Afriforum Jeug members' reaction to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement: An application of Earl Hopper's theory of the traumatogenic process

by

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DECLARATION

I, Bronwyn Erin Penny (15009612) declare that *Afriforum Jeug members' reaction to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement: An application of Earl Hopper's theory of the traumatogenic process* is my own original work except where I used or quoted another source, which has been acknowledged and referenced. This dissertation is submitted in partial fulfillment for the degree of Masters of Arts in Research Psychology at the University of Pretoria. It has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university.

Ms Bronwyn Erin Penny

25 /08 / 2021

SIGNATURE

DATE

ETHICS STATEMENT

I, Bronwyn Erin Penny, have obtained the applicable research ethics and approval for the research *Afriforum Jeug member's reaction to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement: An application of Earl Hopper's theory of the traumatogenic process* on *9 July 2021 (HUM034/1019)* from the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Pretoria.

Abstract

In 2016, a growing student movement recognised the continued availability of Afrikaans as an optional medium of instruction at the University of Pretoria as an exclusionary practice which diluted educational resources away from non-Afrikaans speaking students. This movement - which became known as the Afrikaans Must Fall Movement (AMF) - ultimately resulted in the removal of Afrikaans medium courses at the University of Pretoria (UP). This removal was heavily opposed by Afriforum and its student branch Afriforum Jeug (Youth), an organisation centred around the promotion of Afrikaans interests, including the promotion of Afrikaans and mother tongue education and the opposition of political interference in educational matters.

In defending against the removal of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction, Afriforum Jeug is defending against the loss of white privilege in preventing against the dismantling of an exclusionary white space that enables the disproportional allocation of educational resources. This defence should be understood in the context of the aftermath of the South African War, in which the whiteness of the Afrikaans people - as it is to be conceptualised as a social positioning of power - was challenged in their loss of that positioning post-war. This study seeks to examine the response of Afriforum Jeug to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement - and the dismantling of the white privilege perpetuated through Afrikaans as a language of instruction - as a reactionary response to their historical loss of white privilege post-war. This examination is conducted in line with Earl Hopper's (2003a) theory of the traumatogenic process, which states that the fear of annihilation - which is the fear of group dissolution or fragmentation - is the natural result of a group trauma. The trauma of the disenfranchisement of the Afrikaans people post-war has been internalised within Afriforum's social unconscious, and through the process of equivalence the threat to their white privilege posed by the AMF movement has been conflated with this original trauma, motivating Afriforum Jeug's response to the student movement.

In order to gain access to the traumatogenic process at work within the group's social unconscious, this study employed the method of Social Dream Drawing, a psychosocial research method designed to access the unconscious mind through the medium of participant drawing and discussion of dreams, centred around a predetermined theme, selected in this study to be "Being Afrikaans during Afrikaans Must Fall".

The data generated during the session was transcribed verbatim and analysed using thematic analysis. Analysis found four core themes centred on the construction of the Afrikaner identity as an expression of whiteness and Afriforum's protection of this whiteness in response to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement and demonstrated how Afriforum Jeug's opposition to the movement is a defence against the fear of annihilation triggered by equating the Afrikaans Must Fall movement with the original group trauma of Afrikaans disenfranchisement post the South African War.

The study ultimately demonstrated the means by which Afriforum Jeug's opposition is an attempt to reassert and perpetuate a neo-nationalist construction of Afrikaner identity based on an exclusionary 'volk' narrative, and in doing so legitimising a white space, the continuation of which serves as a maintaining force for white privilege. In uncovering the mechanisms, both conscious and subconscious, by which white spaces are legitimised this study empowers open engagement with - and ultimate dismantling of - these spaces.

Keywords: social unconscious, Social Dream Drawing, Afrikaans Must Fall, Afriforum Jeug, whiteness, traumatogenic process.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter serves as an introduction to the study. Firstly, a historical context to whiteness is provided, detailing how conceptions of Afrikaans whiteness have evolved and led to a political environment necessitating student anti-exclusionary movements. These student movements are examined in the following section, which tracks the journey from the #RhodesMustFall movement at the University of Stellenbosch to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement at the University of Pretoria, and the consequent backlash from Afriforum Jeug (Youth). The history and current context of Afriforum Jeug is explained in detail, as well as the ways in which Afriforum Jeug and their response to Afrikaans Must Fall serve to perpetuate white privilege. The examination of this perpetuation then leads to a justification for this study, and a declaration of the research questions explored within this study. Finally, the methodology employed in that exploration is briefly touched upon, to be expanded upon in later chapters.

Prior to providing this historical context, it is necessary to clarify certain key terms fundamental to the study.

1.2 Key terms

While the concept of "race" is an essentialist social construction without any scientific legitimacy, it constitutes a material reality and as such holds real consequences (Siebers, 2016). In attempting to understand and criticise these consequences, as I intend to do in this study, it is necessary to understand how racial categories are employed within society. As Meer (2014, p. 117) points out, to ignore race is to "ignore how racial categories are embedded in the routine practices of society".

While one recognises that racial concepts are essential, that does not permit one to employ an essentialist viewpoint when studying the material effects of racial constructions. To do so would be an implicit validation of the concept of a unifying

racial identity, which has been used to legitimise the oppression and separation of some individuals based on their assignment to such an identity (Siebers, 2016). Consequently, it is highly important that we examine racial categories in such a way that is cognizant of the relevant social-historical context. As this study takes place within the context of South Africa, I am using racial terms in the way that they are understood and practiced within South African society:

• "Black" refers to those individuals who would have historically been classified as "Bantu" by the Apartheid government, and still experience the legacy of the discriminatory Apartheid practices as a result of this classification. This "Bantu" classification is understood as emerging from and informed by historical racial categorisations enforced by a colonial government as a means of defining difference in the colonising and colonised body and using this as a means of justifying the racially discriminatory management of this difference (Pierce & Rao, 2006). Colonial definitions of White and Black were thus reflections of privilege or disenfranchisement respectively, setting the stage for the continued enforcement of this power difference through Apartheid racial classification legislature (Pierce & Rao, 2006). These racial categories continue to organise and shape the material realities of South Africans today (Du Plessis, 2021)

• "White" refers to those individuals who would have historically been classified as such by the Apartheid government, and still experience the legacy of the privileges that those classified as "white" received during Apartheid.

• "Whiteness" in the context of this study is understood in terms of Steyn's (2001) definition of whiteness as a social positionality, occupied by those of European descent, which affords its occupiers the economic and social privileges accrued through European colonial expansion and the resultant promotion of racial superiority that afforded those designated as white greater access to societal resources and opportunities. The economic, social, cultural, and political dimensions of this social positionality have been normalised, thus positioning whiteness as the benchmark against which other races are compared and consequently "othered". This normalisation is self-perpetuating, and is a process of the racial power afforded to

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whiteness. This racial power refers to "the racial status quo's systemic tendency towards self-reproduction. {Racial power] finds concrete political, economic, social, and cultural processes that tend cumulatively to perpetuate White dominance" (Kim, 2000, p. 2).

• "Afrikaans" and "Afrikaner" refers to those individuals who occupy the status of "white" as defined above while also self-identifying as belonging to an "Afrikaans" group in which membership is defined by shared Dutch Cape heritage.

• "Ethnicity" refers to the degree to which a person self-identifies as belonging to a specific group that is in some way related to their origin, rather than the external classification of a group based on physical, geographical, or genealogical attributes.

• "Culture" refers then to the manifestation of defensive practices employed by an ethnic group.

It is also necessary at this point to briefly introduce and define two key theoretical concepts which will be further explored in the Theoretical Orientation chapter:

• The social unconscious is understood in Hopper's explanation as:

> "[referring to] the existence of and constraints of social, cultural and communicational arrangements of which people are unaware; unaware, in so far as these arrangements are not perceived (not known), and if perceived not acknowledged (denied), and if acknowledged, not taken as problematic ("given"), and if taken as problematic, not considered with an optimal degree of detachment and objectivity" (Hopper, 1997, p. 9).

• In this study, the social unconscious is explored as it exists within a 'large group', a concept defined by Volkan as the subjective experience shared amongst individuals who perceive themselves as belonging to the same group- a group which may be based on ethnic, national, cultural or religious connections or on social categories such as class or educational status (Volkan, 2001). This perception of belonging

requires that group members consider their shared connection as being significant to their personal identity and as shaping their experiences in some meaningful way

• In referring to trauma in the context of the group social unconscious, the researcher is referring to Volkan's conceptualisation of the chosen trauma as an ancestral experience in which the group suffered shared loss or humiliation which has remained within the group's social unconscious (Volkan, 2001)

1.3 Afrikaans whiteness in the historical context

The Voortrekker Monument, standing atop a hill south of Pretoria, officially serves as a public celebration of the cultural narrative surrounding the Great Trek of the Afrikaans people in the mid 1800's. Moreover, it represents the creation of a new Afrikaans identity - its construction corresponding with a political struggle over what that identity would be. In 1934, 3 years after construction on the monument began, the National Party split into two, divided by belief of what an Afrikaans whiteness should mean (Crampton, 2001). The first offshoot - the United Party -sought to subordinate Afrikaans political interests in favour of a united white South African identity, as its members felt that the issues of white Afrikaans and English South Afrikaans were common to one another (Crampton, 2001). The second offshoot, the Purified National Party (Gesuiwerde Nasionale Party), stood for Afrikaans issues, which they explained as originating from Afrikaans discrimination and oppression at the hands of the British post the South African War (Crampton, 2001).

During the construction of the monument, in 1938, the ruling United Party hosted a re-enactment of the Great Trek - culminating at the construction site of the monument - to celebrate its centenary (Norval, 1996). While the re-enactment was visualised by the United Party as a means of reinforcing a shared identity of whiteness among Afrikaans and English South Afrikaans, the affair ironically became a celebration and reinvention of a folkloric and heroic Afrikaner history (Crampton, 2001). Norval (1996)

credits the devotion of the Afrikaans public to the recreation of this heroic history to a need to overcome lingering feelings of inadequacy and insecurity within the Afrikaans cultural identity following the oppression they faced during and in the years after the South African War. By the time the Voortrekker Monument was inaugurated in 1949, the United Party had been overtaken as governing party by the Reunited National Party (an amalgamation of the Purified United Party and an Afrikaans nationalist offshoot of the United Party - later renamed the National Party) in 1948, indicating a majority investment among voters in the reinforcement of singular Afrikaans nationalist identity. The Voortrekker Monument came to be an embodiment of the Afrikaans nation state, a defending fort overlooking the city of Pretoria – and the Union Buildings as the ultimate seat of Afrikaans nationalist government power – that represented a "defiant and defining symbol of Afrikanerdom" within the "urban landscapes of power" (Grundlingh, 2009, p.160). Concurrently, the Voortrekker Monument became a symbol of this nationalist construction of a singular Afrikaans identity, embodying the revisionist narrative of the Voortrekkers that forms the basis of the 'volk' (folk) identity, an idealistic conception of Afrikaansness rooted in perceptions of racial, ethnic, and patriarchal superiority (Steenkamp, 2015). The 'volk' identity, which positions Afrikaners as the natural and deserving leader and thus the centre of societal concern, was consequently used as a justification for the Apartheid policies implemented in the coming years of National Party rule, which worked towards the promotion of white and Afrikaans interests and development at the expense and direct subjugation of black lives (Steyn, 2004).

While the Apartheid regime later toppled, the Voortrekker Monument remains, and with it the conceptions of whiteness as a birth right that are perpetuated by the 'volk' history the monument commemorates. It is these conceptions of whiteness that the South African student protests sought to dismantle, and in doing so uproot the deeply entrenched educational systems built upon these conceptions, which continue to promote white interests over any other.

1.4 The Rhodes Must Fall and Fees Must Fall student movement in South Africa

On March 5, 2015, a student movement began at the University of Cape Town, calling for the removal of a statue commemorating colonialist figure Cecil John Rhodes (Hlophe, 2015). These calls occurred within the context of the continuing global movement against statues and monuments commemorating legacies of racial injustice. Calls to remove the statue were not only about removing the symbolism of white supremacy and black oppression inherent in the statue itself, but also about challenging the still present institutional white exclusivity within the university system by transforming the colonial curriculum and alienating financial pressures which served to disadvantage and hinder black university students (Hlophe, 2015). This movement, which came to be known as the #RhodesMustFall movement, led to a wider movement of educational decolonisation throughout South Africa (Kamanzi, 2015).

One such movement stemming from the #RhodesMustFall movement is the 2015 #OpenStellenbosch movement which saw the University of Stellenbosch's language policy as privileging Afrikaans students (Peterson, 2015). While the movement saw the university's prioritisation of Afrikaans-medium classes as exclusionary in limiting the access of non-Afrikaans speaking students to educational resources, it also saw this prioritisation of the Afrikaans language as influencing the culture of the University at large - particularly in terms of establishing university residential cultures as white, Afrikaans spaces which were perceived as unwelcoming or even hostile to black students (Peterson, 2015). This is an example of how language can be a tool of colonisation within universities as it informs the creation and continuation of cultural spaces which serve to elevate white academic success at the expense of black exclusion. The removal of the Afrikaans language as a criterion for accessing certain educational resources aids in the decolonisation of tertiary education as it dismantles the barriers of white spaces that have historically (and currently) hindered the progression of the black student in academia.

The racism and exclusion experienced by black Stellenbosch students within these white spaces - with specific reference to the role that Afrikaans being the main medium of education played within these experiences -were documented in a student film

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entitled Luister which was created in collaboration with the Open Stellenbosch movement (Nicolson, 2015). The film sparked public outcry, with demands from the Minister of Higher Education and Training that University Council address the issues presented in the documentary (Nkwanyana, 2015). Ultimately, Stellenbosch University created a new language policy which afforded equal status to English and Afrikaans (Schroeder, 2017).

This movement to decolonise universities through the removal of exclusionary language practices continued throughout the country. Three of the country's universities - namely the University of Pretoria (UP), the University of the Free State (UFS), and the University of South Africa (UNISA) - announced plans to remove Afrikaans as a medium of instruction and only offer courses in English. In February of 2015, the University of Pretoria (UP) created a Language Policy Task Team in order to review the institution's language policy and determine if it was still reflective of the current demographics of the university (South African History Online, 2016). Classes and assessment opportunities were available in both Afrikaans and English, despite the fact that only approximately 17% of the University's students utilised Afrikaans as their medium of instruction (South African History Online, 2016). In February of 2016 the UP based student division of the Economic Freedom Fighters political party began to voice their dissent against Afrikaans being offered as an optional medium of instruction at UP, claiming that this fostered a campus culture rooted in Afrikaans norms, which served to alienate students who did not align themselves with the Afrikaans culture (Makhetha, 2016; South African History Online, 2016). This dissent escalated into a movement to remove the Afrikaans language from UP campuses and residences, and the movement became known as the Afrikaans Must Fall movement (South African History Online, 2016).

1.5 Afriforum Jeug's response to the Afrikaans Must Fall student movement

Afriforum describes itself as a non-governmental, non-profit organisation formed with the goal of protecting the rights of the Afrikaans minority group within South Africa (Afriforum, n.d.). It was established in 2006 as an independent initiative of the

Solidarity trade union with the intention of promoting Afrikaans participation in public debate and civil action. Solidarity was originally established in 1902 as the Mine Workers Union, which sought to defend job reservation for white South Africans within the mining industry (Visser, 2002). Although the union no longer restricts membership based on race, it states one of its beliefs as fighting for the "rights of minorities in the country and specifically for those excluded from government's affirmative action programs" (Solidariteit, n.d.). In this statement Solidarity, and by extension Afriforum, implicitly reveals their interest in the protection of white capital, as they undermine the legitimacy of the affirmative action programmes put in place to rectify South Africa's historically unbalanced resource distribution. Such political positions, if they remain unconfronted, serve to perpetuate the racially discriminative socio-economic structures that remain in place from the legacy of the Apartheid regime.

Afriforum Jeug (Youth) was established in 2008 as the official student division of Afriforum with branches at multiple higher education institutions within South Africa. The organisation describes itself as "based on Christian values" and lists their mission as "to be a meeting place for young Afrikaners on campuses "and in towns where Afriforum structures have been established, and to act as spokesperson in cases where young people are discriminated against, where they are deprived of mother-tongue education and where their constitutional rights are violated; to strive for the development of Afrikaans and Afrikaner traditions, and also offers training to young people to enable them to take a stand on issues that affect their future." (Afriforum Jeug, n.d.). Afriforum Jeug cites one of their objectives as an organisation as "the promotion of Afrikaans and mother tongue education" and the opposition of "political interference in educational matters" (Afriforum Jeug, n.d.).

The UP Afriforum Jeug branch announced their opposition to the removal of Afrikaans and began to organise protests against amending the language policy (South African History Online, 2016). These protests led to increasing tension between Afriforum Jeug and those students supporting the Afrikaans Must Fall movement, culminating in multiple incidences of violence between the two groups (South African History Online, 2016). Ultimately, the Language Policy Task Team decided to remove Afrikaans as a

medium of instruction at UP – a decision which Afriforum continues to protest, going so far as to pursue legal action against UP in an attempt to get the Court to overrule the university's decision (South African History Online, 2016).

Having stemmed from the Miners Union which, as mentioned above, served to promote job reservation for white mine workers, Afriforum continues this tradition of enforcing white privilege through the protection of white economic capital. The group vehemently opposes land expropriation without compensation, claiming that the narrative that "whites stole the land" is the "biggest historical fallacy of our time", and that the move towards land expropriation is an attempt by the government to "move South Africa down the path of socialism" which would be "disastrous" (Roets, 2018). By opposing expropriation, Afriforum protects the monopoly on agricultural land ownership held by white people, thereby protecting white monopoly capital. Afriforum is also vocal about its opposition to racial quotas, and Afriforum Jeug states "exemption of youth from affirmative action" and "the mobilisation of youth against race-based quotas" as forming part of their objectives (Afriforum Jeug, n.d.). These policies are intended to equalise economic opportunities which have historically been disproportionately available to white South Africans. In fighting against these policies, Afriforum thus attempts to prevent this equalisation of opportunities and thereby promotes the continuation of disproportional white economic capital. By protecting white economic capital, Afriforum protects white privilege. Sue (2006) refers to white privilege, white supremacy and Whiteness as interlocking forces which disguise racism and allow for the unconfronted oppression of black people. By protecting white privilege - and whiteness, which will be explored further in the literature review - Afriforum aids in the creation of a social environment which is oppressive to black people.

1.6 Research justification and aims

I propose that it is, essentially, the loss of this white privilege that is at the root of Afriforum's chosen trauma. As will be discussed further, Afrikaans South Africans suffered a devasting loss of power following their defeat in the South African War (1899

- 1902) and lost their status as an independent republic. After surrendering the Second Boer War to the British troops in 1902, the two Boer republics (South African Republic and Orange Free State) were made to sign the Treaty of Vereeniging – pledging allegiance to the crown and falling under the rule of the British Empire (South African History Online, 2019).

This military defeat followed a barbaric strategy implemented by Lord Kitchener as a means of curtailing the roaming troops of Boer commandos who continued their defence of the Boer Republic following the defeat of the traditional, organised Boer armies (Jewell, 2003). Kitchener's strategy entailed the attack of Boer families and supporters, burning their farms and killing their livestock, before interning the displaced Boer civilians into concentration camps (Jewell, 2003). The captured civilians, women and children faced extremely poor living conditions. Overcrowding, insufficient shelter that left the camp prisoners exposed to harsh weather conditions, minimal medical care and insufficient and low-quality food supply resulted in the spread of disease and a high mortality rate (Jewell, 2003). Ultimately, a reported 27 927 people died in the concentration camps, with the significant majority of these deaths being children (South African History Online, 2011).

The purpose of Kitchener's strategy was two-fold. Firstly, it sought to undercut any assistance or sustenance available to Boer commandos from their families or burghers supporting their cause (Jewell, 2003). Secondly, it sought to psychologically undermine their will to continue to fight, as a result of their anxiety and grief over the displacement of their families (Jewell, 2003). This psychological attack proved to be a miscalculation however, as rather than breaking the spirits of the Boer commandos, it strengthened their anger and resolve (Jewell, 2003). Furthermore, even following the defeat of the Boer Republic, the deaths in the concentration camps gave the disenfranchised Afrikaans people "common victims to mourn and common grievances to nurture" and became a "shared national tragedy" from which Afrikaans nationalists constructed a common identity (Grundlingh, 1992, p. 44).

Resentment building from the loss of the war, as well as the atrocities committed by the British troops against Boer women and children, combined with High Commissioner Lord Milner's attempts to anglicise South Africa through the encouragement of British immigration to South Africa and the establishment of so

called Milner schools intended to provide British South Africans with an English education, lead to the rise of anti-British sentiments among the Afrikaans population (Van der Merwe, 2008). It is this anti-British attitude which is often understood as a contributing factor to the fostering of Afrikaans nationalism leading up to the 1948 election of the Afrikaner ethnic nationalist party, the National Party (Van der Merwe, 2008).

If Whiteness is to be understood as the occupation of a privileged position in society, then the Whiteness of the Afrikaans people was challenged in their loss of that position post-war. A minority of the Afrikaans people, focusing in this study specifically on Afriforum, then internalised this as their chosen trauma, manifesting as the fear of annihilation. Earl Hopper (2003a) states that the fear of annihilation – which is the fear of group dissolution or fragmentation - is the natural result of a group trauma. In terms of Afriforum within the context of Afrikaans Must Fall, this fear presents as the concern that the Afrikaans language and identity is under threat of eradication. This fear is evident in Afriforum's articles about the removal of Afrikaans as a language of instruction at tertiary institutions, which refer to the "anti-Afrikaans wave that currently washes over the country's university campuses" (Venter, 2018) and the "attacks on Afrikaans on our campuses" (Brits, 2017) - indicating that the removal of Afrikaans as a language of instruction is being perceived as a hostile attack on Afrikaans. They reassure their members that despite "Universities' decision to abolish Afrikaans as a medium of education", "Afrikaans is still not dead" - which implies that the removal of Afrikaans as a language of instruction is an attempt to 'kill' or annihilate Afrikaans as a whole (Pretorius, 2017). One article published by Afriforum explicitly refers to the importance that Afrikaans as a language holds for an Afrikaner in providing "meaning for his existence and identity construction", and how this importance was strengthened after the "humiliation and losses suffered during the Anglo-Boer War [South African War]" as the Afrikaans language was shown to play a symbolic role in the Afrikaans people regaining "self-respect and maintain[ing] group identity" (Jordaan, 2018). Here, the fear of annihilation is most clear, as the removal of Afrikaans from universities is linked to the removal of a symbol which maintains an Afrikaans group identity. This fear of annihilation is explicitly linked to the original trauma that I have proposed, the loss of a social positioning of power, or white privilege, following the South African

War. In defending against the removal of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction, Afriforum is defending against the loss of white privilege in preventing against the dismantling of an exclusionary white space that enables the disproportional allocation of educational resources. It is critical to understand and confront this protection of white privilege because, as mentioned above, the continuation of white privilege allows for the continuation of the oppression of black people. This is why, in understanding Afriforum Jeug's reaction to the AFM movement - and by extension their defence of white privilege - it is necessary to understand the working of the traumatogenic process within their social unconscious.

1.7. Research questions

With this aim in mind, the research questions for this study can be formulated as follows:

1. *How can Earl Hopper's theory of the traumatogenic process be applied in order to explain Afriforum Jeug's reaction to the 2016 Afrikaans Must Fall movement?*

Using Social Dream Drawing, this study seeks to map the Afriforum Jeug's response to the 2016 Afrikaans Must Fall movement as it aligns with Hopper's traumatogenic process - identifying the root trauma within the groups social unconscious, discussing the equivalence process through which the group has unconsciously conflated this root trauma with the Afrikaans Must Fall movement, and exploring the defence mechanisms employed by Afriforum Jeug in response to the fear of annihilation that results from this equivalence process.

2. *How can the strong negative reaction demonstrated by Afriforum Jeug towards the 2016 Afrikaans Must Fall movement be explained as a defensive response to the*

recreation of the trauma of the South African War as described within Earl Hopper's theory of the traumatogenic process?

In identifying the oppression of the Afrikaner people during the South African War as the root trauma within Afriforum Jeug's social unconscious, and therefore the trauma that they are conflating the Afrikaans Must Fall movement with during the equivalence process, this study examines the defensive mechanisms manifested in the negative reaction of Afriforum Jeug towards the Afrikaans Must Fall movement as a response to this equivalence. In doing so, this study specifically critiques the role that perceptions of whiteness and white privilege play within Afriforum Jeug's experience of their root trauma, and the ways in which the defensive mechanisms employed in their response to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement serve as a means of protecting white privilege.

1.8. An introduction to the theoretical orientation

These defensive mechanisms are understood as operating from the group's social unconscious, a psychoanalytical concept defined by Earl Hopper (Hopper, 1997, p. 9) as "[referring to] the existence of and constraints of social, cultural and communicational arrangements of which people are unaware; unaware, in so far as these arrangements are not perceived (not known), and if perceived not acknowledged (denied), and if acknowledged, not taken as problematic ("given"), and if taken as problematic, not considered with an optimal degree of detachment and objectivity". These constraining arrangements function as a shaping force in determining a shared way of being within a group, and it is through exploring the intrapsychic arrangements that shape Afriforum's construction of the Afrikaner identity that one is able to explore the workings of the group's social unconscious.

In exploring these workings, this study draws on Hopper's (2003a) theory of the traumatogenic process, which states that the fear of annihilation – which is the fear of group dissolution or fragmentation- is the natural result of a group's chosen trauma. The chosen trauma refers to an ancestral experience in which the group suffered

shared loss or humiliation, an experience which remains within the social unconscious for generations through the process of transgenerational transmission achieving a significance which extends beyond the events of the original trauma and become integral to the group's conception of a shared identity (Volkan, 2001). According to the theory of the traumatogenic process, this chosen trauma is unconsciously recreated within a group's social unconscious in the group's equating of a new experience with the original trauma (Hopper, 2003a).

The trauma of the disenfranchisement of the Afrikaans people post the South African war has been internalised within Afriforum's social unconscious as the group's chosen trauma, and through the process of equivalence the threat to their white privilege posed by the Afrikaans Must Fall movement has been conflated with this original trauma, motivating Afriforum Jeug's response to the student movement. In response to this equation, the group experiences a fear of annihilation – a fear that is guarded against by the employment of defensive mechanisms which can be categorised under the broad classes of aggregation or massification.

Defensive mechanisms falling under the aggregation response are characterised by the excessive individualisation of group members and pulling away from or distancing oneself from the group, while those falling under the massification response are characterised by a loss of individuality and the subsumption of the individual member into the totality of the group (Hopper, 2003a). It is through the examination of the defensive mechanisms employed by Afriforum Jeug in response to the fear of annihilation, triggered in the equating of the Afrikaans Must Fall movement with Afrikaans disenfranchisement post-war, that this study seeks to understand the group's reactionary response to the movement.

1.9. Methodology

In exploring the social unconscious, this study operates within the paradigm of psychosocial studies. Psychosocial studies utilise psychoanalytic concepts and theories to examine the duality of the individual as a subject that is both constructed

and constructing (Clarke & Hoggett, 2018). Unified in this approach to the psychosocial subject, psychosocial studies constitute a cluster of methodologies which aim towards uncovering the "unconscious communications, dynamics, and defences" underlying the discourse surrounding a psychosocial issue (Clarke & Hoggett, 2009, p. 12).

The specific psychosocial method employed in this study to uncover the defences underlying Afriforum Jeug's response to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement is Social Dream Drawing, a research method designed to access the unconscious mind through the medium of participant drawing and discussion of dreams, centred around a predetermined theme – chosen in this context to be "Being Afrikaans during Afrikaans Must Fall" (Mersky, 2017).

The data generated from the Social Dream Drawing session is engaged with through thematic analysis to identify meaningful patterns, which are then organised into an explanatory framework of the traumatogenic process underlying Afriforum Jeug's response to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement and unpacked as a defence of the construction of Afrikaans whiteness – examining the responses of the group as both informed by Afrikaans whiteness and as informing it.

1.10 Overview of the chapters

This mini-dissertation is divided into six chapters. **Chapter 2** explores the underlying theory of the social unconscious, conceptualising the social unconscious within the context of Afriforum Jeug's reaction to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement. Specific attention is paid to Hopper's theory of the traumatogenic process as the theoretical framework of this study, and to the chosen methodology of Social Dream Drawing as a means of examining this process within the social unconscious of Afriforum.

Chapter 3 explores the literature around Critical Race Theory and whiteness studies and examines the construction of whiteness within the context of the Afrikaner, and

particularly as perpetuated by Afriforum, linking this to how Afriforum Jeug's response to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement serves to perpetuate the construct of Afrikaans whiteness.

Chapter 4 describes the qualitative design of the study as well as the psychosocial framework that the methodology emerges from and details the methodological approach of Social Dream Drawing and the processes involved in data collection and data analysis. The issues of trustworthiness, ethical considerations and reflexivity are also addressed in this chapter.

Chapter 5 details the findings generated from a close analysis of the three dreams and dream drawings which are also presented in the chapter. The findings are conveyed in terms of four core themes which unpack the construction of Afrikaans whiteness and how Afriforum Jeug's response to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement is a means of defending this construction and organises these findings into an explanatory framework using Hopper's (2003a) theory of the traumatogenic process.

Finally, **Chapter 6** provides a comprehensive summation of the study's findings and details the limitations of the study as well as recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

2.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the underlying theory of the study, namely the concept of the social unconscious. It begins with a historical overview of the conceptualisation of the social unconscious, specifying how the various facets of this conceptualisation present in Afriforum Jeug's reaction to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement. Specific attention is paid to Hopper's theory of the traumatogenic process, which forms the theoretical framework of this study. The chapter concludes with a discussion on how the chosen method of this study, Social Dream Drawing, lends itself to the exploration of the social unconscious.

2.2 'Defining' the social unconscious

The term 'social unconscious' was first put forward by Foulkes. Using psychoanalytic concepts, Foulkes theorised that an individual's unconscious is largely determined by the society in which they live. This process of shaping is at first done through the individual's parents, as they impart upon the child the cultures, values and practices of the society, and the process is later continued through the members and aspects of society with whom the individual interacts (Foulkes, 1948). This process can occur both verbally and non-verbally and can be explicit or implicit. Foulkes coined the term 'the social unconscious' in an effort to indicate the inherent role of socialisation and society within our unconscious lives (Doron, 2014).

The concept of the social unconscious remained unclearly defined until 1997, when Hopper explained it as "[referring to] the existence of and constraints of social, cultural and communicational arrangements of which people are unaware; unaware, in so far as these arrangements are not perceived (not known), and if perceived not acknowledged (denied), and if acknowledged, not taken as problematic ("given"), and if taken as problematic, not considered with an optimal degree of detachment and

objectivity" (Hopper, 1997, p. 9). Hopper is using the 'constraints' here not only in the inhibitory sense but also to indicate development – of world views, values, cultures – within the framework of one's society, culture and community. With this definition Hopper makes an important distinction – the term social unconscious is not meant to imply the existence of an actual collective 'mind' within social groups, rather it is a reference to the shared social and cultural processes existing within a group which impact on the individual minds of the group members.

2.3 The Orthodox and radical Foulkes

Shortly after Hopper defined the social unconscious, Dalal expanded upon this delineation in his critique of Foulkes' use of the term. Dalal objected to Foulkes' implication that the social unconscious exists concurrently with an individual unconscious which is removed from the social. Dalal maintains that the social unconscious is, in fact, a resolution to the perceived dichotomy between the social and the individual (Dalal, 2001). To illustrate the difference between these two approaches to the social unconscious, Dalal differentiated between an Orthodox Foulkes and a Radical Foulkes. The Orthodox Foulkes talks of the social unconscious as separate from the Freudian unconscious – the existence of which he still perpetuates. In other words, the Orthodox Foulkes still believes that there is an unconscious aspect of the individual which remains unpenetrated by the social (Dalal, 2001). In contrast, the Radical Foulkes argues that even those aspects of the unconscious which appear to belong solely to the individual are in fact forged from the social context in which that individual exists. Thus, the dichotomy between individual and social does not exist, as the individual is the internalisation of the social. The social unconscious, in the radical view, cannot be compartmentalised or separated from the individual as a singular aspect of the psyche, but rather informs all aspects of the psyche. In demonstrating this, Dalal refers to a sociological study of the dynamics between two large-groups within an English village conducted by Elias and Scotson (1994). The first group was a more established community known as the Village, and the second a group of relative newcomers known as the Estate (Elias and Scotson, 1994). Elias and Scotson found that, within the social unconscious of the Village, their perception of the in-group was globally positive and their perception of the out-group, the Estate, globally negative. Consequently, their social unconscious informed their perceptions of their

social world, in that they interpreted their interactions with the out-group through this filter of global we-positive and global them-negative (Elias and Scotson, 1994). However, the maintenance of these global positive and negative perceptions within the social unconscious of the Village group were only possible through the social power associated with their greater establishment in the area in comparison to the Estate group, affording them the social currency to edit the narratives around the inter-group interactions to minimise and erase negative aspects of the Village group and highlight negative aspects of the Estate group (Elias and Scotson,1994). Ultimately, the Village group had the social power necessary to "manufacture and sustain [the] mythologies" dominating their social unconscious, which in turn framed their perceptions and interaction with the social word – demonstrating the intrinsic relation of the social and the individual (Dalal, 2001, p. 553).

Over a decade later, Parker provided some insight into Hopper's definition, focusing on his use of the term 'constraints' and linking this to Dalal's Radical Foulkesian view of the individual and the social as intrinsic to one another (Parker, 2014). If one were to subscribe to the Orthodox Foulkesian view, one could characterise the individual as internal, separate from the social which could be characterised as external. Parker argues against this separation and rather considers the internal and external experience as tantamount. Thus, our perceptions and judgements of the external are not immaculately conceived within the individual but rather exist already as social formations – such as discourses - and are ingested by the individual, forming the basis of all internal as well as external experience. Parker posits that it is to these social formations that Hopper is referring when he uses the term 'constraints' (Parker, 2014).

2.4 The social unconscious and the group identity

The concept of the social unconscious as it exists within a large group was first explored by Volkan, who thus shifted the focus of discussions on the social unconscious from the small therapy group to the large group, which exists organically within the real-world context. When discussing the large group, Volkan utilises the concept of a 'large group' which he defines as the subjective experience shared

amongst individuals who perceive themselves as belonging to the same group- a group which may be based on ethnic, national, cultural or religious connections or on social categories such as class or educational status (Volkan, 2001). This perception of belonging requires that group members consider their shared connection as being significant to their personal identity and as shaping their experiences in some meaningful way. Afriforum is thus a large group identity, in which the shared perception of belonging amongst group members is based not only on a shared Afrikaans identity, but also on the shared perception that this Afrikaansness is significant and differentiates them from non-group members in a meaningful way. Within the context of this study, this shared Afrikaans identity or Afrikaansness refers to a neo-nationalist construction of Afrikanerhood rooted in mythologisations of a 'volk' narrative as perpetuated by the Afriforum group (van der Westhuizen, 2018). Volkan argues that, in times of collective crises, this large group identity becomes more salient to the individual member of the group. It is at this point that the group's chosen trauma becomes active. The Afrikaans Must Fall movement clearly represents a collective crisis to the Afriforum group identity in that they perceive it as an attack on their rights – a confirmation that "minorities (Afrikaans people) were deceived about language rights" (Greef, 2017) - and as "anti- Afrikaans" (Venter, 2018). This perception of crisis was further demonstrated in Afriforum Jeug Tuks' carrying of a coffin around UP campus as a "symbolic gesture" that university management was attempting to "obliterate Afrikaans" (Annelise, 2016). This study examines how this perceived collective crisis has reactivated Afriforum's group trauma, and how this is manifested in their response to Afrikaans Must Fall.

2.5 Chosen trauma, traumatogenic process and the fear of annihilation

The chosen trauma is a term coined by Volkan which refers to an ancestral experience in which the group suffered shared loss or humiliation which has remained within the group's social unconscious (Volkan, 2001). The group's chosen trauma remains within the social unconscious for generations after the occurrence of the event which triggered it, an effect which is achieved through the process of transgenerational transmission (Volkan, 2001). Through this process, the chosen trauma achieves a significance which extends beyond the events of the original trauma and acts as a

point of connection, fostering in-group ties. These traumas tend to lie dormant within the social unconscious until, as mentioned above, some shared crisis reactivates the chosen trauma. This reactivation leads to a magnified view of other groups as enemies and the actions of the 'enemies' as direct threats to the now salient large group identity.

This concept of the transgenerational nature of group trauma is repeated in Hopper's theory on the traumatogenic process. Hopper refers to the process of the unconscious recreation of past trauma within the social unconscious of a group as equivalence (Hopper, 2003a) Hopper specifies that traumatic events, especially those characterised by a sense of helplessness, are the most often recreated within the group due to the fact that individuals tend to employ defence mechanisms such as denial against the subjective experiences of the trauma and resulting anxieties stemming from fear of annihilation. This means that, as the group members are thus unable to directly attempt to understand and communicate about the trauma, there is a need to recreate the trauma within the group in order to communicate the otherwise inexpressible shared trauma of the group. One factor which intensifies both the fear of annihilation as well as the group's attempts to defend against it is the refusal or inability of the group to mourn properly. Failure to mourn adequately increases the probability that the trauma - and associated fears of annihilation, defence mechanisms, and recreations - will be passed along generations by the group, so that even those members who were not alive at the time of the trauma will still experience its impact (Hopper, 2003a).

Weinberg later reiterated the transgenerational nature of the social unconsciousness in his characterisation of it as existing beyond the confines of time and space (Weinberg, 2007). It is due to this character, Weinberg argues, that relationships, emotions and events from the remote past of a group are able to exist within the social unconscious of current group members who have never experienced them. In other words, it is this character of the social unconscious that underlies the transmission of Volkan's chosen traumas and which makes possible Hopper's traumatogenic process.

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Wilke (2015) demonstrates the transgenerational nature of the chosen trauma, and how this facilitates the traumatogenic process, through his examination of the social unconscious of the German generation following the Second World War. Wilke (2015) points to the chosen trauma in this context being the dislocation experienced by non-Jewish Germans following the war as well as the guilt around the atrocities committed against Jewish people by the Nazi regime. Wilke describes how, with the shame and external condemnation about their possible collusion in these atrocities, the war-generation of this group encapsulated this trauma in the recesses of their social unconscious, leaving the trauma inaccessible to conscious reflection (Wilke, 2015). Without critical confrontation , this encapsulated trauma remains in the social unconscious and becomes available for transgenerational transmission, with the associated feelings around the trauma transmitted to the subsequent generation who have no direct experience with the events of the war (Wilke, 2015). In examining the effects of this transgenerational transmission, Wilke refers to Leuzinger-Bohleber's (2001) analysis of a survey of post-war generation Germans who sought psychoanalytic treatment. Analysis of the responses indicated a significant pattern of defensive mechanisms employed by the children of perpetrators, particularly the over-identification with the victim position and the distancing of oneself from the perpetrator position, indicating the transgenerational transmission of the shame and guilt associated with the chosen trauma in the patient's attempt to escape from these negative feelings. Furthermore, sixty-three percent of respondents indicated improvement after being made to confront and express the transgenerational transference material inherited in the social unconscious of their parents. Ultimately, Wilke (2015) and Leuzinger-Bohleber (2001) demonstrate how a group's chosen trauma can remain within the social unconscious and continue to impact subsequent generations of members, through the transgenerational transmission of trauma.

Hopper further expanded upon the role of trauma in the social unconscious in his discussion of the fourth basic assumption, positing that those groups which have experienced trauma - whether directly or vicariously through the traumatogenic process - are especially vulnerable to the fear of annihilation (Hopper, 2003a). The fear of annihilation is a response to the sense of loss or humiliation that the group experiences as a result of the trauma and is the fear of intrapsychic fragmentation or

dissolution (Hopper,2003a). The fear of annihilation may manifest within the group's social unconscious as Incohesion - a process which is encapsulated in Hopper's fourth basic assumption, Incohesion: Aggregation/ Massification (Hopper, 2003a). The processes of Incohesion can be characterised under the broad classes of aggregation or massification. Aggregation is one way in which a group may respond to the fear of annihilation and is characterised by excessive individualisation of group members and pulling away from or distancing oneself from the group (Hopper, 2003a). Massification is another response to the fear of annihilation, the bipolar of aggregation, and is characterised by a loss of individuality and the subsumption of the individual member into the totality of the group (Hopper, 2003a).

2.6 The traumatogenic process at work

An example of each response is provided by Geyer in her 2017 article "The Social Unconscious in Action: Linking Theory to Group Work with Young Adults". Geyer examines the effects of the fear of annihilation in Europe, which she approaches as a group with a singular social unconscious (Geyer, 2017). She proposes that Europe, as a group of European citizens, is experiencing multiple crises in the form of unstable economic conditions, an influx of refugees, and internal terrorism, and it is for this reason that Europe is facing the fear of annihilation (Geyer, 2017). Geyer identifies two responses to the resulting Incohesion within the group - the rise of nationalism and xenophobia, which Geyer characterises as aggregation, and the tightening of associations between countries within the European Union, which she characterises as massification (Geyer, 2017).

2.7 The ethnic unconscious

Herron (1995) described a particular manifestation of the social unconscious known as the ethnic unconscious. The ethnic unconscious is identified as the repressed material that is shared within an ethnic group, such as South African Afrikaners, and is passed on from one generation of this group to the next (Herron, 1995). Thus, the

ethnic unconscious complies with the transgenerational assumption of Hopper's traumatogenic process. What is important to clarify here is that the term 'ethnicity' is used not to describe an outwardly assigned ethnic group based solely on physical, geographical, or genealogical attributes, but rather to describe the degree to which a person self-identifies as belonging to a specific group that is in some way related to their origin (Herron, 1995)

According to Herron (1995), an ethnic culture is the manifestation of defensive practices which have been organised into patterns of ethnic characteristics. While these patterns appear to be geared towards the reinforcement of the group identity, a goal which they sometimes achieve as is present in Hopper's massification response, the practices sometimes lead to the dissolution and fragmentation of the group, as is present in Hopper's aggregation response (Herron, 1995).

Interestingly, Herron posits that the ethnic unconscious is particularly vulnerable to trauma (Herron, 1995). As such, the effects of the traumatogenic process as identified by Hopper may be particularly salient if the respective trauma is connected with the ethnic unconscious – as is the case with the Afrikaners and their disenfranchisement post the Second Boer War. This vulnerability stems from a rigidity that resists adaption in the face of change. That is, while the psyche may be adaptable, the ethnic unconscious falls back on the patterns of defences provided by one's group identity when an external force seemingly necessitates flexibility in the group's ethnic identity (Herron, 1995). Thus, after the original trauma of post-war Afrikaans disenfranchisement, the Afrikaans ethnic group identity was challenged and consequently resisted change by leaning further into ethnic patterns of defences, resulting in massification and culminating in Afrikaans nationalism. With the removal of Afrikaans from tertiary institutions, this pattern is repeated.

2.8 Conclusion

In conclusion, the concept of the social unconscious has evolved from an indication of the importance of society in the individual psyche to a construct in its own right which refutes the dichotomy of individual and society. Many authors, Hopper, Weinberg, and Volkan amongst them, have indicated the transgenerational nature of the social unconscious. Hopper's theory of the traumatogenic process describes what happens when trauma is introduced into the social unconscious, and Geyer's application of Hopper's theory shows that it is a useful point of departure when considering the social unconscious of large groups in the real-world context.

Herron (1995) described the ethnic unconscious, which is shared within an ethnic group and passed on from one generation to the next. He posits that an ethnic culture is an organisation of the group's defensive practices which are geared towards group cohesion but sometimes lead to dissolution (Herron, 1995). The ethnic unconscious is very vulnerable to trauma, due to its resistance to adaptation (Herron, 1995).

The following chapter looks into the literature around constructions of whiteness and the Afrikaner identity.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1. Introduction

The chapter that follows provides an overview of Critical Race Theory as a theoretical framework for the study, touching on the core tenants. Following this broader overview, the discussion focuses in on whiteness studies as an emerging body of literature within the Critical Race Theory framework. The chapter concludes by examining whiteness within the context of the Afrikaner, and particularly as perpetuated by Afriforum.

3.2 An overview of Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is a theoretical framework that critiques the societal interrelations of race, racism and power, while taking into account the socio-economic, historical, political and unconscious elements at play within these interrelations, with the overarching goal of transforming these relationships and producing material change (Delgado & Stefanic, 2001). While, due to its awareness of context, CRT scholars have different focuses and assumptions about society, there are a number of core tenants of CRT theory that will be laid out below.

Firstly, CRT maintains that race remains a salient issue, in that its construction holds significant influence over all aspects of society. Constructs of race, and their imbedded notions of superiority, are fundamental to the structuring of our legal, economic, and educational systems, institutions, social relationships, and our innermost ideologies and beliefs (Delgado & Stefanic, 2001). As such, the idea that racial inequality is a problem of the past, and that modern racism constitutes an abnormal and socially condemned individual act, serves to perpetuate and legitimise the collective structuring of a society that works to secure and normalise white supremacy and the funnelling of material and psychic resources to the white minority (Zamudio, Russel, Rios, & Bridgeman, 2010).

As racism thus advances white interests, given that the racist structuring of society awards material benefits to those who fit its constructions of whiteness, white members of society have little reason to meaningfully combat structural racism (Zamudio et al., 2010). This is of particular significance as, due to the aforementioned structural funnelling of resources, even when the white segment of society constitutes the minority as is the case in South Africa, it still holds the greatest potential power to conduct such a restructuring.

Another integral element of CRT is that, while the construct of race is real in that it holds real material and social consequences, it is just that – a construct. Racial categories hold no scientific legitimacy nor are they fixed, objective and inherent realities (Delgado & Stefanic, 2001). They are socially constructed definitions – the barriers of which are fluid and manipulated to whatever form currently best serves the protection of white interests (Delgado & Stefanic, 2001). Failure to recognise and examine their social construction afford racial categories a false validity that allows for the continuation of racist practises (Zamudio et al., 2010).

Herein lies another tenant of CRT, the importance of historical context in understanding concepts of race as a means of oppression (Delgado & Stefanic, 2001). Not only are the boundaries of racial categories manipulated over time, but also the stereotypes and narratives attached to those categories (Delgado & Stefanic, 2001). A defined racial group may once have been seen as harmless and content to serve white people when their labour was required, but later on be seen as an angry, aggressive threat to whites and thus requiring close supervision (Delgado & Stefanic, 2001).

Linked to this acknowledgement of the social effects that the narratives attached to racial categories hold for the individuals assigned to these categories is the idea of intersectional identity and anti-essentialism (Delgado & Stefanic, 2001). It is not productive to consider just one identity of an individual when examining the effects of

social structuring on their lived experiences. Rather, CRT looks at the multiple, sometimes contradictory identities that shape how we are allowed to move through society.

While it is important to be mindful of context - historically, culturally, and geographically - when considering race and the process of racialisation, one should also be wary of thinking of racial issues as existing in isolation within their immediate contexts. Racial ideas and resultant exclusionary practices and institutions within one locale are influenced and supported by those within another (Goldberg, 2009). Racially discriminatory ideologies and social structuring are often rooted in past colonial governmentality, now reformed and made local to adapt to current lived conditions, but still ultimately a means of reproducing unequal power relations and material distribution (Goldberg, 2009). Thus, social conditions and arrangements should be considered relationally, tracing their development both into the past, through the influence of history, and within the present, through their interplay with oppressive conditions in other contexts (Goldberg, 2009). By exposing the ways in which the deeply entrenched ideologies and systems of a society have been shaped to bolster unjust power relationships, one dispels the belief that these inequities constitute the natural condition (Goldberg, 2009).

Finally, CRT emphasises the necessity of a counternarrative to the dominant narrative. With the understanding that narratives are not neutral, and are tools in maintaining the unjust status quo, CRT thus recognises the value in elevating minority perspectives that offer an alternative to the governing 'truth' (Delgado & Stefanic, 2001).

3.3 Whiteness studies

A body of literature emerging from CRT has come to constitute 'whiteness studies'. Whiteness studies seek to examine race and the process of racialisation through a focus on the construction of whiteness. This focus is based on the CRT premise that whiteness is positioned as the 'normal' in society, with the racialisation of other identities occurring through a measure of the degrees of 'otherness' that these

identities display in relation to the white centre. Some scholars (Fanon, 1967; Gordon, 2015; Grosfuguel, 2016) have conceptualised this centring as drawing a line of whiteness as humanness. Those social and cultural markers associated with whiteness 'elevate' an individual in relation to the line of humanness, while those whose identities do not align with the boundaries of whiteness occupy the 'subhuman' space below the line, and consequently are denied rights, material resources, and recognition of their subjectivities (Fanon, 1967; Gordon, 2015; Grosfuguel, 2016). In the past, race studies have been mostly concerned with racism, in which other races have been constructed as different from the white centre or below the line of humanness, and these differences used as justification for oppressive practices (Steyn, 2001). However, CRT challenges this approach as it fails to confront the positioning of whiteness as the frame of reference, thus perpetuating this 'othering' and allowing for the obfuscation of the role that maintaining whiteness as the societal norm plays in empowering the current racist institutional structures (Dyer, 1988).

One cannot explore the social unconscious of Afrikaners without reference to their whiteness. This is because whiteness, going beyond a demographic descriptor, encompasses a number of assumptions, beliefs and values which play a significant role in the development of a groups social unconscious (Steyn, 2004). Along with this, whiteness in our society represents a particular social position, which is imbued with a power that results in a range of structural, institutional, and discursive options being automatically available to an individual or a group by virtue of their whiteness. This power and the accompanying benefits provide a framework upon which a white person's self-understanding is built and is thus inherent to any social unconscious which plays out within the context of whiteness (Steyn, 2004).

With this in mind, it is essential to define what whiteness is. Steyn (2001) defines whiteness as a social positionality, occupied by those of European descent, which affords its occupiers the economic and social privileges accrued through European colonial expansion and the resultant promotion of racial superiority that afforded those designated as white greater access to societal resources and opportunities. The economic, social, cultural, and political dimensions of this social positionality have

been normalised, thus positioning whiteness as the benchmark against which other races are compared and consequently "othered".

3.4 Whiteness and Afriforum

In Steyn's deconstruction of Afrikaans whiteness in post-Apartheid South Africa she refers to other scholars' works which demonstrate the concept of a white race – and by extension, the concept of whiteness itself – as a construction (Steyn, 2004). This construction is used as justification for the continued perpetration of the idea of a white group and the accompanying socio-economic powers and privileges, with defensive strategies of exclusion and inclusion being utilised by those who self-identify as white to limit and extend membership in such a way that benefits the interests of a particular group (Steyn, 2004). In protecting the membership to the white group, members also protect their demographically disproportionate access to societal resources and privileges, by enforcing an exclusionary concept of whiteness and affording this access only to those who comply with their image of whiteness. These defensive strategies inform the actions and thoughts of those who occupy a position of whiteness, orientating them towards communicating and maintaining their conception of what whiteness is (Steyn, 2004).

This idea can be applied to Afriforum Jeug's response to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement. Education functions as a point of access to societal resources and status, with one's career, socioeconomic status, and general perception by society being influenced by their educational status. Accordingly, there has been a history in South Africa of white groups in power barring the access to education of those who do not comply with their conception of whiteness, as seen in the Bantu Education Act of 1953 which segregated the educational system and allocated black South Africans inferior educational infrastructure and curriculums.

In maintaining education, particularly higher education, as a white privilege, white South Africans were able to protect their exclusive access to the social resources and powers which accompany education. Afrikaans instruction at a tertiary education level

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remains a remnant of this exclusion, left over from a period in which institutions such as the University of Pretoria, the University of the Free State and Stellenbosch University were predominantly Afrikaans and exclusively white. Afrikaans tertiary education could be seen as a defensive strategy to maintain a white space, in which the concept of whiteness as privileged is not challenged, a refuge from the cognitive dissonance that might result from the contrast of a white person's internalised concept of whiteness as maintaining an exclusive access to education, with the multi-ethnic reality of education at tertiary institutions. The outcry that has met the decision to remove this white space may be an attempt to defend against the challenge that this removal poses to historical conceptions of whiteness and privilege.

What complicates this picture is the presence of an intra-white rivalry within South Africa. Steyn (2004) describes a struggle between English and Afrikaans South Africans over who 'owns' whiteness, with ownership of this whiteness being associated with societal power. As Steyn (2004) points out, central to this rivalry is the insecurity of the Afrikaans people after their defeat at the hands of the English during the South African War. If whiteness is to be understood as the occupation of a privileged position in society, then the whiteness of the Afrikaans people was challenged in their loss of that position post-war. Steyn (2004) connects this insecurity in their own status of power with the rise of Afrikaner nationalism and consequent age of Apartheid. She continues to argue that, as a result of the historical challenge to Afrikaans whiteness, the concept of an Afrikaans whiteness has become subaltern, in that it has remained "prey" to a different, dominant whiteness – English whiteness (Steyn, 2004, p7). In other words, the Afrikaans conceptualisation of whiteness has always encompassed a sense of resistance to the English 'brand' of whiteness, a resistance which – in an attempt to stake out their own 'right' to whiteness separate from the English – has led to the subjugation of black people in order to maintain societal dominance (Steyn, 2004).

Steyn identifies Afrikaans whiteness as "fiercely reactionary" and undergoing a process of "conservative restoration" in that Afrikaans whites position themselves as "victims of a changing racial order" (Steyn 2004, p. 7). Thus, Afriforum Jeug's reaction

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to the removal of Afrikaans and subsequent anglicisation of tertiary education can be read as a manifestation of this subaltern whiteness, in that Afrikaans people fear that they are once again falling prey to the dominant English discourse of whiteness, and that they are being pushed out by the changing racial order within tertiary education.

Steyn (2004) connects the current status of Afrikaners in the "new" South Africa with their status post the South African War, in that they are both periods of Dislocation. Dislocation here is a Laclauian concept which Steyn (2004, p. 9) describes as "when social changes result in the previously unseen or denied being made forcibly visible, when the representations and constructions that shaped identities are recognized, and the boundaries of the approved have moved to such an extent that new horizons for the social imaginary have to be forged". With the end of Apartheid, and the majority consensus that the period constituted an extreme violation of human rights, the Afrikaans identity of whiteness which was forged during that time -and which thrived due to institutional arrangements benefitting the Afrikaans people- has been challenged. Apartheid helped to enforce an Afrikaans whiteness, as it empowered and prioritised the social ascension and success of Afrikaners and consequently provided them with the position of social power associated with that whiteness. The end of Apartheid, and the resultant - albeit slow - dismantling of exclusionary whiteness as power, then echoes the dominance of the English over the Afrikaner following the South African War.

Considering Hopper's theory of the traumatogenic process, this echoing causes the dismantling of Apartheid to be replayed within the Afrikaans social unconscious as a repeat of the original trauma of their loss of the war. The removal of Afrikaans from tertiary education can be grouped within the process of dismantling the legacy of apartheid, as it is an attempt to rectify the privileged access of white people to an education that remained from segregated Apartheid laws. The equation of the removal of Afrikaans with the loss of Afrikaans power and consequent subjugation following the South African War is thus occurring within the greater context of equating the broader processes of dismantling the structural legacies of Apartheid and the associated privileges afforded to whiteness -and in particular Afrikaans whiteness -

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with Afrikaans post-war subjugation. Thus, in equating the removal of Afrikaans with the subjection of the Afrikaans at the hands of the British, Afriforum may perceive the process as a targeted attack on Afrikaans identity and react accordingly.

Steyn (2004) also identifies how the narrative of Apartheid facilitated the creation of an ideal of a unified image of 'whiteness', particularly Afrikaans whiteness, as being something organic and natural and pure. Apartheid pushed the concept of the 'volk', a single Afrikaans identity which has remained unchanged throughout history, and which contained an intrinsic hierarchy which placed Afrikaans whites – especially men – as the natural heads of society (Steyn, 2004). Steyn (2004) argues that this essentialist idea of an Afrikaans identity is ill-suited to the dynamic context of South Africa and its history. As such, the concept of the 'volk' hinders any attempts to challenge and adapt the Afrikaans identity in accordance with the changes in South Africa's social discourse. Rather, as the concept of the 'volk' hinges on "originary unity and racial purity" (Coombes & Brah, 2000, p. 4), it rejects any attempts to integrate traditional Afrikaans identities with the changing social landscape and its emphasis on cultural integration and coexistence as opposed to cultural singularity and dominance. Ratele and Laubscher (2010, p. 97) argue that this essentialist 'volk' identity was unattainable to many Afrikaners living in Apartheid, and thus necessitated a "performance of whiteness". In rejecting the removal of Afrikaans classes at universities, and the resultant integration of Afrikaans students with students of other cultures, Afrikaners may be unconsciously performing whiteness in an attempt to obtain the elusive 'volk' ideal passed down from Apartheid.

This idea of an ideal being passed down relates to Ahmed's (2007) discussion of whiteness and orientation. Ahmed refers to orientation as "the reachability of some objects", or what one is able to easily access. Whiteness can be understood as a certain orientation, one in which the individual is able to more easily access social currency, opportunities, resources and power than individuals who do not occupy that orientation. Thus, whiteness affords one a privileged orientation. Ahmed states that this whiteness can be inherited, meaning that those who occupy this privileged orientation can pass on this privilege to others. This aligns with the idea of a 'volk'

identity, which was presented as a birth right of sorts, a history of the Afrikaner as the natural superior.

The 'purity', both racial and cultural, associated with the 'volk' perpetuates the idea that it is a birth right and not something which someone not of the Afrikaans 'family' is able to attain. This justifies the continued passing on of white privilege, and the consequent continuation of privileged access to opportunities and resources of white people, or Afrikaans people, over people of other races. Ahmed also argues that whiteness is reproduced and shared, partly through the proximity of similar bodies (Ahmed, 2007). She continues to say that a collection of white bodies in an institution, such as a historically white university, form a white space (Ahmed, 2007). The whiteness of these spaces becomes invisible to those that occupy them and, through being repeatedly occupied by white bodies, these spaces become shaped in such a way that white bodies can comfortably fill (Ahmed, 2007).

The removal of Afrikaans classes from tertiary institutions removes a white space, and the bodies that previously inhabited it are forced to forgo their previous comfort and occupy new spaces, in the form of multi-cultural classes, that have not been shaped to fit them alone. Ahmed points out that, while a white space is partially a repeated occupation by white bodies, it is also a singular way of doing whiteness (Ahmed, 2004). Thus, white spaces reinforce a particular way of being white. Again, this lines up with the concept of the 'volk', which constituted a singular white Afrikaans identity. As such, those Afrikaners who value the narrative of the 'volk' may be rejecting the removal of the white space of Afrikaans classes because it also removes the reinforcement of the singular 'volk' identity.

What is necessary to emphasise here is that whiteness is a construction, and as such is a product of white action as well as a driving force behind it. I do not wish to convey that Afriforum Jeug's reaction to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement is caused by the external entity of whiteness which is beyond their control, nor do I wish to remove the agency from the response and suggest that they are acting at the mercy of their

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history. Whiteness and white privilege is both a construction and a product of the past, as well as something which white people are continuously construct-ing and an investment towards white interests (Milazzo, 2016). These white interests are protected consciously and explicitly at the expense of black South Africans (Milazzo, 2016). Lipsitz (2006) speaks of the possessive investment in whiteness, how in the United States (and South Africa) a group identity of whiteness has been institutionalised through deliberate and systematic efforts to structure society in such a way that one benefits materially due to their whiteness, thereby encouraging white people to invest in the identity of whiteness so as to continue to gain from its structured advantages. Lipsitz (2006) also emphasises that this investment is a constructive process - Afriforum's possessive investment in whiteness is not merely a remnant of Apartheid but also a direct action, constantly adapted so as to best allow for them to continue to benefit from their whiteness within the current socio-political climate. I am exploring the unconscious elements and defences at work within Afriforum Jeug's response, but I do not deny that there is also a conscious element to the response which seeks to maintain the privileges of being white through the exclusion of the black student.

3.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter introduces the field of whiteness studies through an overview of its theoretical framework of Critical Race Theory, briefly discussing the core tenants of recognising race as a social construct that nevertheless holds material consequences, as embedded within societal systems that perpetuate inequality, and as contextually determined, while also noting the importance of an intersectional and relational perspective (Delgado & Stefanic, 2001). This chapter also positions the study within the field of whiteness studies in its aim to explore Afrikaans whiteness as a social position and defines the construction of Afrikaans whiteness as it relates to its historical context, linking this to the continual constructing of Afrikaans whiteness, and how Afriforum Jeug's response to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement works to maintain this constructing process.

The following chapter outlines the methodological considerations in exploring this process.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter recounts the justification for and aims of the study, as well as the resulting research questions. Thereafter, the qualitative design of the study is described as well as the psychosocial framework that the methodology emerges from. Furthermore, the methodology of Social Dream Drawing is discussed as the method of data collection in this study. A detailed account of the process involved during collection is provided – including a description of the sample – as well as a layout of how data analysis was approached. Finally, the issues of trustworthiness and ethical considerations are covered, and a reflexive statement made on the researcher's subject positioning in relation to the study.

4.2. Research justification and aims

The research design, as set out in this chapter, was centred on addressing the overarching aim of the study to uncover and understand Afriforum Jeug's opposition to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement as it relates to the construction of Afrikaner identity, and consequently as it functions as a defence of Afrikaans whiteness. In understanding this reactionary response to the removal of the Afrikaans language at tertiary institutions as the defence of a significant element within a construction of Afrikaner identity, the study aims to map the defensive mechanisms at work within the group's social unconscious, as discussed in Hopper's (2003a) theory of the traumatogenic process, and as stemming from the original trauma of Afrikaner disenfranchisement post the South African War. In uncovering and understanding these mechanisms this study serves to illuminate the means by which Afriforum Jeug's response to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement aids in the perpetuation of an exclusionary white space, thereby empowering an open engagement with - and ultimate dismantling of - these spaces.

4.3 Research questions

With this aim in mind, the research design was formulated in response to the research questions as set out below:

1. *How can Earl Hopper's theory of the traumatogenic process be applied in order to explain Afriforum Jeug's reaction to the 2016 Afrikaans Must Fall movement?*

2. *How can the strong negative reaction demonstrated by Afriforum Jeug towards the 2016 Afrikaans Must Fall movement be explained as a defensive response to the recreation of the trauma of the South African War as described within Earl Hopper's theory of the traumatogenic process?*

4.4 Research design

In seeking to answer these research questions, the design of the research is qualitative, as qualitative methods allow one to attempt to describe and understand the meanings underlying a phenomenon (Graue & Karabon, 2013). This is in contrast to a quantitative methodology, which allows one to interpret data using statistical procedures or otherwise quantify a phenomenon (Corbin & Strauss, 2015).

While the categorisation of qualitative research encompasses a diverse range of research designs, they share certain fundamental commonalities. Studies that are qualitative seek to understand phenomena in their natural context, and gain a deeper understanding of experiences, perceptions and behaviours and the meanings that people attach to them (Korstjens & Moser, 2017).

As this study explored the underlying meanings of Afriforum Jeug's response to Afrikaans Must Fall as they emerge from the group's social unconscious and to

understand how the group constructs the Afrikaner identity within its historical context, a qualitative approach is best suited to its purposes

4.5 Psychosocial Framework

Psychosocial studies are a relatively new paradigm within psychology, emerging in the 1990s (Clarke & Hoggett, 2009). Psychosocial studies emerged as a psychoanalytic response to a growing concern within the discipline about the usefulness of the traditionalist separation of the individual and the society (Clarke & Hoggett, 2009). The paradigm uses psychoanalytic concepts and theories to illuminate core issues within social sciences that emphasise the role of both the individual and the social within these issues as well as the role of the interaction and co-dependency of the individual and the social (Clarke & Hoggett, 2009). Psychosocial studies address the psychological subject as a "meeting point of inner and outer forces, something construct-ed and yet construct-ing, a power-using subject which is also subject to power" (Frosh, 2003, p. 1564). Evident in this address is the duality of the psychosocial subject – existing as both an individual body capable of agency and transcendence, as well as a social construction subject to external pressures and limitations. This approach acknowledges that one cannot study the individual in a social vacuum, while also avoiding the mitigation of the individual's self-determination and uniqueness.

According to Clarke and Hoggett (2009), this specific attitude towards the subject of study is what constitutes psychosocial studies rather than a specific methodological approach. As such, psychosocial studies could be seen as a cluster of methodologies – as opposed to a singular methodology – all of which aim towards investigating what lies beneath the discourse surrounding a psychosocial issue (Clarke & Hoggett, 2009). In attempting to uncover that which is veiled by the discourse, psychosocial studies are attempting to access the "unconscious communications, dynamics, and defences" (Clarke & Hoggett, 2009, p. 12). In seeking to uncover these communications, defences and dynamics which operate within Afriforum Jeug's group unconscious as they react to the Afrikaans Must Fall Movement, I turn to a specific method within the psychosocial methodological cluster – that of Social Dream Drawing.

4.6 The Methodology of Social Dream Drawing

Social Dream Drawing is a psychosocial research method developed by Dr Rose Redding Mersky (2017). It is designed to access the unconscious mind through the medium of participant drawing and discussion of dreams, centred around a predetermined theme (Mersky, 2017).

Social Dream Drawing works under the assumption that unconscious thought can be accessed through the use of free association and amplification – processes which will be elaborated on below (Mersky, 2017).

This study utilizes Social Dream Drawing based on the assumption that social dreaming can be used as a tool of access to these unconscious ethnic organising principles (Bermudez, 2018). Bermudez understands dreams as metaphorical attempts by the psyche to integrate and resolve traumatic or disorganising events that have not been fully confronted by the dreamer (2018). This integration and resolution requires the input of another mind in order to restore psychological coherence and continuity (Bermudez, 2018). He proposes that the site for this communal processing of trauma is the Social Dreaming Matrix (SDM), a "pathway for healing collective trauma" which generates the communal recognition of the trauma which is necessary for resolution (Bermudez, 2018).

According to Bion, dreaming is the human psyche's method for processing problematic, disorganised emotional elements into metaphorical images organised into a dream narrative, which allows the psyche to work through and make meaning of the experience (Bion, 1961). In Bermudez's words, "dreaming is a process that 'transforms' raw emotional experience into a psychological organization so it can be meaningfully thought with" (Bermudez, 2018, p. 546).

Social dreaming is this transformative process at the group-level, attempting to organise unconscious and unresolved experiences and traumas shared in the larger group-system so as to ascertain meaning and emotional clarity (Bermudez, 2018). Mageo (2013) has found that cultural scripts which are deemed problematic by a group are reframed and reconfigured by members of that group into something which is more consonant with the group's image of itself. Building from this, Bermudez (2018) proposes that social dreaming includes the group's unconscious attempts at making racially discomforting or problematic elements and experiences more consonant with their group identity, and thus social dream work allows insight into this process. Thus, utilising social dreaming is a means of gaining a deeper understanding of the mechanisms within Afriforum's social unconscious in their conflation of the intergenerational trauma of the South African War with the larger social recognition of the ways in which the dominance of white Afrikaans culture within tertiary education serves to marginalise non-Afrikaans students.

4.7 The Participants

Participants in this study were selected using purposive voluntary sampling – a method in which one specifies the characteristics of desired participants, and then seeks out individuals with those characteristics. Purposive sampling methodology was used on the grounds that the topic of this study is Afriforum Jeug's response to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement, and thus the only suitable participants would be individuals who were members of the student chapter of Afriforum Jeug at a historically white, Afrikaans speaking university during 2016, the period in which the movement occurred. Purposive sampling is therefore a suitable method, as it ensured a sample consisting only of participants that meet these inclusion criteria. The population that the sample is drawn from consists of South African citizens of any gender who are 21 years or older and have obtained a high school education and at least some tertiary education. The inclusion criteria specified that potential participants must be current or former members of a student chapter of Afriforum Jeug and had been members in 2016. The sample group is small, consisting of 3 participants, so as to facilitate participation by all members and allow for controlled facilitation of the group.

The group interview was conducted over a period of 3 hours, including comfort breaks of 15 minutes taken every hour so as to mitigate the risk of participants experiencing fatigue. In the interest of best protecting the health and safety of the participants and in accordance with the national adjusted Alert Level 4 regulations prohibiting physical gatherings, the group was conducted through an online video group call. Through video calling, the participants were still able to display their dream drawings to the group and interact with their own drawings as they describe them. While the session was audio recorded for transcription, with the consent of the participants, the recording did not include video. The researcher conducted the session in an area that is private whereby there was not a risk of the session being overheard or seen, so as to protect the confidentiality of the participants. It was also confirmed with all participants that they were situated in a similarly private setting.

In recruiting members of Afriforum Jeug as participants, the researcher initially contacted the leaders of a student chapter of Afriforum Jeug as gatekeepers of the group (see Appendix F: Letter Requesting Permission). These leaders were sent an email informing them about the research and asked to pass this information as well as the researcher's contact details along to their group members, with a message asking any members who are potentially interested in participating to contact the researcher. However, the leaders indicated that they had received no responses from the group members they had forwarded this information to. The leaders suggested that they personally phone the eligible group members to enquire about their interest in participating, however attempts to contact these group members were only successful on two occasions, both of whom indicated they were not interested in participating in the study.

The researcher thus made use of a contact who was not personally affiliated with Afriforum Jeug but was able to ensure that researcher's contact details and information on the study were passed on to potential respondents who met the eligibility criteria (see Appendix D: Letter Requesting Participation). Three of these potential respondents then reached out to the researcher via email to express interest in participating and were consequently recruited as participants. The original contact

person is not closely associated with the researcher, and is not known to the participants, but rather shared the relevant details and request with another individual not personally affiliated with Afriforum, who then passed these details on to the potential participants. At this point, both aforementioned contacts were removed entirely from the research process and had no further contact with the researcher. These degrees of separation between the participants and the researcher ensured that there was no higher risk of the researcher-participant relationship negatively impacting the participant responses than in any other study consisting of direct data collection.

The difficulties associated with the out-of-date membership records held by Afriforum Jeug, compounded by the restrictions on gathering due to the Covid-19 pandemic hampering initial attempts to gather data resulted in a relatively small sample comprised of 3 participants. This was accounted for during data collection, however, with prolonged engagement with participants and the establishment of intimate rapport generating a rich dataset from which to conduct analysis.

Through email correspondence, a time for the Social Dream Drawing session was agreed upon with those members who had confirmed that they would participate. Microsoft Teams was agreed upon with the group as a suitable platform for conducting the session, and all participants indicated that they had the necessary access to a stable internet connection and web camera as required to fully participate in the session. Monetary compensation was not offered to the participants, however the benefits of participating were emphasised to the participants in that they were afforded the opportunity to discuss and reflect upon their experiences of being Afrikaans during Afrikaans Must Fall, with their peers, in a confidential environment free of judgement or repercussions, as well as contribute to a deeper understanding of Afriforum Jeug's response to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement.

4.8 Data collection

In conducting Social Dream Drawing research, a theme is decided and communicated to the participants prior to the Social Dream Drawing session. This serves as a means of providing context to the dream drawers as well as a point of focus during discussions of the dream drawings (Mersky, 2017). The theme chosen for this study was "Being Afrikaans during Afrikaans Must Fall", which was communicated to the participants post-selection via email.

Participants were then asked to draw any dreams that they experienced in the days following the presentation of the theme, but prior to the Social Dream Drawing session, and have these drawings ready to present to the group via video call. Participants were asked not to include recurring dreams or significant dreams that were present prior to the participant's learning of the theme. This is because drawings of dreams of this nature have been found to not produce as rich an analysis (Mersky, 2017).

Ground rules were established with the participants to ensure equal opportunity for participation, in that they do not talk over others during the presentation and description of the dream drawing, and rather use the hand raising option or text chat should they need to mention something during this time. Prior to starting the discussion, it was ensured that all participants had successfully logged into the session

We began the session with a participant briefly describing their dreams to the rest of the group. The dream is described prior to presentation of the drawing, so as to engage the visual imagination of the participants and facilitate engagement and interest in the visual interpretation of the drawings (Mersky, 2017).

Following this description, the participant presented their dream drawing to the group and explained their drawing without an attempt at analysis. After they had described their drawing, the other group members were given the opportunity to ask any questions needed to clarify the dream drawing. After confirming that no further clarification was needed, we moved on to the free association phase.

This phase consisted of all of the participants – including the individual who presented their dream drawing to the group – providing free associations on the drawing. Free associations consist of verbalising any thoughts or images that spring to mind when presented with the dream drawing as a catalyst, without censure or attempt at sense-making (Kring et al., 2014). This is in order to access the unconscious thoughts and feelings of the group members which might go unexpressed or unknown even to the participant themselves had they utilised conscious thought. During this phase, participants also made use of amplification. Amplification is a process used in conjunction with free association, in which one relates their associations with broader cultural, historical and mythical narratives and events (Mersky, 2013). The purpose of this process is to locate one's free associations within the material world and to introduce some logical analysis to the chaotic nature of free analysis so as to facilitate accessibility in discussing and analysing the free associations.

Once all of the participants had provided their free associations and amplification, the person presenting the dream drawing was given an opportunity to respond to these free associations.

The final phase was one of reflection. This involved the participants' attempts at making sense of that which had emerged during the free association phase. In their sense-making, participants linked the abstract thoughts that arose from the free association to the dream drawer's daily reality, producing tentative hypotheses about how the themes emerging from their dream drawings mirror aspects of their lived experiences (Mersky, 2017). This works under the assumption that the participants' dreams represent those aspects of their thoughts which have been projected as unwanted into their unconscious minds and are indicative of underlying issues in their waking lives (Mersky, 2017).

This process of describing one's dream, presenting the dream drawing, free association and reflection was then repeated for every participant (see Appendix A: Semi-structured Interview Schedule)

4.9 Data Analysis

The session was audio recorded, with the permission of the participants, and the recording transcribed verbatim.

The analysis phase was conducted through thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is useful for research questions about how individuals conceptualise a social event and thus aided in the identification of recurring themes in Afriforum Jeug's response, allowing one to access their social unconscious by analysing these common themes. Thematic analysis is also suited to any ontological and epistemological position, as the method holds no predetermined assumptions (Willig, 2013).

The transcribed data was first engaged with through multiple careful readings of the text as a whole in order to grasp the context of the analysis. This also served to familiarise the researcher with the data and begin the process of making meaning of the data through active notetaking (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Notetaking at this point assisted in the preliminary identification of patterns in the data, however no codes are generated at this point in the analysis so as to ensure that the researcher was fully immersed in the data prior to attempting to break it down into units of meaning.

Following this reading, the text was analysed for units of meaning utilising an inductive coding approach. (Kuckartz, 2014). The approach was inductive in that it was grounded in the data itself, as opposed to stemming from the study's underlying theory (Kuckartz, 2014). The approach was, however, guided by the research question as units of meaning were identified within the context of Afriforum Jeug's response to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement.

The identified units of meaning, or subthemes are as follows:

- *Parents passing on ways of being* – a child's internalisation of a constructed Afrikaans identity as perpetuated by the parent

- *Instilling Afrikaans values/ideals* – the reinforcement of constructed boundaries of Afrikaner identity

- *Ideal Afrikaner* – an idealised construction of the Afrikaner as rooted in a revisionist 'volk' narrative

- *Navigating identity* – determining and being determined by the boundaries of Afrikaans identity

- *An unattainable ideal* – the idealised and unachievable expectations inherent in the constructions of the Afrikaans identity

- *Patriarchy* – the Afrikaner identity as orientated to maintain Afrikaans masculinity as hegemonic

- *In group othering* – othering of Afrikaners who behave outside of the constructed boundaries of Afrikaner identity

- *Afrikaner as othered* – positioning the Afrikaans identity as othered in South African society

- *What the Afrikaner fought for* – historical narratives constructing the Afrikaans identity

- *Connection in group* – perceptions of affinity based on a shared sense of what it means to be Afrikaans

The next stage was a review of the coded data, with the intent of identifying themes which capture the key dimensions of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The identified subthemes were collated into broader themes representing overarching patterns in the data as guided by the themes' relevance to the research question (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). Significant interrelation in subthemes was demonstrated, with some subthemes appearing within multiple broader themes – differing in the context provided by the broader theme and indicating the connections between the broader themes in forming the overall narrative of the data. The broader themes were then reviewed against their constituting subthemes to ensure that they were well supported

and grounded in the data, against each other to ensure that they were both distinctive and comprehensive, and against the entire dataset to ensure that they meaningfully and coherently captured the essence of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Upon finalising the broader themes, each theme was defined and analysed so as to determine how each theme contributes to an overall understanding of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The finalised broader themes and their constituting subthemes are listed below, along with a brief description of what each theme entails:

Table 1: Overview of themes:

Main theme	Note on main theme	Subthemes
Intergenerational transmission of ways of being	The perpetuation of an Afrikaner identity rooted in the narrative of the 'volk'	Parents passing on ways of being
		Instilling Afrikaans values/ideals
		Patriarchy
		Ideal Afrikaner
Internal/External Conflict	The Afrikaner identity as a reactionary defence of whiteness	Navigating identity
		An unattainable ideal
		Parents passing on ways of being
Othering	The creation and protection of boundaries of Afrikaner identity against other groups	In group othering
		Afrikaner as othered
		An external threat
Afrikanerdom	The mythologisation of the 'volk' narrative	What the Afrikaner fought for
		Connection in group
		Defining group identity
		External threat

Finally, an interpretative analysis was conducted in which the themes were organised into an explanatory framework of the traumatogenic process underlying Afriforum Jeug's response and the mechanisms by which this process serves to protect an exclusionary Afrikaans whiteness (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

4.10 Trustworthiness

In qualitative research, one aims to ensure that the findings are trustworthy. The trustworthiness of the study is upheld through commitment to the underpinnings of credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability (Nieuwenhuis, 2016). The means by which these principles were adhered to in this study are detailed below:

4.10.1 Credibility:

Credibility refers to the degree of confidence in the research findings as stemming from the source data (Nieuwenhuis, 2016). Credibility was enhanced in this study through prolonged engagement with the participants as a means of building trust and rapport with the group, thereby facilitating rich data generation (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). This also provided the opportunity for unscheduled probing to ensure mutual clarity between the researcher and participants and explore avenues of the data which might not have been initially anticipated, so as to gain and promote nuance in the data (Nieuwenhuis, 2016).

4.10.2 Dependability:

Dependability refers to the evaluation of the research results as consistent over time (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). This principle is upheld in this study through the clear, logical documentation of the research process as laid out in this chapter (Nowell, Norris, White & Moules, 2017).

4.10.3 Transferability:

Transferability refers to the degree to which the results of the study are transferable to another context or setting (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). In assisting in the evaluation of

the transferability of the study, the context of the study as well as the inclusion and exclusion criteria are made clear (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). Thick descriptions are also provided throughout the analysis, detailing the context of the data, so as to allow others to judge the degree of transferability of the findings to another research context (Korstjens & Moser, 2018).

4.10.4 Confirmability:

The principle of confirmability is concerned with the level to which the findings of the study are grounded in the data (Nieuwenhuis, 2016). In this study, findings are consistently linked back to verbatim participant quotes, thereby illuminating the analytical process and motivation behind all conclusions (Nieuwenhuis, 2016).

4.11 Reflexivity

This research project is illustrative of my own journey as a researcher and first forays into the field of whiteness studies. The concept for the study originated in my honours year as a research proposal created in order to fulfil a class requirement. We had been provided with a list of departmental research topics from which to structure our proposals, and I found myself immediately attracted to the topic of the social unconscious. I was totally unfamiliar with the topic but have always been drawn to the esoteric and conceptual, as well as to the interrelation of the social and the individual. Upon reviewing the literature, I was struck by Hopper's theory of the traumatogenic process (Hopper, 2003a) and the immediately apparent parallels between the theory and the vocal dissent of Afriforum to the Afrikaans Must Fall Movement. This was in 2018, and the continuing deliberation on amendments to the University of Pretoria's language policy following the movement ensured that the event remained top of mind as a student. I thus based my proposal on elucidating Afriforum Jeug's response to the movement through utilising the theory of the traumatogenic process (Hopper, 2003a).

At this point, I had no aims to explore the construction of whiteness in this process, or even acknowledge the means by which Afriforum was maintaining a white space through their dissent to the changes to the language policy. While I was aware of the racial dynamics underlying the issue as a whole, my privileged position as a white student who, although English-speaking, does not visibly diverge from the boundaries of Afrikaans whiteness required to move through these white spaces afforded me the liberty to not attend to these dynamics as I remained materially unaffected by them. It was in the process of collaborating with my supervisor to adapt my honours research proposal to a mini-dissertation in my first year of master's that the construction of whiteness became a key point of focus.

My supervisor made me aware that to attempt to explore Afriforum Jeug's response without examining how this response functions as a means of perpetuating an exclusionary white space would result in only the most shallow of understandings. In resolving to uncover these perpetuations, I also found the answer to an issue I had been struggling with - the issue of what the purpose of my research would be beyond functioning as an intellectual exercise. Namely, to better illuminate the means and mechanisms, both conscious and subconscious, by which Afriforum Jeug's opposition to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement serves to legitimise a white space and maintain white privilege, and in doing so empower the open engagement with and ultimate dismantling of these spaces.

My initial lack of attendance to these issues was in despite of my direct witnessing of these dynamics at play among my friends and peers within the context of a university residence. During the Afrikaans Must Fall movement in 2016, I lived in an all-female university residence which was historically Afrikaans but now identified itself as dual-medium. While the residence traditions and culture were based on its history as an Afrikaans institution, the young women in residence were predominantly English. Although the demographic split of the residence remained a white majority, the residence had a reputation of being relatively mixed in terms of racial and cultural groups in comparison to other, predominantly white and Afrikaans residences. This reputation was a major motivating factor in my application to the residence. Despite

having grown up in a largely Afrikaans small town, I attended an English school with a relatively mixed student population throughout my childhood and found myself to be more comfortable in this space then in the white, Afrikaans spaces existing outside of my school. Thus, I foresaw that I would be more at home in this residence as a similarly 'multicultural' space in comparison to my perception of other female residences as homogenously white and Afrikaans spaces. In retrospect, I see that my comfort in these spaces was actually as a function of their whiteness – they were white spaces wherein non-white bodies were allowed to pass through so long as they conformed themselves to the boundaries of a space designed to accommodate white bodies, and even at this point remained positioned as other to the default of whiteness.

It was within this context that I witnessed the underlying tensions of non-white bodies occupying a white space brought to the surface by the Afrikaans Must Fall movement. The young residents grappled with a schism caused by contradictory opinions on the movement. Many of the white residents, particularly the Afrikaans ones, vocalised a perception of feeling attacked and ousted by the movement while many non-white residents felt that their alienation by the residence's traditions rooted in the Afrikaans cultural was being negated by those who opposed the movement. In particular, the house song of the residence was a source of contention as half of the verses were in Afrikaans and the other half in English. Many of the non-Afrikaans speaking residents expressed difficulty in remembering the Afrikaans verses and felt distanced from the residential culture in their not understanding the meaning of these verses. I remember an instance during my first year of university, in the hour leading up to my first house meeting wherein all first years were expected to have memorised and consequently perform the house song. I sat in my dormitory room with two of my friends and fellow first years – a black, Zulu woman and a black, Tswana woman – and taught them the Afrikaans verses phonetically so they would be able to abide by this expectation despite neither of them speaking Afrikaans.

Within the context of the Afrikaans Must Fall movement some residents called for the translation of the house song to be entirely in English, so as to remove the distance experienced by non-Afrikaans speakers. Some Afrikaans residents took umbrage with

this however, as they reasoned that the song had been part of the residence culture since its establishment some 40 years ago, with many of the women's own mothers having sung the song during their own time as residents in their student years. They felt that changing the song would be robbing them of this link to the past.

I was privileged in my ability to remove myself from this contentious narrative, not only as a white student, but also as an English speaker. Being white, and at least passably proficient in Afrikaans, I did not experience the same alienation from my residence's tradition as my non-white peers. However, being English, I did not feel any sense of loss in the removal of these traditions and – perhaps more significantly – I escaped the scrutiny placed on my Afrikaans peers in perpetuating the whiteness of the residence despite benefiting from the associated privileges that my own whiteness afforded me within this space.

In examining the role of Afrikaans whiteness within Afriforum Jeug's response to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement, it was vital that I be aware of the influence that these two positionings – as white and as English – might have on my analysis of the data, particularly in avoiding the safety of removing myself from the narrative of perpetuating whiteness by virtue of my Englishness. While I do not believe these positionings can be fully bracketed, due to their fundamental role in my perception of and experience in the world, I was conscious to limit their influence on the findings to the best of my ability through constant reflection, guidance by my supervisor, and the firm rooting of analysis in the data and established literature.

4.12 Ethical considerations

In order to ensure that the research was conducted in an ethical manner, the four main ethical principles as described by Wassenaar (2006) were adhered to throughout the research process. These principles are namely autonomy, nonmaleficence, beneficence, and justice.

Autonomy within this context refers to the right of an individual to make an informed decision about which research activities they will or will not participate in, free of any coercion (Adams, 2013). This principal was upheld through the obtaining of informed written consent from participants prior to engaging in any participatory research activity, as well as prior to audio recording the session (see Appendix B: Participant Information Letter). In obtaining consent, it was communicated to the participants via the consent forms that participation was entirely voluntary, and they could refuse participation or withdraw from the study at any point without repercussion.

Another aspect of upholding autonomy is respecting participant confidentiality (Wassenaar, 2006). To protect participant confidentiality, any information that could identify participants, in any research outputs, was obscured and no names were used in the research data. The audio recordings of the session are stored on the researcher's password protected computer, and only the researcher and her supervisor have access to these recordings.

Upholding the non-maleficence principle requires the researcher to ensure no harm befalls participants as a consequence of the research (Wassenaar, 2006). While no negative consequences were foreseen for the participants, due to the sensitive nature of the research topic it was indicated in the consent forms that the details of a counsellor would be provided to the participants upon request (see Appendix C: Informed Consent Form). However, none of the participants requested these details or indicated any signs of emotional distress as a result of the research. Rather, they noted that the session had been emotionally liberating and that they had valued the opportunity to safely explore their feelings around the topic within a confidential space.

In upholding the non-maleficence principal within a small-community sample, ensuring the maintenance of confidentiality was of particular importance (Damianakis & Woodford, 2012). Given the limited pool of potential respondents who fit the eligibility criteria of the study, and the high potential that these participants would be known to one another and to the leadership of Afriforum Jeug by virtue of their membership to the organisation, it was critical that the researcher ensure that no research outputs would be traceable back to the individual participants, particularly any statements or sentiments for which they may face any backflash from their member peers and

leaders (Damianakis & Woodford, 2012). Fortunately the analysis outputs of this study required a focus on the larger social dream matrix, and necessitated restraint in focusing on the personal experiences of the dreamers themselves. Consequently, the participants were not profiled and the specificities of their social identities not revealed, excerpts were not attributed to a particular dreamer, and the quoted excerpts were not focused on the private subjectivities of the dreamers. Thus, the research output includes no anecdotal information that could result in others from the small-community of Afriforum Jeug members identifying a particular participant.

Beneficence entails the maximisation of benefits to the research participants in relation to the risk posed by the research study (Wassenaar, 2006). As mentioned above, no participant risk was foreseen or realised in this study, however the participants indicated emotional benefit from the study in that they had the opportunity to discuss and reflect upon their experiences of the Afrikaans Must Fall movement in a confidential setting.

Justice requires that the participants are treated fairly and equitably throughout the research process (Wassenaar, 2006). The selection process in this study was equitable as inclusion and exclusion criteria are based on the requirements of the research – namely that the participant was a member of Afriforum Jeug during the Afrikaans Must Fall movement and they are over 21 years old, and those who meet these criteria were given equal opportunity for selection and were not coerced into participation in any way. The requirement that participants be 21 years or older was so as to ensure that potential participants were at least 18 years or older during the events of Afrikaans Must Fall in 2016 and thus were at an age where they could have attended university. Justice also requires that participants who are distressed by the study are provided with support and care, which was upheld in this study through the offer to the participants of the provision of the details of a counsellor upon request as mentioned above (Wassenaar, 2006). Again, this offer was ultimately not taken by the participants – none of whom indicated emotional distress during or after the data collection.

Further ethical considerations were made due to the data collection being conducted remotely. While all participants signed the informed consent document (see Appendix

C: Informed Consent Form) before the session, which detailed that the session would be audio recorded, verbal consent was once again obtained from all participants prior to starting the audio recording. The session was conducted via Microsoft Teams as a private online meeting platform, which ensured that the audio recording was saved directly to the researcher's password protected personal computer and was not stored remotely or using a cloud service, thereby ensuring that the confidentiality of participant data was protected. This data management protocol was also communicated to the participants both verbally before audio recording the session, and through the signed informed consent documentation.

Another consideration was ensuring the privacy of the participants. It was communicated via the Participant Information Letter (see Appendix B: Participant Information Letter) that interested potential participations would need to have access to a quiet, private area in which they could join the online session without risk of being overheard or seen, so as to ensure their own privacy as well as to respect the confidentiality of their fellow participants. Prior to beginning the session, it was once again verbally confirmed with all participants that they were situated in such a setting. The researcher also ensured that they were similarly situated prior to conducting the session.

4.13 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter recounted the justification and aims of the study, as well as the emergent research questions, and indicated how a qualitative design was best suited to answering these questions. The study was situated within the psychosocial framework in its seeking to uncover the underlying communications, defences and dynamics which operate within Afriforum's group unconscious and identified Social Dream Drawing, a means of accessing the unconscious mind through participant drawing and discussion of dreams, as the method of uncovering these defences and dynamics (Clarke & Hoggett, 2009; Mersky, 2017).

The participants were identified as current and past members of the student chapter of Afriforum Jeug at a historically white, Afrikaans speaking University during 2016, and the process of conducting the Social Dream Drawing session with these participants was detailed. A comprehensive account of the analytical process was presented, and the emergent broad themes identified as Intergenerational transmission of ways of being, Internal/External conflict, Othering and Afrikanerdom.

Finally, the chapter explores how the trustworthiness of the study is upheld through adherence to the principles of credibility, dependability, transferability, and confirmability- also providing a statement on researcher positionality- and concludes by detailing how the study adheres to ethical considerations.

The following chapter discusses the findings from the analytical engagement with the collected data.

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS:

5.1 Introduction

Before delving into an analysis of the data, it is necessary to clarify the scope of analysis. What is important to note at the outset is that the goal is not to interpret the dreams as functions of the individual dreamer's private psychic world, but to explore the associations and amplifications fed into the social dreaming matrix and collaborate with the participants in making sense of this matrix, drawing out the 'unthought known' (Bollas, 1987) issues of the greater social group that are present within the group system but have previously been unattended and unacknowledged. It is for this reason that the participants are not profiled, so as to avoid the analysis becoming rooted in interpretations of the participants' personal lived experiences and thereby misaligning with the aforementioned goal of analysis. In this same aim, when providing participant quotations, these quotations are not labelled so as to be attributed directly to one particular participant. Once more, this is to ensure the analysis remains focused on the broader dynamics of the social dreaming matrix and avoid the temptation to shift attention to the individual.

Within the social dreaming matrix, the currency is the dreams and dreaming and not the dreaming group dynamics, as the focus on these processes pulls the analysis into the 'here and now' of the dreamers, whereas the interest is on the dreams as interlocking narratives of the broader cultural context (Lawrence, 2005). Thus, when the analysis discusses 'the group' – it is not the group of dreamers that is being referred to but rather the larger group to which they belong – the Afrikaner.

It is vital then to define what is meant by the Afrikaans group within the context of this analysis. Here, the Afrikaans group identity refers to the nationalist construction of an Afrikaans identity that was made to be hegemonic to Apartheid society and founded on nationalist narratives of the 'volk' which served to legitimise social hierarchies and claims to a nation state (van der Westhuizen, 2016). Van der Westhuizen describes Afriforum as an expression of neo-Afrikaner enclave nationalism which centres on an

"enclosed, defensive national cultural identity, which is nostalgic about nationalism" (van der Westhuizen, 2016, p. 3; van der Westhuizen, 2018). In defence against "homogenising globalisation" Afriforum migrate inward into "self-protective, exclusivist enclaves", wielding "Afrikanerhood" as defined by the nationalist 'volk' narrative to "withdraw from shared national spaces while whitening 'own spaces'" (van der Westhuizen, 2016). Thus, it is important to note that when discussing the Afrikaans group, Afrikaans identity or the Afrikaner in this analysis, it is in reference to and in the context of this neo-nationalist enclave as perpetuated by Afriforum and its members.

Lawrence defined the form of the matrix as "a configuration of people that provides a unique space, or 'container' for thinking out of the content of dreams to consider and discover their hidden, elusive/infinite meaning" (Lawrence 2005, p14). The matrix is explored here through the initiation of discussions whereby the participants bring the matrix out of the unknown and infinite and recognize their meaning in the daily life of the group, transforming the previously unthought and unspoken into available social knowledge (Ofer,2017).

The analysis lays out the three dreams in turn, showcasing the dream drawing before discussing the corresponding dream in detail.

In discussing these dreams, the analysis identifies four core themes centred on Afrikaner identity in response to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement. The theme of Intergenerational Transmission of Ways of Being tracks the construction of the Afrikaner identity as rooted in the 'volk' narrative and perpetuated across generations through the enforcement of ways of being as defined by this narrative and explores the retreat to the essentialist nature of this identity as a defensive massification response when it is perceived as challenged by the Afrikaans Must Fall movement.

The theme of Internal/External Conflict then examines how this identity arose as a reactionary defence of Afrikaans whiteness after being rendered subaltern by the

British post-war, and how the movement to establish the Afrikaans language as hegemonic – particularly in the educational sphere - was fundamental in the recovery of Afrikaans whiteness from a status as subordinate. Furthermore, it identifies how the Afrikaans Must Fall movement triggers a fear of annihilation of the broader Afrikaner identity in the threat posed to the Afrikaans language as a significant symbol of the recovery of this identity.

The theme of Othering further explores the reactionary defence of Afrikaans whiteness as a response to a sublimation into the British group, and consequent need to create boundaries around the Afrikaner identity against other groups. This theme analyses the perceived threat of the Afrikaans Must Fall Movement as blurring these inter-group boundaries and reactivating a fear of Afrikaner identity being once again subsumed, while also understanding the protection of these boundaries as a defence of exclusionary privileges afforded by the boundaries of Afrikaans whiteness.

Finally, the theme of Afrikanerdom investigates these boundaries of whiteness further by exploring how the Calvinist mythologisation of the 'volk' narrative affords the Afrikaner a pre-ordained designation as the rightful centre of society, thereby legitimising the Apartheid system as a means of promoting the interests of Afrikaans whiteness. Herein the response of Afriforum Jeug to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement is understood not only as a subconscious defence of the Afrikaner identity but also as a defence of the narrative that allows for the perpetuation of the privileges afforded to those who fall within the boundaries of Afrikaans whiteness.

The following section begins this analytical process in the presentation and discussion of the three dreams as presented during the Social Dream Drawing session.

5.2 An analysis of the dreams:

5.2.1 Dream 1: A Black Hole

The drawing: The drawing depicts the dreamer standing in a house in front of a bed, indicating that she has just awoken. The dreamer has an expression of shock, described by the drawer as a "terrified face" with expressive symbols above the face indicating surprise.

Figure 1: A Black Hole

The dream:

Dream 1 centres on childhood and family and speaks to the dissonance in identity associated with growing up and developing beyond one's family.

The dream begins with the dreamer waking up in her childhood home where her parents currently reside, and immediately feeling ill at ease. Something intangible is wrong. Although she knows that this is her childhood home which she has grown up in, it feels strange rather than familiar, and she knows that she is not supposed to be there. She is very confused and distressed, and it makes no sense to her that she is there. She tries to move around the house but struggles as everything is distorted and she has "little black dots" obscuring her vision, making it hard to navigate a place she should be very accustomed to. As she struggles, her sense of panic rises, and her distorted perceptions feel "like a black hole".

Suddenly, she wakes up again in the dream but this time she is in her own flat, in which she lives alone. She is overwhelmed with a sense of relief and peace, and the intangible 'wrongness' of before has been righted. She intuitively knows that it is a Saturday morning, signalling a break from her work responsibilities, and she is free to relax in her own bed. The *"little black dots"* are gone, and her flat is familiar and safe-she is out of the "black hole" and "everything's OK, everything's fine". She is now where she is meant to be.

The symbol of the childhood home was identified by the group as representative of the identity imposed upon one by their family as a child, noting that "growing up in an Afrikaans household, you know, it's very kind of strict. And it has very set guidelines of how you have to be, how you have to act and what's expected of you". When talking about the house, she specifically describes it as her "mom's house", although both parents live there. The emphasis on her mother in the context of these strict guidelines in the Afrikaans household calls to the role of the Afrikaaner woman as the 'volksmoeder' (mother of the nation) tasked with preserving 'ordentlikheid" (decency) through instilling its practice in Afrikaans children (van der Westhuizen, 2017).

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'Ordentlikheid', these "very set guidelines of how you have to be", emerged as a defined way of being Afrikaans after the South African War wherein the whiteness of Afrikaners, their inherited position of privilege, was challenged in their subjugation by the British (van der Westhuizen, 2017). 'Ordentlikheid' is a means of reinforcing the 'volk' identity, an idealistic conception of Afrikaansness rooted in perceptions of racial, ethnic, and patriarchal superiority (Steenkamp, 2015). In perpetuating the practice of 'ordentlikheid' the 'volksmoeder' is reinforcing in the next generation a "performance of whiteness" that serves to elevate the status of the Afrikaner and preserve the privilege their whiteness affords (Ratele & Laubscher,2010, p. 97; van der Westhuizen, 2017). The house in the dream as the maternal home is thus representative of this prescribed way of being Afrikaans.

In contrast, the dreamers own flat is identified as symbolic of an identity free of these expectations and forged outside of prescriptions of white Afrikaansness - "Living on my own and kind of living my own life, I don't really live by those standards, I make my own standards". However, despite the sense of relief felt by the dreamer in once again inhabiting an unprescribed identity, the group also identifies a sense of internal conflict in the navigating of these two different ways of being:

"The reality of being home with mom and dad, you know, that Afrikaner identity and culture and then removing yourself from it, that part of you that kind of always feels like the black sheep of Afrikaaners who don't fit in"

"Now the duality in our identity are these two parts that we need to find a way to like integrate? That's how I see it, I kind of see it as the fight between the two or the cognitive dissonance created between those two, that's what the dream represents to me."

These excerpts demonstrate that the 'volk' identity of 'ordentlikheid' is entrenched in the Afrikaans people's understanding of themselves to the point that differentiating

from these ways of being is equated with removing oneself from the "Afrikaner identity and culture", and the inability to reconcile one's self-identification as an Afrikaner with one's 'removal' from the 'ordentlikheid' underlying that identity creates cognitive dissonance within the individual.

Table 2: Emerging themes in Dream 1: A Black Hole

Main theme	Subtheme
Intergenerational transmission of ways of being	Parents passing on ways of being
	Instilling Afrikaans values/ideals
	Patriarchy
	Ideal Afrikaner
Internal/external conflict	Navigating identity
	An unattainable ideal
Othering	In group othering
	Afrikaner as othered
Afrikanerdom	What the Afrikaner fought for
	Connection in group

The discussions initiated by *Dream 1: A Black Hole* are centred around unpacking the identity of the Afrikaner and the ways in which this identity is passed on through generations within the group.

The focus remains mostly inwards, examining the relationship of the group member with themselves, in their compliance or lack thereof with constructions of "the perfect Afrikaner", which is in turn determined by their relationship with their fellow group members and their policing of the group membership as contingent on compliance with these constructions – "you either with or against us".

The defence mechanisms at work within the group's social unconscious are uncovered to be idealization and denigration, in that the ways of being that comply with established group identity are idealized and reified as the saintly Afrikaner 'volk' while members who step outside of these boundaries are devalued and shunned from the

group, thereby allowing for the perception of the group identity to remain stable and cohesive (Hopper,2003a).

This idealisation manifests in the reinforcement of 'ordentlikheid' among group members, where in order to comply with constructions of Afrikaansness one is expected to adhere to "the perfect picture of Afrikaner that everyone's trying to project". These constructions of perfection stem from the idealisation of the mythologised 'volk' as "being so saint-like in a way that humans could never be".

The counterpoint to this idealisation is then the denigration of behaviours that lie beyond definitions of 'ordentlikheid' – if you "don't fit into the image of an Afrikaner they do shun you and they do put you to the side" and one is made to feel "like the black sheep of Afrikaners".

The defence mechanism of introjective identification is also utilized in the intergenerational transmission of this identity, where the younger generations of the group take on the positions and ways of being as held by the generations before them, even where these ways of being conflict with the individual identity which gives way to the group identity (Hopper,2003a). This dream indicates that group members are exposed by their parents to "this continuous cycle and this message about how you have to be and what it means to be part of this culture and to be an Afrikaans man and all this", who in turn are themselves "stuck in these patterns of being that they're holding on to tradition as a means of comforting them". While their parents may consciously be "stepping away from that traditional role" of the Afrikaner, they continue to embody "a lot of those traits", which they then instil on the incoming generation who may in turn also "struggle with it because [they] don't like it" but also take it as given in that they "recognise that it is just a way of life".

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In connecting with the Afrikaans Must Fall movement, there is a projected devaluation of the group identity by the movement, leading to a sense of external threat, as demonstrated in the following excerpt:

"Afrikaans is falling, you know, it's becoming something that is shunned in the general South African public"; "I almost feel like what Afrikaans Must Fall made me see is that people expect me to be ashamed of the fact that I am Afrikaans and that I speak Afrikaans. And I'm not, and I never will be. And that makes me angry, that makes me defensive"

The most salient themes at this point are thus intergenerational ways of being with a focus on the subtheme of the ideal Afrikaner, in the perpetuation of the 'volk' image and the maintenance of 'ordentlikheid', which then leads into the theme of internal/external conflict that arises in not meeting this ideal. The theme of othering is also present as it applies to the policing of group members who do not abide by the guidelines of 'ordentlikheid' and the theme of Afrikanerdom is touched upon as it pertains to the connection between group members in this shared identity and way of being an Afrikaner.

5.2.2 Dream 2: Anger coming out in flames

The drawing:

The drawing depicts a piece of paper indicated by the dreamer to represent a constitution of sorts. Written on this paper are the words "Right to equality ", "Right to culture" and "Equal before the law". Approaching the paper is a large group of people wielding flaming torches, a speech bubble indicates the group are shouting "Afrikaans Must Fall!!!". The edge of the paper has caught alight from the torches and is starting to burn.
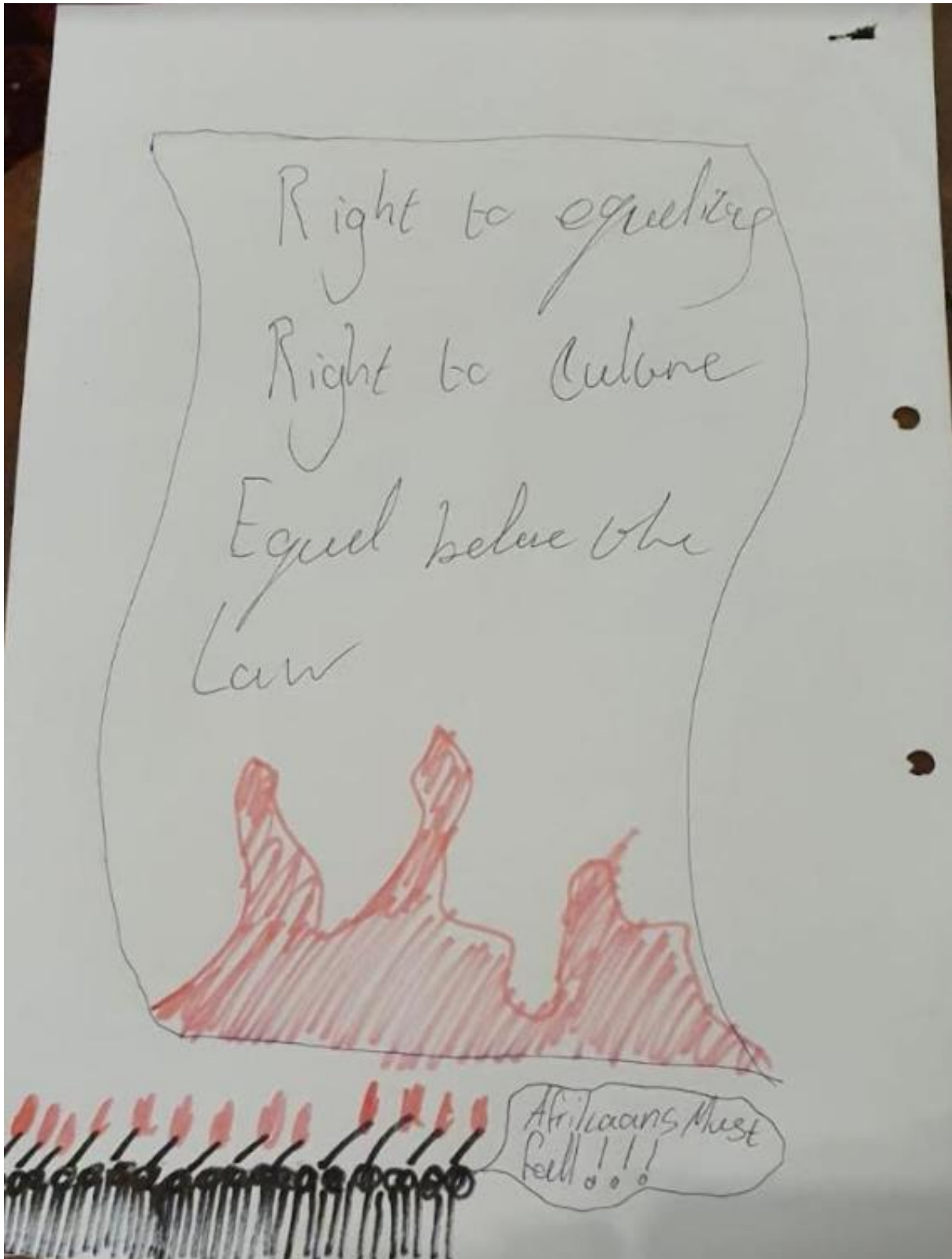
Figure 2: Anger Coming Out in Flames

The dream:

Dream 2 is intensely emotional, stemming from "anger and frustration", and paints a narrative of Afrikaans victimisation.

The dream begins in a gloomy darkness, with things being burned and destroyed – a landscape that is "almost a nightmare". He is permeated by anger but cannot pinpoint its source – although it seems to be generated both internally and externally – there is a general feeling of confusion and a strong sense of fear. In the midst of this confusion, he becomes aware that he is standing guard over something important and valuable. Although this object doesn't take a distinct form in the dream, it is associated with his Afrikaans culture and heritage and in guarding it he is protecting "what we fought for". Advancing towards the dreamer and the guarded object is a crowd "sticking their hands up with torches because they are angry", and it is clear they intend to destroy the object. Despite attempts to ward off the crowd, the dreamer becomes overwhelmed by the "mass of people coming at [him]" and the precious item he is guarding is "so fragile and easily destroyed that that little bit of anger just causes it to ignite". Ultimately the item "just collapses" and is destroyed.

A clear theme throughout the dream is one of victimisation – the dreamer places himself as the victim of an encroaching crowd who have set out to attack and destroy what they "fought for". The dreamer connects the crowd with the Afrikaans Must Fall movement, as a "narrative causing what this piece of paper which represents what we have fought for to burn", with the protected object then being the Afrikaners "right to culture". This victimisation can be understood through Steyn's explanation of a reactionary Afrikaans whiteness whereby Afrikaans whites position themselves as "victims of a changing racial order" (Steyn 2004, p. 7). Steyn argues that given the historical suppression of Afrikaans whiteness as societal power post the South African War, Afrikaans whiteness has taken on a subaltern position relative to English Whiteness (Steyn, 2004). The institutional arrangements of Apartheid then served to elevate a subaltern Afrikaans whiteness through affording the Afrikaner social power

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which elevated them over disadvantaged groups. In the fall of the Apartheid system, these arrangements are in the process of being dismantled, thereby deconstructing the social power afforded to Afrikaans whiteness and echoing with the group unconscious the loss of social power post-War. Within the broader process of overturning the inequitable structures of the Apartheid regime, the Afrikaans Must Fall movement dismantles a system by which the Afrikaner and white South Africans have disproportionate access to educational resources, thereby protecting their whiteness as social power, this elevation of Afrikaans whiteness is threatened. In a reactionary response to this threat, the dreamer positions the Afrikaner as victim to the changing racial order imposed by Afrikaans Must Fall, with the elevated Afrikaans whiteness that was fought for at risk of destruction.

Table 3: Emerging themes in Dream 2: Anger Coming Out in Flames

Main theme	Subtheme
Internal/external conflict	Navigating identity
	Parents passing on ways of being
Othering	An external threat
	In group othering
	Afrikaner as othered
Afrikanerdom	What the Afrikaner fought for

This discussion of identity carries over to Dream 2: Anger coming out in flames but is now more firmly situated in a context that is broader than the group. The group identity is linked to a sense of shared history and language, moving beyond previous boundaries of in-group ways of being and attached now to external symbols, and is particularly characterised as something that has been fought for.

This speaks again to the Afrikaner identity as rooted in the 'volk' construction, but here focusing less on 'ordentlikheid' and more on the mythologised narrative of the 'volk' as

in battle to secure the fate of the Afrikaner (Steyn, 2004). This is demonstrated by the following excerpts:

"You know, that stems from our history, really, I mean, of course, I only really knew from our history, what I was told by my parents and what I've read in some books, and reading into our history, I kind of realized that. I mean, yoh the Afrikaans had it tough in this country".

"We had to come together and decide that, yes, we've had it tough, yes, it's been hard, but we're going to rebuild ourselves and we're going to be better. And we're going to try to keep to this culture and keep ourselves, you know, as one instead of splitting off and just conforming to the rest of the world, we always fought against conforming"

With the evocation of past battles for identity, the group identity is positioned as something that is once again under attack, with the aggressor identified in the Afrikaans Must Fall movement. In this perceived threat of attack, a fear of loss is made evident – loss of a group identity that has been fought for, and consequently loss of the group itself.

Steyn (2004) notes a sense of loss inherent in the dismantling of Afrikaans nationalist ideology in that, as an ethnocentric narrative, the 'volk' mythology located the Afrikaner at the centre of society – the culmination of the 'volk' battle positioning the Afrikaner as the pre-ordained leader of a nation. This narrative legitimised the Apartheid institutional arrangements that empowered the Afrikaner to once again be centred in society following their dislocation by the British and was consequently challenged in the dismantling of these arrangements in post-Apartheid South Africa. This sense of dislocation is experienced once again in the perception of Afrikaans Must Fall as signifying a loss of the Afrikaans language - "It's extremely sad to see Afrikaans Must Fall, because Afrikaans is basically what the Afrikaner fought for"– thus invalidating the 'volk' battle, an essential attribute to the construction of the group identity. Steyn

connects the invalidation of the nationalist 'volk' mythology with a fear of the annihilation of "essences of Afrikanerness".

As demonstrated below, the group employs the defence mechanism of projective identification against this fear of loss, as they project onto the movement the intention to do away with the external symbols of the group's identity, and thereby justifying the group's fear of loss (Hopper, 2003b.).

"Afrikaans Must Fall showed us that that is real. You know, it's not just something in our heads and there really is this, this want to attack this culture"

Within the dream this projective identification is particularly notable in the sense of ubiquitous anger – the dreamer is unable to clearly identify the direction of the anger, but attributes it to the approaching horde of people. The dreamer then acknowledges an internal anger, which is now understood as a response to the anger attributed to the external horde.

"I can never actually determine where exactly the anger is coming from. It just is an anger

"How I interpret that is in the sense of this anger that is being projected onto me as anger at the past and the conditions that we are in" "This anger kind of coming out in flames and burning down everything that was fought for"

"You know, I think even in myself, I know there's anger, I have a lot of anger"

The true, internal root of this fear is made apparent in the repeated connection of group identity to historical battles, both in its abstraction as a precious cultural object

requiring protection and in its realisation as the Afrikaans language. Through past experiences of loss, the group has internalised and transmitted this fear, with the Afrikaans Must Fall movement serving as an object for projection.

The most prominent themes are thus internal/external conflict and Afrikanerdom with both themes in relation to the identity markers of the group as Afrikaners as well as to a sense of external threat to Afrikanerdom and the need to defend against this.

5.2.3 Dream 3: An Emotional Journey

The drawing:

The drawing depicts a weaving pathway, interspersed by blue waves. The path begins in darkness and then comes across a Voortrekker attending to a broken wheel of an ox wagon. It then continues to a battle across a mountainscape, with two warring armies on either side of the mountain. It curves around to an island, occupied by a single person with a ball and chain around their ankle. The person is peering through binoculars at a group of people beyond the island, their hands linked together to form a circle and holding the South African flag while under a rainbow. The path ends after this group, submerged in blackness once more, with a question mark indicating a lack of certainty on the way forward.

Above and separate from the pathway is a naturalistic horizon of green hills occupied by cows and trees and lit by a rising sun. In the bottom right corner of the drawing is written "Though we have physically survived, will our culture survive with us?".
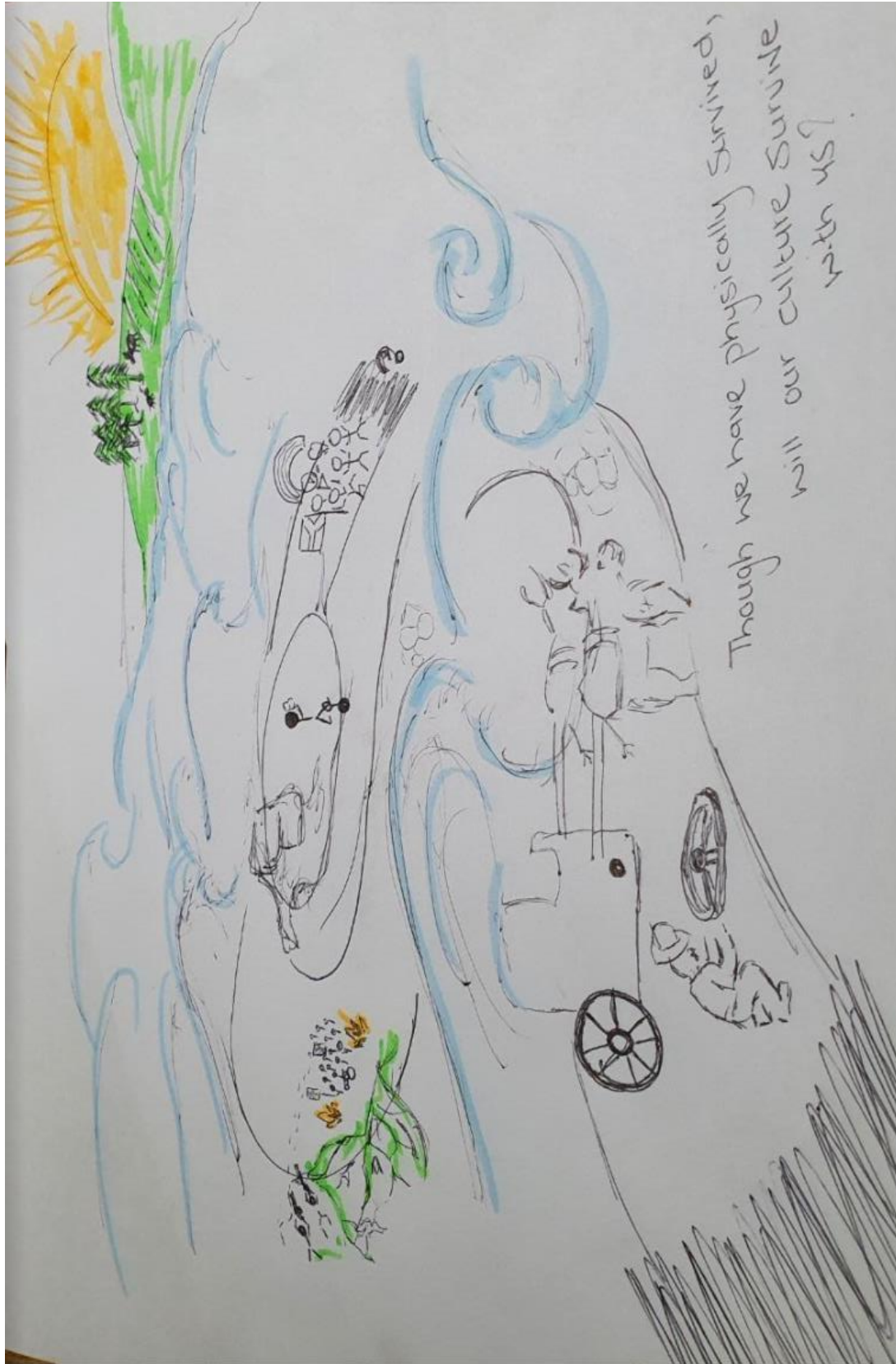
Figure 3: An Emotional Journey

The dream:

Dream 3 takes the form of an odyssey for identity and showcases the interweaving of the folkloric 'volk' narrative in the Afrikaans identity.

Dreamer 3 described her dream as an emotional journey through a "dark, stormy" and "unknown ocean" characterised by an overarching feeling of depression and helplessness to the point where she feels "so depressed that [she] can't lift [her] body" and cries out to her loved ones for help but is unable to express to them what she needs help with. She extends the ocean metaphor in the dream by describing the journey as "having to wade through the unknown worlds of vision" and "maybe an identity". The journey has several stops which each represent "significant moments". To illustrate this journey, the dreamer created a timeline of Afrikaans history – emphasising that the illustration was "in no way a realistic representation of South African history" but rather a representation of her own "emotional journey".

The journey begins in a black haze, representing the "unknown". The dreamer justified her lack of inclusion of this part of the journey as "this is the part where colonialism starts, and they are the Vrye burghers". The first significant stop in the journey is of a man fixing a broken wagon wheel on an ox wagon, indicated by the dreamer to represent the Voortrekkers. This is "first part of the journey that her feelings start with" and is meant to demonstrate the Voortrekkers "journey towards freedom" and "their own identity and way of being" – the dreamer's identity as an Afrikaner is rooted in the revisionist narrative of the Voortrekker heritage and the 'volk's' "difficult journey" overcoming the "dark, stormy ocean of shit that we have to wade through". Norval (1996) credits the folkloric narrative of heroism as emerging from a lingering sense of insecurity within the Afrikaans cultural identity following the oppression they faced during and in the years after the South African War – an insecurity conceptualised by Steyn as a subaltern Afrikaans whiteness (Steyn, 2004). This narrative forms the basis of the Afrikaner identity and is utilised as a defence against this insecurity in identity and as a tool for the creation of white spaces that preserve Afrikaans whiteness through the availability of social resources (Steyn, 2004). The selection of the

Voortrekker narrative as the beginning of the Afrikaans journey is indicative of its role as a bedrock for the Afrikaans identity as experienced by the group

The second significant stop in the journey is a battle, with a mountain frontline of soldiers defending against an advancing army sailing in. The people at the top of the mountain are "Vrye Burghers" and "Voortrekkers", while the group at the bottom are "some English mense (people) trying to sail up". Both groups are armed and in the midst of battle, with the English soldiers surrounded by fire. The two groups are "killing each other", and the Afrikaner is the defender in "the fight for Afrikanerdom", protecting the "volk" identity from a British attack.

The journey then progresses to the next significant stop which shows a small island. The dreamer has drawn herself standing on the island, where she is "on [her] own". She has a ball and chain around her foot, "representing Apartheid". A little apart from the island is a circle of people under a rainbow, one person is holding the South African flag. This represents "South Africa and the Rainbow Nation". The journey ends with a question mark, showing that the dreamer "can't see past this" or "where it's gonna go" but can only "see where I am as an Afrikaans person over here [the island] with the weight of Apartheid and all that stuff". The dreamer purposely placed the island a little apart from the Rainbow Nation to show herself "feeling other from South Africa" and as an "onlooker" that couldn't fully participate in the new Rainbow Nation due to the shackles of the past. This calls to the constricting nature of a unified Afrikaans whiteness as prescribed by the 'volk' identity. Steyn (2004) argued that Apartheid pushed a narrative of the Afrikaner as having a singular 'volk' identity – unified and unchanging through history due to its pure and organic constitution. Consequently, it is an identity ill-suited to dynamism, including changing relationships with other cultural identities particularly in terms of race. The ball and chain as "the weight of Apartheid" is thus symbolic of the Apartheid 'volk' narrative of "originary unity and racial purity" (Coombes & Brah, 2000, p. 4) hindering the Afrikaner's adaption to a new narrative of a Rainbow Nation with an emphasis on integration.

The 'volk' identity is further a weight hindering the Afrikaner's full participation in the Rainbow Nation in that the essence of the former is completely incompatible with the ideals of the latter. The concept of the 'volk' positioned Afrikaners as the natural and inherent head of society with Afrikaans whiteness as a birth right – thereby assuming the continued inheritance of the privileged orientation that this whiteness affords (Ahmed, 2007; Steyn, 2004). The ideals of the Rainbow Nation seek to dismantle the institutional arrangements of Apartheid that served to continue the inheritance of this privileged orientation, and thus the assumptions of the 'volk' identity are incongruent to these ideals. Apartheid and the 'volk' identity it enforced are thus weights that the Afrikaner must rid themselves of in order to progress in their journey of identity, they cannot be carried with them into a New South Africa.

Table 4: Emerging themes in Dream 3: An Emotional Journey

Main theme	Subtheme
Internal/external conflict	Navigating identity
	An unattainable ideal
Othering	Afrikaner as othered
	External threat
Afrikanerdom	What the Afrikaner fought for
	Defining group identity
	External threat

The discussions around Dream 3 further develop the significant connection between the group identity and a historical narrative of hardship and battle – particularly in terms of defence of the group against those considered external. It is also at this point that the relationship between the group and 'others' is most clearly examined, as well as the means by which the Afrikaans Must Fall movement has brought the dynamics of that relationship to a head. Once again, the fear of loss is prevalent and through projective identification is seen as stemming from the movement – however the fear is more clearly articulated as a fear of subsumption into a larger group, with the loss of identity occurring through the blurring of boundaries between the group and those identified as 'other'.

Othering is used as a defensive mechanism against this subsumption, the group enforces a narrative whereby they are excluded from participating in the Rainbow Nation by external groups. However, they perceive the concept of the Rainbow Nation as suppressing the performance of the groups' singular identity, thereby threatening the continuation of the group's perception of itself as a definable entity as indicated in the following excerpt.

"With the concept of rainbow nation, they have this idea that rainbow nation means that people fall under the same culture instead of looking at it as a semiosis of different unique cultures, not necessarily squashing one culture over the other"

Through the perpetuating of its own othering, the group guards against this fear of subsumption and consequent loss of identity – "I mean, the exclusion and wanting to be apart is a thing that is more of protecting the culture than anything else."

Once again, this fear is rationalised through projective identification whereby the Afrikaans Must Fall movement is attributed with seeking to enact this subsumption through inhibiting the group from the practises that allow for their self-perception as a singularly identifiable group – "It's that they're gonna lose their identity and their language and their uniqueness and their godliness and whatever"

This inhibition extends to key identity markers in the vandalization of monuments to the Afrikaans history previously established as instrumental in defining the group's sense of identity as shown in the following excerpt.

"It wasn't any more about the language at this stage, it went over to the culture. I remember there was monuments being vandalized - like Afrikaans people's monuments – that weren't even part of Apartheid! They didn't have anything to do with

it. I mean, the monument's vandalized, I don't know which ones because I don't know shit about their history, but they like pissed me off because I was like this is our culture! This is the things we identify with that are now being broken down. Even museums, I'm very proud of museums, I love going to museums. If something happens to those things part of us like dies away with it you know."

Monuments go beyond historic representation and "offer a space for the formation or discovery of meaning" and serve as a site for the creation of a collective identity (Cilliers, 2015, p. 2). As with the Voortrekker monument, which commemorates a folkloric narrative of Afrikaans history, but in doing so has transcended this history to serve as a space for the recreation of Afrikaans whiteness rooted in the inherent dominance that is legitimised by this historic narrative (Steenkamp, 2015). These monuments have transcended their historical symbolism, as even when the history they intend to represent is unknown to the participant - "I don't know shit about their history" - the monuments continue to convey to her the Afrikaans whiteness foundational to the group identity- "This is our culture! This is the things we identify with that are now being broken down", while allowing for the denial of the role that this identity played in legitimising Afrikaans social domination over non-White groups - "that weren't even part of Apartheid! They didn't have anything to do with it." The monuments become symbols of the group's identity in their own right, to the point that their destruction is seen as akin to a small death of the group itself - "If something happens to those things part of us like dies away with it you know."

Afrikanerdom and othering are both significant themes here, with the former informing the latter in that othering is used as a means of perpetuating the group's sense of self.

5.3 An analysis of emergent themes within the theoretical framework of Earl Hopper's traumatogenic process:

5.3.1 Intergenerational transmission of ways of being

Hopper defines the social unconscious as "the existence and constraints of social, cultural, and communicational arrangements of which people are unaware, in so far as these arrangements are not perceived (not 'known'), and if perceived, not acknowledged ('denied'), and if acknowledged, not taken as problematic ('given'), and if taken as problematic, not considered with an optimal degree of detachment and objectivity" (Hopper, 1997, p. 9). The social unconscious of a group can thus be explored through the examination of the constraining impact of these arrangements on the intrapsychic life of the group. The data reveals the group arrangements in place within the Afriforum social unconscious and the means by which these arrangements bring into alignment a shared way of being that constitutes the group identity.

These arrangements take the form of social and cultural expectations of how an Afrikaner is expected to behave and perceive themselves, as discussed by the participants in the below excerpts:

"Growing up in an Afrikaans household, you know, it's very kind of strict and there are very strict guidelines of how you have to be and what is expected of you"

"They would depict people as being so saint-like in a way that humans could never be"

"The Afrikaner has this way of projecting this perfection, which we know does not exist"

These expectations and guidelines are utilized as a means of creating a way of being an Afrikaner, the group member is required to adhere to these performances in order to maintain their status as group member, and thus these performances become

synonymous with the group's identity. They constitute the constraining arrangements that form the group's social unconscious, and function as the shaping force of the social unconscious as described by Foulkes in determining a shared way of being. These arrangements are described by the group below:

"The ideal for a woman is to be like, firstly, you have to be able to cook you have to be able to put on like a nice long skirt on a Sunday. You have to dress very neatly, conservatively, you hide your breasts, you hide everything you can show, you can't come up with a sparkly thing not dramatic makeup. And then you have to have kids, you have to like look after your kids and make sure they're okay. You have to be a virgin -that's like the gold standard because then if you're not, you are basically, nobody can marry you. You're really like that scarlet letter, like basically shunned and said, she's a whore now. So, I think it's a lot of pressure and you need to be very lady like, you know'

"That typical Afrikaans male role in the sense that he is the breadwinner, he is the head of the family, he is the man and therefore he makes the decisions. He talks about money. And, you know, he's kind of the patriarch"

"You have to wear these fancy party dresses [in church] so you can look like the cute little Afrikaans girl ready to marry a Boer one day. Just be normal, be quiet, sit still, listen to the Dominee and sing along"

"I'm not the perfect Afrikaner, but there's this little part inside of me that wants to be a Boer, or at least marry a Boer"

"What am I supposed to do to be seen as the perfect Afrikaner or the perfect like, girl, you know, that also comes in the gender roles that you're supposed to fit in? You know, can I? Can I not be strange? Can I not like be eccentric?"

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This way of being is unified in an essentialist Afrikaner 'volk' identity, a traditionalist narrative that presents Afrikaans whiteness, and particularly male Afrikaans whiteness, as being heredity and inherent to the group. This identity hinges on "originary unity and racial purity" (Coombes & Brah, 2000, p. 4), thereby negating the evolution of the group identity with the changing social landscape and invalidating the expression of differential identities by group members. The intrapsychic constraints imposed by the 'volk' identity are applied through the guidelines of 'ordentlikheid', and are highly gendered as explored in the participants' discussions on the restrictive requirements put upon Afrikaans women to be seen as the "perfect Afrikaaner" or the embodiment of the 'volk' way of being by demonstrating ideals of chastity, domesticity and maternity - "You have to dress very neatly, conservatively, you hide your breasts, you hide everything you can show"; "You have to be able to cook"; "And then you have to have kids, you have to like look after your kids and make sure they're okay".

In performing the role of 'volksmoeder' through the re-enacting and re-enforcement of the instrapsychic constraints as 'volk' ideals the Afrikaans woman is not only aiding in the perpetuation of Afrikaans whiteness as an orientation of privilege – as discussed when Dream 1: A Black Hole is first presented – but also in maintaining the assumption of the "typical Afrikaans male role" as "head of the household". The "volksmoeder's" role is in service to the 'volk' – to be the "perfect Afrikaner" she is expected to "marry a Boer" who "is the man and therefore he makes the decisions", employing domestic servitude in order to fulfil "the job of Afrikaans women to uplift white Afrikaans-speaking men to a god-like status" (van der Westhuizen, 2017, p. 189).

The reinforcement of the 'volk' ideal demonstrates Hopper's process of manipulative massification whereby the group exercises moral judgements as a means of exerting control over the identity of the group and maintaining a perception of a uniform identity (Hopper, 2003a). Massification is manifested in a group fundamentalism and singular belief, as evidenced in the emphasis on being "the perfect Afrikaner" personified by the 'volk'. Homogeneity is perceived as a collective achievement, and thus deviation from the singular belief is regarded as unacceptable. An example of manipulative massification by the group to guard against deviation is seen in the moral judgement

of the "scarlet letter" when a woman deviates from the 'volk' ideal of virginal femininity. This example of departure from the chaste ideal of a 'volksmoeder' is denigrated due to the threat it poses to the group's singular 'volk' identity – the 'volksmoeder' strengthens the 'volk' in part through her contribution to the patriarchal family unit in "marry[ing] a Boer" and is unable to fulfil this role if not complying to notions of chastity -"You have to be a virgin -that's like the gold standard because then if you're not, you are basically, nobody can marry you". Van der Westhuizen (2017, p. 62) argues that the 'volksmoeders' are the "physical and moral reproducers of the volk and its boundaries". Thus, not remaining chaste is a failure to reproduce these boundaries thereby threatening the continued integrity of the massification response, leading to the defensive "scarlet letter" as a form of manipulative massification.

The social unconscious exists beyond time and space due to its intergenerational nature (Weinberg, 2007). It is passed on from one generation to the next through shared stories, myths and fantasies. The Afrikaner group social unconscious persists across generations in the continued practice of the group identity or way of being, facilitated by the continual telling of the group identity. The older generation tell the group identity to the incoming generation – through repetition of a key "message about how you have to be and what it means to be part of this culture" that prescribe a certain way of being. The passing on of these messages within the group are indicated in the following excerpts:

"I saw him as kind of stepping away from that traditional role in that traditional kind of way of thinking about who I am as Afrikaans man. But he still has a lot of those traits. And I mean, it's, it's not conscious, it's like a subconscious thing that I don't think he realizes"

"I used to get really angry at my father because he would spew these messages at me, and I just look at him and I just think you've been indoctrinated your entire life"

" I don't like it, I don't understand it but yet I go there [Sunday school]"

"If you look at [Christian] Afrikaans DVDs, it's like, conservative people, and they're like, God is everything and you're like, OK. I'm not sure but OK. Like propaganda, in a way."

"The patriarchy is strong in Afrikaans culture, like that is something that I really struggle with, because I don't like it. But I do recognize that it is just a way of life"

The perpetuation of the social unconscious is in part reliant on the nature of the social unconscious as constraints that are "not taken as problematic ('given'), and if taken as problematic, not considered with an optimal degree of detachment and objectivity" (Hopper, 1997, p. 9). These prescribed ways of being are received by the incoming generation who either do not recognise them as problematic or recognize this but do not fully grapple with this recognition. Even in consciously "stepping away from that traditional role", the older generation continue to subconsciously pass along internalised ways of being that are ingrained in the cultural identity to such a degree that they are taken as a 'given' facet of the group's identity. When an aspect of this identity is seen as problematic, there is an element of discomfort over its practice, however – as seen in the below excerpts - this discomfort is not extended to a detached and objective examination.

"We are constantly questioning who are we and what are we? And what does it mean to be an Afrikaner, and we constantly try to define it to one another"

"Our parents tend to have these traditional ways of being, I often feel like it's that last resort, last thing that they are holding on to that gives them some kind of definition as to what is the Afrikaner identity"

The idealised Afrikaner image provides stability to the group's sense of identity, and thus necessitates continued intergenerational enforcement of the traditional ways of being that align with these idealised images in order to maintain a hold on this stable identity.

"If we could look at the Afrikaans people as South Africa's child, it's baba, and it's being raised in South Africa. And we look at South Africa as a whole and how it's going through an identity crisis, you think that Afrikaners are also going through an identity crisis, and that we as a culture have these ways of being that aren't necessarily constructed that need to change and go to a greater stage of development but it's difficult to do that. And then to deal with the outside world kind of attacking you also and attacking your language."

The above comment by one of the participants displays how these struggles for a sense of identity are occurring within the context of a shifting national identity, with the group having to negotiate an identity that is anchored in history and "what we have fought for" in a time where history is being critically re-examined in terms of who has benefitted at whose expense. The Afrikaans Must Fall movement calls attention to the ways in which Afrikaans as a medium of instruction at a tertiary level section off resources and create institutional spaces that serve a minority of students.

With the Afrikaans language perceived as core "to our character as a People" and a signifier for "what we fought for", the Afrikaans Must Fall movement destabilises a key anchor to the group identity. It is acknowledged that the group needs to evolve the ways of being that they tie their identity to, but the perception of the "outside world kind of attacking" the group leads to a defensive response where group members hold on to traditional identity markers as a "last resort" to a perception of impending extinction.

During times of perceived attack, such as the Afrikaans Must Fall movement, the groups massification response is amplified, thus furthering their need for homogeneity

and adherence to a stable identity – as epitomised by a participant in the following quote:

"So, it's nothing new for the Afrikaners to kind of other you and place you in your own kind of category, but you still an Afrikaner and if shit hits the fan and us Afrikaners have to stand together, then you're definitely an Afrikaner no matter what I said to you beforehand"

5.3.2 Internal/External Conflict

The amplification of this massification response occurs within the context of a triggered fear of annihilation within the group. This fear is most evident in the discussions around the second dream, wherein the dreamer is protecting a sacred cultural object – linked in the discussions to the Afrikaans language – from an incoming horde who are motivated to destroy this object – linked in the discussions to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement:

"It hammers that internalized fear that you're losing something"

"Fear is definitely the dominant kind of theme for me"

"I want to protect what we fought for"

While the perceived threat to the Afrikaans group causes fear, the dreamer acknowledges that this is rooted in a deep fear of losing something integral to the group. In the dream, the threatened object is not just the Afrikaans language, but a broader right to culture, and the group identity that has been fought for. The fear of annihilation is the fear of intrapsychic fragmentation or dissolution – in fearing the loss of their group identity the group fears the inability to continue their identified ways of

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being within the group context (Hopper, 2003a). The fear is characterized as internalised – rather than created by a perceived attack from the Afrikaans Must Fall movement, it is a pre-existing fear that has been reactivated and recreated by the movement.

"I only really knew from our history, what I was told by my parents and what I've read in some books, and reading into Afrikaans history, I kind of realized that, I mean, yoh the Afrikaans had it tough in this country. It was horrible. I mean, the First Boer War we won, barely. And the second one, we were thrown into concentration camps and nearly wiped off. And from that. point, you had this, this group of people, this cultural group, we had to come together and decide that, yes, we've had it tough, yes, it's been hard, but we're going to rebuild ourselves and we're going to be better. And we're going to try to keep to this culture and keep ourselves, you know, as one instead of splitting off and just conforming to the rest of the world. We always fought against conforming, we wanted to live out our lives, we wanted to live our lives in our own culture. And I looked at how things were built up. And in the context of how it was built, it was also a lot of wrong. And I'm not denying, and I also am ashamed of it, those things shouldn't have been done. But there was also a lot of good that was done. I mean, businesses were built up, movements were built up. Like I looked at how the Afrikaans community came together and decided that you know what, this is our language. And we're going to build up this thing, which we're going to make it into a language in which you can study. And that was a movement that didn't just happen, it was a concentrated effort."

As shown in the above, the fear of annihilation as triggered by the Afrikaans Must Fall movement is directly linked to the South African War and the consequent disenfranchisement of the Afrikaner and the Afrikaans language. In the fear that the Afrikaans Must Fall movement will result in the loss of what the group had fought for, this fear is connected to the movement post the South African War to "rebuild ourselves" and "build up this thing, which we're going to make it into a language in which you can study". This movement in which the "Afrikaans community came

together and decided that you know what, this is our language" is seen as a response to being "thrown into concentration camps and nearly wiped off".

Jansen (2009, p. 33) identifies education, and within it the Afrikaans language, as the "cultural facility [the Afrikaner] used to uplift themselves from poverty and despair" in the wake of their social humiliation and defeat post the South African War with the Afrikaans language acting as the "connective tissue" binding a disparate group together again in a reconceived Afrikaans identity. Afrikaans poet N.P. van Wyk Louw described the movement to institute Afrikaans as a language of instruction as a "broodsaak" (bread-and-butter necessity) in relocating a sense of identity within a people left unrooted by the war (Giliomee, 2004).

It was this sense of renewed unity and Afrikaans nationalism that paved the way for the National Party to take political power in 1948, and further promote this reconceived identity in the structural arrangements of Apartheid (Jansen, 2009). Through establishing the Afrikaans language as pervasive throughout Apartheid South Africa – not just in the educational, economic and political space but also by extension in the social and cultural space – the Apartheid government ensured that Afrikaans became hegemonic in South African society (Jansen, 2009). Jansen (2009, p. 34) points out that, despite the security afforded by this hegemony, there remained at the back of the Afrikaner's mind the constant memory of their defeat by the British and how they "humiliated a proud tribe" and as a result any perceived threat against the language as a "potent symbol of resurrection and self-definition" would agitate this memory "deep within the collective psyche of the Afrikaner". This subconscious response operates in conjunction with a conscious reaction against the removal of a previously white space within tertiary institutions, as reinforced by the exclusion of non-Afrikaans speaking students, and with it the privileged orientation held by the Afrikaans student in relation to educational resources (Ahmed, 2007; Milazzo, 2016).

Herein lies the chosen trauma identified by the group – the subjugation of the Afrikaans people and their culture and language after the South African War. A group's chosen

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trauma represents an ancestral experience of shared loss - here the loss of the practice of the Afrikaans culture and language - and remains within the social unconscious through transgenerational transmission of the trauma - here through retellings of the Afrikaans history and loss by parents and historical accounts (Hopper, 2003a). Through the process of equivalence, this trauma is recreated in the perception of the Afrikaans Must Fall Movement in the equation of the restriction on group identity and being "nearly wiped off" post the South African War to the removal of Afrikaans as a medium of education at tertiary institutions. This equivalence triggers the fear of annihilation, in that the group fears the loss of their identity which was rebuilt following the loss of the original trauma.

This reactivation leads to a magnified view of other groups as enemies and the actions of the 'enemies' as direct threats to the now salient large group identity. This magnification is evident where a dreamer indicates a "utopia" in their drawing, placed above and apart from the emotional journey. There is a recognition of an inter-group conflict, positioning the "utopia" in contrast to the current status of the Afrikaans group, as a place:

"Where there aren't these like battles between different cultures, whether that be for equality, or domination or whatever, it's just a place where you're able to prosper. And we are able to celebrate our uniqueness. Where we are not fighting over one another about our different views, I'd rather be more interested in understanding each other's different views, you know, a place of symbiosis you know, a place that lacks the conflict that we experienced and currently are [experiencing] - not just as Afrikaners within our own identity, but as South Africans within this South African context."

The group perceives itself as being in battle with other cultural groups, and unable to express themselves as unique or distinct from other groups – at risk of being subsumed and dominated and thereby losing their distinct group identity. In the context of the triggered fear of annihilation, other groups are perceived as a threat to this identity.

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In this "utopia" both internal and external conflict are absent, the group is stable in their group identity and is free to perpetuate this identity, thereby continuing the practices constituting their determined way of being and ensuring the continuation of the group.

5.3.3 Othering

This utopic stability of identity is defending through the othering of those not within the group. When speaking of the attack on the precious cultural object in Dream 2, the dreamer singles out an external threat by portraying a unified goal of harmony shared by a majority nation but put in jeopardy by minority "elements" that seek to undermine this goal. In the context of the repeated referrals to the "right to culture", the "harmony that we all seek" is implied to be a harmony between cultural groups.

Thus, there is a still an othering in that groups are still differentiated along cultural lines; however, these other groups do not pose a threat to the group due to their shared goal of living as separate but harmonious groups. Afrikaans Must Fall is positioned as elements external to any groups who look to disrupt this intergroup harmony. The assertion that the removal of Afrikaans as a medium of education in tertiary institutions, "burning down everything that was fought for" by the Afrikaans group, will directly disrupt intergroup harmony implies that the perceived threat to the Afrikaans group will impact their relation with other groups despite the identification of external elements as the root of this disruption.

"The Afrikaner's fear is assimilation. It's that they're gonna lose their identity and their language and their uniqueness and their godliness and whatever."

"They have this idea that the Rainbow Nation means that people fall under the same culture instead of looking at it as a symbiosis of different unique cultures, not necessarily squashing one culture over the other, but developing each culture in its own right."

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"When things like this happen, we start questioning if what we have, this uniqueness about us is survivable"

"I mean, the exclusion and wanting to be apart is a thing that is more of protecting the culture than anything else."

As demonstrated in the above excerpts, the relation to the other groups becomes threatening when there is the perceived risk of a blurring of inter-group divisions, leading to the subsumption of the group or "squashing one culture over the other". The Afrikaans Must Fall Movement triggers the fear of annihilation in that it is seen as the catalyst for this blurring between groups, while the fear of annihilation magnifies the perception of other groups as enemy in the danger they pose of infringing on the group's boundaries and invalidating their "uniqueness" or distinguishable identity. In perceiving their own annihilation in the perceived goal of the Afrikaans Must Fall movement to minimise inter-group differentiators, the group is equating this minimisation with the context of the original trauma of post-war Boer disenfranchisement, during which the Boer identity was forcibly incorporated into a unionised identity of British South Africans. Othering themselves from other cultural groups is thus utilized as a defensive practice against this fear - serving to maintain a distinction of the group from those external to it.

This othering also serves as a means of defending whiteness, specifically as it manifests as Afrikaans whiteness. Steyn (2004) discusses the means by which whiteness as an identity is constructed and protected through defensive strategies of inclusion and exclusion. Within the construction of Afrikaans whiteness these strategies are bound to the 'volk' narrative of the Afrikaans identity as bestowed through divine providence, and thereby lending to the fear that the expansion of the boundaries of Afrikaans identity would result in the loss of their "godliness". Othering the Afrikaans group thus serves as protection of the "godliness" of the Afrikaans identity and thereby maintains the concept of the Afrikaner as the pre-ordained head of society, thus legitimising the socio-economic powers and privileges inherent in the

identity of Afrikaans whiteness. The Afrikaans Must Fall movement infringes upon Afrikaans whiteness by challenging the exclusionary access to these powers and privileges as afforded by Afrikaans medium classes, removing a space wherein the barriers of whiteness and the Afrikaner as other are reinforced.

However, this defensive othering is also subject to projective identification by the group – a response to the fear of annihilation – as displayed in the following metaphor (Hopper, 2003a):

"A little island with me on it. So, this this is the Rainbow Nation and South Africa and stuff, and this is the end of the journey because I can't see past this, I can't see, I can only see where I am as an Afrikaans person over here with the weight of Apartheid and all that stuff and also feeling other from South Africa".

The metaphor of the island signifies the perceived current state of the group identity as one of isolation from the rest of South Africa, where the Afrikaner is supposedly othered. The Rainbow Nation is symbolised as "circle of mense (people) to represent the image of togetherness and all that stuff", demonstrating a union of other groups where the group is excluded from this unity and kept separate from the rest of South Africa, visualised by the placement of the dreamer as a member of the group on an island apart from the circle of people where "the separation from the island is Afrikaans Must Fall". In defence against the fear of annihilation as demonstrated in a fear of a loss of inter-group differentiation, the group others itself from those external to it – however, also as a defensive measure, the group utilises projective identification by attributing this othering to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement who separate the metaphorical island of the group from the feared unity of the Rainbow Nation.

This projective identification of othering at the hands of the Afrikaans Must Fall movement is also evident in the analogy of the alien trees:

"So, I was driving through the Knysna forest a little while ago, and I was looking at all these eucalyptus trees, because they are not indigenous trees, they're alien. And they soak up a lot of water and cause a lot of drought. So, I was making comments saying that there are so many of them here they need to be cut down. And the farmer, who was Afrikaans by the way, responded to me that you can't do that. Yes, they're alien, and they don't belong here, but they are contributing vitally, contributing towards the environment, they are the reason that we have rain. So, if you go and you cut those trees off, now, you're going to influence the environment and you're not going to get the rain anymore. If you want to remove them, you have to slowly replace them. You can't remove a huge tree and then plant a seed. That's not how it works. You've got to incrementally replace it with indigenous trees and that is basically kind of what we didn't do with Afrikaans. Or we didn't allow for a gradual move. We kind of just chopped off a tree and decided you know, what consequences come as they may be"

The dreamer uses the metaphor of alien trees to describe the perceived mindset towards the group as held by other groups, where the Afrikaner is an alien species that is not indigenous to South Africa and "don't belong here". This is contrary to the previously expressed view of the group of their cultural identity as emerging from South Africa and illustrates the perception of being othered and rejected from the South African context that they identify as vital to one's Afrikaansness. The contribution of the group and its connection to the identity marker of a South African heritage is viewed as invalidated by the Afrikaans Must Fall movement, which seeks to "cut down" the Afrikaner. In "just chop[ping] off the tree" without "making up for what was taken away" the movement leaves a void in the group identity and uncertainty over how to compensate for this loss.

However, this defensive othering can also be turned inwards towards the group:

"You're either with us or against us, it says you conform to what we think, or you aren't one of us. And that's something that I'm currently very much struggling with a lot, you know, the base of our culture is so very much like that in the sense that you're not

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allowed to express yourself. And I have to believe what everybody else believes otherwise, they don't really see you as one of them."

Directly after identifying cultural isolation as a means of "protecting the culture" the participant objects to the introversion of this practice whereby group members are othered if they step outside of agreed upon group definitions. The group utilizes manipulative massification as manifested in a group fundamentalism and singular belief – ensuring the homogeneity of singular identity and the 'purity' of the social unconscious through distancing members who do not "conform to what we think" or "believe what everybody else believes".

"He always tells me back when he was in the army, he only hung out with the English people because we're all a bit strange in our family."

In the above, the group highlights the perception that one cannot be "strange" in front of other group members - differential ways of being not aligned to an idealised way of being are "strange" and can only safely be explored with out-group individuals such as English people, to avoid othering by the group. There is a sense of shame in this differential way of being evidenced by hiding this deviation away from other group members, and this was only indulged during terms of conscription in the army – a liminal space where one is temporarily removed from the context of the daily rules of society, and consequently removed from the constraints of the group's social unconscious.

This in-group othering may lead to the formation of sub-groups within the larger group:

"When you're an Afrikaans person, you are very familiar with a saying that Afrikaans people can't stand together. It's something that we do. It's part of our culture. So, we have this way, separating off into little groups. We're all Afrikaners, but we're all our

own distinct version of Afrikaans. So, it's nothing new for the Afrikaners to kind of other you and place you in your own kind of category"

This cordoning off into smaller groups is characteristic of aggregation, a group response to trauma characterised by excessive differentiation and encapsulated sub-groups and sub-cultures (Hopper, 2003a). However, as is typical of the traumatogenic process, traumatised groups shift from poles of aggregation and massification:

"*You still an Afrikaner and if shit hits the fan and us Afrikaners have to stand together, then you're definitely an Afrikaner no matter what I said to you beforehand"*

Despite ingroup othering, a threat to the group serves to unify the separate "little groups" and the larger group identity prevails over a sub-group identity in the face of a perceived threat. When the group's internalised fear of annihilation is triggered the sub-groups of aggregation are forgotten and the group massifies to form a united force (Hopper, 2003a).

5.3.4 Afrikanerdom

The massification as a response against the fear of annihilation serves to foster in-group ties and connections to the group identity:

"*I think Afrikaans Must Fall for me was a significant learning experience because prior to that, I didn't really identify very strongly with the Afrikaner but while it was happening, I did get defensive. And I did recognize within myself this attachment to the Afrikaans culture that I didn't before really recognize or know"*

The above indicates how the perceived external attack by the Afrikaans Must Fall movement on the Afrikaans culture and consequently the group identity renews one's

feeling of connection to and loyalty towards the group, leading to a defensive response to the perceived attack.

"What Afrikaans Must Fall made me see was that people expect me to be ashamed of the fact that I am Afrikaans and that I can speak Afrikaans. And I'm not, and I never will be. And that makes me angry, that makes me defensive, maybe even indignant to a point"

In the above the participant indicates that the Afrikaans Must Fall movement is understood as an expectation for group members to denounce their affiliation, which in turn strengthens feelings of affiliation and causes feelings of defensiveness of the group identity. The Afrikaner group identity, in its rooting in an ethnic group – in this context referring to the self-identification with a group based on a perception of shared origin – is a particular manifestation of the social unconscious known as the ethnic unconscious (Herron, 1995). The ethnic unconscious is particularly rigid and resistant to change and thus exceptionally vulnerable to the traumatogenic process (Herron, 1995). When this orginary identity is perceived as threatened, in that the group feel pushed into renouncing their shared ethnic identification, the group resists change by leaning into shared patterns of defences organised within the ethnic unconscious and manifesting here as a massification response (Hopper, 2003a).

In reference to the boundaries of the group's identity, a shared sense of origin is perceived as vital. This emphasis on origin in identity is in part rooted in the Calvinist philosophies of the "Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk" (Dutch Reformed Church), with Christianity serving as a fundamental underpinning in the construction of an Afrikaner identity, as exhibited below:

"It stems from the Bible, it stems from the Christian belief." "For me, that's very much what it means to be an Afrikaner is kind of homing in on that, and not letting anything influence that you live by those morals"

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Christian mythology is employed as a framing device in the 'volk' narrative of the Afrikaner Nationhood as a people chosen by God to lead, mythologising the Great Trek of the Voortrekkers mirroring the Biblical Exodus wherein the Israelites escaped slavery in Egypt to find the Promised Land (Oliver, 2019). The Biblical mythologisation of the Great Trek afforded the Afrikaners an identity as the pre-ordained leaders of a nation, and during Apartheid served to legitimise the promotion of Afrikaans interests and social power at the expense of black subjugation (Du Toit, 1983). The emphasis on origin as a group identifier is thus necessary to perpetuate this mythology of a hereditary prerogative.

"It's language number one, language is a very big thing. Okay, language is important, and language comes with culture, you know, if you learn it outside of the culture it's not even Afrikaans. So being an Afrikaans person is as much as being able to speak the language as being able to relate as South African".

"They need to come from South Africa. Ja. For me personally, they also need to - something about South Africa, it's the land having lived here that basically forms part of what it means to be Afrikaans. Ja. You see the same things, you know, the common denominator? Ja. Well, I guess it's the context, the context is very important."

As shown in the above excerpts the group consents that language is a critical group identifier, but that it achieves its significance through a shared context of South African heritage. The group identity as the social unconscious is thus demonstrated to manifest as an ethnic unconscious, due to the conditional requirement of all identity markers to occur within a defined ethnic identity – "if you learn it outside of the culture it's not even Afrikaans. So being an Afrikaans person is as much being able to speak the language as being able to relate as South African". This definition also reaffirms the connection of language to the group's identity, and thus the removal of language triggers the group's pattern of ethnic defences.

With the group identity defined in its ties to a shared ethnic identity, it is also defined in its separation from those who are not viewed as sharing this origin:

"Like, what makes you an Afrikaans person and thinking about it now like I also have to say that the other South African cultures because what would we be without them? Um, significantly like going back to my drawing with regards to the fighting and during the Boer War and things like that, the Battle of Blood River I mean, that is a significant time or, point of history in the Afrikaans, you know, journey. And the point of opposition is the Zulu. Now, I'm not going to argue about what happened there, but Afrikaners wouldn't be Afrikaners without the Zulu in that situation. So, the other South African cultures also like the Zulu and Sepedi, them being here and knowing about them, interacting with them, that shared history. That's what makes Afrikaans, Afrikaans"

The dreamer defines the group identity in opposition to other cultural groups, the boundaries of the group identity are defined in part by the boundaries of other groups. The examples given as interactions with these other groups that "makes Afrikaans, Afrikaans" are points of conflict between the Afrikaner and the other group – the Boer War and the Battle of Blood River – the former of which was identified as a "fight for Afrikanerdom". The group identity is made meaningful partly through the defence of this identity from groups defined as other. In a defensive massification response, there is an assertion of the group's identity through a recognition of a boundary between who is within the group and who is without (Hopper, 2003a). In the perception that the group identity is under threat, there is a need to define what "We are!" and what "We are not!" thereby defining this boundary (Hopper, 2003a). Thus, in linking the group identity to the existence of other groups, and in particular to points of conflict with these groups, the group is defensively asserting this identity as "We are not!" the other groups and are defending what "We are!" from the other.

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The connection made between defending the boundaries of the group's identity against the other and the group's sense of identity as a whole is made again within the explicit context of the South African War:

"Some Vrye Burghers and some Voortrekkers, and at the bottom there the English mense (people) are sailing up and they're killing each other OK! In the fight for Afrikanerdom".

In choosing to represent the South African War in the journey depicted in the dream, it is placed as a pivotal event in the development of the group identity. The war is characterised as a "fight for Afrikanerdom", thereby positioning the group's ethnic identity as threatened in the war, and ultimately lost with the subsequent annexation of the Boer Republic by the British. Herein lies the original trauma, whereby the fight to assert the boundaries of the group identity was lost, resulting in the forcible temporary subsumption of the group identity into the other British South African group.

"Knowing a little bit about the history of Afrikaans and how far they've come, where they come from, what they've had to go through to be where they are today to have the universities that have the language that they have. It's extremely sad to see Afrikaans Must Fall, because Afrikaans is basically what the Afrikaner fought for"

"Anger kinda coming out in flames and burning down everything that was fought for. And that just shows that what was fought for means nothing"

"That was everything to them, they laid their livelihoods and their lives on the line for Afrikaans and here we are - I don't know I think this is what probably about 80 maybe 100 years later from the Second Boer War – here we are Afrikaans has fallen"

The above excerpts demonstrate that Afrikaans Must Fall is tied to the original trauma, as a threat to the movement after the South African War to establish Afrikaans as a medium of education, and the recovery of the group identity from its subsumption following the war. In its equation with this loss of identity, the movement triggers the fear of annihilation in the fear of the destruction of a rebuilt identity following the original trauma.

" [The Afrikaans language] definitely contributes to our character as a People"

"When things like this happen, we start questioning if what we have, this uniqueness about us is survivable. Its burning!"

Here, the Afrikaans language is explicitly depicted as a core element of the Afrikaans group identity, so much so that the Afrikaans Must Fall movement put into question the group's belief in their own survivability. The removal of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction from tertiary institutions is equated with the destruction of the language entirely, and consequently the group fears the destruction of the group itself.

Thus, the massification response is a subconscious attempt to reassert the group's identity in what "We are!" and defend against resubsumption in affirming that "We are not!" the other.

As a summation to the dream drawing, the dreamer writes:

"Though we physically survive, will our culture survive with us?"

In placing the group identity as at risk of extinction and mirroring the depiction of the South African War, the events of Afrikaans Must Fall are linked with the South African War. Afrikaans Must Fall is thus framed as a battle against the Afrikaans people in a recreation of the "fight for Afrikanerdom"

5.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter presented the three dream drawings and detailed the corresponding dreams, identifying four core themes centred on the construction of the Afrikaner identity as an expression of whiteness and Afriforum's protection of this whiteness in response to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement.

The theme of Intergenerational Transmission of Ways of Being explores the construction of the Afrikaner identity within the context of the 'volk' narrative. Within this theme, the transmission and reinforcement of this constructed identity is explored as well as the perpetuation of this identity in the massification response as a defence against the perceived threat of the Afrikaans Must Fall movement.

This then leads on to the theme of Internal/External Conflict which examines how this identity arose as a reactionary defence of Afrikaans whiteness post the Afrikaner's disenfranchisement following the South African War. It also looks into the role of the Afrikaans language in the recovery of this whiteness and identifies how the Afrikaans Must Fall movement triggers a fear of annihilation in the perceived threat to the Afrikaans language as a significant element within the broader Afrikaner identity.

The theme of Othering explores the defence of this whiteness as a response to the historical sublimation into the British group in the creation of boundaries around the Afrikaner identity against other groups. The Afrikaans Must Fall Movement is understood as a perceived threat in the belief that it is blurring these inter-group boundaries, and thereby reactivates the fear of Afrikaner identity being subsumed. In exploring this response, it is also understood as a conscious defence of the exclusionary privileges afforded by the boundaries of Afrikaans whiteness.

Finally, the theme of Afrikanerdom further explores the boundaries of Afrikaner whiteness in investigating the role of a Calvinist mythologisation of the 'volk' narrative

in the legitimisation of the systems that centre Afrikaans whiteness and perpetuate white privilege. As in the theme of Othering, this theme understands the response of Afriforum Jeug to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement as both a subconscious defence of the Afrikaner identity as well as a conscious defence of a narrative that legitimatises and perpetuates the prioritisation of the interests of those falling within the boundaries of Afrikaans whiteness.

The following chapter servers to summarise and conclude the study.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

6.1. Introduction

This final chapter summarises the findings of the study and details both the limitations of the study as well as recommendations for further research, culminating in the concluding remarks.

6.2 Summary of Findings

The objectives of this study may be restated as follows:

1. *How can Earl Hopper's theory of the traumatogenic process be applied in order to explain Afriforum Jeug's reaction to the 2016 Afrikaans Must Fall movement?*

2. *How can the strong negative reaction demonstrated by Afriforum Jeug towards the 2016 Afrikaans Must Fall movement be explained as a defensive response to the recreation of the trauma of the South African War as described within Earl Hopper's theory of the traumatogenic process?*

In fulfilling the above objectives, the methodology of Social Dream Drawing was utilized in conducting a group interview with participants who had been Afriforum Jeug members during the 2016 events of the Afrikaans Must Fall movement. The session was organized around the pre-identified focus of "Being Afrikaans during Afrikaans Must Fall", and resultant discussions were found to centre on the themes of Intergenerational Transmission of Ways of Being, Internal/External Conflict, Othering and Afrikanerdom.

The theme of Intergenerational Transmission of Ways of Being examines how an essentialist construction of the Afrikaner identity is perpetuated across generational

lines through the enforcement of a particular way of being that is rooted in the mythologisation of the 'volk' narrative. This theme unpacks the retreat of Afriforum into the enclave of whiteness legitimised by this construction, and the means by which the intergenerational transmission of a defined way of being acts as a tool to preserve this Afrikaans whiteness and is an active investment in white interests.

The theme of Internal/External conflict then places the construction of this Afrikaans identity within the context of the movement to recover Afrikaans whiteness from a positioning as subaltern post the South African war and examines the role of the Afrikaans language as a medium of instruction in both the past construction of and the present constructing of Afrikaans whiteness as a position of privilege.

The defence of this positioning of whiteness is further explored in the theme of Othering, which identifies the reactionary response of Afriforum Jeug against the Afrikaans Must Fall movement as stemming from the need to create boundaries around the Afrikaner identity against other groups. This theme analyses this need as a consequence of the past sublimation of the Afrikaner identity into the British South African group, while also acknowledging the enforcement of these boundaries as a conscious and intentional protection of the privileges afforded in maintaining the construction of whiteness as exclusionary to other South African groups.

Finally, the theme of Afrikanerdom investigates these boundaries of whiteness further by exploring the systems designed around the protection of Afrikaans white interests as legitimised by the Calvinist mythologisation of the 'volk' narrative which frame the centralisation of the Afrikaner as pre-ordained. Here the response of Afriforum Jeug to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement is understood not only as a subconscious defence of the Afrikaner identity but also as the active defence of this centrality.

The analysis of these themes was used to map the Afriforum Jeug's response to the 2016 Afrikaans Must Fall movement as it aligns with Hopper's traumatogenic process. In doing so, extensive literature was consulted so as to understand and critique the role that perceptions of whiteness and white privilege play within Afriforum Jeug's experience of their root trauma, and the ways in which the defensive mechanisms employed in their response to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement serve as a means of protecting white privilege:

The social unconscious of the Afrikaner group can be explored through the examination of the constraining impact of the group arrangements in place within its social unconscious and the means by which these arrangements bring into alignment a shared way of being that constitutes the Afrikaner group identity. The Afrikaner group here refers to the nationalist construction of an Afrikaans cultural identity founded on the 'volk' narrative and perpetuated by Afriforum as an expression of neo-Afrikaner enclave nationalism (van der Westhuizen, 2016).

This group identity manifests as an ethnic unconscious, in that critical group identifiers such as language achieve significance only within the context of a shared sense of originary heritage. It is rooted in an essentialist Afrikaner 'volk' narrative that presents Afrikaans whiteness, and particularly male Afrikaans whiteness, as being heredity and inherent to the group. The narrative draws from Calvinist theology in framing the 'volk' as God's chosen people, and thereby legitimising the privileged societal positioning of constructions of Afrikaans whiteness.

The original trauma within the group's social unconscious lies in the loss of the boundaries of this ethnic unconscious in the forcible subsumption of the Boer identity to the British South African group. Afrikaans Must Fall is equated to this original trauma as it is seen to threaten the recovery of the group identity post-war achieved through the promotion of the Afrikaans language -throughout all spheres but particularly in education - in establishing the Afrikaner identity as hegemonic. The perceived threat against the Afrikaans language as such a potent symbol of the recovery of an

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Afrikaans identity post-disenfranchisement agitates a deeply held collective trauma of past humiliation. This subconscious response operates in conjunction with a conscious attempt to maintain an exclusionist white space as a means of perpetuating the privileged orientation of Afrikaans whiteness.

As demonstrated by the dreams, this equivalence triggers within the group a fear of annihilation, as the fear of once again being subsumed. The group massifies as a defensive response to this fear of annihilation. Massification is manifested in a group fundamentalism and singular belief - as personified in the 'volk' ideal and policed through expectations of 'ordentlikheid' - and is amplified due to the perceived threat posed by the Afrikaans Must Fall movement to the group's identity.

This massification is perpetuated through the defensive othering of those outside of the group as well as projective identification of being othered to maintain the boundaries of the group identity - these defences serve as a means of protecting Afrikaans whiteness by enacting strategies of inclusion and exclusion. Massification is further perpetuated through the othering of members who step outside of these boundaries so as to maintain a homogenous way of being, and introjective identification with the defined group identity so as to ensure its transmission across generations of the group and ultimate persistence. These defences are achieved through the role of the 'volksmoeder' in reinforcing ideals of 'ordentlikheid' thereby ensuring the continuation of intergenerational performances of whiteness that serve to maintain a 'volk' narrative and legitimise and preserve the domination and inherent privileges of Afrikaans whiteness.

6.3 Limitations

Sampling for this study was conducted within the context of multiple impeding factors - the politically sensitive nature of the research dissuading potential participants, the time passed since the 2016 events of Afrikaans Must Fall leading to out-of-date membership records held by Afriforum Jeug, and the restrictions on gathering due to

the Covid-19 pandemic hampering initial attempts to gather data. As a result, the sample for this study was relatively small at 3 participants. While the data yielded was rich in depth due to the calibre of participation, a larger sample size would have produced a broader base of data from which to draw results. With this noted, the small sample size posed the advantage of allowing for the development of intimate rapport which, given the aforementioned sensitive nature of the study, yielded nuanced and introspective data which may have been inhibited in a larger group. Furthermore, while analysis is rooted in data generated with the three participants, interpretations are substantiated by reference to relevant literature.

A related limitation of the study was the relatively homogenous sample profile in terms of sexual orientation and socio-economic background. While this homogeneity no doubt contributed to the previously mentioned intimacy of the group, further studies with participants who vary on these factors will allow for the deeper exploration of the roles of class, hetero-normativity and cis-normativity in the prescriptive ideals of the 'volk' narrative.

6.4 Recommendations for further research

Recommendations for further study would thus tap into the interplay of these subject positionings and the construction of Afrikaner identity. In particular, this study touched upon the dynamics of gender and the hegemony of masculinity in Afrikaans whiteness, an issue which warrants additional research. The findings of these studies would be complimentary to this research in developing a deeper understanding of how Afriforum's perpetuation of a neo-nationalist ideal of Afrikaansness serves not only as a means of prioritising whiteness at the expense of black subjects, but also prioritising cis-male, heterosexual and middle-class bodies at the expense of those identities which exist outside of these boundaries.

6.5 Concluding remarks

In conclusion, this study illustrates how Afriforum Jeug's opposition to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement and the removal of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction at tertiary institutions is a defence against the fear of annihilation triggered by equating the Afrikaans Must Fall movement with the original group trauma of Afrikaans disenfranchisement post the South African War.

In doing so, the study illuminates the means by which Afriforum Jeug's opposition is an attempt to reassert and perpetuate a neo-nationalist construction of Afrikaner identity based on an exclusionary 'volk' narrative, and in doing so legitimising a white space, the continuation of which serves as a maintaining force for white privilege. In uncovering the mechanisms, both conscious and subconscious, by which white spaces are legitimised this study empowers open engagement with - and ultimate dismantling of - these spaces.

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Appendix A: Semi-Structured Interview Schedule

<u>Drawing:</u>

- Without showing us your drawing yet, what is the dream that you can share with the group?

- Now showing us your dream drawing, what is your dream drawing depicting?

- Does anyone have any questions that they would like to ask (Participant) to clarify some aspect of their dream or drawing?

<u>Free Association and Amplification:</u>

- Looking at the dream drawing, are there any thoughts, images or feelings that spring to mind? Please do not attempt to organise or censor yourself, say whatever comes to you.

- Can you amplify any of these thoughts, images, or feelings? Can you relate them to any sort of cultural or historical narratives, or any folklore or stories that you are aware of?

- Would you (the dream drawer) like to comment on any of the associations or amplifications that the group came up with?

<u>Reflection:</u>

- How can we link this dream and our associations and amplifications to AMF or any aspect of being Afrikaans? How do they reflect your lived experiences of being Afrikaans during AMF?

Appendix B: Participant Information Letter

Project Title: Afriforum Jeug's reaction to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement: An application of Hopper's theory on the traumatogenic process.

Affiliation: University of Pretoria

Researcher: Bronwyn Penny   Supervisor: Dr. Sabrina Liccardo

Cell No: 082 332 1587   Tel No: 012 420 4935

Email: b.e.penny@gmail.com   Email: sabrina.liccardo@up.ac.za

University of Pretoria Research Ethics Committee:

Tel No: 012 356 3084 or 012 356 3085

I am writing to invite you to participate in my research study. I am currently enrolled in the Research Psychology Master's program at the University of Pretoria, and in partial fulfilment of my degree, I am writing a mini-dissertation. My study is entitled "Afriforum Jeug's reaction to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement: An application of Earl Hopper's theory on the traumatogenic process". The purpose of my study is to explore how Earl Hopper's psychoanalytic theory of the traumatogenic process could be applied to better understand the response of Afriforum Jeug to the 2016 Afrikaans Must Fall movement. As such, I am interested in the experiences of members of Afriforum Jeug during the 2016 Afrikaans Must Fall movement and I would therefore like to invite you to participate in this study.

The nature of my study requires that participants be 21 years or older, and that they were members of the Afriforum Jeug UP chapter during the 2016 AMF movement.

Participation in this study involves taking part in a group activity, lasting approximately 2 to 3 hours, known as Social Dream Drawing, which looks at how our thoughts and feelings surrounding events in our waking lives can be represented within our dreams, and how we can make sense of these thoughts and feelings through reflecting on our dreams (Mersky, 2018).

Your participation is completely voluntary and there are no negative consequences should you decline to participate. Should you agree to participate, you do not have to answer any questions you are not comfortable answering, and you may withdraw at any point during the session, also with no negative consequences.

Should you agree to participate, I will contact you prior to the session to communicate the theme that the session will be centred around. This theme will be related to personal identity as an Afrikaans person and the Afrikaans Must Fall movement. When I communicate this theme to you, I will also ask that you create a simple drawing of any dreams that you have leading up to the group session. The drawing does not need to be complex; it is just a tool to aid you in remembering and thinking about your dream during the session. Choosing which dream drawings you want to bring to the group session is entirely your decision. If you feel

uncomfortable sharing any of your dreams, or you would prefer to keep some of your dreams private, you are under no obligation to share them with the group.

The Social Dream Drawing activity will be conducted in a group of about five participants, all of whom will be Afriforum Jeug members. Each participant will have the chance to share their drawing and describe their dream to the group. I will then ask the entire group to share any thoughts, feelings or images that they associate with the dream and the drawing. Afterwards, we will discuss as a group how we feel these thoughts, feelings, and images relate to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement and being Afrikaans.

In the interest of best protecting your health and safety and in accordance with the national adjusted Alert Level 4 regulations prohibiting physical gatherings, the session will be conducted through an online video group call. In order to be able to participate, please ensure that you have access to a stable internet connection and a web camera, as well as a quiet and private area in which you can participate without being interrupted or running the risk of being overheard by others.

The group session will be audio recorded. The recording will be saved on my personal computer and then deleted from the recorder. The recording will be used to transcribe the group session. My personal computer is password protected and therefore only I (and my supervisor) will have access to the recordings and transcripts. All data will be stored for 15 years, as per university policy, and may be used in future research. However, all information that could identify you in any research outputs will be changed and your name will not be used in any of the research data.

The risks involved in taking part in this study include possibly feeling uncomfortable discussing certain issues within a group setting. However, everything that is discussed will be confidential and kept within the group, and there will no political or personal judgement on anything discussed. Should you feel as though you need to speak to a professional regarding any of the topics brought up in the interview, I will provide you with the contact details of a counsellor upon request. The benefits of taking part in this study include improving understanding of Afriforum Jeug's perception of Afrikaans Must Fall. It is also an opportunity to discuss openly and without judgement or repercussions your experiences of the Afrikaans Must Fall movement, with your fellow participants who have likely had similar experiences.

If you have any questions regarding the research, you may contact me or my supervisor (details above). If you have any complaints, you may contact the research ethics committee of the University of Pretoria (details above). Please feel free to contact me at any time to discuss this research.

I look forward to working with you.

…………………………

Bronwyn Penny   (Adapted from Brown, 2009)

Appendix C: Informed Consent Form

If you agree to participate in this study of the experiences of Afriforum Jeug members during the 2016 Afrikaans Must Fall movement, please sign this consent form granting me (the researcher) permission to conduct a group session that I am participating in, audio record the interview and your responses, and store the data.

I understand that:

- My participation in this study is voluntary.
- I may refuse to answer any question I do not wish to answer.
- All aspects of this research study have been approved by The Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Pretoria.
- I may withdraw from the study at any time, with no negative consequences.
- The group session will take approximately 2 to 3 hours.
- Risks include possibly feeling uncomfortable discussing certain issues in a group setting, as well as possibly experiencing fatigue due to the length of the session.
- The contact details of a counsellor will be provided upon request should I experience discomfort resulting from my taking part in the study.
- Comfort breaks of 15 minutes will be taken after every hour to guard against fatigue. This time has been factored into the total time of 2 to 3 hours.
- I will do my best to participate in discussions fully and candidly; there are no right or wrong answers and I will not be judged for the opinions I hold.
- The session will be conducted via an online video platform.
- The session will be audio recorded.
- The audio recordings will be stored on the researcher's computer and then be deleted from the recorder.
- The recordings will be used to transcribe the interview.
- All information that could identify me, in any research outputs, will be changed and no names will be used in the research data
- All data will be stored for 15 years by the Department of Psychology at the University of Pretoria and may be used for future research.
- The findings of the research will be compiled in a mini-dissertation and submitted to the University of Pretoria in compliance with the requirement of the MA Research Psychology programme.
- The researcher's computer is password protected and only the researcher and the researcher's supervisor will have access to the recordings and transcripts.
- Benefits include improving understanding of Afriforum Jeug's perception of Afrikaans Must Fall and having an opportunity to discuss openly and without judgement or repercussions my experiences of the Afrikaans Must Fall movement, with my fellow participants who have likely had similar experiences.
- I may contact the researcher at any point to discuss the research (see contact details below).
- I may contact the researcher or the supervisor at any point should I have any complaints (see contact details below).

I _____ (name and surname)
consent to taking part in a Social Dream Drawing group session conducted by Bronwyn
Penny (the researcher) and approve the use of the audiotape recorder during the session.
I also consent to the use of my responses, in an anonymous manner, in this research study
and possible future research outputs.

Signature: _____   Date: _____

Bronwyn Penny (Researcher)   Dr. Sabrina Liccardo (Supervisor)

Email: b.e.penny@gmail.com   Email:sabrina.liccardo@up.ac.za

Cellphone: 082 332 1587

Appendix D: Letter Requesting Participation

Good day,

I am a student in the Research Psychology Masters programme at the University of Pretoria looking to recruit participants to take part in my study of the experiences of Afriforum Jeug members during the 2016 Afrikaans Must Fall movement.

The purpose of my study is to understand how Earl Hopper's theory of the traumatogenic process be applied in order to explain Afriforum Jeug's reaction to the 2016 Afrikaans Must Fall movement.

I am asking you to participate because you meet the participate criteria, namely you were a university student at the University of Pretoria during 2016, you were a member of Afriforum Jeug during 2016, and you are over 21 years old.

Participation in this study entails taking part in a single group session which will last approximately 2 to 3 hours. During this session, the group will be involved in a data collection method known as Social Dream Drawing. This method requires that participants draw any dream that they have in the weeks leading up to the session. They are then asked to bring their drawing to the group session, where everyone will have the opportunity to describe their dream and present their drawing to the group. The group will then engage in a free association and amplification phase, where they verbalise any thoughts or emotions elicited by the dream and attempt to link these thoughts and emotions with broader social, cultural, and historical narratives. After this phase, the group will link what has emerged in the free association and amplification phases to the dream drawers lived experiences.

In the interest of best protecting your health and safety and in accordance with the national adjusted Alert Level 4 regulations prohibiting physical gatherings, the session will be conducted through an online video group call. In order to be able to participate, please ensure that you have access to a stable internet connection and a web camera, as well as a quiet and private area in which you can participate without being interrupted or running the risk of being overheard by others.

If you are interested in sharing your experiences of being Afrikaans during the Afrikaans Must Fall movement, I would like to invite you to participate in my research project.

Should you be at all interested in taking part in the study and would like more information, please contact me via email at b.e.penny@gmail.com.

Thank you for taking the time to read this letter of request and I hope to hear from you soon.

Regards,

Bronwyn Penny (Researcher)   Dr. Sabrina Liccardo (Supervisor)

Email: b.e.penny@gmail.com   Email: sabrina.liccardo@up.ac.za

Cellphone: 082 332 1587

Appendix E: Ethical Approval Letter

Faculty of Humanities

Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Lefapha la Bomotho

09 July 2021

Dear Miss BE Penny

Project Title:	Afriforum Jeug's reaction to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement: An application of Earl Hopper's theory on the traumatogenic process.
Researcher:	Miss BE Penny
Supervisor(s):	Dr SL Liccardo
Department:	Psychology
Reference number:	15009612 (HUM034/1019)
Degree:	Masters

I have pleasure in informing you that the above application was **approved** by the Research Ethics Committee on 09 July 2021. Data collection may therefore commence.

Please note that this approval is based on the assumption that the research will be carried out along the lines laid out in the proposal. Should the actual research depart significantly from the proposed research, it will be necessary to apply for a new research approval and ethical clearance.

We wish you success with the project.

Sincerely,

Prof Karen Harris
Acting Chair: Research Ethics Committee
Faculty of Humanities
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
e-mail: PGHumanities@up.ac.za

To whom it may concern,

I am writing to request permission to conduct a research study with current and/or past members of the Afriforum Jeug UP chapter. I am currently enrolled in the Research Psychology Master's program at the University of Pretoria and, in partial fulfilment of my degree, I am writing a mini-dissertation. My study is entitled "Afriforum Jeug's reaction to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement: An application of Earl Hopper's theory on the traumatogenic process"

The purpose of my study is to explore how Earl Hopper's psychoanalytic theory of the traumatogenic process could be applied to better understand the response of Afriforum Jeug to the 2016 Afrikaans Must Fall (AMF) movement. Hopper's theory posits that when a social group undergoes severe collective trauma – as was experienced by the Afrikaans people during the South African War (Second Boer War) – the group carries that trauma in their collective unconsciousness, passing the trauma along subsequent group generations so that the effects of the trauma are still felt many years later. When this group is faced with new, perceivably threatening events – such as the AMF movement of 2016 – they subconsciously equate this new event with the original trauma which then impacts the ways in which they interpret and respond to the new event. It is my hope that, through Hopper's theory of the traumatogenic process, I will be able to both elucidate the psychological mechanisms inherent in Afriforum's Jeug's strong response of AMF as well as the complex race relations embedded within the event.

I therefore request that you kindly assist me in recruiting 6 past or current members of your chapter. The nature of my study requires that these participants be 18 years or older, and that they were members of the Afriforum Jeug UP chapter during the 2016 AMF movement. If you would kindly supply me with the contact details of potential participants who fit the criteria of the study, I will personally contact these individuals to ask if they are interested in participating in my study. Participation in this study would be contingent on the informed, voluntary consent of the participant, whose identity would not be disclosed in any of the research outputs, and I do not foresee any risk to the participants as a result of their involvement in my study. No costs will be incurred by either your chapter or the individual participants.

If approval is granted, consenting participants will participate in a single, 2 to 3-hour long group session in which we will employ the psychoanalytic method of Social Dream Drawing. This entails each participant bringing a drawing that they have made illustrating a dream that they had prior to the session. The group will then discuss each drawing and attempt to identify underlying themes within the dream drawing, as well as link these themes to the events of the AMF movement. This session will be audio recorded, with the consent of the participants, and the transcript of this recording will be analysed and coded for emergent themes using Hopper's theory as a guide. These themes will then be organised into an explanatory framework detailing the psychosocial elements embedded within Afriforum Jeug's response to the AMF movement.

Your approval to conduct this study will be greatly appreciated. I would be happy to answer any questions or concerns that you may have, as well as provide further information on my research study. You may contact me or my supervisor, Dr. Liccardo, using the contact information provided below.

If you agree, kindly submit a signed letter of permission on your institution's letterhead acknowledging your consent and permission for me to conduct this study.

Sincerely,

Bronwyn Penny (Researcher)   Dr. Sabrina Liccardo
(Supervisor)

Email: b.e.penny@gmail.com   Email:
sabrina.liccardo@up.ac.za

Cell phone: 082 332 1587

Appendix G: Letter of Permission from Afriforum Jeug

March 29, 2021

To whom it may concern

On behalf of Afriforum Jeug, I am writing to formally indicate our awareness of the research proposed by Bronwyn Penny, a student at the University of Pretoria, entitled "Afriforum Jeug's reaction to the Afrikaans Must Fall movement: An application of Earl Hopper's theory on the traumatogenic process". We are aware that Bronwyn Penny intends to conduct her research by conducting a social dream drawing session with previous and current members of our organisation.

As National Coordinator of Campuses, I grant Bronwyn Penny permission to carry out her research study.

Chantelle du Preez
NASIONALE KOÖRDINEERDER: KAMPUSSE

SEL: 081 216 9214 | E-POS: CHANTELLE.DUPREEZ@AFRIFORUM.CO.ZA

POSADRES: POSBUS 17216, LYTTELTON, 0140
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