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# The cultural identity of white Afrikaner women: a post-Jungian perspective

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A post-Jungian model of the development of the self (Hill 1992) is used to analyse how the female Afrikaner identity became embedded in the South African social and political contexts. It is argued with Jungian concepts that, because of their history and culture, Afrikaner women grew up amid a cultural identity that became entrenched in the static Masculine and a patrivalent culture pattern. Consequently, for most of the twentieth century, Afrikaner women as a group were prone to function as Father's Daughters, with a strong constellation of the archetypal image of Amazon and its patterns of Martyr and Dutiful Daughter. Some implications for the development of the self in these women are then discussed.

## Die kulturele identiteit van die Afrikanervrou: 'n post-Jungiaanse perspektief

'n Post-Jungiaanse model van die ontwikkeling van die self (Hill 1992) is gebruik om te analiseer hoe die vroulike Afrikaner-identiteit ingebed geraak het binne die Suid-Afrikaanse sosiale en politieke kontekste. In Jungiaanse terme het Afrikanervrou hoofsaaklik opgegroeï binne 'n kulturele identiteit wat onderlê is deur die "statiese Manlikheid" en 'n patriargale kulturele patroon. As uitvloeisel hiervan het Afrikanervroue as 'n groep, tydens die grootste gedeelte van die twintigste eeu, as "Vader se Dogters" gefunksioneer, met 'n sterk konstellasie van die argetipiese beeld van Amasone en die gevaardgaande patrone van "Martelaar" en "Pligsgetroue Dogter". Implikasies vir die ontwikkeling van die self in hierdie vroue word ook kortliks bespreek.

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A nation's cultural identity is read from historical events, the assumption being that those moments have fundamentally shaped the group's values, customs, and psychology (Laubscher 2005: 309), which are constructed over time through discourse (Steyn 2001: 22). Subsequently, specific historical periods have an impact on the developmental processes of individuals.

Several historical events influenced the shape and form of Afrikaner cultural identity (Laubscher 2005: 309) and produced some powerful identities for women in particular (Cock 1991: 52). In order to explore the Afrikaner cultural identity and its effects on the identity of Afrikaner women, it is important to find a constructive and contextualised model within which to view them.

For this purpose, Hill's (1992: 23-52) model of the development of the Self, based on Jung's identification of the archetypal patterns of the Masculine and Feminine, is used. Since the interplay of the Feminine and Masculine underlies all human activity, it can also be used to understand the formation of cultural identities and patterns (Hill 1992: 147-73).

To contextualise women's psychology, this article will use Hill's model of the Self to integrate important post-Jungian writing on women's psychology. Subsequently, the formation of Afrikaner cultural identity according to Hill's model will be explored. Based on the post-Jungian integration of women's psychology, this article will finally outline the particular archetypal images and modes of consciousness that were constellated in Afrikaner women as a result of the experience of their particular cultural identity.

## 1. Hill's model of the development of the Self and its implications for women and cultural identity

According to Jung, the Masculine aspects of the psyche such as autonomy, separateness, and aggressiveness, and the Feminine elements such as nurturance, interrelatedness, and immersion in life form two halves of a whole, both of which belong to every individual. Post-Jungians have argued consistently that the Feminine and Masculine

presume learning something about the objective psyche, and about styles of being human which apply to both men and women.<sup>1</sup>

Hill (1992: 23-52) proposes a model for the development of the Self that deepens the Jungian understanding of development and individuation. The model is based on a differentiation of, and flow of energy between the Feminine and Masculine archetypal patterns in a gender-free way. Its fundamental premise is that four basic archetypal patterns, namely the static Feminine, the dynamic Masculine, the static Masculine, and the dynamic Feminine, and their relationships with one another, underlie the unfolding of the Self and individuation.

Following the critical interpretation of the principles of the Feminine and Masculine, Hill (1992: 148) argues that the four patterns in which they take form, assume two polarities of opposites or complementarities in the unfolding of the Self, namely the static Feminine/dynamic Masculine and the static Masculine/dynamic Feminine. Energy flows through the model, and is explained by compensation and compensatory movement along these two polarities.

The model of the Self implies that, at any time, one aspect may dominate at the expense of others, leading to a particular mode of consciousness. This could mean that the other aspect on the polarity may be unconscious (and contained in the Shadow) and may exist in projection onto others who will then “carry” these potentialities for the particular person. The model also implies that the movements of the polarities become a lifelong process as energy flows constantly from one pole to the other in the continuous unfolding of the Self and its order.

Many post-Jungian writers on women’s psychology have explored the archetypal structures and orientation patterns that underlie ways of being and identities, which are shaped by dominant archetypal images. In terms of Hill’s model of the Self, these structures and

1 Cf Binswanger 1965: 82-101, De Castillejo 1973: 16, Greenfield 1983: 33-50, Guggenbuhl-Craig 1977: 48, Hubback 1978: 177, Mattoon 1981: 83, McNeely 1991: 33-50, Samuels 1985: 207-29, Singer 1972: 257-62 & 1989: 236, Whitmont 1983: 109-22.

patterns could also imply a focus on specific Feminine and Masculine modes of consciousness. These four basic patterns, together with their archetypal images, modes of consciousness, and how they manifest in women, as outlined by post-Jungian writers on women's psychology, will be discussed briefly.<sup>2</sup>

### 1.1 The static Feminine, its archetypal images, and modes of consciousness in women

The archetypal image that expresses the essence of the static Feminine is the Great Mother in both her positive and negative aspects (Good Mother and Terrible Mother). Her attributes are the manifestations of the cyclical rhythm of nature, the cycle of seasons, fertility, growth, decay, death, the food chain, and the cycles of waking and sleeping, eating, and eliminating.<sup>3</sup> Constancy, consistency and balance in the organism of nature as a whole are her highest values. The static Feminine is symbolised most aptly by a circle, representing an undifferentiated whole (Hill 1992: 5). The positive effect of these elemental aspects of the Feminine makes itself felt in such emotional responses as feeling secure, protected, fundamentally accepted and acceptable, with a reservoir of hope and possibility (Ulanov 1971: 58).

Static Feminine consciousness typically manifests in – and was, until recently, actively encouraged in women – some version or pattern of essentially maternal caring for others, or being cared for (images of Mothers, Daughters, and Little Girls), as if a sense of ego identity is realised through a *participation mystique* (Hill 1992: 61). Post-Jungian writers have explored these modes of consciousness for women through the structural archetypal images of Demeter (the Mother) and Persephone (Mother's Daughter).<sup>4</sup> These "vulnerable" archetypal roles refer to the related archetypal images of the Feminine and re-

2 Cf Griessel & Kotze 2009: 183-212 for a more comprehensive discussion on these patterns and how they manifest in women.

3 Cf Hill 1992: 4-9, Neumann 1971: 25-31, Ulanov 1971: 157-62, Whitmont 1980: 109-22.

4 Cf De Castillejo 1973: 61-5, Guggenbuhl-Craig 1977: 49, Ulanov 1971: 198-202, Wolff 1956: 5, Woolger & Woolger 1990: 269-322, Zabriskie 1974: 34-45.

main more connected with the static Feminine consciousness (Bolen 1985: 132-222).

Women who are more influenced by static Feminine do not focus primarily on a particular individuality, but have a more collective orientation to people (Ulanov 1971: 198). Oceanic feelings, in which the interconnectedness of all things can be experienced and shared, become important. These women's egos, when under the influence of the positive Mother, are often driven by "being good in a good world" (Kast 1997: 60).

When too dominant, the static Feminine represents its negative aspect, leading to smothering entanglement, inertia, feelings of paralysis, and of ensnaring and devouring routine. As a consequence, women who remain in the static Feminine may remain passive and drifting. Innocence, helplessness, and the fear of separation and leaving could easily become entrenched. This may induce anxious over-protectiveness, possessiveness and feelings of strangulation (Ulanov 1971: 198).

## 1.2 The dynamic Masculine, its archetypal images, and modes of consciousness in women

Hill (1992: 10) argues that the dynamic Masculine stands opposite the static aspect of the Feminine principle in the unfolding of the Self. The dynamic Masculine focuses on the drive to conquer and master in the service of a differentiated individualism (in contrast to the *uroboric* or "*at one-ness*" of the static Feminine). Expressed in initiative and action directed towards a goal, it is associated in the Western world with cognitive operations, namely "objective analysis", linear expression, and the postulating of cause-effect relationships between events and effects in nature. Most aptly symbolised by an arrow, its central values are progress, "begetting new means, and becoming" (Hill 1992: 12). The dynamic Masculine is expressed in the archetypal image of the Dragon-Slaying Hero (Good Hero versus the Despot) in its positive and negative aspects, respectively (Hill 1992: 10). When in excess and dominant, the negative dynamic Masculine is wilful, inflated, determined, and goal-directed at the expense of what is life-giving and natu-

ral; it may become despotism constellated in a disregard for nature and/or human life (Hill 1992: 12).

Post-Jungian writers have acknowledged the structural archetypal forms applicable to women which are more influenced by, or constellate, Masculine consciousness (*puella/hetaira*; Amazon), although not all of them nuance the differences between the dynamic and static Masculine.<sup>5</sup> Father's Daughters – women who organise their lives according to the Masculine principle (dynamic or static) – could remain connected to an outer man (as they are, traditionally, the carriers of the Masculine in patriarchal society) and project their own Masculine onto him (as reflected in the archetypal image of *puella/hetaira*). Alternatively, they could identify with the Masculine mode of being (as reflected in the archetypal image of the Amazon). The so-called Amazon women are often related to the invulnerable goddesses Artemis and Athena, who are portrayed as independent, separate, assertive, and aggressive (Bolen 1985: 35, Hall 1980: 109). Amazon/Artemis is the archetypal image that represents women who identify more with the dynamic Masculine, while Amazon/Athena represents those who identify with the static aspect of the Masculine.

### 1.3 The static Masculine, its archetypal images, and modes of consciousness in women

As an archetypal principle, the static Masculine, in its positive aspects, generates a pull towards order, standards, systems of meaning, rules and regulations, theories of truth, and impersonal objectivity in discriminating and judging. Its primary value is Logos, and is symbolised most aptly by a cross, representing opposites held in the differentiated tension of an ordered state (Hill 1992: 13). The fundamental expressions of the static Masculine can be found in the tendencies towards social organisation in a hierarchical order (Hill 1992: 13). The static Masculine can be seen in the archetypal image of the Great Father (Good Father and Terrible Father) or King, holding symbols of power (Hill 1992: 13, Sullivan 1989: 18-9).

5 Cf De Castillejo 1973: 65-6, Guggenbuhl-Craig 1977: 49, Ulanov 1971: 203-5, Wolff 1956: 6, Woolger & Woolger 1990: 44-90, Zabriskie 1974: 34-45.

Some authors include and elaborate on the Amazon/Athena type as an orientation pattern in women.<sup>6</sup> Such women have allowed themselves to be defined by Masculine standards and values, either dictated by the carriers of the Masculine in a patriarchal world, men, authority, or by intellectual approaches (Kast 1997: 114). Amazon/Athena is frequently a defender of patriarchal rights and values, the status quo, and established norms and are often refer to as “patriarchal women”. Often devoted to work and productivity, she is over-conscientious and scrupulous concerning matters of morality, ethics, and values, while insisting on an impeccable persona adaptation that meets the demands and expectations of the established order (Hill 1992: 84, Kerenyi 1978: 77). Kast (1997: 114) observes that these women are more influenced by a pure Fatherly realm.

These Father’s Daughters want approval, which they obtain by obeying the Father and the Father’s rules. While potency is important, it is now measured by the ability to meet collective standards. In contrast to the more dynamic Masculine Amazon/Artemis-type woman, Amazon/Athena is realistic, pragmatic, and conforming. Schierse Leonard’s (1985: 60-84) perspectives make a strong contribution to the Amazon pattern by identifying four forms, namely Warrior Queen, Martyr, Dutiful Daughter, and Superstar.

The negative aspect of the static Masculine emerges when it is excessive and unbridled. Order and organisation for their own sake lead to complacency, rigidity, dehumanising righteousness, inauthenticity, brittleness, dryness, and lifelessness (Hill 1992: 16). In relation to women, the strong identification with the static Masculine usually denies them access to the more Feminine (static and dynamic) ways of being.

6 Cf Bolen 1985: 75-106, Bradway 1978: 28-42, De Castellijo 1973: 61-5, Guggenbuhl-Craig 1977: 49, Hill 1992: 13, Schierse-Leonard 1985: 60-84, Ulanov 1971: 205, Wolff 1956: 7, Woolger & Woolger 1990: 91-131, Zabriskie 1974: 34-45.

#### 1.4 The dynamic Feminine, its archetypal images, and modes of consciousness in women

The dynamic aspect of the Feminine principle stands opposite the static aspect of the Masculine principle (Hill 1992: 17). Whereas the static Masculine insists on reasoned Logos and order, the dynamic Feminine urges change and transformation. It encompasses the spontaneous flow of experience, undirected movement towards the new, non-rational, and playful. Open to the unexpected, it yields and is responsive to being acted upon.

At the human level, it finds expression in the archetypal images of Dionysius, Hermes, and the dancing Maenad. In its highest aspect, the dynamic Feminine creates new possibilities and combinations from the experience of transformed awareness (Hill 1992: 17). Its attributes involve participation, emotional involvement, ecstasy and process (Hill 1992: 20, Ulanov 1971: 159-60). It is symbolised most aptly by a spiral (Hill 1992: 20).

When in excess, the effects of the negative dynamic Feminine are altered states of consciousness which do not move beyond disintegration, despair, emptiness, and death. A lack of movement towards a new synthesis is then evident in negative transformations of identity diffusion, depression, moodiness, and dissolution (Hill 1992: 20, Ulanov 1971: 160-2).

The post-Jungian exposition of the archetypal image of Ereshkigal, a dark Feminine, in her knowledge of change and sacrifice, could serve as an apt description of the dynamic Feminine in women's individuation (Brinton Perera 1981: 78). On the one hand, Ereshkigal represents the healer and Medium while, on the other, it represents the abyss of transformation, annihilation, emptiness, depression, unrelatedness, and unconnectedness. This dark Feminine also embodies the knowledge that "all change and life demand sacrifice" (Brinton Perera 1981: 78). In this sense, this dark Feminine represents the dynamic Feminine quality of openness that leads to transformation and further individuation, often representing knowledge that "patriarchal morality and the fathers' eternally maiden daughters have fled from, wanting to do things right in order to avoid the



pain of bearing their own renewal, their own separate being and uniqueness” (Brinton Perera 1981: 78).

## 2. The formation and development of Afrikaner cultural identity and its influence on Afrikaner women, using Hill’s model of the Self

Hill (1992: 147-73) argues that the interplay of the Feminine and the Masculine is central to all human activity and can therefore also be used to understand the formation and development of cultural identities and patterns. The static Feminine/dynamic Masculine polarity underlies the matrivalent culture pattern, in which the static Feminine is at the centre of what is expressed in collective life. By contrast, the static Masculine/dynamic Feminine polarity underlies the patrivalent culture pattern, in which the static Masculine is at the centre of what is expressed in collective life (Hill 1992: 148).

The formation of the Afrikaner cultural identity can be traced back to the establishment of a new nation, called the Afrikaner *volk* (nation), in Southern Africa in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This nation consisted of European immigrants, mostly from The Netherlands, Germany, and France who landed at the Cape, the most southerly part of the country. Slowly, they spread their wings, founding remote rural settlements further afield, becoming known, first, as *Boere* (farmers) and, later, as Afrikaners (Leach 1989: 1). Over time, they formed a new identity, and maintained their society by means of the sharing and commonality of their experiences, language, history, and religion (cf Bornman 2001: 643, Van Jaarsveld 1978: 30). According to Le May (1995: 55), the word *volk* is used in the sense of “our own people” or, in the fullness of time, “we the Afrikaners”.

### 2.1 The static Feminine in the formation of the Afrikaner cultural identity – creating motherless Amazon women

While in Europe, these Dutch and French colonists were followers of the radically authoritarian doctrine of Calvinism, whose members strongly adopted the position of a persecuted minority. According to Faber (1990: 57), they had to defend themselves by means of armed

resistance against Catholic-inspired repression and even massacre before, ultimately, having to flee from “Mother Europe” for the sake of their own survival. The experiences of these immigrants constellated, in their collective psyche, the negative aspects of the static Feminine imaged in the *Terrible Devouring Mother* (due to insufficient experiences of the safety and security not provided by Mother Europe) (Faber 1990: 57).

As these immigrants found their independence in their new country cut short by the arrival of the British by the end of the eighteenth century (Leach 1989: 1), the perceived continuing threat of annihilation was reinforced. According to Faber (1990: 57), the British were perceived as the new agents of the “*Terrible Devouring/Persecution Mother*”, as they proceeded systematically to intensify the “threat” by the policy of Anglicisation, the emancipation of the slaves, and the equalisation of coloured people with white people (considered unacceptable by the Calvinistic *Boere*), and in conflict with the laws of God. Therefore, in order to escape British rule, the *Boere* started the Great Trek from the Cape in 1838 across the vast, rugged and untamed interior of South Africa to the North, pursuing a dream of white Afrikaner independence (Jacobs 2005: 20, Landman 1994: 3).

During these years, Afrikaner women suffered severe personal hardships, varying from restrictive physical and cultural circumstances in the suburbia of Cape Town to isolation and the realities of illness, murder, and death of families on border farms. This lack of security and safety, relating to survival and separation, were echoed strongly in Afrikaner women’s specific experiences.

Afrikaner women often empowered themselves in times of hardships through their religion and their fear of a male God (Father), albeit a very personal God (Landman 1994: 58). Thus, finding refuge in the Father world led to a “flight into the Masculine”. As a Father’s Daughter, unmothered under the static Feminine, she ranked her relationship with the Father above maternal bonds (Kerenyi 1978: 25). Thus, it could be argued that the archaic anxieties in the Afrikaner psyche were engendered by a violent Masculine protest against, and assault upon, inadequate static Feminine experiences, and would become clearly evident in the subsequent unfolding of the Afrikaner’s

cultural identity. This was the beginning of the constellation of the archetypal image of Amazon/Athena in the psyche of Afrikaner women. According to Greek mythology, Athena was a Greek goddess who regarded herself as *motherless* because she sprang from Zeus' head as a full-grown woman, wearing flashing gold armour, with a spear in one hand, emitting a mighty war cry.

## 2.2 The dynamic Masculine in Afrikaner cultural identity: creating pioneering Warrior Queens and active Martyrs

The *Boere's* Great Trek (1838) from the Cape into the interior, the Transvaal War of Independence (1880-1881), the Battle of Blood River, and the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) are often regarded as some of the major historical events which played a role in the formation of Afrikaner identity and culture (Laubscher 2005: 309). It can be speculated that these events reflect an Afrikaner cultural identity embedded, initially, in the dynamic Masculine (Hill 1992: 10-2), characterised by conquering, mastering, and the overcoming of obstacles, as the Afrikaners asserted themselves as a *volk*.

Leach (1989: 17) claims that the Great Trek is a focal point in Afrikaner history, an event which gave the *volk* its first sense of direction, after the settlers had drifted aimlessly for nearly two centuries. During this period, the *Voortrekkers* were exposed to extremely primitive living conditions and warlike situations, as they were met by the animosity of several native tribes. In one of these life-threatening, warlike situations, a group of *Voortrekkers* made a covenant with God, and won the Battle of Blood River against the Zulus, in the face of seemingly impossible odds. This incident remained a crucial component of Afrikaner identity, as it confirmed the idealistic paradigm, set out by the Dutch Reformed Church, that Afrikaners were distinct people, occupying a distinct fatherland, and endowed by God with a distinct destiny (Leach 1989: 29, Steyn 2001: 29).

Early indications of a particularly strong identification of Afrikaner women with Masculine (dynamic) strength and power can be found in stories relating to the periods of the Great Trek, and the Anglo-Boer War, where Afrikaner women (*Boerwroue*) are often portrayed as national heroines, able to shoot with "a heavy ten-bore shotgun",

handle the oxen, drive the wagon, and shoot for the pot (Cock 1991: 30, Landman 1996: 7). Part of the *Voortrekker* tradition is the theme of militant, pioneering (as the strong, determined Warrior Queen), but patriotic womanhood following the Afrikaner men into the interior of Africa. Frontier women, who spun thread, wove cloth, and made virtually everything that was worn by their families, embodied Amazon/Athena in her domestic realm (Bolen 1985: 81).

The “dark night” of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), so pivotal for Afrikaner cultural identity, occurred when this conquered, perceived to be very fragile and “persecuted” identity, and the nation itself, was almost stamped out by this battle. The period of deep suffering, trial, and affliction experienced inside and outside the British concentration camps further relates Afrikaner women’s experiences to courageous patriotic womanhood, courage, physical hardiness, heroism and self-sacrifice.<sup>7</sup> Amid the themes of their own sacrifice and suffering, these women insisted on, and supported, their husbands’ duties as defenders of their country and *volk*. They often insisted that the men should leave their families to protect and serve their country in times of crisis. Particularly relevant in this instance is Otto’s remark about Amazon/Athena (Bolen 1985: 84) – as the “ever near goddess” standing immediately behind her heroes in an invisible manner, whispering advice, counselling restraints, and giving them the edge over their rivals.

However, the archetypal image of the Amazon as the Martyr (Schierse Leonard 1985: 23) seems most prominent to Afrikaner women during these years, as these sacrifices were made with little self-pity but with a feeling of pride that, as women, they could suffer actively for their country.<sup>8</sup> They embraced every opportunity for suffering for their country and *volk* with praise and worship to their God.<sup>9</sup> The expectations, ideals of their God, country and *volk*, and abiding by these, became deeply important to Afrikaner women, as

7 Cf Cock 1991: 30, Hobhouse 1923: 73, Marais 1999: 257, Ploeger 1990: 6, 40.

8 Cf Cock 1991: 116, Landman 1996: 7, Marais 1999: 70, Moodie 1975: 17, Ploeger 1990: 4: 40.

9 Cf Alberts 2005: 264, Cock 1991: 116, Landman 1996: 7, Marais 1999: 70, Moodie 1975: 17, Ploeger 1990: 4: 40.

they identified increasingly with these ideals as their cultural identity evolved.

In terms of Hill's model of the Self, the countervailing influence of the dynamic Masculine (initiating pole) is the activation of the static Masculine (idealised pole). For Afrikaners, a period of integration under the auspices of the static Masculine was begun as a strategy against the perceived threats and to ensure survival and separateness. These structures and systems became pivotal to Afrikaner identity, accentuating specific aspects of the Amazon/Athena pattern in Afrikaner women.

### 2.3 The static Masculine in Afrikaner cultural identity: Amazon/Athena women as active patriots, "volksmoeders" (mothers of the nation), and Dutiful Daughters

The emergence of a particularly strong static Masculine consciousness, and the subsequent deepening of a patrivalent cultural pattern (Hill 1992: 163-7), were clearly evident in the historical events of the Afrikaner following the Anglo-Boer War. The presumption that Afrikaners could realise, maintain, and protect their cultural identity only through separation and isolation became entrenched in the static Masculine ideology of social structure and order which, in turn, became central in Afrikaner cultural identity.

The British "scorched earth" policy during the Anglo-Boer War left the Afrikaners as a defeated, uprooted, poorly educated, and impoverished *volk*,<sup>10</sup> while their language, culture, and sense of belonging were fractured (cf Giliomee 1979: 111 & 1981: 78, Leach 1989: 28-9). Their survival necessitated movement into unknown territory embodied in rapid urbanisation and the accumulation of capital. The message to the Afrikaner was that individuals would be able to survive and to have a feeling of self-worth and assertiveness only if they identified with their group and asserted themselves as a group (Giliomee 1981: 85).

10 Cf Alberts 2005: 33-9, Jacobs 2005: 24, Steyn 2001: 34, Wessels 2005: 13-6.

It was at this juncture in the history of the Afrikaner that the emergence of some of the characteristics of the patrivalent cultural pattern became evident. In static Masculine terms, the ethnic mobilisation of the *volk* necessitated the creation of a much stronger social order and structure within which the core of the Afrikaner's cultural identity – Afrikanerdom's ideologies, shared systems of meaning, and theories of truth – could prosper. This was achieved by the reinforcement of shared cultural symbols (for example, national anthem and South African flag), a common sense of history and heritage (for instance *braaiivleis*), a distinct language (Afrikaans replaced Dutch as one of the official languages), and the creation of an overriding religious structure.<sup>11</sup> The Calvinist ethic of pre-determinism and the belief in a "just world", where events are perceived according to the rationale of ultimate fairness, justified the white Afrikaans-speaking, patriarchal community (cf Landman 1996: 7, Moodie 1975: ix, Stones *et al* 1993: 116).

In an attempt to give guidance to the young Afrikaner women who had left the rural areas to work in factories in the urban areas, a role for Afrikaner women was created from idealised images of Afrikaner women, drawn from the exploits of *Voortrekker* women, and from the suffering of *Boer* women in the concentration camps. These women were given the role of *volksmoeders*, creating an identity of active patriotism and passive martyrdom (cf Brink 1990: 291, Maritz 2004: 59, Walker 1982: 17 & 1990: 280).

The Afrikaner women's role as *volksmoeder* came to form an integral part of Afrikaner nationalism, and was approved and enforced by Afrikaner leaders and the Dutch Reformed Church. They were depicted as the cornerstone of the household and as a central unifying force within Afrikanerdom. They were regarded as the hope of Afrikanerdom, with a deep love for their language and culture (Moodie 1975: 17, Ploeger 1990: 40:2), as well as the carrier of the Afrikaner culture and nationalist aspirations (Cock 1991: 105). Although the notion of the *volksmoeder* defies precise definition, it incorporated a clear role model for Afrikaner women, centred mainly on their home-

11 Cf Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 290, Heaven *et al* 2000: 67-71, Leach 1989: 30, Malan 1964: 154-85, Thompson 1990: 160.

making roles, with reproduction and the raising of Afrikaner children in the true civil faith as their primary function (cf Maritz 2004: 59, Moodie 1975: 17, Walker 1982: 17 & 1990: 280).

Afrikaner women, as *volksmoeders*, identified themselves increasingly with the ideals, structures, and expectations of the static Masculine (Great Father). Kerenyi's (1978: 25) remark that Amazon/Athena is regarded as her Father's right-hand woman, entrusted with his symbols of power, seems particularly relevant in this instance. She is also the sagacity of a mother who is completely focused on the Father, and oriented to the Father-right and to the dominant spirit of the Father. Thus, embedded in Amazon/Athena's image is the image of the sacrifice of young women, often literally for the protection and well-being of the fatherland or symbolically as they are initiated into marriage and motherhood for the purpose of generating and maintaining the future.

The Afrikaner's social order was further endorsed by official policies and rules of law when the National Party came into power in 1948. By means of the apartheid policy, the Afrikaner's social order was, at this time, taking the form of an ideological final solution for survival (Faber 1990: 58). The Afrikaner child was taught the Afrikaner system and its values, as well as the standards and expectations for individual achievement within Afrikanerdom, and was exposed to a reality which supported these values (cf Hill 1992: 95, Lambley 1980: 199, 201, 252, Thompson 1990: 198).

Afrikaner women did not feature prominently in any of the surge of events relating to major political, industrial, and social change during the twentieth century.<sup>12</sup> Viewed as the strength behind every man, who encouraged and supported the man, while being kept from participation in public life, they allowed themselves to be defined by Masculine standards and values, dictated by the carriers of the Masculine in a patriarchal world, namely men and authority. Afrikaner women were to be measured by their ability to meet these collective standards. Subsequently, the Afrikaner women's ego personality was governed by expectations of how she should behave and what she

12 Cf Brink 1990: 273, Landman 1994: 2, Maritz 2004: 63-4, Walker 1982: 9.

should achieve, rather than by self-motivation. Thus, by this time, the Amazon/Athena pattern of the Dutiful Daughter was powerfully active in Afrikaner women's collective identities. Obedience and duty were crucially important as they "mothered the nation", its ideals and standards. She adopted submissiveness and obedience to God and men in order to gain the favour and approval of the patriarchal culture (cf Brink 1990: 273, Landman 1996: 10, Maritz 2004: 61). Ulanov (1971: 205) notes that, in this pattern, the woman relates strongly with objective cultural values, often sharing the conscious ideals of patriarchal males.

The excesses and dominance of the static Masculine, with its negative implications of rigidity, dehumanising righteousness, complacency, and eventually lifelessness (as it suppresses spontaneity and creativity while blocking means of renewal) in the Afrikaner cultural identity are evident in the violent political reactions against the apartheid system. Although black resistance to apartheid was already evident in the mid-1940s, 1950s and 1960s, it was only in the 1970s that the African National Congress (ANC) began applying the effective strategy of popular mobilisation and mass protests against apartheid (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 307). The ensuing wars that followed in reaction to this violent political resistance were now construed as a definite "defending of" the country, as the nation reverted to the negative dynamic Masculine (violence and destruction) in the suppression of these threats.

Landman (1994: 2) agrees that Afrikaner women were enslaved socially and historically by their piety and their submissiveness. This enabled the men of the dominant culture to use female piety to engage them, often unknowingly, in male nationalist struggles. Cock (1991: 234) states that many white women contributed directly and indirectly, materially and ideologically, to the militarisation of South African society in the 1970s and 1980s. They fed the flames of violent conflict, partly through socialising boys into a strong, aggressive masculinity. Since masculinity was linked to militarism, the women were a vital source of emotional support and incentive to men to "act like men", whether in battle or during their national service. However, it is as wives that women were the most important source of



ideological legitimisation and emotional support. Wives of serving members of the South African Defence Force (SADF) automatically belonged to the Defence Force Ladies Association. This Association strove to promote sympathetic understanding and active support for the husband's duty as defender of the country (RSA 1982: 51); the key attribute of these SADF wives was deemed to be loyalty.

As the archetypal image of Amazon/Athena deepened in the psyche of Afrikaner women, as evidenced in the above experiences, they became instrumental, once again, in delivering warriors, their children, to defend the values entrenched in Afrikaner identity as they "mothered" these rights and values – emphasising and defending the norms and expectations of the established order (Hill 1992: 13). According to Kerényi (1978: 25), defence was central to Pallas Athena. This Father's Daughter is a defender of the "Father-right", that is, of patriarchal rights and values. Thus, she defied any force that would "invade" or challenge this stronghold of the paternal spirit. Amazon/Athena women, as so clearly exemplified by Afrikaner women, thus supported and protected the status quo and accepted unequivocally the established norms as guidelines for behaviour. Strongly influenced by their Fatherly realm, they believed that God had entrusted them with the task of bearing and raising Afrikaner children in the true civil faith, and that the Afrikaner woman held the future in trust on behalf of God and her People (Moodie 1975: 17).

Because patriarchal culture supports the static Masculine (Hill 1992: 163), Afrikaner "patriarchal women" were therefore respected and admired by their patriarchal participants for their devotion and obedience. Afrikaner women's reward was to become mothers of successful sons and daughters, serving the country and the Afrikaner. Thus, the Afrikaner woman moved easily from patriarchal *volksmoeder* to patriarchal mother and housewife (Maritz 2004: 59).

The patrivalent cultural pattern is characterised by constant tension between the tendency of the establishment viewpoint to become rigidified and complacently righteous (negative static Masculine) and the shock of innovation (dynamic Feminine) (Hill 1992: 165). The tension characteristic of an extreme polarisation of opposites – in this case, between the static Masculine/dynamic Feminine polarity

– which underlies the patrivalent cultural pattern, could not endure indefinitely. The extreme one-sidedness of the static Masculine led inevitably to a forceful constellation of the dynamic Feminine in its urge for change and renewal.

#### 2.4 The dynamic Feminine in the Afrikaner cultural identity – possible transformation in Afrikaner women and their identities

In the patrivalent cultural pattern, the dynamic Feminine is in the Shadow and tends to be carried by certain individuals or groups, such as artists, subcultures of the young, and social revolutionaries, who give it form and expression (Hill 1992: 165). The presence of the dynamic Feminine in the Shadow of the Afrikaner cultural identity became evident when writers, artists, actors, and comedians, questioned, attacked, or ridiculed Afrikaner cultural identity and the prevailing political system. In the early 1980s, in particular, it became apparent that the younger Afrikaner generation was to challenge their traditional Afrikaner identity and culture through “new” popular music and cultural movements (Laubscher 2005: 313). The image and identity of the Afrikaner, crafted and created by an older generation, was repudiated soundly in the words in many of these songs (Goodwin & Schiff 1995: 182).

The Afrikaner youth’s dissatisfaction with the *status quo* was made known in their desire to shock, to disturb the complacency of the establishment, and to awaken it to a new consciousness in the collective. The dynamic Feminine (as it compensates the static Masculine) awakened a crisis of meaning and authenticity, and took the form of a disintegration of orientation and values. “It was a performance of freedom from the group in order to unshackle and shed a burdened (and burdening) past” (Laubscher 2005: 316).

Simultaneously, the political emphasis in South Africa started to change to reconciliation and domestic dialogue (Steyn 2001: xxi). The National Party’s rule of forty years started to crumble, while the Dutch Reformed Church, which had justified apartheid, was expelled by the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. The ban on

liberation movements, such as the ANC, was lifted in early 1990 (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 396), culminating in the release of Nelson Mandela from prison and the first democratic election in South Africa in April 1994. Afrikaners lost their political power as a so-called “new South Africa” was created, forging a new nation from the bottom up. A new flag and national anthem blended diverse historic symbols and songs successfully (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 437).

Because of all these events, the scaffolding of the policies and laws regarding the Afrikaner’s identity, which had upheld and preserved the uniqueness of the Afrikaner, was removed, making it less easy for them to maintain their distinctiveness (Korf & Malan 2002: 151). A multitude of different “Afrikaner identities”, actively constructed by various groups of Afrikaans speakers, became evident (Steyn 2001: xxiii), resulting in a fragmented and ideologically contradictory construction of whiteness within the country, and a lack of consensus about whom and what the Afrikaner is (Louw-Potgieter 1988: 130, Steyn 2001: 155). Changes, losses, and collective guilt led to a process where Afrikaners had to renegotiate their identity (Steyn 2001: xxi-xxii), since it was clear that the dynamic Feminine demanded the sacrifice of the existing values of the Afrikaner in order to reach new levels of integration.

Afrikaner women, in particular, seemed to develop an identity crisis during these post-apartheid years, since the traditional religious values, embodied in the Dutch Reformed Church, and on which women based their roles as women and wives, became questionable. The rules and social order to which they, as the Father’s Dutiful Daughters, were submissive and obedient, and in the service of, seemed to disintegrate. According to Maritz (2004: 280-1), the Afrikaner woman was not yet in a position to master the new realities of the country she lived in. By reducing her to a role, persona, and qualities based on an abstract and idealistic view of her, some parts of her inner development could evidently have been sacrificed, denying her an authentic link to the Self, and to other relational possibilities (Schierse Leonard 1985: 145).

Thus, Afrikaner women (as a group) may have to realise some aspects of the Self that were suppressed by their cultural identity and their obedience to the strong authority of the Father. Being

patriarchal women, Amazon/Athena women often have feelings of being severed from the full range and intensity of human emotions, as they usually live above the instinctual level. Consequently, in order for a new consciousness to develop, it may become important for them to be more open to those aspects which may have been suppressed by their obedience to strong authority.

The deeper implication that the Amazon/Athena woman was never a child and never experienced being “mothered” could indicate possible avenues for further integration of the Self. Discovering the psychological ways of being, symbolised by the “lost child” and accompanying feelings of vulnerability, hope, newness, and creativity may be important. In addition, their relationship to the maternal archetype and unmothered selves – which, quite frequently, had been sacrificed in their roles of patriarchal obedient daughters – could also be explored. Thus, the Afrikaner woman’s transformation seems to involve softening, allowing the receptivity in herself (and, more authentically, to others), in order to unite with her already-developed strength in the creative expression of her feminine spirit. As she strives, under the change-inducing dynamic Feminine, to transform towards higher levels of integration in the static Feminine, the task of the Amazon/Athena Afrikaner woman seems to be

... finding the acceptance, strength and courage to face the world, not with absolute certainty, but with ‘question marks’ – question marks which, although they do not provide absolute control and omnipotence, do bring her the possibility of life and meaning (Schierse Leonard 1985: 65).

### 3. Conclusion

Within the premises of Hill’s (1992) model, it has been argued that Afrikaner cultural identity was forged from traumatic events in the static Feminine, constellating primal fears about survival and separation. This led to a “flight into the Masculine”, and the subsequent elevation of the Masculine, especially in its static form, in order to differentiate Afrikaners as a *volk*, and to ensure their future survival through the fierce protection of their separateness by creating a strong patrivalent cultural pattern. In due time, the devaluation of

the Feminine, and the manifestation of the negative aspects of the static Masculine, were clearly evident in the rigidity and dehumanising effects of the systems and legislation (characterised by apartheid) that supervised the social order of Afrikanerdom.

It has also been argued that the identity of Afrikaner women has been greatly embedded in the social and political contexts in which they were raised. It appears that Afrikaner woman's identity formation followed a similar pattern to that of her culture. In her case, the "flight into the Masculine" is reiterated as she formed her identity from a "pure and distant Father realm", defending the systems and the overall social order of *volk*, country, and God. As Father's Daughters, Afrikaner women functioned mainly from within the static Masculine as Amazon/Athena women (mostly as Dutiful Daughters and passive Martyrs), identifying with the role of *volksmoeders*, and being regarded as cornerstones of the patriarchal Father's social structures.

The change and transformation of the Afrikaner cultural identity, under the auspices of the dynamic Feminine, was inevitable. It has been argued that these changes will also reverberate in Afrikaner women. As the strong static Masculine orientation is replaced by a new wisdom concerning the nature and meaning of existence (Hill 1992), the un-lived potentialities in the Self of these women may urge recognition as a new wholeness in the static Feminine is formed. For Afrikaner women, it could mean finding new ways of reconciling their strengths with their repressed Feminine qualities – such as receptivity, and the discovering of their relationship to the maternal archetype and unmothered selves – so often sacrificed in their roles of patriarchal obedient Daughters.

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