

not relegating investment to personal whim, or chance. Experiments in this line made by the local missionary, especially in the encouragement of vegetable gardening suggest that such projects could be successful, and enthusiastically received.

Land-tenure is seen by all parties as something urgently needing revision. The system of communal land-tenure was introduced to protect local inhabitants from competition, and to maintain Church control over the population. It today has the effect of creating uncertainty and insecurity amongst the population, who now feel themselves subject to distant control by the Coloured Affairs Department, and likely to lose the rights they have. Consequently they lose interest in caring for the land they are working. This applied both to large scale wheat and sheep farmers and small scale vegetable farmers.

A further implication of the development of Industrial farming is the extension of education facilities to include Agricultural training for those who choose it. This would have to be on a scale wider than Leliefontein alone, and raises the question of employment opportunities for trained people. A brief inquiry into this seems to indicate that trained Coloured people would easily find employment as professional farm managers. This in turn raises the question of loosening ownership laws to enable Coloured people to buy farms on the open market, a matter which is beyond the scope of this paper.

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IDENTITY AMONG LOWER-CLASS CAPE COLOUREDS

by Gerald L. Stone

Research on Coloureds and the Concept of Identity

The brown South African, like the black American a few years ago, is becoming of increasing interest to white behavioural scientists, reflecting whites' growing unease with their traditional views and treatment of their brown fellow citizens and difficulty in arriving at a re-orientation.

Earlier behavioural research on the coloureds (Jacobsen, 1945) tended to concentrate on pathology - crime, alcoholism, mental illness, truancy, work-shyness, illegitimacy, poverty, etc. This interest has often functioned as a patronizing scientific expression of anti-coloured prejudice. I make no pretence of rectitude in this regard. We who pride ourselves on our ability as intellectuals to study people "objectively" often underestimate the power of our emotions and the deviousness of our prejudices in finding expression. And we find only too willing allies in those many coloureds who equate brownness with worthlessness and weakness. To them Erik Erikson's remarks apply poignantly:

"Therapeutic as well as reformist efforts verify the sad truth that in any system based on suppression, exclusion, and exploitation, the suppressed, excluded and exploited unconsciously accept the evil image they are made to represent by those who are dominant." (1968)

In the concept of identity an attempt is made to integrate history and social position with life experience and personality. The choice of identity as a focus for a psychosocial discussion of the coloureds is no accident. As Erikson notes (1966), identity becomes the "desperate quest" of any despised and subordinated minority, and the coloureds, again like the Negroes, seem for most of this century to have been wandering in a wilderness of confusion and despair.

Erikson has been the most articulate exponent of the concept of identity.

It has become a popular term subject to facile and indiscriminate usage, often taken to refer simply to a self-image, group or individual, which enables avoidance of the less manageable and obscure implications. He describes it, firstly, in subjective terms as a sense of an invigorating sameness and continuity (1966) which, for an individual may be private, but may also be proudly shared by a community of individuals with a unique history and social position in common. There are thus identical subjective elements in both the core of the individual and the core of a communal culture. Identity develops through both the individual's life and the community's history. Secondly, in a more objective sense, Erikson describes such growth as involving "an integration of roles which foster individual vitality within a vital trend in the existing or developing social order" (1966). Elsewhere he defines identity as a "configuration of constitutional givens, idiosyncratic libidinal needs, favoured capacities, significant identifications, effective defences, successful sublimations, and consistent roles" (1959). Erikson has been criticized (Hauser, 1971) for confusing subjective and objective aspects, and for vagueness in defining the latter aspects. He defends his approach on the grounds that too little is known as yet about identity to warrant such definition. This is so, but in discussing identity impressionistically and in terms of implicit relations, his work is open to misinterpretation, especially by non-psychoanalytically oriented students. I find no alternative but also to take this risk for the present. However, it can be minimized by confining analysis to those aspects which have already been made explicit.

Identity grows throughout the individual life cycle through a series of eight successive crises, or crucial choice junctures (Erikson, 1963), at each of which the individual may succeed or fail in establishing the appropriate identity. Erikson implies that these eight themes are universal and are expressed as clearly in culture as in personality. Rubenfeld (1965) has extended this theory to suggest that each Western urban class subculture facilitates identity failure at a particular crisis, the lower the class the earlier in life the failure. Failed identity is ultimately manifested in identity confusion, as a result of pathogenic influences, in which there is a loss of integration and continuity of appropriately articulated positive roles, a diffused time sense, and a malignant nihilism or negativism in the establishment of values. Positive elements are always complemented by negative

ones, being defined partly in contrast to each other. Identity confusion may be manifested in a negative identity, in which the individual, family or community rejects roles offered as desirable, and assumes willingly, even with a vengeance, roles despised by the wider society.

This paper focusses on lower-class Cape coloureds. The description "lower-class Cape coloureds" suggests an identity. The problem of circularity can be avoided by defining our subjects in purely sociological terms. Noting then that there are fortunately always individuals who defy consignment to simplistic pigeon-holes, "Cape coloured" refers in this paper to those mostly urban residents of the Cape Peninsula who are legally categorized as "Coloured"; and "lower-class" in the first section of this paper to those without full high school education, in unskilled or skilled manual occupations without administrative or executive responsibilities, or whose parents, spouses, or siblings are of similar background, and who associate with friends of such background. Upwardly mobile individuals are impossible to categorize by these criteria, and there is some evidence to suggest that upward mobility is taking place on a considerable scale, and that class boundaries are being reconstituted. Recent changes in class referents of identity will be discussed.

Subordination, Poverty and Intimidation

All citizens categorized as "Coloured" have to cope with various forms of domination by those who categorize themselves as "White". This is manifested most starkly in the presence of sheer physical force before which coloureds are powerless. Such force is irresistible and inescapable, and the only adaptation which can be made is intrapsychic, i.e. by some degree of introversion of aggressive resistance to it. Individuals differ in degree of directness of expressed aggression towards whites, but virtually none appear to escape a sense of stigma, which Goffman (1963) refers to as "spoiled identity". This involves not only a negative public image, but also a basic equation of negroid features with badness. In terms of the "Protestant ethic", personal badness may be mitigated by socio-economic achievement, and many higher-stratum-coloureds attempt to compensate for stigmatization in attaining a standard of education or living equal to that normative among whites. The failure of this attempt is evident in that although

many of them, particularly the self-styled intelligentsia, angrily refer to themselves in public as "so-called Coloureds", they habitually describe themselves in more intimate company as "we brown people". Wealth and whiteness tend to become equated, expressed in the bitter accusation by poorer coloureds that the better-offs pretend to be white ("hou hulle wit"). Lower-class coloureds have no such ready compensation, and are often more negroid in appearance as well.

Subordination provokes an aggressive reaction, which may be manifested directly in attack or hatred, or indirectly in servility and paranoid generalizations of white hostility to all interracial situations. Thus many brown people perceive a "catch" in any white friendliness or benevolence, and take revenge in antisocial conduct which they regard as justifiable. More directly, white drivers are sometimes subjected to purposely aggressive and dangerous treatment by brown drivers. Non-racist white employers report persistent stealing, absenteeism, and negativistic work conduct. Some coloured delinquents pride themselves on robbing only white pedestrians. Segregated coloured sports spectators invariably support foreign opponents of local white teams, and often taunt and hurl missiles at white spectators and competitors when they can get away with it. These are indeed the few opportunities when they may be able to get away with it. Whites usually extirpate direct brown aggression with a vengeance. The most feared and hated whites are, appropriately, the police. Innumerable tales are told, in a tone of weary scorn, of police violence, corruption, and discourtesy. Very many white policemen fulfil these expectations. One nickname for the police is the mocking "big boss" ("oubaas"), reflecting the demand by many of them to be addressed as such by coloureds. I have on several occasions seen coloureds being assaulted for refusing to do so. The most absolute stigmatization and ultimate degree of intimidation is expressed in the resigned belief by some of the poorest coloureds that the police are legally entitled to assault them, and that one can be sent to jail for keeping "bad company". In my experience, the police are experts at total intimidation, and a favoured ploy in "cleaning up the streets" is to warn a pedestrian to stand still, arrest him for loitering if he complies, or for resisting arrest if he refuses. Another is to arrest a pedestrian arbitrarily, lock him in the police van, drive him around for an hour or so, and then release him without charge several miles from the place of arrest. Protest during this game may be met with assault or a false charge.

Racial subordination involves economic restrictions exposing poverty-stricken coloureds to the mercy of white interests and discouraging them from acquiring economic strength. Poverty involves helplessness even more pervasive and destructive than direct racial subordination. In terms of the "Protestant ethic", it carries a brand of disreputability which exacerbates the sense of personal badness induced by racial stigmatization. More fundamentally, it pitches the individual beyond any question of socio-economic status achievement into a literal struggle for survival, not just physical sustenance, but also for the wresting of pleasure and a sense of wellbeing from a malign environment. If he fails he will slowly let himself die. The antisocial hedonism of many poor people has such a survival function. A profound sense of helplessness is engendered by experience of the repeated ravages of physical discomfort, disreputability, and of exploitation by other poor and better-off people alike. Fields of possible activism are restricted to relatively desocialized modes of interaction within the confines of the impoverished community - violence and sexuality. These become simple means of warding off the threat of a total loss of identity (Stone, 1966).

The sense of intimidation by the powerful world of white or wealthy authority is manifested in cultural deprivation. This is not simply ignorance or personality limitation as a result of a deficit of information affording social and occupational skills, but is a socialization process resulting in a rigid personality pattern of which an identity is an integral part. The culturally deprived person in a stratified society consistently learns to avoid exposure to any knowledge which may afford him worthy authority, and thus threaten to strip him of his fragile identity as an underdog, alienate him from his community, and pitch him into marginality. The identity formed by cultural deprivation is manifested, consciously or not, in both the avoidance of authoritative, formal knowledge (Bernstein, 1965, Frankenstein, 1968) and the self-image of fool (Stone, 1970 a, 1970 b, 1972).

Cultural Manifestations of Identity

The shared situations and common reactions of members of a community shape its conceptualizations, values and rituals manifested as culture. The "culture of poverty" or "lower-class subculture" has been well documented (Valentine, 1968).

Identity confusion among lower-class Cape coloureds is sharply manifested in differing valuations accorded Afrikaans and English elements in their racial and cultural history, and in the felt antagonism between these elements. Lower-class coloureds identify their racial antecedents as caucasoid, mostly Afrikaner, on one hand, and brown Khoisan (Hottentot and Bushman) on the other. The latter are denigrated, the general term of contempt by all for coloureds being 'Hotnot' or "Boesman", and the former, insofar as they are white, are idealized. But there is extreme ambivalence towards Afrikaners, who are hated as sadistic, sanctimonious oppressors. English-speaking whites are regarded with greater favour, and English or non-Dutch continental ancestors are proudly claimed. English-speaking whites are regarded as of higher status and more benevolent than Afrikaners, yet, in the final analysis, as self-seeking hypocrites.

Lower-class Cape coloureds view their origins as illegitimate, joking ruefully that the first coloureds were born nine months after the landing of Dutch colonists, who cohabited with the indigenous Khoisan. A gang of particularly ragged delinquents in Cape Town call themselves the Mongrels; another gang was known as the Little Bastard Kids. It is not the lack of an autonomous cultural heritage which is regretted, but its illegitimacy and mediocrity. Lower-class coloureds have tended to view themselves as the dependent, outcaste stepchildren of the whites, and to bewail rejection by whites. A sense of dependence is usually too humiliating to be admitted, but in the company of friendly English-speaking whites, a desperate yearning for affection and concern is betrayed.

There is thus a triple ambivalent disjunction of elements. Negroid elements are denigrated and white elements idealized; of white elements Afrikaans aspects are rejected and English aspects idealized; yet even English aspects are ultimately regarded as flawed and inadequate. A basic identification with the scorned elements is manifested in the coloureds' description of themselves as brown, and in the choice of language, which is an Afrikaans patois.

The patois differs from orthodox Afrikaans not only in its relative concretism and neglect of grammatical precision, but also in the systematic avoidance of Afrikaans pronunciation or terms which are associated with pompous authority. These are replaced with English terms.

Although basically, Afrikaans-speaking, lower-class Cape coloureds have a good implicit understanding of English, and prefer English newspaper and radio programmes.

A communal lower-class coloured identity is manifested in the use of unique argot referring to focal concerns: exploitation, seduction, violence, sex, money, illicit pursuits, and identity itself. There is a paucity of terminology referring to personal feelings, particularly feelings of disappointment, dependence and grief.

Lower-class Cape coloureds characterize themselves as Ham ("Gam"), the line of Ham. The biblical myth of Ham's sexual degradation of his father, Noah, and God's consequent granting to his brothers the right to enslave Ham's son Canaan's, descendants, was used for centuries by Christian white colonists as a justification for the enslavement of blacks, and was preached by South African missionaries until this century. White Afrikaners still sometimes use the term "Ham" to mean simply a brown or black servant. Although lower-class Cape coloureds are often unaware of the biblical origin, they frequently apply the term to themselves (Stone, 1970 b).

The Ham appellation is regarded as offensive when used by an unknown outsider, such as a strange white, or a middle-class coloured, but is accepted from a lower-class coloured or outsider regarded as loyal. It is always pejorative and mocking, but is often used humourously rather than critically. Being Ham implies both a particular social position and unique character. Being in the position of being both brown and poor, one characterizes oneself as Ham. One's characteristic behaviour in particular situations confirms that one is Ham. Both position and character are essential to the Ham image, indicating that it is viewed as an identity rather than a temporarily assumed role and status.

The term indicates particularly an underdog position in terms of race or class, whichever is more immediate. Thus some middle-class coloureds characterize themselves as Ham. Lower-class coloureds perceive them as being of higher status, and therefore as non-Ham.

The term is used mostly with reference to males, and the character is appropriately embedded more in the context of community rather than

familial, and public rather than private relations.

A person referred to as Ham is regarded as manifesting a variety of characteristics which may be categorized as follows:

- (i) He is unfortunate. It is said that "Ham has a bad time". The words "Why was I ever born?", "Born to suffer", or the initials "N. B. F." ("Nobody's Friend") are commonly chosen as delinquent tattoo inscriptions. Two conditions are regarded as evidence of his misfortune: he is coloured, and he is poor.

- (ii) He is repulsive. "My mama was a Hottentot, / Just here and there a hair; / And when I look at the hair / It just makes me sick" goes a jingle sung by the men during the annual Coon Carnival (see below). Ham's intrinsic badness is also expressed in the pejorative connotations of all comments on him.

- (iii) He is a fool - lowly, comic, frivolous, and child-like. This is expressed in the mocking tones in which he is discussed. It is also reflected in the use of nicknames. Most of the males of all ages are addressed by their friends and even family in terms of a nickname, the function of which appears to be to ridicule a serious idiosyncrasy of the individual concerned. Some nicknames are obscene, referring to the size or other aspect of parts of his body ("Ass", "Shitty", "Cock", "Teeth", "Snotty", "Tall one"). Others refer to an individual's particular interests, qualities, an incident in the person's life, or similarity to some well-known mythical figure.

The nickname restores to its bearer a measure of the individuality erased by stigmatization in the wider society, but only in terms of diminution of status among his peers as an autonomous, dignified adult. Its implicit mockery thrusts on him a denial of protest against his stigmatization.

(iv) Ham is stupid. Consequently his misfortune is natural and deserved. An acquaintance of mine composed a song beginning "Why did the white man catch us? Because we are so stupid!" An example given is the coloureds' alleged persistence in exploiting, bickering, and backbiting rather than co-operating with others for improvement of their common lot. All such people regard each other as members of an intimate group of underdogs. It is thus in order for one such person to cadge a cigarette off another at a bus-stop, or for a starving man to seek succour at any door without being regarded as unduly forward.

(v) Ham is ignorant. When a formerly impoverished family displays a modicum of new-found wealth, others condemn this as a pretence that the nouveaux riches are no longer really failures in life.

It often happened that one of several youths in my company (during fieldwork) would boldly assert his opinion on some matter in the remoter world: e.g. "America could conquer Russia anytime!" All would then glance at me for judgment. If mistaken, the aspirant oracle would be mercilessly teased by the rest of the company, who would sometimes conclude with the comment "Ham is just stupid!". This would serve, inter alia, to degrade a pretentious peer by others who had been reminded of their own ignorance.

(vi) Ham is disreputable. In addition to being coloured and poor, he violates the canons of respectability and good manners. "Ham just stays the same", is often said when peers are beheld brawling, drunk, urinating in public, or tenaciously begging from white pedestrians. Street-fighting accompanied by loud exchanges of florid insults between coloured domestic employees in respectable suburbs is another example. "Ham doesn't give a damn!" - often

said with some admiration for the "dirty courage" of those defying convention. Or "Ham just stays raw!" Another example given is his typical immoderation and unwillingness to tolerate frustration. "Ham just grabs" comment those observing their fellows breaking lines while queuing for a service or charitable dispensation. As such, he is also seen as one who tends to express himself in action rather than words.

- (vii) Ham is a rebel against the moral order. This, too, is indicated by his lack of self-restraint. Another example is his ingratitude: "A kaffir (pejoratively a black) will be grateful if you give him a dry bone, but Ham appreciates nothing!" Likewise he is characteristically treacherous even towards his own kind.

Wilful rebellion against the moral order is expressed in the common tattoo inscription "Born to Raise Hell", and in violent crime by the younger men. This is angrily condemned by mothers facing disgrace and loss of contribution to the family budget when the son is imprisoned.

In summary, it can be seen that the character of Ham is not purposefully lived and played out, but is a stereotype utilized by commentators who identify with lower-class coloured people, simultaneously mocking and condoning their disreputability.

The identity of fool, mentioned above, is ritually reaffirmed each New Year in the Coon Carnival, a popular series of competitive parades through Cape Town streets to sports stadia by troupes of black-face minstrels in satins. The minstrel motif was introduced at the Cape in 1887 by a visiting group of Negro minstrels, and was adopted by Malay coloured singing groups. From 1906 public competitions between troupes have been held. Participation is solely by lower-class coloured men, who are well supported by their community and whites who enjoy the gay spectacle. Although other motifs have been introduced, black-face minstrelsy predominates and all share a basic theme of public

clowning. The occasion of the Carnival is regarded by its participants as "the one time of the year when the coloured man is given his freedom and even the police stand aside". This charter of the temporary remission of subservience was also expressed in the ancient Roman Saturnalia. New Year is the seasonal juncture at which stock is taken of one's cosmic lot, when the lower-class coloured man reaffirms his identity as a stigmatized, infantilized male, subordinated, excluded, and alienated from the world of worthy, wealthy, white authority.

The Coons are scorned by higher-stratum coloureds who resent the self-mockery of brownness and the implication in cheerful clowning that coloureds are contented with their lot. There are many similarities between the Coon role and that of the traditional court jester, in which the king may be compared with whites, and the nobles with higher-stratum coloureds. The jester, like the Coon, was a physically stigmatized person of low station who masked his grief with gay dress and buffoonery. The only condition on which he could enter the respectable world was that he should make a fool of himself. The king granted him licence to mock the nobles, but his life would be forfeit should he ridicule the king or protest against his authority.

A preoccupation with identity is most acute among lower-class male adolescents. Many are able to achieve it only in negative terms, by membership of a delinquent gang. A delinquent is termed an "old smoker" ("ou roker"), probably referring originally to cannabis consumption, which is very common. The commitment to delinquency is flaunted in the wearing of distinctive dress, consisting of a trilby hat or peaked cap, body-hugging sweater or shirt, low-slung, "ass-hanging" ("hanggat") jeans or trousers with flared width ("balloon" or even "semi-balloon") around the thighs, and sandals or heavy shoes. A particular gang may choose a specific pursuit, such as (most commonly) gang violence, pleasure in sex or drugs ("nice times") or robbery ("brood") and burglary ("square slaanery"). The choice of gang partially depends on the chosen interest of the individual, who terms the pursuit his "beat". This refers to any of the above-mentioned pursuits, to which he announces a commitment, and in terms of which he formulates his identity. It qualifies him as a "regular tough guy" ("vollende 'autie") as opposed to a middle-class, essentially effeminate youth ("beatle"). Other less common manifestations of flaunted negative identity are the transvestite ("moffie"), heavy drinker ("wine-swine"), or vagrant ("stroller").

Other lower-class coloureds desperately pursue a positive identity through fundamentalist religious conversion. They form highly cohesive sects meeting almost nightly, when heavy emphasis is laid on ecstatic participation, the confession of sins, and the exorcism of evil spirits and curses manifested as what the behavioural scientist would regard as moral deviance or psychopathic symptoms. The desperation of the quest is reflected in harsh moral demands and severe sanctions applied to deviants. Converts are often guilt-ridden delinquents or heavy drinkers, and it is common to find delinquent and extremely religious siblings in one family.

Given the history of slavery and poverty, and the absoluteness of stigmatization expressed and enforced in ongoing political subordination, economic restriction and social exclusion, the positive functions of the negative identity are considerable. It has provided a cosmic and social framework to those driven to the brink of nonentity - existence in a void - and has enabled members of a crippled community to find a measure of solidarity, maintain some cohesion, and resort to the illicit means of survival left at their disposal. Its dysfunctions lie less in their depredations on a white sector which has been well able to bear such relatively minor discomforts, as in the painfulness of self-hatred, the exclusion of self-fulfilment, the attenuation of positive bonds, and resort to mutual exploitation and self-destructiveness.

Social Change and Growth of Identity

Data:

At this juncture I must confess the perpetration of an illusion - necessary for a relatively simple discussion of psychosocial phenomena - that both identity and social structure are static. As noted earlier, the raison d'être for this workshop is the increasingly critical social change in South Africa. The past decade appears to have been a watershed for the coloureds. Socially, segregation has been enforced to the point at which the vast majority of coloureds see only brown faces in their residential areas, and their relationships with whites are almost completely confined to white employers or civil

servants (although there seems to be increasing interracial contact among adolescents adopting the hippy style). Economically there appear to have been widespread increases in the standard of living. Politically, the coloureds now have the Coloured Representative Council, an official organ of protest if not power.

The recording of contemporary social change, apart from the dry facts of sociological statistics, is, as any historian knows, notoriously vague and elusive. The data presented below are limited by these circumstances; yet they form a pattern consonant with psychosocial change since the abolition of slavery almost one hundred and forty years ago, and have been confirmed by the several observers whom I have consulted.

In 1963 a survey of patterns of alcohol consumption and psychiatric disturbance among the Cape coloureds was carried out (Gillis, Lewis & Slabbert, 1963). In 1969, 176 of the original 500 randomly selected respondents were followed up, involving all those previously classified as problem drinkers or showing some signs of psychopathology, as well as a 10 % randomly selected sample of the rest. Of the 83 living males followed up 23 were economically inactive due to invalidism or old age. The remaining 60 were assessed for socio-economic mobility. This was rated on a nine-point scale based on equally weighted three-point scales of education, income and occupation, a minimum of a two-point shift being regarded as evidence of mobility. Two subjects were originally rated 0 or 1 and thus could not move downwards, and two more originally rated 8 or 9 and thus could not move upwards. Of the 60 economically active, only two had moved downwards, 44 were static and 14 had moved upwards. Upward mobility was not associated with psychiatric disturbance, but was negatively correlated with degree of alcohol consumption, suggesting that upward social mobility is even more prevalent among the Cape coloured male population than in the sample, which was biased in the direction of problem drinking. None of those originally at the 0 - 3 point levels of socio-economic status had moved upwards. The majority of the upwardly mobile were originally at the 4 - 5 point levels. These differences were statistically significant, and would be most appropriate in an industrializing population.

There is some evidence to suggest a reconstitution of class strata. Stratification in the Cape Colony in 1819, 15 years before the abolition of slavery, was partly colour-based (Theal, 1888). "Europeans" were

free. Approximately half of the "non-Europeans" were slaves, and the other half included employed Hottentots, Prize Negro apprentices, and so-called Free Blacks, who were nevertheless subject to discriminatory legislation and practices, such as restrictions on freedom of movement and police harassment (Marais, 1939). Differentiation within the subordinated sector was based on legal status and higher social status ascribed to caucasoid physiognomy. By the beginning of the past decade the indices of status had largely changed from ascription to socio-economic achievement (van der Merwe, 1962). Retrospective accounts suggest that earlier this century the coloured stratification system consisted of two classes (van der Ross, personal communication), the higher class consisting almost entirely of members of the teaching, legal and medical professions.

The study summarized above and my own impressions, which must be tested by further research, suggest the consolidation of a three-class system, the lower class comprising an increasingly "hard core" of unskilled labourers, the middle class acquiring a substantial proportion of nouveaux riches, and the upper class a growing élite of professionals, academics and relatively wealthy entrepreneurs. These strata appear to be recognised as such by their members in terms of both status and patterns of voluntary association. There has apparently been some change in the status accorded certain occupations. Thus skilled manual workers, hitherto regarded as lower-class (as they would be in the white class hierarchy), are now largely regarded as middle-class. This suggests a status-achievement system increasing separate from that of the whites.

Increasing purchasing power has changed the pattern of consumer relations. Previously, nearly all coloureds purchased essentials from small-scale local suppliers. Currently a large proportion purchase goods hitherto found only in middle-class white homes from large-scale white suppliers. It is now common to see coloured shoppers served by suave white assistants in "high-class" stores. Coloured purchasers are thus now habitually involved in purchasing relationships in which they are of equal status to middle-class whites, and which are marked by polite impersonality by both purchaser and salesman.

Adolescent delinquent gang activities and interests have changed. Gang delinquency was hitherto almost completely confined to the lower class, and gang standards of power and wealth were limited to domination of the

rival gang in the adjacent territory, and sporadic robbery and house-breaking. Gang members uniformly characterized themselves as authentically lower-class, and showed extreme hostility to coloureds of higher status. There was complete rigidity in the wearing of the uniform of delinquency. In the last two years, however, a new role has emerged, that ^{of} the "society old smoker", synthesizing middle-class sophistication with lower-class toughness. He dresses in hippy style or suit and tie, belongs to a gang with no fixed territory, but moves in cars, and engages in organized burglary, disposal of stolen goods and illicit traffic in liquor and drugs, often using the proceeds to finance legal business. Traditional gang activities and life style are becoming common only to the most negroid, hard-core poor. The general willingness to address whites as "boss" is diminishing.

The other striking change has been in the use of the term "Ham". It is still used largely in the traditional pejorative sense, but for the first time one occasionally hears remarks like "Who can beat Ham?" ("Wie kan vir Gam klaarmaak?") in random banter, without pejorative connotations, and although not linked to any specific achievements, with a definite note of greater pride and unmitigated good humour. The term is also being used increasingly as a neutral reference to coloured people, and being used so more by higher-status coloureds of long standing, who would have eschewed it previously.

Theory:

The subculture of poverty is woven around conscious preoccupation with gross stimulation, as in the avoidance of pain and the pursuit of pleasure. Better-off individuals tend more to take these for granted, even devaluing them to some extent, in favour of satisfactions within a psychosocial structure conferring meaning on individuals as such and the infinite complexity of their personalities. The poor are preoccupied with libidinal survival. The hope of finding positively valued status may be relinquished beyond the resort to a negative identity to the point at which status as such becomes meaningless. Differentiation of self from environment is lost and the person or group becomes passive and derelict, floating on the vicissitudes of fate. In addition to partial or complete loss of the self-other boundary, there is a dedifferentiation of structure within the personality. If

any degree of individuation has been established, the pleasurable sources of survival are perceived as external, excluding the possibility of acquisition of self-preserving functions and of a sense of self-sufficiency (Frankensein, 1968).

This **condition is identical** to that of the helpless infant at a few months of age. Much recent psychoanalytic literature has been concerned with the development of infantile object relations, particularly with the concept of the symbiotic tie (Mahler, 1969). Symbiosis is a concept borrowed from botany, and refers to a mutually advantageous relationship between two organisms, one only relatively dependent, but the other absolutely so. The weaker partner cannot survive for any length of time independent of the particular stronger partner, unlike a parasite, which can move from host to host.

The development of identity presupposes individuation - the functional separation and independence of a person or group from any particular others. Identity involves the establishment in an entity of individual functions like (Latin: idem = the same) but structurally separate from those of other comparable entities. When a person or group cannot survive independently of a particular other party, or at least perceives that it cannot, it is involved in symbiotic dependence. In such a condition, the weaker party does not perceive itself as entirely separate, but to a varying extent as part of a functional matrix whose external boundaries include both parties. Enforced premature separation from or rejection by the stronger partner will thus lead in totally dependent persons to death through quick or protracted deprivation, or in partially dependent persons to the development of a negative identity in which one's structure and functions are defined pejoratively in terms of rejection, exclusion and loss. Partial dependence may equally be initiated by partial rejection and maintained by forcible subordination.

Independence may be defined as the capacity of a person or group to satisfy libidinal and psychosocial needs and wishes without essential egocentric reliance on the efforts of particular others. It is manifested through competence in effecting **mastery** over the physical and psychosocial environment.

The changes in perception of the individual or group by self and others

with increasing independence may be placed along a continuum between conditions of annihilation at one pole and independence at the other. They range respectively from nothing (nonentity) to possessed thing (slave, chattel), to child ("boy", "girl", servant) to adult (fellow man) (Kovel, 1970). (A stigmatized child is apt to be viewed as a potential monster, an image prominent in whites' fantasies of blacks).

Symbiotic dependence characterizes relationships not only between bacterium and legume, or infant and parent, but also the poor and the wealthy in Western society, as well as slave and master.

The slave was obliged to adapt to total dependence on the master, who held power of life and death over him, or could at least rip him forever from family and friends simply by consignment to a slave market. The master was thus the essential source of survival. Elkins (1968) describes the extreme dependence formed by subordinated people on their masters under conditions of pervasive terror, such as concentration camp internment or enslavement. Mason (1970), in a study of patterns of ethnic domination, describes patterns of dependence between certain groups as symbiotic.

Analysis:

The conditions of slavery or serfdom under which half of the brown Cape population lived until the 1830's can be likened to that stage in a symbiotic relationship at which they were universally regarded as nonentities, possessed things, or if especially favoured, children. The story is sometimes recounted by coloureds of the beneficent angel who during the last century accosted the various inhabitants of South Africa along their pioneering path to destiny, and offered to grant them **their** hearts' desires. The first to appear was a black, who asked for cattle and women. Then came the Jew, who asked for money. He was followed by the Englishman, who wanted land and property. Finally, an Afrikaner and a coloured appeared. The Afrikaner asked for power over the country. The coloured man, however, remained silent, and when the angel asked "What about you?", he shrugged, grinned, and replied "No, I'm just with the boss!". A similar myth common among foreign colonized blacks is described by Fanon (1970).

The first decades of this century are regarded by many elderly Cape coloureds as the Golden Age. "I don't know what all this talk of identity is about", brumbled a retired school principal at a recent seminar on the subject. "When I was a young man we never thought about it. We had our place and that was that!" Once any degree of independence is established, the question of identity becomes relevant, and a rigidly stratified society offers the advantage of affording simple and clear identity referents in ascribed characteristics. Those who became lower-class assumed the identity of child, and entered into a classical servant-master relationship with whites and better-off coloureds (Whisson & Weil, 1971). Some fight a rearguard action against excessive work demands, retorting that "Slavery is over!" ("Slawe-tyd is verby!"), or paternalism: "I'm not a boy; I've got a name!".

As proposed above, a three-strata class system appears to be evolving. The lower class remains passive and helpless, preoccupied with libidinal survival. The growing middle class consists largely of individuals who have reached a stage of environmental mastery, through intensified welfare attention and educational and economic opportunities, from which they can "take off" in psychosocial development, increasingly relinquishing a negative identity for a positive one. (The positive middle- and upper-class identity, as we have seen, often functions as a compensatory defence against a covert negative identity based on continuing subordination and stigmatization. As a psychotherapist, one notices that such compensation presents a formidable identity resistance to therapeutic influence, indicating the strength of the residual negative identity and the fragility of the new-found positive images). However, South Africa is becoming increasingly affected by foreign anti-racism pressures, notably the new independence of other African states, and the civil rights movement in the United States. Middle- and upper-class coloureds are not completely content with having "arrived" socio-economically. The ideal of "brown power" is becoming popular among them, and is being accepted by a number of more realistic whites, including certain Afrikaner academics and businessmen.

Such changes in coloured identity at the Cape would reflect increasing individuation. The boundary between coloured and white interests is becoming established in that coloureds increasingly appear to recognize that these diverge and may conflict. The structure of

their community and the individual personality is becoming increasingly complex as they acquire new competence in mastering their environment. The sense of being part of the white group is diminishing. Previously important extrinsic referents, such as black-white and Afrikaner-English origins, are becoming less relevant. Negative self-characterization is decreasing. There is a slowly growing awareness of intrinsic worth, equality, of influence and even limited power, in relation to the whites.

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Part II

Christian Perspectives

CHRISTELIKE PERSPEKTIEWE OP RASSEVERHOUDINGE:

'n GODSDIENS-SOSIOLOGIESE BENADERING*

deur J. Blauw

INLEIDING

- 1.1 Hierdie onderwerp is 'n besondere variasie op die meer algemene tema van die verhouding tussen religie en maatskappy, of religie en politiek. Dit eis dus 'n sosiologiese of godsdiens-sosiologiese benadering. In hierdie geval is die laaste gekies.
- 1.2 Die godsdiens-sosiologie ondersoek die relasie tussen godsdienstige ideë en ideale, meesal geïnkorporeer in godsdienstige bewegings en institute enersyds, en die sosiale en politieke situasies waarin hierdie ideë en ideale hulle opkoms, realisering of verval belewe andersyds. Die godsdiens-sosiologie aldus opgevat, staan dig by en is nou verwewe met die kennis-sosiologie, wat die relasie tussen menslike denke en sosiale konteks ondersoek. Die mens se denke en gedagtes word mede bepaal deur sy besondere situasie en sy eksistensiële behoeftes. Hierdie insig is nie nuut nie; al in die oue Chinese en Griekse geskrifte vind ons dat mense hulle bewus was van die sosiale bronne van waardes, en van lewens- en wêreldbeskouing.
- 1.3 Elke groot religie (soos die Christelike, Mohammedaanse, Boeddhiste of Hindu religie) is in werklikheid nie éen religie nie, maar 'n versameling van religieë verskillend na plek, tyd en omstandighede.

Vir 'n Rooms-Katolieke mens in Suid-Spanje beteken die Christelike godsdiens 'n totaal ander ding as vir 'n Protestantse Nederlander. Daar is dus eweveel Christelike perspektiewe as Christelike religieë. Selfs as 'n mens hom beperk tot die basiese opvattinge van die Christelike godsdiens, soos hulle neergelê is in die geskrewe bronne, die Bybel of die Heilige Skrif, word die

* Hierdie is 'n verkorte weergawe van Professor Blauw se oorspronklike referaat. Die skrywer het nie geleentheid gehad om die verkorte weergawe te keur nie - Redakteur

posisie daardeur nie baie duideliker nie. Die "Woord van God" kan gelees word vanuit verskillende gesigspunte: die Bybel van 'n piëtis of mistisis is 'n ander boek as die Bybel van 'n jong politieke aktivis wat sy optrede met die Bybel wil regverdig. Albei lees hulle lewensprogram eweseer uit die Bybel as in die Bybel in. Geen mens het tot op vandag daarin geslaag, om vir eens en al die presiese inhoud van die Evangelie te definieer nie ten spyte van hulle wat pretendeer om die "volle" of die "suiwere" of "die enig ware" Evangelie te besit. Daarbenewens dek dieselfde leerstellige terminologie 'n wye reeks van veranderende en veranderde gelowe. Dit geld nie alleen vir die Christelike religie nie, maar vir alle andere religieë eweneens. Veral in 'n tyd van snelle sosiale verandering soos die waarin ons lewe, kan 'n mens 'n taamlike breë spektrum verwag van alternatiewe verklarings van leerstellige terme, met die bedoeling om hulle aan te pas aan veranderde situasies. 'n Mens kan byvoorbeeld dink aan die konsep van die "dood van God" in die Amerikaanse Protestantisme, wat nie bedoel is as 'n afskrywing van die Christelike geloof nie, maar juis, as 'n konsep waardeur 'n religie in snelle verval gepreserveer kan word. Ook die hermeneutiek, die leer van die regte uitlegging, is nie 'n konstante grootheid nie, maar is histories en kultureel bepaal.

As ons sê dat ons handel volgens Christelike perspektiewe op rasseverhoudings, dan beteken dit dat ons handel volgens 'n spesifieke perspektief op 'n spesifieke probleem in 'n spesifieke land onder spesifieke omstandighede.

- 1.4 Die perspektiewe word dus net so veel bepaal deur die situasie as deur die Christendom, die teologie, die Bybel. Ons neem hier bewus en met volle oortuiging afstand van 'n filosofiese idealisme wat in teologiese kringe nog dikwels groot invloed het, as sou daar so iets wees as selfstandige, onveranderlike ideë, los van wat mense met daardie idees doen. Dis waar dat idees bene het, maar dis altyd menslike bene, wat vassit aan 'n liggaam met 'n kop bo-op. Dis altyd weer 'n groot versoeking om oor idees te praat asof hulle aparte wesens is met 'n eie substansie en eienskappe. Dis mense wat idees hanteer en manipuleer, al kan nie ontken word, dat mense dikwels bewus, maar meesal onbewus, ook deur hulle idees gelei word soos slawe aan 'n tou of hande aan 'n ketting nie.

Daar is mense, wat daarom weier om hulle helder bewus te maak van die idees en motiewe wat hulle beweeg. Daar bestaan vooroordele, wat deur mense as absolute waarheid of waardes beskou word: 'n mens praat nie daaroor nie, omdat refleksie daaroor 'n mens maar onseker sou maak, skepties en nie meer besluitvaardig nie. Wat as vanselfsprekend beskou word, word nie toegelaat om te spreek nie. Dis mense wat hulle veilig stel in die tradisie, wat 'n skuilplaas bied vir die reën van kritiek, en teen die storms van verandering.

Daar is ander mense wat juis die teenoorgestelde houding het: hulle weier om die gegewe situasie as die enigste moontlike of die enigste juiste te aanvaar; hulle wil vry wees om hulle eie weë te gaan, hulle eie verantwoordlikheid so swaar moontlik te laat weeg. Die tradisie word meer as 'n las dan as 'n voorreg beskou, meer as 'n hindernis dan as 'n wegwysers. In tye, soos die van ons, waar onsekerheid op baie gebiede heers, kan 'n mens seker daarvan wees, dat hierdie soort mense sal toeneem, onder oueres sowel as jongeres. Dis nie 'n kwessie van leeftyd nie, maar van lewenshouding. En hierdie lewenshouding wortel weer in 'n oortuiging, in 'n keuse van bepaalde waardes. Hulle wat wil bewaar en hulle wat wil verniel, staan dikwels skerp teenoormekaar, omdat elkeen van hulle die heil soek in 'n absolute waarheid en sekerheid, die een in die verlede, die ander in die toekoms. Daar is nog 'n derde soort mense wat nie maar net wil bewaar of net wil afbreek nie, maar wat krities wil selekteer, in 'n positief kritiese verwerking van die waardevolle elemente uit die tradisie, en 'n nugtere, versigtige, maar besliste afwysing van wat onbruikbaar geword het in die tradisie, van alles wat sy aantrekkingskrag of oortuigingskrag verloor het. Hierdie laaste houding is die moeilikste, maar ook die vrugbaarste: hier word daadkrag vereis en fantasie, en boweal liefde vir die mense vir wie en oor wie hulle beslissings moet neem. Hulle is die mense van die oop gees wat die starheid mis van die konserwatiewes, en die onstuimige vernielsug van die utopiste. Dis hulle wat helder bewus is van die verlede wat hulle gesig keer na die toekoms, en op albei bene in dié hede staan. In 'n oop samelewing, waar daar 'n vrye samespel van kragte is, het elmal 'n funksie: respektiewelik konserverend, alarmerend en bemiddelend. In godsdienstige opsig is die konserwatiewes en die utopiste

dikwels onkrities ten opsigte van mensgemaakte waardes, wat hulle aan God toeskrywe. Dis altyd "God" wat óf geen óf rewolusionêre veranderings wil. Die realiste is meestal nie so seker dat hulle God aan hulle kant het nie, omdat hulle liever hulle aandag direk op die mense se behoeftes rig.

1.5 Dis duidelik dat waar dit om "Christelike perspektiewe" gaan, 'n mens 'n besondere versigtigheid aan die dag moet lê. Die godsdiens beweeg hom op 'n gebied wat hom aan die alledaagse ervaring onttrek, en tegelyk 'n gebied waarin baie mense hulle grootste aanhanklikheid en affektiwiteit geïnvesteer het. Hierdie gebied is heilige land en dis seker vir 'n sosiologiese benadering belangrik om nie te verval in die houding van die dwaas, wat hardloop waar engele bang is om te loop nie. Andersyds is dit nie reg om hierdie gebied buite beskouing te laat nie, want daar word baie dinge oor die religieuse grens gesmokkel, net om dit veilig te stel en onaantasbaar te maak, terwyl dit nie reg het om in hierdie gebied te bly nie. Ons bedoel daardie aktiwiteite waaroor die voorvaders gepraat het as oor onheilige vuur wat op die altaar gebring word. In hierdie opsig mag die sosiologie die nuttige maar dikwels ondankbare en gevaarlike arbeid verrig van die grenswag.

1.6 Dit pleit vir die groot betekenis en krag van religie, dat die illegale grensverkeer so bedrywig is. As iemand seker wil maak dat hy invloed kry, en dat sy idees of sy bedoelinge aanvaar word, beklee hy dit met religieuse gesag. Dis nie verniet nie dat die geskiedenis so baie verbindings toon tussen politiek en religie, kerk en staat nie. Dis so 'n algemene verskynsel, dat alle groot wêreldreligieë hier dieselfde prentjie vertoon: 'n godsdiens wat 'n politiek steun, en 'n politiek wat hom van die godsdiens bedien. Daarom word religieuse idees en ideale so gemaklik gemeng en verwar met politieke en sosiale ideologieë, en omgekeerd.

Dit is dus noodsaaklik dat ons, behalwe om onself rekenskap te gee van wat ons onder christelike perspektiewe verstaan, ook seker moet maak van die verskil tussen religieuse en (kulturele, sosiale en politieke) ideologiese elemente wat 'n rol speel in die kwessie van rasseverhoudinge.

1.7 Daarmee is die taak van die eersvolgende twee afdelings omskrywe: eerstens sal ons seker moet maak van wat ons onder christelike perspektiewe verstaan; tweedens sal ons ons bewus moet maak van wat ons onder rasseverhoudings verstaan, waardeur hulle bepaal en gekleur is, en watter ideologiese kragte daar in die begrip werksaam is. In laaste afdeling sal ons dan die verbinding moet lê tussen die twee voorgenoemde afdelings, om ten slotte ons gevolgtrekkings te maak.

CHRISTELIKE PERSPEKTIEWE

2.1 Die feit dat 'n mens se sienings, ook sy religieuse sienings, medebepaal is deur kultuur, tyd en omstandighede, beteken nie dat ons nou oorgelewer is aan 'n eindelose geskommel op die golwe van historiese of sosiologiese relativisme nie. Geloofsopvattinge en stellinge is beïnvloed en gekleur deur historiese en aktuele faktore, maar hulle kan nie gereduseer word tot louter effekte van hierdie faktore nie. Dis 'n feit, dat daar 'n basiese christelike oriëntasie is, aanvaar deur die oorgrote meerderheid van christene oor die hele wêreld. Die blote feit dat mense dwarsdeur die eeue probeer het om hulle meer wêreldlike strewinge en doelstellinge aan te pas aan die basiese leerstellinge van die christelike geloof, is 'n getuienis van ten minste sommige algemeen aanvaarde beginsels.

2.2 Deur die hele wêreld, ook tussen die Suid-Afrikaanse kerke, heers daar die konsensus dat die Bybel die konsep "ras" nie ken nie. Nêrens tipeer die Bybel die intermenslike verhoudinge as rasseverskille nie. Die Skrif ken geen rassevraagstukke nie. Die terme, volk en nasie wat nou met die term "ras" verbind of saam genoem word, het 'n "heilshistoriese" inhoud, dit is: hulle moet gelees word in die lig van die Bybelse konteks, wat die verhouding van God tot Israel en die wêreld, en omgekeerd, tot basis en uitgangspunt het. Die wesenlike eenheid van die menslike geslag is 'n punt, waarvoor bioloë, antropoloë en teoloë ooreenstem. Alle mense en volke is in prinsiep gelykwaardig in hulle verhouding en verantwoordelikheid teenoor God. Hieroor stem die groot wêreldgodsdienste saam. Selfs die Hindoeïsme met sy eeuelange ondersteuning van kasteteenstellinge en verskille,

(wat gedeeltelik op rasseverskille, maar veral op sosiale onderskeid gebaseer was) ken in sy latere, en veral moderne uitinge die konsep van die eenheid van die menslike geslag: almal het in gelyke mate deel aan God of die goddelike self. Die ou Boeddhisme het nie belang gestel in God of 'n godsídee nie, maar duidelik die gelykheid van alle mense geleer. Die Islam ken net die eén teenstelling tussen gelowiges en ongelowiges, sonder onderskeid van volk of ras. Hierdie universalisme is dus nie spesifiek christelik nie. In die praktyk het partikularistiese (rassistiese en nasionalistiese) teenstellinge hierdie universele gedagte verswak en deurkruis. Dit het egter meer gebeurtenisse sýte van, as ten gevolge van die religieuse siening. Oek dit geld ten aansien van alle groot wêreldreligies.

2.3 Rasseverhoudings is net 'n besondere vorm van menslike verhoudings. In 'n baie growwe tipering sou 'n mens kon sê dat vir die Boeddhistiese en Hindoeïstiese lewens- en wêreldbeskouinge dié verhoudings gewoonlik nie 'n sentrale plek ingeneem het nie maar 'n marginale (dit het skielik verander in die 19de en 20ste eeu), terwyl vir die Christelike en Mohammedaanse godsdiens die verhoudings in die middelpunt staan.

2.4 Die erkenning van die eenheid van die mensheid en sy gelykwaardigheid teenoor God, en die aanvaarding van die koningskap van God in en deur Jesus Christus, beteken nie dat alle kulturele, sosiale of ander verskille opgehef word nie; wel dat hulle almal gerelativeer word en staan onder die kritiese maatstaf "om reg te doen, liefde te betuig, en ootmoedig te wandel met jou God".

2.5 In hierdie kort opsomming is 'n poging aangewend om die gemeenskaplike oortuiging van die oorwegende meerderheid van die Christelike kerke in die wêreld, die Suid-Afrikaanse ingesluit, onder woorde te bring. Vir baie beteken hierdie opsomming net niks meer as 'n banale herhaling van dinge wat al eindeloos gesê is nie. Dit het egter sy waarde, so hoop die skrywer, as mens die kortste moontlike samevatting van die aan alle Christene gemeenskaplike oortuigings op hierdie gebied, na vore wil haal. Dit kan naamlik duidelik maak, dat as daar op basis van hierdie oortuiging, sulke groot verskille is in die praktiese

to toepassing ten aansien van rasseverhoudinge, die verskille nie afgelei kan word uit geloofsoortuiging nie, maar uit ander oorsake. Dit kan ook duidelik maak, dat afgetrokke geloofsuitsprake en prinsipes vir 'n juiste insig in 'n bepaalde situasie hoë genaamd niks bydra nie, en veral dat hierdie uitsprake in hulle algemeenheid hulle leen vir menigvuldige interpretasies en vertalings in praktiese beleid. Dis daarom onregverdig om konkrete situasies te meet aan hierdie algemene christelike geloofsin-sigte, met die doel om integraal te verdedig of te veroordeel. In die lig van hierdie hoë beginsels is daar nie een situasie in die ganse wêreld wat daaraan beantwoord nie. In sosiologiese terme gesproke is die koninkryk van God op aarde 'n utopia (in teologiese terme en in terme van 'n gelowige sou dit eskatologie genoem word). Andersyds word dit nadruklik gestel dat hierdie geloofsuitsprake 'n baie hoë inspiratiewe waarde het: hulle is waardeoordele en hulle wil funksioneer in die kollektiewe en die persoonlike lewe as 'n soort van magnetiese pool.

In die geskiedenis van die mensheid het dit nog maar selde voorgekom dat religieuse oortuigings primêr of leidinggewend geword het: hulle speel meestal 'n sekondêre rol en hulle word toegepas op of ondergeskik gemaak aan sake van kulturele, sosiale of politieke belang. Dit gebeur nie net eenmaal of op een plek nie; dit gebeur oral en te alle tye. Die godsdiens-sosioloog spreek daaroor nie 'n oordeel uit nie, hy konstateer alleen die stand van sake. Die religieuse idees en ideale word deurgaans meer aangepas aan gegewe sosiale, ekonomiese en politieke omstandighede en situasies as toegepas.

2.6 Ons kom hier by die paradoksale plek van die religie in die menslike samelewing: dit is tegelykertyd een van die magtigste groothede onder die mense: daarom het baie na sy guns geding of by hom beskerming gesoek, en dit is die mees magtelose: dit kan net niks bereik sonder om self te verneder nie, daarom het baie hulle daarvan afgekeer en daarop geskimp. Die geheim lê net buitekant die empiriese werklikheid, daarom noem sommige dit wêreldvreemd, en spreek van "kwade trou" of "valse bewussyn". Die werkterrein lê binnekant die empiriese werklikheid, daarom word gevrees, gehaat, gevlei of om die bos gelei. Ons sal dus op die faktore moet let wat grootliks die verskyning

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