‘old object’ (as possible nostalgic trigger) representing a bygone example of telecommunication and its possible association with a ‘simpler’ less ‘rushed’ way of life.

The predominant colour scheme for this design is purple. As part of the ‘cool’ part of the colour spectrum the designer chose purple as visual representation of concepts such as stormy, wet, gloomy and cold that are often associated with rainy conditions. Although grey would have admittedly been a more obvious colour choice its possible lack of visual appeal in terms of colour saturation led the designer to use indigo as alternative colour because of the higher contrast between it and the other visual elements within the composition. In addition, the designer chose purple as complimentary colour (colours situated directly opposite one another on the colour wheel) in contrast to the mostly yellow-orange colour scheme represented in the focal point (image of the *pannekoeke*) and the accompanying typography.

The accompanying typography reads “The warm aroma of cinnamon is like a comforting blanket against the cold”. This was done to verbally illustrate the possible association between the ‘warm aroma’ of cinnamon and an item representing a childhood security object such as a ‘comforting blanket’. The term ‘childhood’ was purposefully left out as not all individuals may have had a blanket (‘*bersie*’ or ‘blanky’), thus allowing for a more ‘mature’ interpretation of the aroma having the warming effect of a comfortable blanket. Visual-verbal emphasis was placed on ‘aroma’ and ‘comfort blanket’ by using yellow-orange as colour choice for the text. The sentence at the bottom reads “It smells like home” as additional

verbal reminder of how the smell of cinnamon may act as sensory stimulus capable of evoking nostalgic memories related to feelings of warmth, home and feelings of (childhood or adult) comfort.



Source: Researcher

Figure 5.21: Vintage version of Pannekoek design

5.5 SUMMARY

Contemporary Afrikaner women (including the researcher) are tasked with managing everyday challenges as well as navigating the subsequent impact these responsibilities have on the availability of time, and, consequently, the willingness and capability to focus on additional activities such as baking. Homemade goods have made way for store bought items and convenient alternatives have become exceedingly popular for their perceived time-saving abilities. As an avid home-baker and owner of an online baking business the researcher can attest to the above state of affairs as an increase in the researcher's own responsibilities outside of the domestic sphere led to a decline of in-home baking practices and the subsequent discontinuation of the online baking venture. The researcher found herself buying traditional baked goods either from home-industry stores (which tend to be more expensive) or from retail stores (which are generally less expensive due to mass production and, inevitably, less tasty) as an act of convenience when buying other household necessities. The researcher's personal experience as part of the contemporary

Afrikaner community is what ignited the concern regarding possible modern day influences on the continuation of an Afrikaner baking tradition.

Although modern-day living may have brought about a speculative decline in the physical time spent in the kitchen (negatively affecting the continuation of baking traditions) it has also brought with it an increase of time spent on digital interfaces (smartphones) while accessing digital platforms (for example social media platforms such as Facebook). Exponential growth in both areas of digital technology combined with the ease and speed by which vast amounts of information regarding various subject matters (including food) may be accessed have led the researcher (as fellow online consumer) to consider its speculative ability to aid in rekindling Afrikaner women's interest in traditional baking practices by using the concept of nostalgia as driving factor. The researcher's 'inherited' love for baking (and its link to a cherished childhood), interest in Afrikaner heritage cuisine, being a contemporary online consumer and her knowledge as Graphic Designer was what motivated in the creation of a series of baking related designs as part of the initial structure or framework for a nostalgia-driven online campaign aimed at reigniting Afrikaner women's interest in traditional baking practices.

The success of nostalgia based designs depends on the ability of the designs to connect with the target audience through determining the most effective markers for the development of appropriate nostalgia triggers. Modern day internet-based social media platforms such as Facebook allow for interactive communication between members of online social media groups within environments where they can converse with others as part of this 'imagined' community' who share a common interest. This led to the creation of the '*Bak, brou and onthou*' Facebook page as method of inquiry in order for the researcher to determine the nostalgia types, overarching themes and triggers as they immersed from participant narratives. This involvement together with information acquired from relevant literature and the researcher's own personal experiences enabled the researcher as designer to imagine how a visual representation of nostalgia-related design elements may appeal to prospective viewers of the target community.

The interface between the theory, lived experience and participant data acquired during the course of the study (as described in Chapter 2 under 2.4.4) informed and justified the chosen (visual and verbal) design elements used in the creation of a logo, cover page and five model designs as structural outline to be used in the development of a comprehensive nostalgia-driven design frame work that will guide the Facebook campaign aimed at revitalising an Afrikaner baking tradition. The logo and cover page were designed in order to inform the viewer about the type of content (baking and nostalgia) that can be expected to appear on the page, thus setting the tone for the visual materials to follow. To capitalise on the vast amount of likeminded members/participants within the '*Bak, brou and onthou*' Facebook community the researchers proposes to use the existing page as platform to launch the nostalgia-driven campaign. Prior knowledge and familiarity regarding the page name and its contents will aid in the viewer's understanding of the visual elements chosen for the "updated" appearance. As the elements chosen for the "new look" of the page were largely informed by the member narratives it should aid in its acceptance by these members and may speculatively even spark a renewed interest in the page itself.

Just as the logo and cover page designs were largely informed by the existing member's narratives (in conjunction with the researcher's own experience as member of this community and as Graphic Designer) so too did these aspects form the basis regarding the choices and the justification behind the visual and verbal design elements used in the development of the five individual designs in the nostalgic baking series.¹⁶ The researcher/designer chose five popular Afrikaner baked items (so categorised based on evidence obtained from the various sources used during the inquiry), to be used as familiar (introductory) points of departure. The reasoning behind this was to acquaint the viewer with the contents and context of the proposed campaign before introducing less-familiar or unknown baked items into the equation.

Each design relating to a specific baked item is made up of a combination of verbal and visual cues relating to the nostalgia related themes, triggers and symbolic representation as identified throughout the course of the research (see

¹⁶ Each individual design forms part of a series that is connected by an overarching theme and consistent design style in terms of related and repeated elements, composition layout and colour application.

also Figure 5.1). The researcher/designer proposes that each design (as part of the framework of the campaign) containing an informed variety (based on the knowledge gathered) of nostalgia related imagery and text be used as basis upon which to build a section dedicated to the development of nostalgia-driven content relating to the specific design in the form of various visual (and verbal design related) materials such as photographs, food images, paintings, collages and recipe cut-outs.

The research project was concerned with the designing of visual material (justified by existing knowledge, autoethnography and data gathered) but not with testing the subsequent campaign, thus the researcher can only speculate on matters pertaining to the online application of the designs as part of a campaign. Speculatively, by introducing the series consisting of five model designs and by using each as basis for the creation of a larger body of visually related (and possibly interrelated) work, the predetermined relevant measurements of success (for example an increase in members or an increase in member interaction with posted content) would present itself in such a way as to indicate whether the proposed implementation seems effective or whether a new design strategy needs to be developed during the course of the campaign.

Chapter 6

SUMMARY, FINDINGS, SHORTFALLS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 SUMMARY

This chapter presents a summary of the trajectory of the research. The findings are then discussed, the shortfalls are noted and recommendations for further related research proposed.

The genesis of this study can be found in three domains. Firstly, as a researcher and Graphic Designer, who was also enthralled by both the memories of Afrikaner baking, and practical experience in this domain, I became aware that less and less was being made, and more and more was being bought from mass production. Secondly, as a researcher/graphic designer, I was fascinated by the possibility of employing the dynamics of social media to enter the worlds of so many others who might be interested in Afrikaner baking. Thirdly, I was intrigued by the potential of tapping into the dynamics of nostalgia as a way of fostering a revitalisation campaign of a particular product. It seemed inevitable that the contemporary Afrikaner woman's apparently increasing exodus from the home-kitchen in terms of time and investment would eventually result in a decline in the intergenerational knowledge-sharing necessary in ensuring the continuation of traditional Afrikaner baking practices. This decline needed to be addressed, potentially through a revitalising campaign for Afrikaner baking.

6.2 RESEARCH TRAJECTORY

Chapter 2 described and justified the research methods and methodologies employed in this study (namely extensive use of literature, the drawing on social media as a platform for data accumulation, and the interweaving of Practice-led research with a strong autoethnographic approach as designer and Afrikaner baker). Chapter 3 presented the dynamics of nostalgia and its interface with the domain of graphic design. It was discovered that the concept of nostalgia and its predominantly positive nature as emotional response to external stimuli (Hwang and Hyun 2013:251) showed the potential to be exploited in the designing of context specific visual and verbal triggers. This discovery within the relevant

related literature on the subject encouraged the use of nostalgia as a driver, seeing as the current study was concerned with the development of a campaign framework consisting of nostalgia-driven, baking-related design elements. Because the design elements were developed to solicit an emotional response from members of the Afrikaner community it was necessary to develop an understanding regarding the various types of nostalgia categorised according to the type of emotional response it could evoke (Baker and Kennedy 1994:171) as this informed a part of the creative development process that led to the design of the visual-verbal triggers. Based upon insight acquired through a review of the related literature the most appropriate type of nostalgia was identified to be what is referred to as *Cultural or collective nostalgia* as it is directly experienced (Holak, Havlena and Matveev 2005:196) and refers to the longing for a past that is representative of a certain culture (Baker and Kennedy 1994:171; Russell 2008:104). This collectivistic (Baker and Kennedy 1994:171) group-level emotional experience among individuals who perceive themselves as part of a particular social identity (Cheung, Sedikides, Wildschut, Tausch and Ayanian 2017:303; Wildschut, Bruder, Robertson, Van Tilburg and Sedikides 2014:3) was determined to align with the intended audience (members of the Afrikaner community). Because there is a common thread linking the memories experienced among the members (Baker and Kennedy 1994:171; Holak *et al.* 2005; Wildschut *et al.* 2014:4) and because collective memory is group specific, each group will have its own set of symbols, events and objects related to it (Baker and Kennedy 1994:171; Wildschut *et al.* 2014:4). This notion of shared symbols, events and objects assisted the researcher in identifying the recurring nostalgia related themes as they emerged from the group specific, food related literature and narratives during the course of the enquiry. The identified themes within the communal sphere of food related memories together with the researcher's own experiences aided the researcher in 'imagining' the imagery that was designed as visual triggers.

Analysis into nostalgic advertising as marketing strategy viewed within the context of digital platforms revealed it to be a popular method of exploiting nostalgia as an emotional response to counteract the feelings of distress brought about by uncertain circumstances ((Muehling *et al.* 2014:73; Pascal, Sprott and

Muehling 2002:40). According to Abrahamse (2014:14) Afrikaners¹ are currently experiencing a form of cultural angst in that they are still struggling to establish a new identity and a sense of belonging as a result of the shift in political power post-1994 and that therefore it can be assumed that this would make the Afrikaners a viable audience for nostalgia-based advertising. This statement by Abrahamse (2014:14) resonated with the researcher as part of the Afrikaner community and added a new dimension of insight with regards to how socio-political and socio-economic factors within the South African context influenced the socio-cultural position of the target group. The researcher became aware of the prevailing notion of referring to “the good old days” (Abrahamse 2014:7; Muehling and Pascal 2012:102; Marchegiani and Phau 2010:81) or a past that seems better (not that it necessarily had fewer problems) than the present circumstances among fellow members of the Afrikaner community. This process of ‘positive memory distortion’ (Hwang and Hyun 2013:253) characteristic of nostalgia, where negative aspects of the past are mitigated to have no bearing on the positive aspects, is known as a “redemption sequence” (Muehling *et al.* 2014:74; Sedikides *et al.* 2004:205; McAdams, Reynolds, Lewis, Patten and Bowman 2001:474). The ‘highlights’ within the memories, the circumstances under which they occurred and the amount of time passed between the initial occurrence and the present day emotional reaction (Awrejcewicz and Krysko 2006:1) proved a valuable concept during the identification and interpretation of the themes as they emerged, as this allowed the researcher/designer to contextualise the ‘highlights’ (baked items), the situation (places, events) and the time (childhood, youth) that could be used to develop the various nostalgia-related components that made up each model design.

The notion of food-centred nostalgia and its relation to sensory stimuli was explored, which provided insight into the approach that was followed in the development of two-dimensional ‘multi-sensory’ visual-verbal triggers in an attempt to stimulate, for example, the olfactory, the gustatory and even the auditory. According to Holak (2014:188) nostalgic food-related memories have room to contain vast recollections of tastes, sounds and smells. It was this ability

¹ It should be reinforced, here, that reference to the ‘Afrikaner’ is seen, also, through the lens of Anderson’s (1983) “imagined communities” and cannot be taken to be a monolithic concept.

of food to engage a multitude of senses (Baker *et al.* 2005:402), and the remembrance of how they were captivated, that led the study to explore the concept of *synaesthesia* (meaning “the union of the senses”) that refers to the notion that memory is made up of a multitude of sensory registers that interact with one another (Sutton 2010:n.p). It is this *synaesthesia* that allows the mere sight of food to create an anticipation of what it might smell and taste like by triggering olfactory and gustatory memories (Sutton 2010: n.p.). This concept proved valuable during the development of the two-dimensional food related sensory triggers as the presentation focussed mainly on visual stimuli that were designed to evoke a sense of nostalgia. The researcher used the strategy of adding sensory related “thick descriptions” in conjunction with the visual elements to provoke the interaction between the various sensory registers.

In addition, the field of graphic design and its potential ability to facilitate a revised positive socio-cultural insight and appreciation by using nostalgia as a central theme was explored. The acquired knowledge regarding the dynamics of nostalgia were applied within the realm of graphic design by using those insights together with existing practical knowledge and experience in the field in the thoughtful arrangement of design elements (visual and verbal) that made up the campaign framework intent at communicating the predetermined message (namely, Afrikaner baking) (Meggs 1998:8).

The knowledge attained through the aforementioned stage of the research was used in consideration with the descriptions of Dahlén, Lange and Smith (2010:xvii) as well as Atkin and Rice (2013:527) of the context in which effective contemporary marketing campaigns are set to function during the structuring of the campaign framework. The study acknowledged the statement from Dahlén *et al.* (2010:xvii) regarding the three cornerstones of effective marketing campaigns namely, message (traditional Afrikaner baking through nostalgia), media (online digital platform) and target audience (Afrikaner community).

Chapter 4 presented an overview of the interwoven nature of Afrikaner history and the food (particularly baking) that is intertwined with this history. To develop a better understanding of the food culture of the contemporary Afrikaner it was necessary to look into the historical events that influenced the culinary tradition

as well as the factors contributing to the modern day practice regarding what is known as *Boerekos*. The literature enquiry revealed compelling and provocative facts about the Dutch origin, the cross-cultural influences from the Khoikhoi and Cape Malay communities as well as the social and environmental factors that contributed toward the food and food ways encapsulated within the modern context of Afrikaner heritage cuisine, including the famed hospitality of the Afrikaner community. In addition to scholarly research on the topic the researcher/designer also made use of information gathered from other sources concerned with traditional Afrikaner baking such as printed and handwritten recipe books, online food blogs, media articles and the participant narratives obtained from the '*Bak, brou en onthou*' Facebook page through the interactive engagement between researcher as fellow community member, avid baker and lover of traditional Afrikaner cuisine and the members belonging to this online community. This enabled the researcher to draw a connection between the socio-cultural (nostalgic) significance of memorable past events both collectively (applicable to the group) and personally experienced (individually significant), its relation to matters surrounding Afrikaner baking and the interlinking of these with the design process that was involved during the creation of the campaign framework. These findings are summarised in the "findings" section, below, and in the summary descriptions of the designs that frame the campaign approach.

Chapter 5 thus presented seven designed examples that were drawn based on the insights that were obtained through the aforementioned methods of inquiry.

The first (logo as profile picture) and second (cover page) designs were created to establish the 'visual online identity' of the Facebook page to be used as a digital communications platform dedicated to the online campaign.

The *logo* (used as profile picture indicating who the page author is) was based on the existing '*Bak, brou en onthou*' Facebook group name (used as data source) due, firstly, to the familiarity of the name among the members and secondly, because the page with its already established community could be used as platform for the future campaign. The *cover page*, as the first thing a viewer sees when visiting the page, was used to introduce the viewer to the type of content

that may be expected to appear on the *timeline* (information/images posted by the administrator).

The visual elements and typographic message used for the ‘online social identity’ of the page were informed by the themes as they were presented in the data gathered throughout the enquiry and served in establishing the “look and feel” of the page and its contents.

The five baking items that were chosen (from the varied examples discussed) as focal point in each designed example were based on the prevalence thereof throughout the investigated sources as well as their cultural significance.

(*Outydse*) *Soetkoekies* are regarded by Du Toit (2015: n.p.) as the most valuable of all traditional Afrikaner biscuits which seemed a justifiable statement when based on the prevalence of these biscuits in older as well as modern day recipe collections. Veldsman (n.d., cited in Lensing [2018]) states that although the exact origin is unknown the oldest known published recipe dates back to 1703. Variations of the ingredients used in the recipes were found to include either spices and sweet wine, mixed spices or none of the aforementioned and are referred to interchangeably as ‘*Outydse*’ *soetkoekies* or just plain *soetkoekies* which indicated that no specific set of ingredients was tied to the word ‘*outyds*’. In addition it was discovered that familial recipes were referred to as ‘*outydse*’ even though the word was not included as part of the recipe name which revealed a (nostalgic) connection between the word and the “oldness” or age of the recipe (as object) and its association with the older generation in the form of a mother or grandmother. The inquiry revealed a nostalgic connection between memories of (*outydse*) *soetkoekies* as popular childhood treat, fair served for unexpected tea-time guests and as traditional baking associated with special family events such as vacations and Christmas celebrations. This is echoed in Du Toit’s (2015) description of the nostalgic significance of a cake tin (biscuit tin) and its contents. The author states, “*n Vol koekblik is ’n wonderlike ding. Dis bêreplek vir ouma se koekies, vakansiekoekies en dominee-kom-kuierkoekies. Selfs al is die blik leeg, dra dit die herinneringe...*”² Furthermore, the different types of ingredients offered

² “A cake tin full of cookies is a wonderful thing. It is the nestling place for grandma’s cookies, holiday cookies and for when-the-pastor-is-coming cookies. Even when it is empty, it carries the memories...” (Translation by researcher).

opportunities to draw on multiple sensorial triggers in the design process. (Indeed, this was encountered in all the baked items explored and discussed, below).

Jêmtertjies have historically formed part of Afrikaner baking as the Dutch had a particular affinity for *comfyt tartes* (jam tartlets). Literature around the subject revealed how these tartlets were a staple amongst birthday confections and items made specifically for consumption during Christmas celebrations (Human 2002; Coetzee 1977). It was so popular that the *old folk* purposefully made a stiffer batch of apricot jam during jam-making time specifically for use in these tartlets (Human 2002:18). According to Claassens (2003) the popularity of jam tartlets grew, so much so that it eventually became a firm favourite amongst Afrikaners. Although simple to make as it requires only puff pastry and jam it was found to be a time-consuming exercise. The inherent fastidiousness in making puff pastry requires knowledge with regards as to its preparation as it requires cool temperatures and patience to successfully incorporate the ingredients. Today, ready-made puff pastry and canned and bottled store-bought jams makes the process less time-consuming. However, it was found that there was no comparison between this and the more time-consuming home-made version deserving of, as Van Zyl (2012:192) puts it, “[d]ie beste appelkooskonfynt wat goud glansend in die fles staan”.³ The following statement illustrates the potential of using “thick description” as a form of multi-sensory stimulus that may act as nostalgic trigger. Van Zyl (2012:190) describes, almost poetically, the qualities of home-made puff pastry when she wrote, “Die skilfertjies van die kors klou aan jou lippe en val op die vloer. Die gebakte bottergeur streel in ‘n warm wasem oor jou verhemelte. Jy onthou vanmelewe se tantes met arms wat skud met elke ferm vou van die deeg en groot boesems wat gemoedelik wieg met die ritmiese rol van die stok.”⁴ Nostalgic recollections included memories of a maternal figure baking these tartlets in the kitchen and the filling of cake tins in anticipation for Christmas. Both quotations also provide an abundance of sensorial and synaesthetic triggers that can be used in the design.

³ “Only the best apricot jam that gleams like gold in the jar” (Translated by researcher).

⁴ “The flakes from the crust first stick to your lips and cheeks before falling to the floor. The aroma of baked butter caresses your palate in in a haze of warmth. You remember the aunties from the days of old, their arms wiggling with every fold of the dough and the convivial swaying of their bosoms with the rhythmical movement of the rolling pin” (Translated by researcher).

The traditional Afrikaner *koeksister* was found to be of particular significance as heritage foodstuff within the context of Afrikaner baking and its link to nostalgic recollection. Making this syrupy, sticky confection was found to be a laborious task (confirmed by the researcher's own experience) that was often engaged with in the form of a group activity involving (typically female) members of the community (Van Zyl 2012:196). It was discovered that the desire for consumption outweighed the desire of self-production making it a profitable item for sale by those willing and able to make the effort (Du Toit 2019: n.p.). This notion was supported in the nostalgic recollection brought forth from the narratives where mention was made of how Afrikaner women (mothers and grandmothers) have used the proceeds from selling *koeksisters* to contribute, as a shared, community-driven process, towards the development of certain areas within their community (such as schools, churches and orphanages). The significance of the *koeksister* (as well as the women who bake it) as Afrikaner heritage cuisine is illustrated by the *Koeksister Monument* erected in the South African town *Orania* as tribute to the fortitude of generations of Afrikaner women who supported communal interests by baking and selling *koeksisters*. A more recent addition of the *koeksister* as monument for public consumption is in the form of a first of its kind *koeksister*-shaped “selfie”⁵ bench situated at the bottom of the stairs in front of the *Voortrekker Monument* in Pretoria, aimed at encouraging social interaction on a modern-day media platform and thus illustrating the contemporary importance of the confection in Afrikaner culture.

Melktert seemed an obvious choice as design inspiration based on its popularity, as illustrated by the instituting of *National melktert day* held on 27 February each year. Adding to the idea of ‘consumable monuments’ celebrating Afrikaner culinary traditions, one could look at the *melktert* (milk tart) as a functional and symbolic example – Du Toit (2017) states that “*melktert is ‘n monument vir die selfbemaagtiging van die tannies [...] wat met die inkomste van hul tuisnywerheidmelkterte hul kinders geleer kry. So ‘n tert verdien ‘n nasionale*

⁵ “A photograph that one has taken of oneself, especially one taken with a smartphone or webcam and shared via social media” Oxford English Dictionary (n.p.).

dag.”⁶ This statement places the Afrikaner women (who, by baking and selling *melktert* for the benefit of themselves and their community) within the same context as the *koeksister* community, so to speak. Examples of its contemporary popularity was found illustrated by its commercial availability and the multitude of *melktert* inspired (consumable) product variations such as liqueur, sponge cake, chocolates, cappuccino and fudge. It could be argued that its strong presence within the commercial market is what contributes toward its contemporary popularity, yet its allure seems to lie in the nostalgia inducing multi-sensory experience that it presents. Du Toit (2017) aptly describes an example of nostalgia related to a popular practice of ‘eating from the pot’ (which is the same principle as licking off the whisks) as follows, “*Groot mans huil in hulle harde baarde as die troostende geure hulle terug vat na die duimvashou as kind dat daar genoeg vlapap in die kastrol sal oorbly om uit te eet.*”⁷ Men’s affinity towards a maternal figure’s *melktert* is echoed in a statement by Botes in an article by Kelly Minnie (2019) titled “*Melktert bring vir SA troos*”⁸ that was featured in the *Rapport Beleef* dated 1 March 2019. Botes states everybody still loves the traditional (*outydse*) version and that men in particular tend to display an affinity towards the versions made by their mothers or grandmothers.

The longevity and cultural significance of *pannekoek* as part of traditional Afrikaner baking became evident in the statement by Schotel (1871:22) where the author notes that “*Onder de oudste en meest geliefde lekkernijen behoort de pannekoeken...*” (Among the oldest and most beloved delicacies are pancakes). Indeed, some of the oldest printed recipes for *pannekoecken* date back to Van der Noot’s (1514) “*Een notable boecxken van cokerijen*” and its continuous presence in recipe books throughout the following centuries and prevalence as favoured foodstuff amongst contemporary Afrikaners illustrates its popularity. Information presented in the narratives again aligned the cultural significance of

⁶ “Milk tart is a monument to the self-empowered (and revered) women [...] who pay for their children’s education by selling milk tarts at home-industry stores. A tart like this deserves a national day” (Translated by researcher).

⁷ “Grown men weep into their beards as the comforting smell transports them back to a time when they used to hold thumbs/keep their fingers crossed, that there would be enough of the custard left in the pot for them to eat” (Translated by researcher).

⁸ “Milk tart provides comfort for SA” (Translated by researcher).

pannekoek with that of *koeksisters* and *melktert* within the context of actions (baking and selling) taken *by* the community for the benefit *of* the community.

During the course of the research a distinctly Afrikaner concept namely *Pannekoekweer* was revealed. This general acceptance among members of the community that pancakes and rainy days go ‘hand-in-hand’ is illustrated in the narrative through various nostalgic recollections related to this food-related tradition. The following sensory related descriptive statement by Van Zyl (2012:189) regarding this rainy day tradition illustrates this: “*Buite kan dit stormweer, binne in die warm kombuis kraak die suiker onder jou tande en die kaneel kruip saggies op in jou neuskanale*”.⁹ (The sensorial triggers are obvious in this quotation). Other nostalgic recollections that were presented through the narratives included concepts of a childhood home, mothers and grandmothers as keepers of the tradition, associations with happy, prosperous times and ‘bitter sweet’ memories tinged with a sense of regret.

Chapter 5 thus set out to design a framework that could be used as point of departure in setting out a potential Facebook campaign using nostalgia as a design strategy. It offers a series of five model designs based on the five traditional baked items as set out in Chapter 4, consisting of various visual and verbal design elements intended to serve as nostalgic triggers (visual-verbal cues). The creative process leading to the development of the model designs and accompanying imagery (a logo and cover page to anchor the page as digital communications platform that is to be used for the proposed campaign with a recognisable online identity) was informed by new knowledge obtained during the course of the research together with the researcher’s existing knowledge (as community member, baker and Graphic Designer) in the form of an autoethnographic component. This included insight into the dynamics of nostalgia as positive emotional response, the identification of the most appropriate type of nostalgia to use within the context of the study based on its characteristics and the commonality with regards to group-specific nostalgic imagery relating to the target audience (Afrikaners) and its link to the recurring themes (thematic analysis) as they were presented. Social media marketing as an accessible and

⁹ “Outside may be stormy but inside the warmth of the kitchen the sugar is crunchy in your mouth and the aroma of cinnamon softly ascends your nose passages” (Translated by researcher).

interactive communications platform intended to trigger nostalgic memories to solicit a positive emotional response from the viewer was explored both through the literature as well as through first-hand experience by using the 'Bak, brou and onthou' Facebook page as a functional example. The concept of food-centred nostalgia was investigated which provided insight into the different sensory aspects related to food related nostalgia experiences and how these could be exploited through a multi-sensory approach given the limitation of graphic design as visual two-dimensional field. The researcher/designer, having explored and documented new and existing knowledge presented in the above-mentioned domains was able, firstly to draw on the knowledge as a set of creative stimuli and triggers, and secondly to justify the uses and choices of visual-verbal components that were used in the development of the framework.

6.3 FINDINGS

Judging from what I did in the design of the framework, and, specifically, the seven designs, I made the following discoveries regarding the type of nostalgia, the nostalgic themes and nostalgic triggers as these related to the processes involved in creating the campaign framework

Working from (1) the literature, from (2) the responses to the Facebook page and from my (3) autoethnographic experience and (4) graphic design requirements, *cultural/collective nostalgia* provided the optimal cluster of design approaches. Accounts of personal nostalgia blended significantly into the collective as the lived experiences reported by members of the community revealed overarching themes that were used to develop related triggers linking to each within the communal food sphere. During thematic analysis the personal journal entries presented by the Facebook participants revealed to the researcher an extraordinary research insight, amidst the recorded data about nostalgia types. Working through the entries the researcher experienced a form of simulated nostalgia due to the direct interpersonal contacts (revealed by the participants) with their loved ones when documenting their personal nostalgic recollections that formed part of the group narrative. Speculatively this phenomenon can be described as 'researcher empathy,' and speaks to the tensions around subjectivity while working in the qualitative (and emergent creative) paradigm.

Themes were flagged based on similarities that were identified within the gathered information and categorised under the following recurring clusters: people, objects, places, events and sensory stimuli. Food and food-related examples exuded from the collective data, and can be clustered under the themes include the recurring foregrounding of: maternal female figures such as mother and grandmother; physical objects such as a grandmother's cake tin; places referring to a childhood home, kitchen or grandparent's farm; memorable events like Sunday night food traditions, holidays, birthdays and Christmas celebrations (particularly experienced during youth) and sensory aspects such as the mention of certain aromas. In addition to the personal significance, the combination of certain stimuli such as rainy weather, people and the aroma of cinnamon may trigger a collective nostalgic response among a group of individuals, as encountered in the case of *pannekoekweer* (pancake weather).

In short, the findings suggest an all-encompassing experiencing of a community of sights, smells, communalities, loving and sharing hierarchies, shared work, shared joy and celebration, and . . . 'cosiness'. The framework for the campaign must exude cosiness and belonging.

The examples were used to inform the designer's choice of imagery ultimately used in creating the seven designs. Considering that graphic design is a two-dimensional form of visual communication together with the dynamics of collective nostalgia within the context of the study as being based on the premise of 'similar' and 'shared' memories as oppose to those 'specific' and 'individually unique' the designer could only, from an autoethnographical perspective, 'imagine' what an effective visual representation of a nostalgic trigger will 'look' like. The most obvious choice was to use imagery that could be linked directly to a physical component as identified from the data, for example the image of a woman of advanced years as visual representation of a 'grandmother' (based on the designer's assumption that the viewer would recognise the connection). This revealed significant use of curved and encompassing lines and images. The second consideration was to use imagery that could be associated with a nostalgic concept identified from the data, for example images of a wind pump/windmill, wheat, chickens and cows were used as representation of a farm as a place connected to nostalgic recollection. The designer used creative

license and incorporated additional visuals that did not necessarily fall under the aforementioned choices of 'direct link' or 'indirect association' as they were not necessarily represented across the narratives. Symbolic imagery was used as representations of aspects related to baking and its link to the Afrikaner community, for example the images of the bees used in the *Koeksister* design (Figure 5.16) as symbol for teamwork towards achieving a communal goal. Although the symbolic imagery is open for interpretation it may speculatively act as nostalgic trigger if an association exists for an individual thus, adding to the possibility of the image acting as an 'unexpected trigger'.

Perhaps most interestingly, the centrality of the doily in the designs seems to have arisen from the immersion on the communality of the process (of design and of baking). The intricacy of the making processes (in all spheres) seems to have found its way into the doily representation, as an act of binding, of close attention to detail and, perhaps most significantly as a direct trigger to the community of older people, drinking tea, eating the delicious homemade baked items, sharing the news of the day, and, together, *besig om te hekel* (a crocheting community). The doily, perhaps whimsically, can be seen as "the ties that bind."

The choice of colours used throughout the designs was approached from two angles; (1) from an aesthetic perspective as design element and (2) for their ability to be associated to physical and abstract concepts. In addition to designing visually pleasing imagery and text, the possibility of "concept-colour associations" were exploited across the designs as direct and indirect (subliminal) links to the elements and the context in which they were presented. The subliminal links, upon reflection, led to the association of certain colours and colour combinations to objects or concepts that linked to the context in which the designs were presented. For example, the combination of the orange, white and blue colour scheme (see Figure 5.16) reminded the designer of the South African flag (often referred to as *Oranje, Blanje, Blou*) from the era predating the 1994 elections. Although the justification behind the choice of blue as predominant colour and orange as supplementary colour were based on the baked item represented and its historic ties to the Dutch (Delft Blue pottery) the resulting subliminal

association by the designer was seen as ‘happy coincidence’ as it may speculative lead to a similar association for the viewer.

Food-related nostalgia is intrinsically linked to sensory perception. For the Graphic Designer using a visual method of communication across a visual communications platform the sense of sight proved the most obvious and easiest way of approaching the creation of food-related sensory triggers. The saying “we eat with our eyes” rings true as food-related images have been proven to engage other senses such as olfaction and gustation. This however is based on prior knowledge of what the food presented in the image tastes, smells and feels like. The five baked items chosen to be presented in the designs were based on their prevalence across the sources of inquiry and thus deemed as familiar among members of the community in terms of their taste, smell and texture. Still, the Graphic Designer could not rely solely on the imagery to act as nostalgic trigger in the hope that multisensory stimulation (synaesthesia) will follow. Therefore, imagery was used in conjunction with descriptive gustatory, olfactory and tactile language as a multisensory approach in an attempt to engage multitude of senses. Auditory cues are not commonly connected to food related sensory triggers and because of this were not included within the verbal component aimed at supplementing the visual elements within model designs. Nevertheless, words provided further triggering of nostalgia, and ‘resonated’ with the images, and vice versa.

6.4 SHORTFALLS

Although the study provides a design framework for use as a point of departure for a future food-related nostalgia campaign of which the design strategy and style requirements were creatively inspired and justified by triangulating the related theory-, narrative- and autoethnographic components, it did not include the development of a full campaign.

The research that showed how the food and baking culture ventured into the world of the political (the sense of the Hertzoggies, Smutsies and the like) has not been explored in the designs, directly, but finds some form of resonance with the colours used (perhaps unconsciously) in the designs as was the the case with the orange, blue and white colour scheme reminiscent of the South African

flag in the era preceding the 1994 elections. This was a deliberate decision as the purpose was to emphasise community and not offer the possibility of splitting the community. Nevertheless, these baking moments are part of the history, and the future development of the campaign will need to take this into consideration.

The actual efficacy of the framework has not been market tested. Thus, no evidence was obtained regarding the effectiveness surrounding the design or interpretation of the triggers presented. As such, the design framework can only really be considered as a prototype for the future campaign.

The focus of the study was delineated to include only one aspect of traditional cuisine namely baking, significant among just the female population within one 'imagined' community, although the approach to developing such a campaign seems useful and appropriate for other aspects and sub-populations within the community already used in the study or within other communities.

Certain members on the '*Bak, brou en onthou*' Facebook page continuously ignored requests from the researcher not to post unrelated content (spam). This led to the page being inundated with irrelevant content which resulted in valued participants leaving the group out of frustration.

The gathering of data in the form of respondent narratives occasionally proved a challenge as it became clear that instead of answering nostalgia-based questions regarding a particular baked item under discussion they interacted only by requesting the recipe. However, the periodical provision of an incentive dependant on their contribution (for example a digital compilation of recipes) seemed useful in enticing member participation. This in itself, although perhaps seen as a potential shallowing of the data from the Facebook group speaks directly to the necessity, in future studies, the better control the development of the Facebook research domain.

6.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

Future related research could include the development of a comprehensive nostalgia driven campaign by introducing the series consisting of five model designs and by using each as basis for the creation of a larger body of visually related (and possibly interrelated) work. Through market testing the

predetermined relevant measurements of success (based on for example reach and interaction, or, to use the language of the platform, 'clicks,' 'likes' and 'shares') of a full campaign would indicate whether the proposed implementation seems effective or whether a new design strategy needs to be developed during the course of the campaign.

Future applications based on the current research could include the designing of nostalgia driven campaigns focussed on different foods (such as *boerewors*) and related food ways (the '*braai*') within the same community used in this study but by focussing on a different sub-population (Afrikaner men, for example). However, the concept of nostalgia as driver could be successfully applied in research projects to gain insight into other areas of society.

6.6 CONCLUSION

It is inevitable that the researcher as part of an investigation into the origins and influences that contributed and shaped her personal cultural and culinary identity should be brought to deeper insights regarding the importance of the continuation thereof. Food and its nutritional value are vital for physical survival but equally so is its connection to that which we deem important for psychological and emotional well-being such as family. This becomes even more apparent when viewed from the perspective of baked delicacies not deemed a part of everyday consumption but as an occasional treat. The word 'treat' is appropriate when thinking about the motives behind the making of such items which, when viewed within the context of nostalgic recollection becomes more apparent. These motives include a grandmother making biscuits to ensure there is always something special for teatime with her friends, a wife always making a specific baked item because it is her husband's favourite or a mother making the customary 'post Sunday lunch pudding' and homemade custard because her children has been looking forward to it. Yet, the motives as acts of nurture as opposed to necessity that lies behind the making and indeed within the making process itself, only reveals itself in the absence thereof. The real value of these items, the people who made them and the circumstances that surrounded nurturing activities are understood only in retrospect when the memory that is triggered by a specific taste or smell 'becomes' a loved one, a childhood or a



warm kitchen on a Sunday evening. This concept of baked items as sensory connectors to the past should thus be viewed as a privileged opportunity that is to be used within the present to ensure that related future recollections will be equally (bitter-)sweet.

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Appendix A

AFRIKAANS INFORMATION BROCHURE



INLIGTINGSBROSJURE

Nostalgie as 'n ontwerpstrategie in 'n Facebook-veldtog vir die herlewing van 'n Suid-Afrikaanse baktradisie

[Nostalgia as a design strategy in a Facebook campaign to revitalise a South African baking tradition]

Navorser: Me C van den Berg

Studieleier: Prof A J Munro (PhD), Vaal Universiteit van Tegnologie, Vanderbijlpark

Mede-studieleier: Prof M A Erasmus (PhD), Universiteit van die Vrystaat, Bloemfontein

Beste gespreksgenoot

Ek nooi jou hartlik uit om deel te word van hierdie gespreksblad. Die vrae, antwoorde, opmerkings, resepte en staaltjies wat hier gedeel word, sal bydra tot my Meestersgraadstudie by die Sentrale Universiteit vir Tegnologie (SUT), Bloemfontein, Vrystaat. Hieronder vertel ek meer daarvan.

Ek het 'n passie vir bak – veral as dit kom by tradisionele gebak wat oor die jare heen deur Afrikanergemeenskappe geniet is. Daar is min dinge wat my binnegoed roer soos die reuk van warm, vars gebakte brood of die onmiskenbare aroma van kaneel op 'n warm-uit-die-oond melktert. Ek dink gereeld terug aan die dae toe ek as klein dogtertjie by my ouma gebly het. Sy was net so lief vir bak. Groot, ronde wit soetkoekies – die soort wat amper te groot is vir die opening van die koffiebeker. Hertzoggies met hulle klapperhoedjies en magies vol taai, soet appelkooskonfyt – ook tuisgemaak. Dan praat ons nie van die warm poedings nie. Souskluitjies, bruinpoeding, asynpoeding – stomend warm in afwagting op 'n leksel gekookte vla. Nooit was daar nie 'n ietsie in

die koekblikke nie. Daar was natuurlik ander soorte gebak as soetgoed ook: mieliebrood, roosterkoeke en geurige vleispasteitjies.

Vandag is ons besig. Besig om te werk, te bou aan ons beroepe of om kinders rond te ry. As ons 'n soetigheid soek vir 'n geleentheid, maar in die knyp is vir tyd, is daar tuisnywerhede vol tuisgebak – teen 'n prys natuurlik. Koeke en poedings kom deesdae in 'n boks – niks se geroom van suiker en botter nie, geen geskei van eiers waarvan die wit geklop moet word nie – alles word sommer so in een bak gemeng. Nou nie dat daar fout is met 'n vinnige alternatief nie – ek gebruik dit self ook soms. Maar waar is die dae toe jong meisies oor hulle ma's se skouers geloer het as hulle doenig was in die kombuis? Waar is die ou resepteboeke vol handgeskrewe en uitgeknipte reseppies? Die tradisie van “leer bak by jou ma” het plek gemaak vir gerieflike, tydbesparende alternatiewe.

Met jou samewerking wil ek graag die mooi herinneringe herontdek wat geassosieer word met die tradisionele gebak waarmee so baie van ons grootgeword het. So kan ons saam probeer naspour hoekom sekere gebak spesiale konnotasies vir mense het en sommer ook hoekom dit so belangrik is om hierdie deel van ons tradisie as 'n nalatenskap behoue te laat bly.

Jy wonder seker hoe ek beoog om dit te doen? As Grafiese Ontwerper is my doel met hierdie studie om vas te stel wat dit is omtrent 'n foto of prentjie wat daartoe kan lei dat mense nostalgies raak wanneer hulle daarna kyk. Watter elemente kan ek gebruik om deur middel van sig (dit wat gesien en gelees word) die ander sintuie te prikkel en die hartsnare te roer? Waaraan dink jy as jy 'n pan goudbruin boerbeskuit sien? Na wie laat dit jou verlang? Met watter tye assosieer jy 'n blik soetkoekies? Dalk Kersfees op die plaas? Wat van “kên-fruit”-bottels vol ingelegde perkse, konfyt en kerrieboontjies? Ek wil graag hierdie navorsing gebruik om visuele voorstellings te ontwerp wat die kyker se mond sal laat water, die hart sal laat terugverlang na plekke waarvan die stof lankal van jou voete af is, en sommer ook na geliefdes uit die verlede wie se voetspore verewig in jou hart getrap is.

Indien jy besluit om betrokke te raak en deel te neem aan die gesprekke en inhoud wat op hierdie blad verskyn, kan jy dit doen soos en wanneer dit vir jou gerieflik is. Ek

sal dit egter opreg waardeer as jy dit op 'n gereelde basis sou doen siende dat dit my van belangrike inligting vir my studie sal voorsien.

Die moontlikheid bestaan dat ek aan die einde van die studie al die resepte en gepaardgaande staaltjies – met toestemming van die betrokke partye – in een dokument sal saamvat en in elektroniese formaat aan al die deelnemers beskikbaar sal stel.

Deelname aan hierdie blad is vrywillig en die inhoud daarvan hou geen voorsienbare risiko of ongerief vir jou of jou naasbestandes in nie. Alhoewel jou naam en openbare profiel uiteraard sigbaar gaan wees aan die ander lede van die blad, sal alle inligting as persoonlik hanteer word. Jy sal dus ook nie geïdentifiseer word wanneer die studie uiteindelik weergegee word in akademiese joernale en/of navorsingsverslae nie, tensy die wet my daartoe verplig.

Die inligting gaan gebruik word in die ontwikkeling van 'n visuele bewusmakingsveldtog wat sal poog om 'n hemude belangstelling in tradisionele Afrikanergebak te bewerkstellig. Indien ek vermoed dat inligting wat deur jou verskaf is dalk tot enige ongemak aanleiding mag gee, sal ek dit persoonlik met jou uitklaar voordat dit geplaas word.

Jou samewerking aan hierdie blad dui daarop dat jy hierdie inligtingstuk gelees het en die voorwaardes as aanvaarbaar beskou.

Indien jy enige verdere inligting verlang, kan jy my gerus gedurende kantoorure skakel by 051 507 3393. Alternatiewelik kan jy ook my hoofstudieleier, prof Allan Munro by 0828230819 skakel, of jy kan die Hoof van die Departement vir Ontwerp en Visuele Kuns aan SUT, mev Christie Bester tydens kantoorure by 051 507 3393 skakel.

Dankie dat jy deelname aan hierdie gespreksblad en die inhoud daarvan oorweeg. Ek sien uit daarna om met jou te gesels.

Groete so warm uit die oond

Carla van den Berg

Appendix B

COVER LETTER TO SURVEY

Nostalgia as a design strategy in a Facebook campaign to revitalise traditional South African baking.

Primary investigator: Ms C van den Berg

Supervisor: Prof A J Munro, PhD, Tshwane University of Technology, Pretoria

Co-supervisor: Prof M A Erasmus (emeritus), PhD, University of the Free State, Bloemfontein

Dear research participant,

You are invited to take part and engage with all the individuals who are members of this Facebook page. The questions, answers comments and stories will form part of my formal MTech studies at the Central University of Technology, Bloemfontein, Free State.

I am passionate about baking – especially traditional Afrikaner baked goods. To me there are few things better than the smell of freshly baked bread or the warm, welcoming aroma of cinnamon on a freshly baked milk tart straight out of the oven. I often find myself thinking back to when I was a little girl living with my grandmother. Often the most wonderful smells would emanate from her kitchen. Soetkoekies, hertzoggies, konfytertjies, tamboessies, repelsteeltjies, souskluitjies, bruinpoeding, asynpoeding and so the list goes on. Today our busy lifestyles, juggling career and family, a shift towards becoming more health conscious, together with the availability of convenient alternatives (home industry shops and ready to make box mixes) have resulted in these traditional and often generations-old recipes staying tucked away in that handwritten recipe book you inherited. The tradition of learning how to bake that was once passed down from generation to generation has made way for convenient, time saving alternatives.

With your participation, I would like to rekindle those treasured memories that can be associated with the traditional baked goods that you grew up with and encourage the exploration of what made those traditional versions so special and why it is so important to keep that part of our heritage alive by reintroducing them into your consciousness.

If you decide to take part in the discussions and engage with the contents posted by me and other members on the page you can do so at your convenience. It would however be appreciated if you continually engage so as to provide me with much needed information for my study.

There is the possibility I might develop a collection of recipes and stories as they were posted to the page. This collection in the form of a digital document can then be shared with participants. I will obtain permission from the relevant persons before utilising any material.

Participation on this page involve no foreseeable risk or discomfort to you or your family.

The information exchanged on the page will be used to develop a visual campaign aimed at revitalising and creating renewed interest in traditional Afrikaner baking.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. Although the names and public profiles of the participants will be available to all the members on the page, the data and identifying demographic information of the participants will be coded so that it is not linked to your name. Your identity will not be revealed when the study is reported in scientific journals and/or research reports.

Appendix C ETHICAL APPROVAL



RESEARCH ETHICAL APPROVAL

Date: 29 November 2016

This is to confirm that:

Applicant's Name	Ms C van den Berg Student number: 20107463
Supervisor's Name for Student Project	Supervisors: Prof. M Erasmus Prof A Munro
Level of Qualification for Student's Project	M.Tech
Title of research project	Nostalgia as a design strategy in a Facebook campaign to revitalise a South African baking tradition

Ethical clearance has been provided by the Faculty Research and Innovation Committee [4 November 2016] in view of the CUT Research Ethics and Integrity Framework, 2016 with reference number [D FRIC 16/5/9].

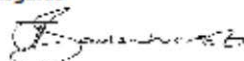
The following special conditions were set:

None

Specific conditions

We wish you success with your research project.

Regards



Prof JW Badenhorst
(Ethics committee representative: Humanities)