

THE "COLOURED" COMMUNITY OF DURBAN :
A STUDY OF CHANGING PERCEPTIONS OF IDENTITY.

by

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1.1. BRIEF OUTLINE AND GENERAL AIMS OF THE STUDY

The aim of this study is to explore the relationship that exists between discrimination and the identity/self-concept of a group of "coloured" people in South Africa. The group under the spotlight is part of the "coloured" community of Natal, which has been the focus of research performed by two independent teams: firstly, H.F. Dickie-Clark & J.W. Mann in the mid - 1950's and then a team led by Lawrence Schlemmer in the mid-1970's. The results of both researchers indicated that the area in question evinced clear symptoms of a blurred group identity and a poor self image. These results were deemed to be the result of apartheid together with certain unique features possessed by the group.

My own experiences as a member of the community of Sparks Estate-Sydenham are in agreement with these findings - however, my most recent observations lead me to feel that significant shifts and changes might have occurred in the area of the identity and self-concept of the group. These changes have been made during the last decade or so, due to various factors, the most important of which might be:-

The relaxing or suspension of harsher discriminatory legislation resulting in improved social and economic circumstances.

The groundswell of organised resistance to apartheid.

The advent of Black consciousness.

A significant change in religious attitudes prevalent in the world in general and its manifestation in Sparks Estate-Sydenham in particular.

I have attempted, therefore, by means of a survey to tap those attitudes, feelings and opinions amongst the local "coloured" people which I felt were likely to gain me some insight into their self and group perspectives.

Having done this, I then wish to compare these against the results obtained by the two previous researchers in order to ascertain whether any changes have indeed occurred, and if so, then in which general direction and to what degree.

1.2. BRIEF REVIEW OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH DONE IN THIS FIELD

1.2.1. SUMMARY OF THE MANN/DICKIE-CLARK STUDY

In 1955, J.W. Mann and H.F. Dickie-Clark, under the auspices of the Institute of Social Research which was attached to the University of Natal, Durban, embarked upon a study to empirically examine the theory of marginality; as it applied to the "coloured" community of Sparks Estate-Sydenham. It was further envisaged that two of the concepts which accompanied the theory of marginality; namely the "marginal position" and the "marginal personality" would be rigorously studied by the research team.

The first concept would receive the special attention of Mr. Dickie-Clark, while the concept of the marginal personality would be placed under focus by Mr. Mann. Thus the study would concentrate upon both the sociological as well as the psychological aspects of the group. A total of 504 residents of Sparks Estate-Sydenham were interviewed, from whom a sample of 50 people was drawn. These 50 subjects were chosen for their physical appearance - 25 were considered by the

researchers to be "coloured" persons of high passability, meaning that they could pass as whites, while the remainder were of low passability, meaning that they could not be taken for anything else but "coloureds". These 50 respondents were subjected to the interview schedule. The results of which indicated that the marginality concept did not have complete applicability for the community in question. Nevertheless, the following characteristics of the group were highlighted by the study:

- (1.) A surprisingly high community involvement in organised religion.
- (2.) A high level of political apathy.
- (3.) *A degree of marginality evinced as insecurity, self-pity, and alienation.
- (4.) The extreme diversity of the community was highlighted by the study.

1.2.2. SUMMARY OF THE COMMUNITY SURVEY OF SCHLEMMER AND HIS ASSOCIATES

Twenty years later, in 1976, a survey was undertaken by Lawrence Schlemmer, then head of the Centre for Applied Social Science (C.A.S.S.) at the university of Natal in Durban, as a practical project of their newly launched community development course. This community survey had been planned in collaboration with the company of nuns who were running an innovative orphanage in Sparks Estate-Sydenham. The nuns of St. Philomena's orphanage, together with the staff of C.A.S.S., decided that what was needed in the area was a planned project which could simultaneously resuscitate the communal spirit of Sparks Estate-Sydenham, while forging

community. It was thought that a community development programme could achieve these aims and in order to implement this, a survey was first organised. It was felt that such a survey could assess the current situation in the community, thus placing the organisers in a position to implement a much more effective community programme. To this end therefore, a survey was undertaken, at the end of which the most notable findings were:

(i) That the community of Sparks Estate-Sydenham was extremely diverse and that little sense of community consciousness or group identity existed.

(ii) A significant proportion of the sample interviewed displayed evidence of possessing low self-esteem or a poor self-concept.

(iii) The respondents attained a significantly high alienation score.

(iv) A surprising lack of involvement in civic and political affairs was widely evidenced by the respondents, as well as a distinct absence of recognised leaders.

These findings enabled Schlemmer and his team to mount a community development programme to address these problems as well as attend to the initial aims of the nuns of St. Philomena's Orphanage.

The present study was undertaken ten years after this previous investigation by Schlemmer. The fieldwork was conducted during 1986 and the research report was written from 1987 until January, 1991. More than thirty years elapsed between the first inquiry undertaken by Mann/Dickie-Clark and this later study. Therefore the

present study may be considered to be the third in a series of investigations into different aspects of the social existence of the "coloured" people of Durban.

1.3. GENERAL OUTLINE OF THE FORMAT OF THIS STUDY

Chapter Two will contain the theoretical framework upon which this study is based; it will contain a list of definitions of all the most significant concepts employed, as well as an exposition of the contributions of the three theories used. The differences and similarities between these will be discussed and their various applications for the study.

The next chapter will deal with the research design and methodology: it will focus upon the aims of the study, the hypothesis, the sampling method, the information-gathering techniques and the interview process.

The fourth chapter will concentrate upon the socio-political background of the group under scrutiny: it will emphasise the racial origins of the group, the apartheid laws which have affected them, as well as their historical experience in this country. In this way the study will be located in its context in South Africa.

The research results will be the focus of the fifth chapter. This chapter will be divided into 3 sub-sections each concentrating upon a different aspect of the findings, these will be more fully introduced at the beginning of this chapter.

The theoretical analysis of the results will follow in the sixth chapter. The findings of the study will be reviewed in the light of the theoretical framework presented in the second chapter.

In conclusion chapter seven will summarise the findings of the survey and discuss the developments in the identity of the "coloured" community of Durban as revealed by this study.

CHAPTER TWO

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2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter will concern itself with the theoretical issues surrounding personal and social identity as applied in psychology and sociology. If one observes the socio-political developments in this country, as well as the changing research figures one cannot avoid the conclusion that both have experienced major upheavals in recent times. These upheavals and statistical changes constitute the very crux of my hypothesis, since I have proposed that it is the differential deployment of privilege which causes the variations in the personal and social identity of the people concerned.

This investigation attempts to prove that the personal and social identity of the "coloured" community has improved in the last few years as a result of the favourable constitutional changes which have recently been promulgated. Therefore the theories employed should not only be able to explain how identity is formed, but also the relationship between identity and social circumstances. Furthermore the theoretical framework should make accommodation for the responses of individuals and groups to changing societal circumstances.

While no single theory has been discovered to account for all these parameters, three theorists have made contributions which, when taken together go most of the way to achieve this.

In order to facilitate understanding of this investigation explanations of the following terms are offered:

Identity - Berger and Luckmann, (1967:195) define this concept thus: "identity is the phenomenon that emerges from the dialectic between individual and society". Since this study will attempt to show that the opinion the subjects develop of themselves is influenced by the roles that society allows them to engage in, I feel that this is an appropriate view of the concept.

In this way identity is viewed as a process, "continuously created and re-created in each social situation." (Berger, 1963:124). Such a view of identity facilitates transvaluation more easily than others. In this scenario, the generation, maintenance and transformation of identity are social processes facilitated by the individual's performance of different roles

In this context social identity, can be viewed as the identities inherent in the individual's performance of certain social roles. Since these roles are socially determined, social identity is particularly vulnerable to the role prescriptions defined by a particular social society.

Goffman (1963:12) defines social identity as the category and attributes of an individual, this is a more static conception of identity having relevance for only part of the analysis. Similarly, personal identity is the person's conception of his performance of social roles. This concept is constructed out of the roles that society permits him to perform. In order to develop his/her personal identity, a person needs to make use of a "looking-glass self" or to "take on the role of the other". These concepts were developed by

Cooley and Mead respectively and represent orthodox sociological thought on the topic of identity and the development of the self. Related to the concept of the personal identity are those of the self-concept and self esteem.

Social dislocation may be conceived of as being the extent to which an individual or group is excluded from full social participation and acceptance, or the degree of alienation from society. Dislocation is related to both marginality and discrimination and in this study is manifested as impaired social and personal identity.

Marginality refers to the fact that certain individuals are situated at the margin or border of two clashing cultures, identifying with both to some extent, but not able to participate fully in either. Stonequist defines the marginal person as one who is "poised in psychological uncertainty between two or more worlds reflecting discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions of these worlds ..." (Mann, 1957, p.19). Typically, people of mixed biological heritage are included among marginals and thus the term has some applicability to the situation that "coloureds" experience. However, the research of Mann/Dickie-Clark failed to isolate marginal traits or characteristics in the group that could be described as being peculiar to them, in other words, the study failed to prove that "coloureds" exhibit psychological marginality. Nevertheless, sociologically, they do occupy a marginal position in South African society.

In this study the term discrimination refers to the negative

deployment of social favour upon a certain group. Such a group is disqualified from full social acceptance and denied opportunities to accumulate respect and/or esteem.

2.2. THE THEORY OF SOCIAL TRANSVALUATION

Since it is hypothesised that due to socio-political changes, the personal and social identities of the population under scrutiny has undergone some alteration during the last few decades, it seems appropriate under these circumstances to view this development from the standpoint of a model of social transvaluation as proposed by Theodore Sarbin and Karl Scheibe (1982:6).

Existing theories try to explain identity or selfhood by focussing on the inner perspective of the individual, thus rendering such theories exclusively psychological, (like the theories of Mead and James). The model of social transvaluation, however, represents a departure from this convention by attempting to use role theory to form "a bridge between psychological and social analysis" (Sarbin and Scheibe, 1983:6), thus rendering it more balanced and scientifically satisfying.

Theodore Sarbin and Karl Scheibe in the general introduction to their volume, *Studies in Social Identity* (1983:5ff) propose an organisational heuristic model to explain individual and social change that occurs in different cultures over a period of time. This change may consist of an improvement in status, in which case they employ the term social upgrading, or the opposite situation which results in

deteriorating status for certain people or groups of people, which is referred to as social degradation. This model appears to explain fairly adequately the changes which have affected the "coloured" people in this country.

Their model suggests that the social valuations declared upon a person or a group are subject to the vagaries of historical and cultural imperatives operating upon a particular collectivity at a particular time and as these factors change, the valuations can be reorganised resulting in processes of social degradation or social upgrading.

A more thorough examination of the model reveals that it is the nature of the ascribed or granted statuses which actually determine the individual's roles in society and thus ultimately his/her social identity. These granted statuses are bestowed upon each individual by the most powerful group in the society and are referred to by Sarbin and Scheibe as the birthright which then categorises all the members of the society, according to specific criteria as defined by the granting group. The nature of the birthright received determines the person's membership of various social categories such as caste, ethnic or racial groups, which in turn influence his membership of certain other groups such as language, religious and political groupings. Since the criteria of the birthright grants are fixed according to the standards decided by the granting group and not according to universal criteria, only those conforming with ethnocentrically based standards are deemed valid occupants of role enactments. These validated statuses and appropriate role enactments can be utilised by the person concerned to

locate her/himself in the social environment by asking the question, "who am I?". The various replies to this question will constitute the social identity of the individual and assist him/herself to construct a personal identity as well.

Furthermore, Sarbin and Scheibe indicate in their outline that appropriate role enactments pertaining to the granted statuses qualify the actor to be the recipient of respect from the rest of the society. With regard to attained statuses, the criteria for these are also laid down by the granting society so that it is relatively easy for those fulfilling the birthright criteria to achieve them. In any case, the authors propose the concept of role linkages by means of which a person's occupancy of certain roles may be explicitly or implicitly promoted or hampered by reference to his birthright qualifications. These attained statuses qualify the actor to public esteem and at any given stage an individual can use both the esteem and the respect bestowed upon him/her to locate her/himself in the social environment and construct his personal and social identity.

Since societies are usually composed of a number of different institutions whose valuations of individuals might easily be at variance with each other, Sarbin and Scheibe propose that the valuation accepted by a person reflects her/his reference group preference. This would be the case generally in most groups, but in more unusual ones such as totalitarian societies or total institutions, the most powerful group is the only valuator and little can be done by individuals to escape their particular definition of his valuation.

The final concept introduced by the authors is that of

involvement, which denotes the degree of effort and time which the actor commits to the enactment of his role. Certain roles like those pertaining to one's humanity, gender roles, family or professional roles require constant effort and take up more of his/her total time, thus contribute correspondingly more to his/her identity. Such roles can be said to be highly involving roles. Other roles such as leisure or certain social roles, contribute less to the actor's identity and thus assume less time and effort for enactment and contribute correspondingly less to the identity of such an individual; such roles can be classified as being less involving. It stands to reason therefore, that if a person is discredited in one of his/her highly involving roles, then that person's social and personal identity will be devastated by such a slur. While if an individual is discredited in one of his less involving roles, then it is far easier for his/her identity to survive such disparagement.

2.3. THE POLITICS OF IDENTITY

The second theorist whose contribution seems to have applicability in the situation being examined here is Peter du Preez, whose book, "The Politics of Identity - Ideology and the human image" explores the role of ideology in manipulating the identities of various political collectivities in order to maintain the dominance of one group over the other. Du Preez uses the dynamics of the

South African scenario in order to strongly illustrate his point.

He proceeds by stating that the identity of a group facilitates political, (which is a type of social) action and that common identities facilitate the formation of a collective agent. The particular identity of an individual in that collective agency is used to orient her/him in transactions with others.

* Furthermore, identities are not maintained in isolation, but are grounded in systems of relations with others. In this system, identities are reciprocally defined, in du Preez's own words, "Masculine identity has its particular meaning in relation to feminine identity; black to white; Protestant to Catholic; proletarian to bourgeois" (1980:3).

The group uses myths, legends or folklore, or even abstract social theory to confirm and refresh its collective group identity as well as to supply the members with a sense of the group's history and significance in relation to others in the environment. These myths, legends and social theory form the beginning of the particular ideology of a group, or collective agent, to employ du Preez's terms.

2.3.1. THE ROLE OF IDEOLOGY

Within this ideology, agents are defined in extremely confined, restricted terms, a person is viewed as "an identity mobilised in a particular, stylised political role" (du Preez, 1980:4) rather than as "a system of many identities, including political identities, mobilised in many

roles." (du Preez, 1980:5). Ideologies then have an inbuilt tendency to distort social reality rather than reflect it with some degree of accuracy.

This manner of viewing humanity renders relations between collectivities predictable, and from the point of view of the defining group, orderly and consistent with the logic of their ideology. Du Preez defines ideologies in the following way, "They are, in fact, paradigmatic language games for constructing a view of the world in which our lives have significance." (1980:27). Thus hopefully providing the group with conceptual tools for solving existential problems. Obviously ideologies then vary extensively over the human spectrum and a distinction is made between open and closed ideologies according to the following characteristics as outlined by the du Preez (1980:28):

- a) The range of identities is relatively fixed and the relations between them prescribed.
- (b) Individuals are largely categorised at birth; it is held that their categorisations are inherent.
- (c) There is a relatively fixed interpretation of the nature of politics and society.

According to the society's orientation in regard to the above criteria, they may be placed on a continuum from open to closed.

Du Preez introduces a number of original concepts to develop his theory, some of which are relevant to this research topic, the first of these is identity frame, which he summarises as "a paradigmatic set of identities used in

accounting for events in a particular sphere of activity such as politics, education or religion." (du Preez, 1980:67). An identity frame consists of categorising and characterising statements (ibid., p.78). It would appear that an identity frame provides the main points of a situation for members of the collectivity so that they can make sense of reality relatively quickly and efficiently.

Furthermore, he mentions that identities occur in a system of relations which he refers to as "solar systems" (du Preez, 1980:78) with what he calls a "reference identity" (1980:78) occupying the central position with its "complements" surrounding it. These frames are maintained by complex interests which support a particular way of life. The problem with identity frames is that an over-reliance upon them could lead to an extremely narrow interpretation of reality where the whole situation is defined according to the parameters prescribed by the ideology and the actors forced into the identities whether they conform with the criteria for such identities or not.

Such situations are termed identity traps and they exhibit the power of ideology to control the lives of people in society.

2.3.2. IDENTITY TRAPS

Du Preez presents a range of these on a continuum of increasing rigidity and narrowness. The employment of these identity traps results in an interpretation of reality which is increasingly artificial and a range of behaviours which becomes increasingly inauthentic.

A squeeze is defined as the voluntary acceptance of a ready made identity frame without reflection or any active participation of the actor. An acceptance would represent a lack of reflexivity on the part of the individual; robbing social interaction of its creativity and thus being akin to a stereotype.

A con differs from a squeeze in that the latter seems to be a more voluntary acceptance of an identity frame, as a result of shortcomings on the part of the actor. The former has the elements of coercion attached to it, suggesting that the individuals involved are powerless to resist the imposition of this identity frame by a more resourceful reference identity, even though such a frame places them in an inferior position in the system of relations that obtains in that society. According to du Preez, (1980:73) " an identity con is one of the attempts rulers make to substitute symbolic for physical force".

Finally, the cuckoo is proposed as the ultimate con where one identity replaces all others in the actor's repertoire and it represents extreme degradation of a person's authenticity. Du Preez (1980:76) has this to say about the cuckoo, "The person becomes a persona. She begins to behave as though life had only one significant part for her to play." This results in an extremely impoverished style of social interaction, providing the potential for extremism of all kinds, since the potential for other reactions have been pushed out and replaced by the one identity.

Du Preez makes allocation in his framework for escape from these identity traps by stating that these traps may be

successfully or unsuccessfully imposed. In the former, the referent identity manages to manipulate members of its complements into accepting these traps and feeling comfortable in these restricting and essentially demeaning roles. It often transpires that people are forced into these roles but never feel comfortable in these artificial roles and struggle to achieve a degree of authenticity in some way or other. Peter du Preez, (ibid., 105) says that in this way, "the process of identity resolution is set in train".

2.4. THE ROLE OF STIGMA

The last theorist whose contribution appears to have relevance for this study is Erving Goffman, whose publication, "Stigma - notes on the management of spoiled identity" (1963) offers a unique analysis of the situation of those, who, like the "coloured" community of Natal, suffer from the consequences of negative social evaluation.

Goffman defines a stigma as "an attribute that is deeply discrediting," (1963:13) and when one examines the linguistic roots of the term, as he does, one is not surprised to find that it refers to the signs burnt or cut into the body of a person deemed blemished or polluted by the moral guardians of traditional Greek society.

This stigma, then constitutes the social identity of the individual so designated by the rest of society, so that in sociological terms, he/she is viewed as a kind of deviant, rather different from normal people in society. He then proceeds to classify the various types of social stigmas,

arriving at three main classes; one of which are the tribal stigmas, which are congenital, and refer to the attributes of race, nation or religion.

With regard to the attitudes of the labelling group, Goffman maintains that they "believe that the person with the stigma is not quite human". Therefore a stigma theory is constructed to explain the inadequacies of the socially discredited and to justify the labelling group's reduction of their life chances.

Goffman then proceeds to outline the various responses available to both the "stigmatised" and the normal to confront the situation which arises when both are involved in social interaction. A number of options are available to the stigmatised person. These include attempts to ^① gain acceptance through acquiring the symbols associated with the normals in society, ^② rejecting their labelling system in various ways, ^③ passing and covering. While for the normals their reactions to the stigmatised range from embarrassment through to unconditional acceptance of the stigmatised.

The main reason why Goffman's analysis is valuable to this study is that it offers the opportunity to view the process of negative social evaluation from the perspective of the subject, the actor, the "coloured" person, who has to function and interact under such circumstances.

2.5. COMPARISON OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE THREE MAIN THEORISTS

The contributions of these three theorists overlap considerably in some areas, while each actually focuses upon different facets of the situation, providing sufficient opportunity for each to support and enrich each other.

2.5.1. DESCRIPTIONS OF THE PROCESS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

The theory of social transvaluation has greatest application in its neat description of the process by which change occurs in society: it successfully names and describes the stages by which social change or transvaluation occurs. The terms social degradation; derogation and demotion are useful in describing the experience of the "coloured" people. Similarly, the terms social upgrading; promotion and commendation have applicability for the study.

The terms that Sarbin and Scheibe propose to describe the most powerful group in society, namely, the granting group is the same as du Preez's term, the referent identity and Goffman's labelling group. The fact that all three theorists provide alternative terms indicates that they all recognise that power is not distributed equally throughout society and will be usefully employed to demonstrate the powerlessness of the "coloured" people.

The value of Sarbin and Scheibe's theory is that they describe and explain both upward and downward movements in society, whereas Goffman and du Preez concentrate only on the negative evaluation of groups.

2.5.2. DESCRIPTIONS OF THE MECHANISMS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Apart from mentioning the stigma theory, Goffman does not go much further in explaining the mechanisms by which powerful groups use their power to dominate and subjugate less powerful ones. Similarly, Sarbin and Scheibe clarify the processes of upgrading and degradation which outline the process adequately, but fail to explain that a mechanism or vehicle is required to make the processes of upgrading and degradation possible and acceptable to most parties.

It is my opinion that by explaining the role that ideology plays in shaping social policy by capturing the the minds and hearts of people, du Preez successfully provides the vehicle by which social transvaluation is facilitated.

Du Preez, therefore, delves more deeply into the mechanisms by which the referent identity guarantee their own security in society. He forwards the role of ideology to explain this, maintaining that the referent identity uses ideology to assert it's own identity over the identities of the complements. By doing this, policy-makers seek to make societal arrangements intelligible and acceptable to people - the danger is that it can also put blinkers on them. Goffman makes passing reference to the role of ideology by mentioning that the stigma theory is developed to account for the labelling group's rejection of the stigmatised, but he does not explain how this works in the social situation.

The concept of identity frames shows the reciprocity of identities - a situation where identities are seen as polar opposites of each other; if the one is positive, then the other must be negative. By this device, the referent group

seeks to control the perceptions of all agents in society and create a self-fulfilling prophecy.

In this vicious circle, the complements are seen as unworthy, inadequate, unattractive etc., these are the "categorising and characterising statements" du Preez (1980:78) mentions that make it easy for them to be socially discredited by the process of social degradation. Myths, legends and folklore are used effectively to confirm and cement these attitudes. Even if the agents in the situation do not conform with the characteristics and categories supplied by the identity frame, the same negative conclusion about the complements are often still reached. Unless agents are very aware and perceptive, then stereotypic conceptions of social situations are inevitably formed.

In the process of social upgrading, the opposite occurs, a new identity frame is constructed with new categorising statements providing new "conceptual tools" for people to employ in their assessments of social situations. In this new identity frame, history, myths and legends are reinterpreted to include the previously disparaged group in a more favourable light.

Clearly, a successful ideology according to du Preez, is one which provides a rallying point for the referent identity, provides a focus for their aspirations, describes and defines their circumstances, and describes who they are in comparison to others in society. In this regard it is similar to Berger's conception of nationalism which is a particular type of ideology.

Berger comments that since nationalism always depends upon a

particular group's definition of their social reality, it is always in a sense "artificial," (Berger, 1974:150) [emphasis mine] meaning that there are actually few intrinsic elements required for the forming of a nation as such. Berger goes on to state that nationhood is actually something "invented" (ibid., 150) by the intellectuals of the group whose task it is to develop the ideology for the rest of the group. In this connection, Berger (1974:150) states that, "nationalism entails the construction of new overarching symbols." The aim of these symbols is usually threefold:- "mobilisation of the group to obtain independence from foreign rule or domination; mobilisation of the group to attain goals of development policies; the nation also provides a new collective identity." A perusal of South Africa's history confirms these aims of nationalist ideology.

2.5.3. DESCRIPTIONS OF THE REACTIONS OF THE SOCIALLY DISCRIMINATED

Though Sarbin and Scheibe provide a clear enough theoretical framework for the events experienced by the "coloured" people at this time, Goffman and du Preez, however, elucidate the reactions of the "coloured" people to these circumstances much more completely.

Goffman and du Preez provide a satisfactory listing of the possibilities that can be applied in this regard. Goffman, (1968:18) remarks upon these attempts, "How does the stigmatised person respond to his situation? One presumes that the particular response of such individuals will vary

according to the resources and/or the possibilities extant in their personal situations.

In the case of du Preez, his usefulness lies in the fact that he states that not all those forced into the complementary identity feel comfortable with the restrictions it imposes upon them. A number therefore, "express their unease" (1980:105) with the situation by attempting to change either the "internal or external criteria" (ibid., op.cit.) operating in the particular circumstances. Du Preez terms this the beginnings of "identity resolution" mentioned previously.

By "changing the internal criteria of identity formation" is meant that people acknowledge that they can change their beliefs and knowledge of human identity, but they cannot change the actual role definition so that it becomes more consistent with their conceptions. They therefore avoid those social circumstances which coerce them to perform roles that are not palatable to them. They spend as much time as possible away from those "official" social circumstances which require the donning of demeaning roles and find "unofficial" occasions which correspond with their estimate of their identity. Linked with this notion of du Preez's is the mention that Sarbin and Scheibe make of the reference group; these unofficial social circumstances that are preferred by the discriminated constitute their reference group.

Changing the "external criteria of identity formation" indicates a more direct challenge to the authority of the referent identity. This is an attempt to change societal

standards by destroying the prevailing identity frame with its identity traps.

Du Preez's description of identity traps implies that they are particularly dangerous for the fearful and for the unthinking. His exposition of the con has suggestions of force inherent in it; the reference identity can coerce reluctant individuals to comply with their demands, therefore resistance of the con takes a lot of courage. Those who live their lives automatically without much reflection, easily fall prey to the squeeze, since it provides a ready made identity for such individuals. The danger in such "off-the-peg" identities is that they are restrictive and stale, condemning the actors to stereotypic performance of roles.

The conception of Erving Goffman that overlaps with du Preez's theory of changing the external criteria of identity formation involve challenging the authority of the labelling group. In this instance, Goffman proposes the "formation of in-group alignment" (Goffman, 1963:137). An in-group is defined as "the aggregate of persons who are likely to have to suffer from the same deprivations as he suffers because of having the same stigma;" (ibid., op.cit.). These groups can serve as support systems for the stigmatised person and often provide alternative norms which redefine the situation according to their own point of view. In effect these in-group alignments are also the reference groups of those who reject the system. In some cases the group can develop its own theory of society or ideology which can be used to lobby for changes to the system.

Passing is the second reaction that Goffman proposes for such

discredited individuals - this involves an attempt on the part of the stigmatised individual to keep this "discrediting information a secret" (ibid.,101). Such a manoeuvre is possible only in circumstances where the "differentness is relatively unapparent" (ibid.,op.cit.) It represents an effort to escape from the limitations imposed by the stigma and to experience a fuller and more rewarding existence.

Closely related to passing is covering, which is a reaction of those members of the discriminated group whose possession of a stigma is impossible to deny. Covering is therefore defined by Goffman (ibid.,125) as "great effort to keep the stigma from looming large." .

Covering implies acknowledgement of the possession of a stigma and therefore an acceptance of the labelling group's authority to discriminate against the stigmatised individual on that basis. In this respect covering appears to be similar to an acceptance of du Preez's squeeze or a con wherein the individual either accepts a ready made identity voluntarily through lack of forethought, or is forced to accept it because of lack of power to resist.

The adoption of a cover thus appears to be an effort to reduce the effects of the discrimination by rendering the person more "normal", or in line with the norms prescribed by the labelling group. By "covering" the persons is therefore trying to "improve" or "correct" his/her appearance.

2.6 CONCLUSION

In this way the theories combine to explain the differential evaluations that have been the lot of the "coloured" people in South Africa and have contributed to their chequered historical experience. It is also hoped that the theories explained above also help to explain some of the community's responses to these changing circumstances.

CHAPTER THREE

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3.1. THE RESEARCH AIMS

The aim of the research was twofold:-

(i) to try to uncover the respondents' sense of group identity by examining their attitudes, feelings and opinions towards the group in general. An attempt would be made to uncover personal attitudes as well.

(ii) to compare the responses of my sample with those made in earlier studies in Durban.

In this way I thought I would be able to determine whether any changes had indeed occurred in the personal and social identity of the people concerned. It might also be possible to gain some tentative indication of the direction and degree of such change(s).

3.2. THE RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS

It has been established by all previous researchers that the community in question evinces symptoms of social dislocation which manifests chiefly as a blurred sense of group identity and a poor self image. Both Mann/Dickie-Clark as well as Schlemmer and his associates maintain that these symptoms result chiefly from the political discrimination inflicted upon the group.

My personal observations of the group caused me to agree with the findings of the above-mentioned researchers at that time. However during the early part of the 1980's I began to notice a subtle change in the attitudes and behaviour of some of the "coloured" people.

These positive changes coupled with the erosion of the harsher elements of the apartheid legislation caused me to question whether the findings of Dickie-Clark-Mann and Schlemmer et al would still be valid in the latter part of the 1980's.

I therefore embarked upon this study with the aim of examining the identity of the "coloured" people in order to establish whether any improvements had occurred over time.

In the light of the relaxing of discrimination, one can hypothesise that the dislocation it effected should also be diminishing to some extent. There should therefore be resultant changes in the social and psychological orientation of the group concerned.

Formally stated, the hypothesis for this investigation would be as follows: social and personal identity (as indicators of social dislocation) are correlated to the degree of oppression in society. The respondents of the present study should therefore reveal less dislocation in the form a greater sense of identity than those of Mann/Dickie-Clark and Schlemmer et al.

The degree of oppression becomes identified as the independent variable, since it is the cause of dislocation in the "coloured" community, while the identity of this group is the dependent variable. Dislocation and identity are historically related to each other and the following chapter (4.4.) will examine this association more closely.

An identity index will be developed in order to measure the personal identity of the respondent, while answers to questions in the questionnaire on group identity (section 9)

will facilitate quantification of this aspect of the study. The identity index is not a direct estimate of perceived discrimination. No specific tool was developed for this purpose. However certain questions in the questionnaire elicited respondents' reactions to various apartheid laws. The answers of my respondents will be compared to those of Mann-Dickie-Clark and Schlemmer et al where possible. The responses made by the three groups interviewees (1956, 1976 and 1986) will give some idea of their changing perceptions of discrimination over time.

Furthermore the decrease of discrimination is now a definite fact of social existence in South Africa, the repeal of the Immorality Act, the Mixed Marriages Act and Separate Amenities Act are evidence of this trend. Furthermore, the unbanning of the liberation organisations and the negotiations with the leaders of these organisations indicate that a new political arrangement is inevitable. The Tricameral Parliament was introduced in 1984 and since then "brown" South Africans have enjoyed more political freedom than previously. Thus statutory discrimination has definitely diminished during the last decade. Whether the respondents' perceptions of discrimination has altered at all, is the task of this investigation.

3.3. THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

The information gathering technique was a structured questionnaire which included many open and closed ended items. It was administered by the author in personal interviews.

Because I wished to study shifting perceptions of identity, it was important that my research instrument should replicate pertinent items used by Mann/Dickie-Clark and Schlemmer et al.

The first section of the interview schedule consisted of six biographical questions pertaining respectively to the ages, education, employment, gender, religious denomination and residential area occupied by each respondent.

The main section of schedule (section 7a,b,c.) related to the self-concept of the respondents and was thus devoted to questions examining the attitudes and feelings of the respondents towards themselves. This section of the questionnaire was used to formulate the identity index. These items were replications of questions employed by Schlemmer, who had adapted them from the Mann's Marginality Scale which was especially devised for his study. I used these questions because they were entirely suited to the task of uncovering the respondents' self-attitudes in a straightforward manner.

Previous research indicated that the Durban "coloured" community had a higher than average involvement in organised religion, therefore it seemed appropriate to explore this in the hope that it would provide some insights as to the overall functioning of the group. I included questions to

this effect as outlined by Mann/Dickie-Clark and Schlemmer. These questions were contained in section eight of the schedule and consisted of nine items relating to the religious orientation of the interviewees.

The next section, (section 9) was concerned with the group identity of the respondents; this included a large battery of questions (17 in all) which examined the feelings and attitudes towards their own group.

Accordingly, after the first question which requested the respondents to provide their own personal classificatory system for the group, I asked the respondents to each select what they felt to be the category that they belonged to from the catalogue they had provided. This is exactly what the previous researchers in this area had requested of their respondents. In addition, I added a few questions of my own to the cluster used in previous research. Prompted by my personal knowledge of the group, I asked each person to state whether the personal categorisation that they had chosen for themselves concurred with the official classification they had received from the Race Classification Board. The respondent was then asked to write down this official classification on the schedule. I felt that these three categorisations, (the respondent's categorisation of him/herself, the official categorisation, and the respondent's group classification system) would enable me to check them against each other in order to see how they compared.

My assumptions in this connection being that I felt that the respondent's personal categorisation would often be different

from the official categorisation. For example, my personal observation is that many Natal "coloureds" continued to refer to themselves as Mauritians, even though this category no longer exists officially. People thought of themselves as Mauritians or St. Helenans in preference to the meaninglessness of categories such as "Other coloured" favoured by the officials.

Another aspect of the group identity pertaining to Natal "coloureds" is their extreme exclusivity - I have also noticed that Durban "coloured" people are known to feel superior towards "coloureds" from elsewhere in the Republic, particularly towards those in the Cape. The following chapter (chapter four) will clearly demonstrate the origin of the advantages enjoyed by Natal "coloureds". Furthermore, the group under scrutiny in this investigation seem to more closely approximate the norms of physical acceptability as prescribed by the whites in this country. They are thus much admired by most other "coloureds" from elsewhere, thus giving them further cause for complacency. With such matters in mind therefore, I decided to test this perception of mine by asking respondents to state whether they felt able to distinguish between "coloureds" from the different parts of South Africa. The next question that I included in this section invited them to explain the basis upon which they would make these distinctions between them.

After the interviewees had answered the above questions, I then asked them to provide a verbal description of a typical Durban "coloured". This question was followed by one which asked them to name a famous person, not necessarily

"coloured", who in the respondent's opinion, best fitted the description of the typical "coloured" they had verbally described in the question. I felt that these questions would afford me the opportunity to gain an inside view of their group perceptions. This was the extent of the questions developed by the present researcher for the purposes of this investigation.

The next batch of questions were suggested to me by Dickie-Clark's study in which a large number of "coloured" people had mentioned to him that they often wished that they had not been classified as "coloureds". These people stated that they would have preferred to have been included in the white group. I designed a question around this information in order to test whether my sample would have the same preference. I also asked them what their opinions were of "coloureds" who choose to be classified as whites.

Like the previous researchers, I included an item requesting that the state whether they had relatives belonging to other racial or ethnic categories and whether they maintained links with them.

Finally, a few of the items related to the respondents' attitudes towards other races in this country, the chief of these was item 9 (Q), which presented a list of 23 adjectives which interviewees had to apply to the four racial groups. In this way some indication of the respondent's general orientation towards these groups would hopefully be uncovered.

The last area examined was politics (section 10) - these items (13 in all) were also derived from the studies of the

previous researchers. In this area, as in all others, questions were selected as much for their content as for their ability to translate into an easy conversational style which, it was hoped, would not offend or intimidate. In this way I hoped to gain a reasonable chance of developing a relaxed atmosphere during the interviewing process.

It was anticipated that the answers to these questions on politics, when compared to those of the previous researchers would supply some clues of the perceptions that the three groups of respondents had towards apartheid.

Section eleven consisted of one question relating to the reference group of each interviewee - it was hoped that such an item could be valuable in investigating the conscious or unconscious role models the respondents held.

The information collected in the interviews was coded by the researcher and processed by computer at the University of Natal.

3.4. THE SAMPLING METHOD

As has been mentioned previously, the Sparks Estate-Sydenham area is one of the few areas in Natal that has been the focus of organised, accredited social research. As this study is based on actual conclusions arising from such research, Sparks Estate-Sydenham was obviously the first choice for inclusion. In addition, it was decided, in the interests of representativeness, to spread the survey over a few other areas as well. Since Sparks Estate-Sydenham has been in

existence for approximately fifty years now, it is becoming increasingly middle class, - in order to balance this tendency it was decided to include a less affluent area, Newlands East, as well as Wentworth, which is a mixed socio-economic area.

Having decided upon the areas I wished to sample, I chose to use the schools as the entree to these people; the main reason for this being that having been a schoolteacher in the Wentworth area for ten years, I began to notice certain definite changes in the attitudes and outlook of the matriculation level pupils. This led me to speculate upon the changes that could have occurred in the rest of the Durban "coloured" community.

Acting upon these speculations, I decided to draw a sample from the "coloured" high schools in Durban. In this way I would be able to interview each pupil drawn as well as his/her same gender parent, if both were available, otherwise the other parent would be interviewed. This would make the study an intergenerational one. The study would also have spatial dimensions - since I proposed to spread my survey over three areas in the Durban area. Lastly the fact that the research would as far as possible replicate the questions included in the previous studies of Mann/Dickie-Clark and Schlemmer et al, would enable the study to be considered a longitudinal one in most respects.

With these elements in mind, I secured the matriculation class lists from the principals of the schools in the relevant areas. I then proceeded to assign numerical values to all of these by using a table of random numbers. Twenty

five names were drawn from the schools in each of the three areas, so that a final list of seventy five names was finally obtained. The names of these pupils would be coupled with those of their parents so that I would finally obtain one hundred and fifty respondents.

I then attempted to contact the people on my lists by telephone and in each case spoke to the parent to secure permission for the inclusion of both adult and child in the survey.

3.5. THE INTERVIEWING PROCESS

3.5.1. THE METHOD OF APPROACH

When I contacted the school principals for permission to obtain their matriculation class lists, I also requested that in addition to the names, I be supplied with the pupils' addresses, the names of their parents/guardians and their telephone numbers. When the sampling procedure was complete and seventy five names had been drawn from the original class lists, I was able to construct a final interview list of 150 subjects with names, addresses and telephone numbers where available.

This enabled me to initiate contact with the prospective respondents telephonically. I generally chose to speak with the parent first; introducing myself by name and stating that I was a university student who required the parent's co-operation in order to conduct some research.

With their permission I explained the type of co-operation I

required - it was necessary to proceed very cautiously in order to make the nature of my request clear, while trying to assure the person that neither their principles nor their privacy would be compromised if it could be avoided. In most cases this was adequate to secure the help of the prospective respondent. Where people seemed hesitant, I tried to supply such information as seemed necessary, but in most cases, I simply requested permission to call back in a few day's time after the person had had time to consider my proposal more closely.

In cases where people were more willing to co-operate, I concluded the conversation by settling a suitable time and place for the interview. I tried to arrange separate interview sessions for parent and child. The whole contact session was usually extremely long because I had to proceed cautiously as these people were strangers to me and I did not want to antagonise or frighten them. Furthermore, the request I was making was an unusual, if not strange one, particularly at this juncture of South Africa's political development. In such a complex situation, my intentions could easily have been misconstrued.

My general procedure was to devote Sundays to the task of making contact with prospective respondents because this was the one day when people could be relied upon to be at home at some stage or another. The purpose was to make an arrangement to interview these people during the week which would follow. I tried to confirm at least three interviews a day with the appointments being as follows:

a morning session - which was usually convenient for housewives and the unemployed.

an afternoon session - which was usually reserved for pupils.

an evening session - this was the obvious choice of working people.

I found that this type of arrangement worked well for weekdays up to Thursdays, but on Fridays, it was often impossible to secure even one interview appointment. This was because the prospective respondents seemed to be busily engaged in other activities, such as housework, part-time employment, or just relaxing. I had to accommodate them in this, even though it dragged the process out considerably.

The fieldwork for this study was conducted from the beginning of 1986 until the Christmas holidays of the same year. I conducted the interviews personally and since no interview was completed in less than an hour, the entire process was extremely time-consuming. It was also very exhausting, and it was found to be advantageous to take short breaks for a few days after every month of interviewing, in order to maintain a good interviewing manner. The longest interview lasted for five hours so that a fair amount of re-scheduling occurred to make allowances for unexpected developments such as this one.

In some cases respondents were difficult to trace, having moved from their addresses suddenly and without indications of the new place of residence. It often happened that neighbours and relatives were reluctant to provide details of the whereabouts of the person for fear that I represented the

police, the Social Welfare Department or some other authority. So it became a drawnout affair to find the respondent in question, but eventually all were found and agreed to participate in the survey.

3.5.2. THE RESPONDENTS' REACTION TO THE CONTACT SESSION

In general people seemed to find my request for an interview with them extraordinary, so that many responded with delight at having been selected and agreed to an interview after having satisfied only the barest outlines of their curiosity regarding the content of questions.

Others were more cautious and their wariness could sometimes be allayed if they were familiar with the survey procedure or if they thought they were assisting a fellow "coloured" person attain an educational qualification. If all of the foregoing were unfamiliar to them then they asked many questions which I answered carefully and in this way managed to secure their approval and co-operation. Some people agreed to allow themselves to be interviewed simply because they knew me personally. A few were antagonistic, or even hostile, so that I had to go forward very carefully in order to persuade them to agree to an appointment.

3.5.3. THE RESPONDENTS' REACTIONS TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS

Respondents seemed to experience some difficulty with the first group of questions dealing with the self-concept. I

interpreted this difficulty as being caused by their inexperience at focussing upon themselves in such a structured manner.

They also seemed to lack the verbal acuity in which to couch their abstract thoughts and ideas. This initial difficulty could also to some extent be associated with the tension that usually accompanies the beginning of any interview.

It has also been suggested that the order of the questionnaire items was unfortunate, forcing respondents to deal with the more difficult items first, thus creating tension at the beginning. The high school pupils settled down comfortably from the start and seemed to suffer less from this initial strain than their parents. However, after this slow beginning, the adults definitely opened up more than their offspring did.

The second part of the questionnaire which explored the respondent's relationship with organised religion held few problems and questions were answered promptly and enthusiastically. After this the process of questioning was placed on a more secure footing and matters improved tangibly.

The section of the questionnaire dealing with group identity turned out to be extremely popular; questions were answered with great gusto, respondents even volunteered information. They often provided anecdotes and asides which were very amusing and caused me to laugh on many occasions. Family members who had respectfully left us to carry out the interview in peace and quiet were drawn to investigate these sounds of mirth and evinced much surprise that the research

process was not a more solemn affair. The questions in this section which captured the imaginations of the respondents were those which requested them to provide their own classificatory system for the "coloured" group. They also enjoyed listing the differences between the "coloureds" from Durban and those from elsewhere. They attacked all these questions with relish, and seemed to particularly enjoy choosing a famous person to typify a Durban "coloured". Because of the rapport established during this stage, most of the questions were answered in a much more relaxed manner.

The final group of questions covered the section on politics and it was here that I experienced most of my problems; were it not for the trust created in the previous section, I think that most respondents would have withdrawn their co-operation at this stage. I had to exercise patience and tact unstintingly in order to counter the reluctance and hostility which these political items engendered. I explained that it was not my intention to trap them, but a survey on "coloured" people would be incomplete without questions on politics. I kept pointing out that if this section was compromising, then I would be the first to get into trouble since I had designed the survey and was asking questions. After various reassurances such as this, most people settled down, albeit rather reluctantly and continued. The overtly political questions were clustered at the beginning of the section and the respondents answered them briefly, tersely and for the most part negatively. Many stated that they preferred not to answer, so that a special category had to be included to cater for this. However, the interviewees answered more

fully to the less directly political items which were viewed as less threatening than the previous ones. In fact, when asked to discuss their opinions on the ultimate fate of this country and whether they would remain here, most respondents began to thaw out. Such subjects are currently very topical and most people cannot resist adding their views to the debate. Other items on the value of recently desegregated private schools and other amenities had the same effect. So that to some extent, the pleasant atmosphere was recaptured and the interview concluded upon a pleasant note.

A number of respondents, notably the younger ones, were unperturbed by the political content of questions. Indeed, a few people remarked that they were pleased to answer questions as they felt that the situation of "coloureds" could only be redressed through politics.

At the end of the interview, a number of respondents turned the situation around and asked me questions about myself and the relevance of this research to my career. A number commiserated with me on the enormity of the task I had set myself. Many said that they felt proud that a fellow "coloured" person was researching her own group and took this as concrete evidence of the progress that we were making. Some intimated to me that the reason they had agreed to participate in this survey was because they wanted to make a contribution to the advancement of the group.

3.5.4. THE RESEARCHER'S PERSPECTIVE ON THE INTERVIEW PROCESS

There are a number of obstacles that must be overcome during the interview process and not the least of these is the task of enlisting the co-operation of the prospective respondents.

From a certain point of view such a request could be viewed as an invasion of their privacy, their time and their homes.

Nevertheless, it is imperative that this co-operation be obtained for the survey procedure to get off the ground.

There are a number of factors which contributed in enlisting the help of the people who were on my list after sampling.

The first of these is the fact of apartheid itself - a number of interviewees indicated to me that they often felt frustrated at never being able to express their opinions about this country. Others said that on many occasions they felt tired of being prescribed to and that this survey had given them the opportunity to give vent to this frustration and that was why they had agreed to be interviewed.

The second factor that helped to secure respondents for this survey is the fact that I spent ten years teaching at two secondary schools in the Wentworth area. I am therefore not totally unknown to the people who live there and fortunately, a number of the parents of pupils I had taught in the past were included in the sample. I had also worked on a community programme in Newlands East, so that I am acquainted with some of the residents there, so that those included in the sample seemed to feel disposed to help me in this respect. With regard to the residents of Sparks Estate-Sydenham, the fact that I was born and raised in this area seemed to work in my favour insofar as assisting me in

gaining their confidence.

Finally the fact that my family name is Fynn actually served as an asset - like Dunn and King and the other old Natal surnames, it is a name that people can relate to and identify with. For this reason many people felt that they could trust me and therefore agreed to be interviewed. Many older people spent time at the beginning of the interview session tracing my family origins and explaining their connection with the clan before settling down to questions.

3.5.5. SIGNIFICANT EVENTS DURING THE INTERVIEW PROCESS

While I was conducting the fieldwork for this study I found that people continually used two current events as a source of reference for their responses to some of the questionnaire items, hence a brief discussion of these two occurrences is warranted.

(1) THE APELGREN-McBRIDE AFFAIR

At about the time I was conducting the field-work for this study, the political trials involving Robert McBride and Greta Apelgren were underway. These two are well known residents of Wentworth, the former being a student leader and the latter a social worker, both deeply involved in community affairs. They had been arrested and charged for alleged implication in terrorist activities, in particular the bombing of an extremely popular nightspot, during which a number of white people were killed.

I can say with conviction that most "coloureds" were

following these proceedings with great interest and emotional involvement, since this was the first treason trial in living memory implicating "coloured" people.

Hence as I questioned my respondents they mentioned this couple directly or by inference, especially when dealing with the political questions. Some mentioned them with a great deal of awe and others cited them as examples of the fate which could befall people who meddle in politics.

(11) THE CHAKA ZULU TELEVISION SERIES

Also at this time the Chaka Zulu television series was being broadcast and most South Africans were enthralled by it; this was the first series to focus upon the history of Natal. The story revolved around Chaka, a Zulu king, so that for the very first time we were viewing a programme on one of the "white" television stations where the hero was black. This king figured prominently in the lives of all indigenous tribes in South Africa, as well as in the lives of many Natal "coloureds", since many of our forebears can be traced back to his kraal.

What made the series even more interesting to the population under scrutiny was the fact that this show actually portrayed the male ancestors of many Natal "coloureds" such as Ogle, King, Fynn, etc., resulting in a resurgence of interest in family history.

When I questioned respondents about their identity, discussion about the original settlers, Chaka and their links with the respondents were very much the order of the

day. This television series did much to rekindle pride in the ancestry of the population and during the interviews I was able to record some of this enthusiasm.

3.6. PARADIGMATIC ANALYSIS OF THE STUDY

In the final section of this chapter on methodology, I intend to appraise my research from a philosophical point of view so that it may be posited according to its peculiar methodological characteristics: the type of dissertation which I hope to present is based upon the "objectively subjective" research formulation as outlined by Reason and Rowan (1981:xliii). This type of paradigm is actually a compromise between the 'deadness' of objective research methods on the one hand, and the biasedness of subjective inquiry on the other.

Objectively subjective research attempts to create a perspective of reality which does not pretend to be the absolute truth or to be an absolutely faithful copy of objective reality, but presents the particular slant of reality from the point of view of the people under study at that particular time. Objectively subjective research thus results in the type of inquiry which is "committed, relevant, intuitive and alive," (Reason and Rowan, 1981: xliii). The fact that this brand of research presents a perspective of reality implies an acceptance of the fact that truth is relative to many factors, one of which is time, so that at another time this perspective might easily change.

Subjectively objective research also skillfully avoids the subject-object debate by declaring openly at the outset its intention to inquire into the situation from the point of view of the people under scrutiny.

It seems to me that as a participant-researcher, this is the best position to adopt and this piece of research will stand as testimony to the fact of my being both a "coloured" person and a social scientist.

CHAPTER FOUR

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4. THE SOCIO-POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF NATAL "COLOURED" PEOPLE

4.1. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RACE/COLOUR/ETHNICITY IN SOUTH

This part of the dissertation will place a fair amount of emphasis upon colour, race and/or ethnicity because even a casual perusal of this country's historical background will clearly demonstrate that race and ethnicity have been the criteria whereby privileges have been differentially accorded: hence the task of this study is to unravel the sociological and psychological effects of this inequitable arrangement. Race/ethnicity has long been the pertinent issue in this country, and hostilities between the technologically superior white settlers and the indigenous black people are part of South Africa's history. Ethnicity/race were again at issue between the British and Boer settlers who waged wars, not only against each other, but also against the indigenous black people in repeated attempts to gain ascendancy over each other. Race continued to be the issue in modern South Africa, when the Afrikaner Nationalist Party, having outdone the other groups by both the ballot and the bullet, came into power in 1948 and commenced energetically with the task of restructuring the political contours of this country in such a way as to ensure their political supremacy for as far as possible into the foreseeable future.

The vehicle that would facilitate Afrikaner domination was the policy of apartheid and in its wake came a barrage of laws which were to guarantee this. It must at this stage be

pointed out that previous white governments had laid a firm foundation for racial inequality, but from 1948 onwards, discrimination in this country assumed a much more "rigid and pervasive structure" (Schlemmer, 1978:20). Insofar as the black people in South Africa were concerned, apartheid had a two-pronged effect:-

- (1) It eliminated all existing political rights.
- (11) It channelled political aspirations into separate, more innocuous institutions.

Thus very soon the cumulative effects of political privilege and technological superiority of whites resulted in the country assuming a rigidly stratified social structure; whereby whites predominantly occupied the apex of the pyramid, with blacks at the lower middle area but more predominantly at the base. Thus the variables of race and class became interwoven by apartheid, binding each group firmly to their pre-appointed place in the social hierarchy.

4.2. CLASSIFICATION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S MAIN RACE/ETHNIC GROUPINGS

Since colour, race, ethnicity and culture assume such great significance, a brief look at their plural dimensions are therefore warranted and accordingly, two main colour groups appear to exist in this country:

4.2.1. BLACK PEOPLE

This is the largest group and consists of three main subgroups:-

4.2.1.1. AFRICANS - These are the various indigenous people of this country who at last count, (1985 Census figures) numbered 20 132 000, and they encompass seven ethnic groups, viz. - XHOSA, VENDA, TSWANA, NORTH SOTHO, SOUTH SOTHO, SHANGANA-TSONGA and ZULU. The latter is by far the largest group (3 738 334) and they traditionally reside in Natal, where under the homelands policy, their independent ethnic homeland, Kwazulu, is situated. The black groups together thus constitute more than 70% of the total population of South Africa.

4.2.1.2. INDIANS - This is the smallest group, consisting of 913 000. Most Indians originally arrived here from India in 1860, as indentured labour and settled mainly in Natal, where they were employed in the sugar cane industry. They have diffused throughout South Africa, except for the Orange Free State where they have only very recently been deemed acceptable, the bulk however, remain in Natal.

4.2.1.3. "COLOUREDS" - This is a very contentious term, but it is the general appellation of South African authorities to indicate people of 'mixed blood' as mentioned repeatedly by most writers and researchers on the topic including J.W. Mann, "The mixed bloods of South Africa have been made by many races;"(1957:8). "Coloureds" are thus the offspring of black/white unions and the group currently comprises some 3 million people scattered throughout the country, but the bulk of whom reside in the Western and Southern Cape. Latest available figures indicate that only 95 743 thousand, (only .3% of the total) are presently domiciled in Natal.

4.2.2. WHITE PEOPLE

This group is the most privileged in this country and is chiefly composed of Afrikaners (the descendants of the original Dutch settlers) who constitute the bulk of the white population. English speaking whites also comprise a significant portion of this group. A fair sprinkling of Latins and various other assorted immigrants make up the rest.

4.3. THE RACIAL ORIGINS OF THE "COLOURED" PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA

4.3.1. THE POPULATION REGISTRATION ACT AND ITS AFTERMATH

In terms of the Population Registration Act, every inhabitant of this country must have her name recorded on a population register, so that he/she may be classified "according to the ethnic, or other group to which he/she belongs." (Population Registration Act, 1950, section 8) In order to facilitate this, four officially approved racial categories were decided upon, viz: -White, Bantu, "coloured" and Indian. Furthermore, it became necessary to provide definitions for each of these categories in order to make such classifications possible. Thus a Bantu is officially defined as, "a person, who is, or is generally accepted as, a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of South Africa." (Population Registration Act, section 9) Such definitions were difficult enough in relatively clear cut cases, but proved impossible in the case of "coloured" people, whose physical appearance covers the full range of

variability and often overlaps with those of other so-called groups. Hence frequent amendments were made to the definitions of each category. Early definitions stressed appearance and social acceptability as the criteria for classification, but these soon proved inadequate, particularly in the case of "coloureds," many of whom, hoping to avail themselves of the privileges which white status afforded, lodged appeals with the Race Classification Board, for re-classification. Eventually the definition was amended in 1967, by means of the Population Registration Amendment Act, which provided for descent, as well as appearance and social acceptance as the criteria for the determination of race classification. Thus a white person is defined as: "one who is in appearance obviously white - and is not generally accepted as a "coloured" - or who is generally accepted as a white - and is not in appearance obviously non-white, provided that such a person shall not be classified as a white person if one of his natural parents has been classified as a "coloured" person or a Bantu". Such a laborious and unwieldy definition seems to have been more successful than its predecessors in accurately describing a "white" person and thus effectively forestalling the attempts of coloureds or any other chancers to be classified white and thus sharing illicitly in the spoils of apartheid. The act further divides the category "coloured" into seven subgroups:- CAPE "coloured", MALAY, GRIQUA, OTHER "COLOURED", CHINESE, INDIAN and OTHER ASIATIC. (The last 3 categories have subsequently been withdrawn.) Birth certificates and identity documents were issued stating clearly the racial

category and sub-category one had been accorded. The census board officials seem to exercise an extremely random logic when assigning people to these various sub-categories and much anger and confusion has arisen out of their apparently arbitrary assignation of people into these subgroups. In fact even now very little clarity exists as to what precisely constitutes a Cape "coloured", much less an Other "coloured", particularly since it has often transpired that people born and bred elsewhere in the Republic, and having no known links with the mother city, have been classified as Cape "coloureds." Furthermore, it has often occurred that two people designated to one sub-category, have had their offspring assigned to another sub-category, and not infrequently to two different sub-categories, as the following statement recorded by Brindley while interviewing residents of Western Township in Johannesburg clearly reveals. "I am a Cape "coloured" - look here is proof, my identity card. My wife is a Cape "coloured", there see it's written; but our children are classified as Other "coloured", . . ." (Brindley, 1976:73) This type of impassioned outburst against the arbitrary allocations of the Race Classification Board are extremely familiar to me, having heard such all my life, and especially during the period when I was interviewing respondents for purposes of this inquiry.

In the South African context "coloured" people collectively are classified as people of mixed descent; (i.e. the result of black/white admixture) those of Mauritian and St. Helenan extraction, as well as those of more exotic but less easily classifiable origins - viz: Indian/African, Chinese/Indian,

Indian/white, White/Chinese unions - as well as all the permutations arising out of these combinations. It is thus obvious that the "coloured" group is extremely heterogeneous, so much so in fact that it can hardly be considered a group at all. Dickie-Clark (1966:81) must have had this in mind when he commented, "in many cases the members of such categories have only their categories in common". This heterogeneity of the "coloured" group is further attested to by W.H. Thomas, (in van der Merwe, and Groenewald, 1976:68) "This heterogeneity in fact, makes any generalisations about 'the' "coloured" people practically meaningless." These so-called-coloureds currently number 3 069 0000, the bulk of whom reside in the Cape Province.

Standard works on South Africa and her peoples seem to be more or less in agreement that the "coloured" people of Natal differ considerably from the rest: "Unlike the coloureds of the Cape most speak English as a home language (about 80% in 1951) and in Durban are overwhelmingly Catholic" (Purcell 1974:49). Further information quoted throughout this study will amply bear these differences out.

Most writers have concentrated upon the Cape "coloured" people when providing information about the general "coloured" population of South Africa, since they constitute the bulk and have been in existence for almost as long as Jan van Riebeeck's original settlement of the Cape. The Dutch settlers were traders and employees of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape in the mid-seventeenth century and soon they married or had liaisons with the indigenous women present there such as the Hottentots, Bushmen and to a lesser

extent perhaps even the Bantu, as well as the slaves imported from Malaya, India and various parts of Africa. The "coloured" people arising from these unions seem for the most part to have been rejected by their white parents, particularly if such offspring were not Christian. The bulk of the "coloured" people at the Cape seem then, to have been thrown back upon their own resources and have over the centuries developed a subculture which is uniquely their own and have participated in the development of the Afrikaans language, while simultaneously evolving a social cohesion that has led to a clear Cape "coloured" identity, which amongst other things, seems vigourously opposed to discrimination in general and apartheid in particular.

4.3.2. THE NATAL "COLOUREDS"

The "coloureds" in Natal, like those in the Cape, are the result of black\white unions, but have different genetic influences in their backgrounds. On the basis of these varying genetic backgrounds they can be divided into 3 subtypes :

4.3.2.1. THE MAURITIANS

These are the descendants of the 50 or so original Mauritian settlers who arrived in Natal to work as technicians in the sugar industry in the middle of the nineteenth century and who took up residence in the northern Natal sugar estates. These Mauritians were themselves of mixed descent and they were apparently often obviously so, but were nevertheless classified as fully fledged Frenchmen since apartheid was not the policy of the French colonizers. These "dubious

looking" immigrants must have constituted something of a diplomatic conundrum for the South African authorities who nevertheless granted them full franchise rights when they assumed citizenship here. For political purposes the Mauritians appear to have been considered by the South African authorities to have been white. The exalted political status of these black Mauritians had repercussions for all Natal coloureds, who began to emerge at about this time. This was by now the middle of the 19th century, - resulting in what Dickie-Clark (1966:76) refers to as their 'distinct' position, by which he meant their privileged situation relative to that of "coloureds" elsewhere in the Republic. This fact which has been commented on by other writers and social scientists such as Mann (1957:94), who pointed out that at the time when he was conducting the field work for his research, the average income of the people in Sparks Estate-Sydenham was three times more than the wage earned by coloureds elsewhere in South Africa. These findings are commensurate with those encountered by Jordaan and Feldman-Laschin (1966:29) in the Bureau of Market Research's survey of that year who state, "On an overall average income for all heads of households, the Durban "coloured" group earned R35,56 more than the household heads in Cape Town. "

4.3.2.2. THE ST. HELENANS

An unspecified number arrived in the Republic of South Africa in a steady flow either on their own, or as contract workers to serve in the houses of the wealthy, in the mid- nineteenth

century. The St.Helenans too were of mixed racial origin and were also granted full voting rights, they thus had the same political status as whites in this country.

4.3.2.3. THE EURAFRICANS

This term describes the majority of "coloureds" in Natal who are not of Mauritian or St. Helenan origin and who have not migrated to the province from elsewhere in the Republic. This group emerged almost solely as a result of unions between local Zulu women and British settlers during the last two-thirds of the previous century. It was this group of people who, in Dickie-Clark's study (1959:45) referred to themselves as "Just a coloured", when asked to name the section of the "coloured" community they felt they belonged to. Thus compared to Cape "coloureds," Mauritians and St.Helenans, the process of racial mixing resulting in the formation of this group was very rapid and Dickie-Clark (1966:77), endorses this when he rather quaintly refers to them as 'fairly recent white/African hybrids. The lack of attention paid to this group is further attested to by Venter (1974:284), who comments, "Although scantily recorded, the history of Natal's 600,000 strong "coloured" community ranks almost with that of the Cape as a ready source of historical lore and anecdote".

Part of the historical background of this group surrounds the arrival of various hunters, explorers and settlers who befriended the successive Zulu kings: Chaka, Dingaan, Mpanda and Cetewayo - and who were granted tracts of land in Natal.

As a mark of the esteem in which these whites were held by the Zulu kings, many of them accorded the status of chieftainship and apparently as part of their new and elevated rank they were often also given clutches of nubile Zulu maidens with which to establish their own tribes. Thus eventually a large number of "coloured" clans emerged bearing the surnames Dunn, Fynn, King, Ogle, Redman, Stainbank, Campbell and Nunn, to mention some of the most well-known.

These clans occupied farms in the rural and coastal sections of Natal, with the title of chief being passed down the generations to each clan leader. The clan members led communal lives until the middle of the twentieth century when a number of ills descended upon them, not the least of which was the Group Areas Act, which resulted in the rapid urbanisation and relative impoverishment of these people.

Many other "coloured" families have arisen from Zulu-British unions and in contrast to the situation in the Cape, many of these unions were characterised by marriage between the couples involved, or at least financial support from the male. The net result of these "respectable unions," is that the social status of the racially mixed offspring was better than that of "coloureds" in the Cape, where it was often the case that "coloured" offspring were treated no better than their slave or hottentot parent by their white parent, particularly if they, (the "coloured" offspring) were heathen.

However the distinctive features of the Natal "coloureds" are that the initial high status of the islanders, who settled here, as well as the initial secure status of the original

"coloured" families, resulted in a very privileged situation for "coloureds" generally in Natal, particularly when compared to those in the Cape. Dickie-Clark stressed this point throughout his study, for example, "the Durban "coloureds" were, and to some extent are, less rigorously excluded from the white social system..." (1966:77). This observation is echoed by that of Al.J.Venter (1974:284) "... the Natal "coloured" people enjoyed, until recently, many more rights and privileges than their counterparts in the other South African provinces."

Another difference is that the home language of Natal "coloureds" is English, while that of "coloureds" elsewhere is generally Afrikaans. Previous research bears this out.

Purcell, (1974:48-49) mentions that, "Unlike the "coloureds" of the Cape, most speak English as a home language."

They are also distinguished by the fact that most Natal "coloureds" are Roman Catholics (about 50%), while the rest tend to be followers of the various Protestant denominations, but "less than 1% belong to the Dutch Reformed Church" (Venter, 1974:285).

In contrast, the Cape "coloureds" are characterised by the facts that most of them belong to the Dutch Reformed Church, and that a high proportion of Muslims are present in the community.

Finally, because of the initial privileges experienced by this Natal group, most seem to have gained more education and training than their counterparts in the Cape and even today are benefiting from this advantage in the form of higher mean income than that of their fellows elsewhere in the country.

4.4. APARTHEID LAWS AFFECTING "COLOURED" PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA

The policy of apartheid or separate development, as it later became known, consisted of a barrage of laws, (151 in all, according to David Curry, in Venter, 1972:414) and even a cursory perusal of these would be sufficient to convince one that they are distinctive in that they redesign every aspect of life for the inhabitants of this country, to the advantage of the white group and to the general disadvantage of the rest of the inhabitants. It must be pointed out that although racial inequality had been a feature of South Africa even prior to this, this inequality had assumed a diffuse character and had been blunt in its application to the "coloured" people, particularly in Natal, so that after 1948, people felt keenly the weight of this new government.

4.4.1. LAWS AFFECTING THE CLASSIFICATION AND CONJUGAL RIGHTS OF "COLOURED" PERSONS

Among the first pieces of legislation to be passed was the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, (act no. 55 of 1949) which forbade marriage between black and white persons and which also rendered null and void all previous marriage contracts entered into by people of different colour groups. The Immorality Amendment Act (no.21 of 1950, section 10) was introduced as an attempt to back up the Mixed Marriages Act, since by then marriage between people of different colour had become relatively rare, but liaisons were then more frequent. The Immorality Act rendered all sexual contact between white and black persons unlawful and offenders were

liable to prosecution with a maximum penalty of 7 years imprisonment. This act was enforced very strenuously and members of the police vice squad were assigned the task of watching, trapping and arresting people suspected of violating it.

The next law to be enacted was the Population Registration Act (act no. 30 of 1950) and it had the immediate effect of separating people of different racial groups, naming these groups and defining them. This act, seen in its context, had the effect of buttressing the two previous laws, since it provided everyone with an appropriate racial tag, thus rendering their contacts, particularly their sexual ones, easier to prescribe by law. This was all very much in keeping with the Afrikaner preoccupation with "racial purity" and it was probably felt that these laws could effectively put an end to further "miscegenation" (Mann, 1957:3) which in their eyes was sinful.

4.4.2. LAWS AFFECTING LAND AND BUSINESS RIGHTS OF "COLOURED" PERSONS

Hard on the heels of the foregoing legislation came the notorious Group Areas Act (act no. 41 of 1950) which had the aim of dividing the country up into separate areas for the use of racial categories identified by the Population Registration Act. Thus people belonging to different racial categories could reside, own property, engage in trade and commerce, relax, participate in sport and be educated only in areas officially designated for their group. This act was

apparently intended to segregate the urban parts of South Africa, while the Bantu Trust and Land Act (1936) and more latterly the Bantu Authorities Act, (1951) both of which make land available in the rural areas for the use of Africans, while severely restricting the possibilities of their possession of land outside those designated areas. All these laws empower appropriate state officials to forcibly remove "unqualified" persons from a newly proclaimed group area at short notice.

4.4.3. LAWS AFFECTING THE EDUCATION OF "COLOURED" PERSONS

Education has long been organised on the lines of racial division in this country, and all "non-white" educational institutions were removed from provincial control and placed under the authority of the central government, during the very early years of the Malan regime. Later, the "Coloured" Person's Education Act made "coloured" education the responsibility of the Department of "coloured" Affairs as from 1964. In 1970, however, the control of education of coloureds was passed to the "Coloured" Persons Representative Council, and currently, it is the responsibility of the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives of the Tricameral Parliament. Since 1969, free books and stationery have been issued to "coloureds," but like other disadvantaged groups, "coloureds" feel that their education system is shot through with obstacles and shortcomings which erode the quality of the education provided.

David Curry, (in Venter, 1972:406) points out that as a result of the Group Areas Act, many "coloured" schools were shut down and the rate of replacing them has not kept pace with either the closure rate of "coloured" schools in newly proclaimed "white" areas or the "coloured" growth rate. Thus existing schools are overcrowded, to the extent that doubleshifts exist in some of them and facilities are extremely meagre, especially when compared with those of white schools. This latter fact being a result of inequitable government allocation on education for the different race groups.

Further dissatisfactions exist in that, it is felt that supervision of teachers by white superiors still pertains to some extent in the system. Finally, the syllabi are thought to be biased in favour of a Christian Nationalist viewpoint which is not endorsed by all of those who are forced to teach and learn them.

The Extension of the Universities Education Act. (act 45 of 1959) prevented black people from studying at "white" universities and made allocation for the provision of separate universities for the use of the different race groups. Thus in 1960, the University of the Western Cape was duly established, while a college for Advanced Technical Education was established in Bellville in 1967, thus catering for the tertiary education requirements of "coloured" people in South Africa. Except for an extremely inadequate technical college, it will be noted that no such institutions exist in Natal - official reasons for this lack are that the smallness of the population do not warrant such provisions.

4.4.4. LAWS AFFECTING THE EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES OF
"COLOURED" PERSONS

In the sphere of labour and employment, the discriminatory practices of past and present governments have tended to exacerbate the technological and economic disadvantages of all black groups - legislature such as the Industrial Conciliation Act, with its Job Reservation clauses, as well as the Group Areas Act, have acted in tandem with the inequitable arrangements in education to preserve employment advancement for whites at the expense of blacks. Where legislation has fallen short, traditional prejudice has buttressed this discrimination, keeping "coloureds" in lower echelon jobs.

However, since the beginning of the 1980's increasing pressure from the economic sphere has been placed on government bodies by multinational corporations as well as local businesses to revise their policies to suit the demands of modernization, and an expanding economy, to say nothing of the drain created by conscription of whites.

To redress the balance somewhat, one must make mention of the fact that while original legislation protected the interests of the white worker, later amendments protected both white and "coloured" workers from the competition of African workers. At present the advancement of "coloured" workers to highly skilled white-collar and executive positions is becoming more frequent: thus in Durban, the municipal transport authority promoted a "coloured" man to the highest post, even though white applicants had been forthcoming. (The

Daily News, 11 July, 1984.) Similarly the Durban Parks Board began to assign a "coloured" lifeguard to "white" swimming baths and beaches in the mid-1980's causing much initial controversy among white residents.

4.4.5. LAWS AFFECTING THE POLITICAL RIGHTS OF "COLOURED" PERSONS

A discussion of this nature would be incomplete without a mention of the past and present franchise rights of "coloured" people. The situation in this regard appears to be that in 1951, three thousand "coloureds" alone of all the black groups retained some franchise conditions. The early years of the Malan regime were characterised by their strenuous efforts to eliminate those rights and to divert them into more innocuous directions. The "coloured" vote was at that time not as decisive as it might have been prior to 1930, when the suffrage was granted to white women, nevertheless, it was still expedient (from the government's point of view) to remove "coloureds" from the common voters roll since this was more consistent with apartheid ideals and also since "coloureds" would most likely use their vote to elect opponents of the Nationalist Party to office.

Thus in 1951, the Separate Representation of Voter's Act was pushed through with an ordinary majority, not a two-thirds majority, as stipulated by the South Africa Act of 1909, which entrenched "coloured" voting rights; therefore the Separate Representation of Voter's Act was judged invalid by the Appeal Court (20 March 1952).

The struggle to remove "coloureds" from the voter's roll was

resumed by Strydom in 1954 and eventually in 1956 the bill was passed by dint of packing the Senate and changing the method of election. By means of these questionable manoeuvres, a two-thirds majority was at last attained. In terms of this act, "coloureds" could elect four white representatives to the House of Assembly and two more to the Provincial Council.

This situation where direct representation was closed to "coloureds," lasted until 1968, when the then Prime Minister, Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, passed 3 laws which again redefined the political status of "coloureds". The first of these was the Separate Representation of Voter's Amendment Act (act 52 of 1968) which abolished "coloured" representation both in parliament and in the Cape Provincial Council and simultaneously created the machinery for the establishment of the "Coloured" Person's Representative Council (C.P.R.C.) and within this scenario, "coloureds" would have universal adult suffrage.

The C.P.R.C. consisted of 40 elected and 20 nominated members who had no link with the central Government but was empowered to make decisions regarding finance, local government, welfare and pensions of "coloured" persons. The Minister of "coloured" Affairs in the white cabinet had to approve all bills introduced by the C.P.R.C. and the Minister was also empowered to invalidate bills conflicting with any act of parliament - thus the C.P.R.C. functioned in an advisory capacity and it existed until 1975, when a mass Labour Party walkout, headed by Rev. Hendrickse caused it to be disbanded. The third law introduced at this time was the Prohibition of

Political Interference Act (act 51 of 1968) which was aimed at curtailing the indirect political participation of black people in multiracial political parties, such as the Liberal party and the Progressive party. Further political organisation of the disenfranchised black people was inhibited by the Terrorism Act, (act 83 of 1967) in terms of which people were detained indefinitely without trial.

The Suppression of Communism Act (of 1950) and the Unlawful Organisations Act (of 1960) which were also aimed at silencing the opponents of the government, functioned as strong deterrents to general black resistance and dissidence.

The many laws which created this political order were collectively known as apartheid laws and people were shocked at their uniform and and rigorous application. Loopholes in these laws were hastily stopped up by numerous and various amendments. In this way, the political contours of the country were restructured in a manner more consistent with Nationalist Party policies.

The "coloured" people of Natal were hard hit by this new political arrangement, because relative to "coloureds" elsewhere in the country their position in Natal had been privileged. This barrage of laws shattered the equanimity of the "coloureds" in Natal, causing them enter a period of crisis. Their identity and self esteem were severely disoriented by the Race Classification laws which generally categorised them differently to the way they saw themselves. They also suffered economic loss as a result of the application of the Group Areas Act as affirmed by

Dickie-Clark, (1966:102) "Although when compared to the Indians, they, [the "coloureds"] have been relatively favoured under the Group Areas Act, many more "coloureds" than whites will be moved from their homes in terms of the Group Areas Act." [brackets mine.].

It was shortly after this period of disorientation that Mann and Dickie-Clark commenced with their inquiry in this area and their findings reflected this situation.

Twenty years later, the community study of Schlemmer and his team found the socio-psychological condition of the "coloured" people of Sparks Estate-Sydenham to be a little better, though still serious enough for them to comment in closing, "Taken together this set of results suggest fairly widespread problems of emotional adjustment in the area," (Schlemmer et al, 1978:80).

4.5. THE SOCIAL TRANSVALUATION OF THE "COLOURED" PEOPLE

The nature of the research topic as well as the conceptual tools used in this study necessitate that a clear exposition of the genetic and historical influences that have shaped the group in question be made.

The first part of this chapter has concentrated upon the racial background of the group and shown that they are the result of liaisons between the dominant white people and the subordinated black tribes.

It is hoped that an elucidation of the historical position of the Natal "coloured" people will dovetail with the legislative changes which impacted upon the group and thus clarify the differential social ranking they have been accorded in the South African society because of this mixed biological heritage.

An examination of the historical background of the group reveals that the social position of the "coloured" people has depended upon the various political arrangements in this country, thus lending more credence to the view that they have experienced a considerable amount of social transvaluation in their relatively brief history.

4.5.1. SUMMARY OF THE HISTORICAL POSITIONS OF THE VARIOUS GROUPS IN SOUTH AFRICA PRIOR TO 1948

Since the model of social transvaluation is "sensitive to the complexities of historical contexts." (Sarbin and Scheibe, 1983:27), it will be necessary in this section to place the background events pertaining to the situation of "coloureds" in an historical context. This historical context will be linked with the analysis of the results of this inquiry in chapter six (6.3.1.) within the framework provided by the theorists.

Despite the internal vacillations occurring within the white group, they have always occupied a dominant place in the country's hierarchical structure. The black people, however, have always been at the mercy of the white group, except

perhaps at the very beginning when the latter made their first forays into this country. However, the superior technology of the Europeans soon placed them in the commanding rank and their treatment of the indigenous folk has varied according to the former's disposition and/or their designs. The social and political status of the "coloured" people has also varied with the aims and whims of the ruling factions. Prior to 1948 however, their position had never been clearly defined and they were variously viewed as appendages of the politically superior white group, or alternatively as part and parcel of the indigenous population, or even as occupying an intermediate position between the two.

4.5.2. HISTORICAL EVENTS LEADING TO THE PROCESS OF SOCIAL DEGRADATION OF THE "COLOURED" PEOPLE

The history of modern South Africa is rooted in the struggle of the Afrikaner to gain political independence from the technological superiority of the British as well as freedom from the threat of the ever encroaching hordes of indigenous black tribes who objected to the Afrikaner's appropriation of their land.

This group of people, descendants of the original Dutch settlers and Huguenot refugees, (together with allegedly, a fair infusion of blood from non-Caucasian sources.) who were at this stage faced with the threat of annihilation of either their persons or their culture at the hands of either of their two enemies, mustered themselves under the direction of

Prime Minister D.F.Malan and made an extremely determined stand for their continued existence as an independent group. So, when in 1948, their vigorous efforts were crowned with success, they ascended to power with a policy for the radical restructuring of the entire country. The ideology underlying their plan of political action was that of Afrikaner nationalism, which was counterpoised to General Smuts's vision of universalism, which for them meant assimilation with the British culture and was thus not acceptable to their independent spirits.

Thus Afrikaner Nationalism and the advent of apartheid, resulted in the many legislative changes in South Africa which whittled away most of the privileges and a great deal of the security (emotional and financial) of all black groups.

The changes experienced since 1948 were felt all the more keenly by the "coloured" community of Natal because of their previous comfortable position. Schlemmer (1970:29) mentions that most Africans in this country ". . . have the ethos of a conquered people". My observations of the devastation wrought by apartheid amongst "coloured" people in Durban has often caused me to reflect that they seem to have the ethos of a "whipped" people. The pertinent variables of this study, namely, discrimination and dislocation, first became associated during this period.

4.5.3. SUMMARY OF HISTORICAL EVENTS PRECIPITATING SOCIAL UPGRADING OF "COLOURED" PEOPLE

However, by the late 1970's, public opinion regarding this country and her policies had reached such a peak of disapproval that it became impossible to maintain a convincing defence in the face of it. Critics both within and outside South Africa had become more strident in their demands for change and had also become more powerfully organised. This caused the government to spend more and more of the gross national product on defence and information to defuse the effects of their (the critics) efforts. Detractors and defectors had arisen even within the ranks of Afrikanerdom and pressure groups in the country were actively and openly working against the aims of the ruling minority with the moral approval of human rights organisations at home and abroad. The churches which until now had voiced only feeble protests against the brutality and callousness with which government policies were pursued, now became bolder and more determined in their efforts to bring about a more equitable dispensation in the country. Furthermore the economic, industrial and business resources were stretched to the limit by the voracious demands of maintaining the inequitable and wasteful apartheid system. All these factors, together with the very urgent pressures facing the Republic as they braced themselves for the twentieth century, seem to have combined to render the Nationalist Party more tractable towards adopting some democratic policies.

This new social organisation found expression in the Government's announcement of a new dispensation in 1983. The

implementation of this dispensation in 1984 (despite popular disapproval) has heralded a new stage in the country's evolution. "Coloured" and Indian people now have direct representation in the new Tricameral Parliament which is divided on racial lines. While this new arrangement does not depart from the principles of apartheid, it does extend democracy, however slightly to the "brown" population. Their position is now distinct from that of the "black" people who are still excluded from participation within this dispensation.

These were the main laws and historical events which shaped the texture and content of the lives of the "coloured" people - since we are again upon the threshold of a completely different social and political era, it is perhaps time to count the cost of the past and assess the potential gains of the future.

It was in the mid-1980's that I first began to be aware of a change in the attitudes and demeanour of the matriculation pupils I was teaching. I wondered whether the improved socio-political circumstances related above (4.5.3.) could be linked with this change in attitude. I also conjectured about the rest of the "coloured" people in Durban and whether the conclusions reached by Mann/Dickie-Clark and Schlemmer et al would still be valid for them as well. I therefore decided to re-examine the identity of the "coloureds" in the light of the prevailing circumstances.

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5.1. INTRODUCTION

The results of the study will be presented in this chapter in six main sections; the biographical data will be introduced first, (5.2.) each variable will be discussed separately and where possible, an accompanying table with frequencies and percentages will be included.

The next section will deal with religion, (5.3.) which will be divided into six sub-sections dealing with church attendance, dispersion of religious groupings, religious activities, nature of religiousness, criticisms of religion and religious conversion.

The third section under this heading (5.4.) will treat the political findings - it will also contain five sub-sections each dealing with the relevant aspects of the topic. A summary of the chief results will terminate this part of the analysis.

The next part, 5.5., will be devoted to the subjects' attitudes towards other South African groups and will deal with each under a separate sub-heading.

This will be followed by the identity index (5.6.) and the scores obtained by the respondents will be presented and discussed. Thereafter the biographical data will be used to construct profiles of high and low scoring respondents. An explanation of these profiles will be attempted after this, in order to establish whether they fit with the actual situation of the "coloured" community of Durban.

Finally, section 5.7. will discuss the group identity of the "coloured" community under two general sub-headings, namely, inter-group attitudes and intra-group attitudes.

5.2. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

5.2.1. AGE

It was found that the pupils had an average age of 18.2 years, with a range of 5, while their parents had an mean of 46.5 years, with a range of 33.

5.2.2. EDUCATION

Obviously all the pupils were in standard ten, while the bulk of the parents (68%) had achieved an education level of standard eight. Only 6 of the parents had completed secondary school and a total of 5 had proceeded to the tertiary level. Thus taken globally, only 14.7% of the older generation had attained the same educational level as their offspring; an occurrence which could perhaps account significantly for some of the anticipated differences in their performances on the different variables. Further details concerning the education levels of the parents are offered in the following table.

TABLE ONE

EDUCATION LEVELS ATTAINED BY ADULTS
1986

<u>EDUCATION LEVEL</u>	<u>FREQUENCY</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL	51	68
PRIMARY SCHOOL	13	17.3
SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL	6	8
TRAINING COLLEGE	5	6.7
		<u>100</u>

(n = 75)

5.2.3. EMPLOYMENT

Concerning the occupational range of the parents, the bulk of those in employment were males and 32% of these were engaged as artisans of various types. Most of the adult sample not employed were females who listed their occupation as being housewives (16%). Of the females in the active workforce, 10.7% were employed as cashiers or sales assistants.

TABLE TWO

<u>EMPLOYMENT CATEGORY</u>	<u>FREQUENCY</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
	1986	
ARTISAN	24	32
HOUSEWIFE	12	16
SALESLADY/CASHIER	8	10.7
CLERICAL	7	9.3
MANAGER/SUPERVISOR (factory)	6	8
FACTORY WORKER (machinist)	5	6.7
NURSERY SCHOOL TEACHER	3	4
SMALL BUSINESS PERSON	4	4
SCHOOLTEACHER	2	2.7
CATERER/HOTEL COOK	2	2.7
DOMESTIC WORKER	1	1.3
NURSE	1	1.3
ASSISTANT COMMUNITY WORKER	1	1.3
		<u>100</u>

(n = 75)

5.2.1.4. GENDER

The adult sample included 38 males and 37 females, the youth sample was revealed to be 36 males and 39 females. These discrepancies are explained by the fact that some children were not living with their same sex parents, either because of death or divorce.

5.2. 5. RELIGION

Roman Catholics appeared to be in greatest abundance amongst both sections of the respondents, accounting for 46.7% of the adults, and 45.3% of the pupils. This was followed by Anglicanism in the case of the adults which claimed 13.3% of this group. Interestingly enough the Methodist church had the second largest following (10.7%) amongst the younger generation of respondents. All in all a very interesting re-alignment in the area of religion appears to be unfolding and this will be discussed in the next part of this chapter.

TABLE THREE
RELIGION (PARENTS)

1986		
RELIGIOUS CATEGORY	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
R. CATHOLIC	35	46.7
ANGLICAN	10	13.3
ISLAM	8	10.7
METHODIST	5	6.7
EVANGELIST (various)	5	6.7
J'S WITNESS	4	5.3
BAPTIST	3	4.0
APOSTOLIC (various)	3	4.0
ADVENTIST	2	2.7
		<u>100</u>
		(n = 75)

TABLE FOUR
RELIGION (PUPILS)

1986		
RELIGIOUS CATEGORY	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
R. CATHOLIC	34	45.3
METHODIST	8	10.7
ANGLICAN	6	8.0
ISLAM	7	9.3
EVANGELISTS (various)	7	9.3
BAPTIST	5	6.7
J's WITNESS	4	5.3
7th DAY ADVENTIST	2	2.7
APOSTOLIC (various)	1	1.3
NONE	1	1.3
		<u>100</u>
		n = 75

5.2.6. RESIDENCE

Most of the respondents seem to have been drawn from the newer "coloured" residential areas of Wentworth and Newlands East, which both accounted for 34.7% of the adult sample, while only 30.7% of this section of the sample lived in Sparks Estate/Sydenham. However, such discrepancies did not occur in the younger part of the sample, which was evenly divided amongst the three areas. This apparent anomaly can be explained by the fact that a number of people, although residing in the newer residential areas, still prefer to send their offspring to schools in the Sparks Estate-Sydenham area for one reason or another. So that although the sample was drawn evenly from schools in the three named residential areas, as reflected in the children's sample, the addresses of their parents are different.

5.3. RELIGION

5.3.1. CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Religion undoubtedly plays a significant role in the lives of the "coloureds" of Durban and this fact is attested to by statistics of the study of Schlemmer et al (1978:51) in which they found that 23% of their sample were actively engaged in church activities, a figure which he felt was quite high by modern standards. However, the present study reveals that the degree of involvement in church activities has currently increased to a figure of 62.3% which probably makes it one of the most popular community activities in the

area. Mann/Dickie-Clark do not provide actual figures to indicate the level of involvement in religious activities, but their reports nonetheless display very clearly the deep significance of religion for this group. "It would seem that most people in this area were satisfied with belonging to a church - which all did - and one or two other associations." (Dickie-Clark, 1959:86). Furthermore the extremely high church attendance figures point to the importance of religion in the lives of the inhabitants of the area being studied. Table six indicates the church attendance figures for all 3 studies, over the last 30 years as reported by Mann/Dickie-Clark and Schlemmer and the present researcher. It will be noted that in the case of the present study, the figures do not add up to 100% - this is because the remainder of the sample are Muslim females, for whom church attendance is disallowed. The table clearly demonstrates that contrary to what one would expect, in view of world-wide secularizing tendencies, church attendance figures amongst "coloureds" in Durban have actually increased.

TABLE FIVE
CHURCH ATTENDANCE FIGURES OF DURBAN "COLOUREDS" COMPARED OVER
A PERIOD OF 30 YEARS

	<u>1956</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1986</u>
<u>HIGH</u>	| 62% |	| 55% |	| 67.3% |
<u>MEDIUM</u>	| 16% |	| 22% |	| 6.7% |
<u>LOW</u>	| 22% |	| 15% |	| 14.7% |
<u>NEVER</u>	| |	| 7% |	| 9.3% |
	<u>100%</u>	<u>99%</u>	<u>98.0%</u>

According to the Theron commission, this high church attendance appears to be a tendency prevalent amongst all groups of "coloureds" in South Africa, as evidenced by the following quotation, "Daar is geen faset van die Kleurlingsamelewing wat nie baie sterk deur die kerklike lewe en verbande beïnvloed word nie;" (Theron Report, 1976, p. 302).

5.3.2. DISPERSION OF RELIGIOUS GROUPINGS.

An analysis of the denominations represented in this area reveals that Roman Catholicism has the highest affiliation, and comparisons with previous studies indicates that this has been a consistent feature of this population for at least the last 3 decades. A perusal of the figures displayed opposite shows quite clearly that although Catholicism is the leading religious denomination in the area under consideration, it has suffered quite considerable losses over the years: in the Mann/Dickie-Clark and Schlemmer studies it accounted for 57% of the population, while in the present study only 46% of the sample show a similar leaning - revealing a nett loss of 11% over the last 30 years. In the light of this piece of information, a deeper discussion of the genesis and current status of the religious affiliations of the area is perhaps warranted.

TABLE SIX

BREAKDOWN OF PRESENT SAMPLE TO SHOW RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
1986

ROMAN CATHOLIC	45.6%	
METHODIST	10.7%	
EVANGELICAL	9.3%	
ISLAM	9.3%	
ANGLICAN	8.0%	
BAPTIST	6.7%	
JEHOVAH'S WITNESS	5.3%	
7 DAY ADVENTIST	2.8%	
APOSTOLIC	1.3%	
NONE	.6%	
	<u>100</u>	(n=150)

Mann/Dickie-Clark explain that it is chiefly due to the presence of the Mauritians in Natal that the Roman Catholic church became the most established one in the vicinity. The fact that the Mauritians were practising Roman Catholicism also probably attracted other inhabitants of the area to become affiliated with this particular branch of Christianity. This argument is a highly feasible one and becomes even more probable when one considers the zeal with which the various Catholic missionary groups established religious/educational institutions which catered adequately to the needs of the burgeoning "coloured" community in Natal. With regard to religious and educational facilities, the requirements of the group had been severely neglected by the authorities. In these circumstances one can hardly be surprised at the alacrity with which the "coloured" people became inducted to this form of worship. Thus we have a historical situation whereby traditionally Natal "coloureds" became associated with the church of Rome. The other Christian denominations also became fairly established in the area, no doubt due in

part to the fact that the original settlers in Natal, (Ogle, King etc.) were linked with these churches, making it natural for their offspring to do likewise. Indeed the research on the Dunn family undertaken by a University of Natal team validates this tendency among the procreators of the Natal clans, "His, [i.e. Dunn's] tolerance in matters of religious practice is evidenced by the fact that some of his wives were Roman Catholics, while others joined the Anglican Church of which he was reputed to be a member." (Natal University Research Team, 1953:6) [brackets mine].

Thus it is also an historical fact that the various Protestant churches became a secondary religious force to be reckoned with in the region; as borne out by accompanying statistics. By the same token, it has also been observed that the Afrikaans Protestant churches and the Islamic faith have had an extremely meagre representation amongst the people of Natal (see figures opposite). However current statistics exhibit a distinct change to this historical trend, at least in the case of the religion of Islam, which has seen an increase of 9.2% in the last 3 decades. I am hard pressed to find an explanation for this phenomenon other than the discontents of the current generation of "coloureds" with the established churches and the proselytising zeal of current Muslim leaders.

Another feature of the religious development of the community is the increase in numbers in the Pentecostal or "born again" varieties of Christianity. Mann/Dickie-Clark, as well as Schlemmer and his associates witnessed the beginnings of this trend and the latter researcher investigated it to some

degree in 1976 and came to the conclusion that converts to these groups were in need of a more vibrant form of worship, "Answers indicated clearly that, compared with older churches, the services were captivating, allowing of freer emotive expression.." (Schlemmer et al,1976:55). This trend has solidified to a firm following in the present study where these Evangelistic sects account for 10.2% of the total, making them a fairly significant religious grouping in the region. In fact if one had taken into consideration the charismatic branches of the established churches, these more fundamentalist versions of Christianity would account for a larger proportion of the sample under examination.

TABLE SEVEN
MANN/DICKIE-CLARK'S BREAKDOWN OF "COLOURED" COMMUNITY TO SHOW
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
1956

ROMAN CATHOLIC	57%	
ANGLICAN/	23%	
CONGREGATIONAL	8%	
SEVENTH DAY ADVENTISTS	3%	
MINOR CHRISTIAN SECTS	8%	
ISLAM	1%	
	<u>100%</u>	(n=504)

Another telling feature of the religious affiliations is the increase in the Christian sects such as the Jehovah's Witnesses, and the Seventh Day Adventists, who have up till now had a very small following in Natal. It seems to me that these smaller sects are more orthodox in their leanings and would seem to be satisfying a need in the current generation of Natal "coloureds" for more structure in their lives. Indeed all this shuffling and reorganisation within the

sphere of religion is indicative of the importance that this aspect of communal life has for the population under study. An inquiry conducted by Lotter (1979:3-4-4) and his colleagues revealed a similar tendency of respondents to abscond from established mainstream religions to smaller sects. Fifty percent of the respondents in this study gave as the main reason given for this defection a dissatisfaction with their previous church. In this case the N.G.K. church suffered a loss of 27% of its congregation - this appeared to be the heaviest defection.

TABLE EIGHT
BREAKDOWN OF SCHLEMMER'S SAMPLE TO SHOW RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
1978

ROMAN CATHOLIC	57%
ANGLICAN	18%
PENTECOSTAL	12%
PROTESTANT	7%
ISLAM	4%
DUTCH REFORMED	1%
NONE	1%
	<u>100%</u>

(n=300)

5.3.3. RANGE OF RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

Schlemmer et al undertook an examination of the nature of the church activities participated in by his sample and this revealed that the favourite activity of his sample was choral singing (1978:51). Indeed this activity again proved to be the most popular activity amongst the adults in the present survey, with 13.3% of the sample opting for it. While youth activities (youth groups, girl guides, boy scouts) were the main choice of the adolescent sample (30.6%). The next

endeavour most favoured by adult participants in this study were women's groups and religious study groups. It also emerged that 52% of adults and 48% of pupils were engaged in church activities other than mere attendance. For these modern times, this community displays an extremely high involvement with religious concerns.

5.3.4. NATURE OF RELIGIOUSNESS

The Mann/Dickie-Clark study made some attempt to probe the nature of the religiosity of their respondents and significant correlations were found between the items in their questionnaire using Allport's concepts of "Interiorized and Institutionalized" religiousness (1959:74). However, they found themselves unable to make any conclusions in this regard since the sample was too small. Likewise Schlemmer and his associates made a similar effort, not by using the Allport scale, but by supplying carefully prepared statements reflecting different attitudes towards religion and requesting respondents to make a selection from these. Their findings in this regard reflect a tendency on the part of the interviewees to seek personal validation from their religion. I presented a similar question (that is, I asked them to explain to me what religion meant to them personally) to my sample and invited them to use their own words.

The results reveal that religion provides them with peace/happiness, while for the younger respondents it presents them with a secure base/firm foundation/freedom from

conflict. An examination of the meaning of terms such as "peace/happiness/contentment/firm foundation, etc.," appears to mean freedom from fear, doubt, conflict, and a provision of a suitable perspective from which to view reality. Therefore I would contend that this choice is not substantially different from the selection made by Schlemmer's respondents, whose main preference from the options he provided was the item, "Personal support and reassurance."

Mann/Dickie-Clark (1959:76) suggest that religion plays such a dominant role in the lives of the people of Sparks Estate-Sydenham partly because it provides a hedge against the traumatising effects of apartheid which stigmatises all who are not white and classifies them as second class citizens. "... one can only speculate on the interesting questions of the role of religion in the lives of these people, particularly the obvious appeal of Roman Catholicism and the extent to which developed religious sentiment might counter the possible effects of their marginal situation." Schlemmer et al echo this opinion when they maintain that, "it would seem that the quality of the religious life in general is a blend of pietism and a search for panaceas" (1978:53).

I suggest that the choice made by my respondents would appear to support these tentative views. However, these speculations are not intended to deny that authentic spirituality does exist in the area, but merely to attempt to gain some understanding of the underlying function religion serves in the lives of the inhabitants of this area.

A fairly significant proportion (29.3%) of the adult interviewees answered that religion had material relevance in their lives. I propose that the moves people have made from the various established churches are to some extent reflections of the dissatisfactions they have with the non-materialistic principles espoused by these religious groups. It is no secret that the newer Evangelical denominations as well as the Islamic faith are not shy to emphasise the importance of material prosperity for their followers. This is in direct contrast to the established ones whose main emphasis is the spiritual enrichment and preparation for the after-life. So I think that the fact that almost a third of the respondents selected this item as being important for them is indicative of their new consciousness in this regard which would perhaps go some of the way to explain their new religious leanings.

As mentioned in the opening chapter of this study, it is my submission that the apparent deep religiosity of the people of this community, coupled with the fact that the type of religion they practised favours a view of the individual as an essentially powerless, sinful being suffused with imperfections and whose only hope for redemption lay with an external, distant, omnipotent, omniscient deity, makes for a group of people with a low identity index, especially if outside agencies such as the Government collude with this view. Thus the moves that a some of the respondents have made away from the established churches would serve to support the view that such attitudes are undergoing considerable erosion.

5.3.5. CRITICISMS OF RELIGION

One of the last items in the battery of questions pertaining to religion requested the group to mention those aspects of any denomination that they disagreed with or found irksome.

A number of people were very reluctant to make comment upon this saying that they did not feel it proper to do so, however most could eventually be persuaded to comply. It emerged from the analysis of the results that the two generations differed in their criticisms: The adolescents' strongest objection was that they thought that certain churches were too involved in politics and 13.3% of the sample named this as their chief criticism. Their parents, however found the Roman Catholics' "worship" (sic) of "idols" most unpalatable and this was mentioned by 11 of the 75 adults, so that it had the highest frequency amongst them.

The strongest criticism voiced by the respondents of Schlemmer's study was the feeling that the churches did not take enough interest in the social problems of the "coloured" community. This was voiced by 49% of the sample.

The criticism which ranked second in this study was the allegation that 9.3% of the respondents felt that some religions misinterpreted the bible. This criticism is probably grounded in the fact that newer revivalist denominations were more fundamental in their approach to Christianity than established ones.

This was followed closely by the criticism voiced by 9% of the sample that the evangelical denomination consisted of too

many sects who were in competition with each other. Other criticisms ranged from complaints about the conservatism and dogmatism of certain churches to objections to the muezzins' calls over the megaphone. The alleged mercenary tendencies of certain sects was also mentioned as a criticism by some respondents. Finally, ridicule over the Catholics' tradition of revering Mary, Jesus's mother, was also criticised by the sample. Although only six of the respondents mentioned this criticism, I noted that they did so with extreme vigour and the debate about religion seemed to centre upon this point as well as the fondness of Catholics for statues and relics. Indeed, a number of respondents tried to involve me in this controversy, thus these facts served to make a deep impression upon me. A close analysis of these criticisms reveals that the Catholics and the Methodists come in for the most fire from the sample.

In conclusion, it must be mentioned that my impression is that this section of the questionnaire really generated a great deal of deep and earnest discussion on the part of the respondents which for me simply lends credence to the finding that religion is one of the main preoccupations of this in their minds.

5.3.6. RELIGIOUS CONVERSION

In consequence of the extreme involvement and identification of this group with religion and religious practices, much movement between the various religious groupings continually

movement between the various religious groupings continually occurs. Mann/Dickie-Clark (ibid., p.76) found that 42% of their respondents changed churches at one time or another.

Similarly, Schlemmer's sample, who were really caught up in the wave of evangelism that was sweeping the country at the time, regularly, and in increasing numbers defected to these sects. While Schlemmer neglected to supply actual figures, the following quotation (ibid., 54.) attests to this fact, "It has been frequently reported to us that the established churches in the area are losing members to "tent" churches and newer, more expressive denominations."

The present study reveals that 42% of the adults and 16% of their offspring had converted from one religion to another. While no census of the original denomination respondents belonged to and the one they changed to have been taken, the break-down of current religious affiliations makes it clear that the church of Islam, the Pentecostal sects and to a lesser extent, the Jehovah's Witnesses and Seventh Day Adventists have made some gains at the expense of the Catholic church and the conventional Protestant groups.

5.4. POLITICS

5.4.1. CHARACTERISTICS OF POLITICAL ORIENTATION.

To the extent that the "coloureds" of Natal are characterised by their high level of involvement in organised religion, they are distinguished too by their extreme reluctance to participate in political activity of any sort.

This feature is remarked upon by a number of researchers and authors in this area. Notably Dickie-Clark, (1959:77) who observes, "Nonetheless the residents of Sparks Estate-Sydenham would fain be apolitical and try very hard to be so." Schlemmer and his associates sum up the situation regarding the "coloured's" political orientation in the following way, "They have the additional problem in forming an appropriate and healthy political consciousness - that of ambivalence about change due to their marginal position in the racial status-hierarchy." I agree with Schlemmer's proposition and suggest that since Natal "coloureds" are the result of fairly recent white/black liaisons, their affiliations are more complicated than those of others in the Republic because of their ties with their relatives (black and white). Their somewhat privileged position compared with other "coloureds" in the Republic, as well as the presence of the islanders, (Mauritians and St. Helenans) in addition to their political marginality are other factors which increase their confusion in this regard. All these factors seriously compete for the loyalty of the people and cause a great deal of caution which could easily be interpreted as apoliticism.

The fact that Cape "coloureds" as a group have a much longer history and are of similar ancestry could make their political orientation more homogeneous. This could account for the more or less united front they have been able to present to apartheid when compared with their colleagues in Natal.

In a study undertaken by Tobias, van der Merwe and Freedburg,

(in Orkin and Welz, 1979:175-185) to examine the relationship between socio-economic status and political participation among "coloured" people, the conclusion was reached in a fairly convincing manner that respondents in the higher socio-economic group were more politically sophisticated and aware, but less politically active. The researchers ascribed this not to apathy, but to a rejection of governmental dispensations for non-white groups in general and those arranged for "coloureds" in particular. If these findings are accepted, and could be generalised to "coloureds" in Natal, then a new light is thrown upon their so-called apathy or apoliticism.

✓ Nevertheless, as all previous researchers have discovered, the Natal "coloureds" are extremely reluctant to commit themselves politically, and even if one has some glimmerings of understanding as to why this is so, it is still extremely necessary to attempt to gain some insight as to what their particular needs and/or inhibitions are in this regard.

It must at this stage be mentioned that in sharp contrast to the previous section on religion, the section on politics caused the respondents a great deal more difficulty and the majority were reluctant to answer questions. So it became necessary to provide a category, (can't answer) to cater for those who felt that they were being compromised by answering such questions. In this regard, the present sample displayed a reticence similar to those in the study of Schlemmer et al (1978:63) "some 20% of the people claimed that they did not discuss politics or were too disillusioned to waste time on politics."

5.4.2. ATTITUDES TOWARDS POLITICS AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

The first group of questions in this section attempted to uncover people's thoughts about politics in general and whether they thought that political undertakings could achieve anything concrete for the group. An examination of the results reveals that most of the people surveyed, (52%) agree that political activity can result in real improvements in their lives.

The respondents of Mann/Dickie-Clark, (1959:77) when confronted with the same question, had the opposite response to mine; 44% of them said that politics could achieve very little and therefore preferred to have nothing to do with it.

The next item, which attempted to explore the reasons for their answer in the previous question, revealed that the most popular response was that "politics leads to improvement" and 20% of the adults felt this way, while 29% of the adolescents held this opinion. Such an outcome reveals a fundamental understanding of the role of politics in modern states amongst the respondents and causes one to question their reluctance to engage in political activity, as explained in the previous sub-section (5.4.1.). Of the respondents who felt negatively disposed toward political involvement, the most widely held reason was that, "politics involves trouble," (16%) and that "ordinary people know nothing about politics." This last response implying that the respondents felt themselves incompetent to deal with the baffling complexity that the political arena presented for them. This complexity, coupled with their imagined ignorance could

account for the "trouble" mentioned in the first response. Furthermore, the fact that the trials of two local "coloured" activists were in progress at the time, gives concrete proof to the "trouble" that engagement in political activities could cause. Respondents continually made reference to these two activists, namely, Greta Apelgren and Robert McBride, intimating that they would hate their own children to land up in the type of difficulty that these two were experiencing. They also cited this situation as reasons for not interfering in the political machinery of the country.

When asked to state the thoughts uppermost in their minds when contemplating political matters, it appeared after analysis that adults and children differed sharply in this regard: While it seems that the over-riding thoughts of the elder section of the sample, that is 20%, were about their antipathy towards politics, most of the younger respondents (21.3%) had apartheid and racism on their minds when contemplating political affairs. Some similarity can be seen in this regard with Schlemmer's sample; 47% of whom reported that they mainly thought of such matters as "discrimination, inequality and segregation" when considering political matters.

Significantly, although most parents in the present study stated that the political thoughts uppermost in their minds was their antipathy towards the subject, the results reveal that the response with the second highest frequency was, "their desire for political equality". To me, such a response suggests that their underlying thoughts about politics could be about the inequitable political

arrangements in country, which is masked by the stated response. The fact that so many of them in the previous question mentioned the "trouble" that political activities cause, serves to strengthen my feeling that they choose to hide these rebellious thoughts behind an assumed aversion for matters political.

When asked to mention those laws which have recently been amended in such a way that they have benefited the people of this country, the scrapping of influx control, mixed marriages act, immorality act and relaxation of separate amenities act predictably received most mention.

The laws implementing the state of emergency emerged as those which most respondents felt to be negative to the country's progress. But most people were hard pressed to find any other laws which could be perceived as detrimental at this stage. A few people stated that most of the laws in this country were disadvantageous to "coloureds", while six people maintained that most of the offensive laws were disappearing. Interestingly, one person felt that the dissolution of the influx control laws was a negative development.

The next few items asked of respondents that they should mention those events or incidents which caused them to feel optimistic or pessimistic about the future of South Africa. It emerged that 17% of the people felt that they were not able to name any positive events, while the slow eradication of apartheid laws was viewed by the rest as the most positive development in South Africa, and this response had a frequency of 13.3%. Others cited various specific results of the gradual dissolution of the harsher pieces of apartheid

legislature as cause for a more sanguine view of events in this country. ✓ The specific events they mentioned were such things as the opening of the central business districts to people of colour, the mixing of different race groups at recreational facilities, the intermarriage of people of different race groups, as well as certain improvements in the quality of housing and education for "coloureds". Interestingly, a small number, (2.7%) mentioned that the pressure of world bodies for sanctions was cause for optimism.

The event which provoked the most pessimism as construed by the respondents in my sample was the current political violence and unrest. When juxtaposed with Schlemmer's sample it appears that township riots and demonstrations in 1976 emerged as the most depressing event with the highest frequency (33%). A resounding 34.7% of the adult sample chose the township violence and unrest during 1985-6 as the most depressing event, while only 20% of their offspring voted similarly. So that once again, some similarity is exposed between the two groups; this similarity is particularly interesting when one considers that Schlemmer's sample was an adult one and the adults in this study also appeared to consider violence as the most worrying event in recent times.

Schlemmer's table of results for this item is reproduced alongside to give some indication of the type of events named by his respondents when he presented them with the following question: "What things have happened in the past few weeks and months which have made you feel worried and pessimistic

about the future of the "coloured" people? " (Schlemmer et al 1978:190).

TABLE NINE
CAUSES OF OPTIMISM AND PESSIMISM IN SPARKS ESTATE-SYDENHAM.
SCHLEMMER; 1978:65.

<u>TYPE OF EVENT.</u>	<u>% SEEING IT</u> <u>POSITIVELY</u>	<u>% SEEING IT</u> <u>NEGATIVELY</u>
TOWNSHIP DEMONSTRATIONS & RIOTS.	17%	33%
ABOLITION OF PETTY SEGREGATION	7%	0%
GOVERNMENT PLANS FOR COLOUREDS	2%	6%
BANNINGS AND DETENTIONS.	1%	6%
JOBS, INCOMES & EMPLOYMENT.	2%	7%
HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS	5%	1%
SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF COLOUREDS.	0%	8%
GENERAL ATTITUDE OF WHITES	0%	11%
EXTERNAL PRESSURES ON S.A.	5%	1%
BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS	3%	0%
OTHER DEVELOPMENTS	11%	8%
NOTHING/CAN'T THINK OF ANYTHING	48%	21%
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

(n=300)

The research results of the present study reveal that 45.3% of the children chose the threat of sanctions as the most upsetting event in recent times, disclosing a fundamental difference in the viewpoints of the two generations. This response confirms that the views of the younger generation appear, according to this study, to be governed more by economic considerations than their parents.

5.4.3. ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE GROUP AREAS ACT

When asked for their feelings regarding the possible abolishment of the Group Areas Act, most, (60.7%) replied that they viewed this as a positive event for "coloureds"

in this country. It is noteworthy that more adults (74.7%) — than adolescents (47.7%) indicated that they considered this — to be a worthwhile development. This seems to indicate that never having been exposed to the proximity of other groups, the younger segments of the sample were now wary of committing themselves to such an experience. Such a response could also be understood in the light of the fact that while most of the parents had personally experienced the financial and emotional losses engendered by the application of the Group Areas Act, the young people in this sample had not.

The majority of the respondents (43%) said that they were in favour of the removal of the Group Areas Act because they felt it was a good thing for different types of people to live together in one area. In fact, a number of older respondents interjected at this point that that was how they had grown up, before the implementation of the apartheid laws had created artificial barriers and divisions. A smaller number of people (20%) objected to the removal of the Group Areas Act on the grounds that the differences between the racial and ethnic groups in this country were too great and that if their residential area became a mixed one it simply would not work out satisfactorily for all parties. An even smaller amount of respondents (11%) said simply that they would not be happy to live in a mixed area if people of different classes were to be lumped together because, "class counts" (sic). Interestingly, two of the adults objected to the removal of the Group Areas Act on the grounds that it would place them in too much proximity with black people, while one of the youths felt that living so close to whites

was objectionable!. Two of the respondents said that they felt adversely towards the removal of the Group Areas Act because as Muslims they suspected that other groups would not tolerate their presence in mixed areas and troubles and difficulties would very likely ensue. In view of their relatively small numbers and particularly of the fact that traditionally some hostility has existed between Christians and Muslims in this country, this fear is perhaps not unrealistic. However it would seem to me that the general attitude toward the removal of the Group Areas Act is summed up by the respondents unequivocal (67.3%) feeling that the scrapping of this legislation would be a positive development.

The next item asked that the respondents comment upon their perceptions of the effect that the removal of the Group Areas Act, as well as the consequent establishment of mixed areas would have upon the "coloured" community. To this, the majority (34.7%) said that living in a mixed area would make no difference to their current way of life. Here notably, 53.3% of the adults held this view, while only 16% of the adolescents concurred. A smaller number (20%) of the adolescents felt that this would cause the different cultures to clash with each other and trouble would probably follow. Exactly the same proportion felt that living in such close proximity with other groups would cause tensions to come into existence in these areas. On the positive side 16% said that they felt that such a development would eventually lead to all groups developing mutual respect.

On balance it would appear that the adults were more

positively disposed toward living close to other groups since 62.7% gave positive responses. The younger group seemed less ready to tolerate the presence of other racial or ethnic groups, since only 44% submitted positive responses to this item. This could be explained by the fact that most of the matriculation pupils had had no experience of living close to people of other groups.

5.4.4. ATTITUDES TOWARDS APARTHEID

The next two items pertained to the respondents' views on apartheid. When confronted with the first of these items which bluntly enquired of them whether in their opinion or experience, apartheid was dead, 91% answered resoundingly and unambiguously in the negative.

When broached upon the question as to the general effect of apartheid upon "coloureds"; that is whether "coloureds" gained or lost under the apartheid regime, 73.3% of the adults felt that they had lost. However, only 38.7% of the youths concurred with this opinion. Taken overall, it appears that the majority of the respondents felt apartheid had entailed a loss for the community, since when perusing the other options available, ("coloureds" lost more than they gained; "coloureds" gained more than they lost) the negative responses to this question far outnumbered the positive. It is obvious then, that the respondents are amply aware of the disadvantages attendant upon the prevailing political dispensation.

Schlemmer's respondents, when faced with the same type of

question, had the following pattern of answers; 47% considered apartheid to be altogether bad, 45% said that it was partly good and partly bad, and 8% maintained that it was altogether a good thing. It appears, according to the explanation provided by Schlemmer et al, (1978:63) that at the time of interviewing, the community still nurtured hopes that they could retrieve some of the advantages that they had held prior to 1948. For this reason, they held the opinion that apartheid was a good way of maintaining privileges for the white group and themselves once they were re-admitted to the positions they had held previously. In this regard, their responses were not substantially different from those of Mann/Dickie-Clark.

5.4.5. RESPONDENTS' VIEWS OF THE FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA

When asked what their opinion of the ultimate fate of "coloureds" in this country would be; 29.3% of the adults and 37.3% of the adolescents stated that they felt that "coloureds" would be in a better position if and when South Africa shed all the trappings of apartheid. However, responses to this question were very varied, exposing the doubt and confusion which exists in the minds of all South Africans as to the ultimate fate of this country and its policies. However on balance the responses appear to be fairly positive and only a few of those interviewed appear to hold totally negative views on the final outcome of events. The table alongside displays the extremely wide range of answers to this item.

Schlemmer and his colleagues presented his interviewees with

a similar question, and 40% stated that the country would improve, 33% mentioned that no change would occur and 12% said that they expected South Africa to change for the worse. It is significant that in the detailed breakdown presented by Schlemmer, 12% of the respondents indicated by the nature of their answers that they felt it better to leave.

TABLE TEN
ANSWERS PROVIDED BY RESPONDENTS IN THE PRESENT STUDY WHEN
ASKED TO DESCRIBE THEIR VIEW OF THE ULTIMATE FATE OF
SOUTH AFRICA (1986)

POSITIVE PREDICTIONS

"COLOUREDS" WILL GAIN WITHOUT APARTHEID	33.3%
S.A. WILL BE A BETTER PLACE	6.0%
EQUALITY WILL EXIST	4.0%
S.A. WILL IMPROVE	2.6%
MULTIRACIAL GOVT.WILL BE ESTABLISHED	1.3%
EDUCATED BLACK GOVT.WILL BE ESTABLISHED	.6%
	<u>47.8%</u>

NEUTRAL PREDICTIONS

NOBODY KNOWS WHAT WILL HAPPEN	8.7%
"COLOUREDS" SHOULD PULL UP SOCKS.	6.0%
S.A. WILL BECOME BROWN	4.0%
S. A. WILL STAY THE SAME	3.3.%
BLACKS WILL GAIN	1.3%
S.A. NEEDS SPIRITUAL GUIDANCE	1.3%
TRUST IN GOD FOR THE FUTURE	1.3%
	<u>25.9%</u>

NEGATIVE PREDICTIONS

"COLOUREDS" WILL LOSE OUT	8.6%
THE "COLOURED" GROUP WILL SPLIT	3.3%
TOTAL DISASTER	2.6%
TEMPORARY TURMOIL	2.0%
"COLOUREDS" SHOULD HAVE OWN HOMELAND	2.0%
"COLOUREDS" SHOULD STAY & FIGHT	1.3%
"COLOUREDS" WILL DEGENERATE	1.3%
MOST "COLOUREDS" WILL EMIGRATE	1.3%
INDIANS WILL GRAB EVERYTHING	.6%
	<u>23%</u>

(n=150)

Table ten produced on the previous page shows the range of unaided responses given by the present sample when asked the following question: "What do you think will eventually happen to the "coloureds" of South Africa in the future. The percentage figures represent the proportion of respondents giving that particular response.

When the sample in this study were questioned about the plans they were making for their future security in view of the uncertainty surrounding possible subsequent events in this country, again many different options were mentioned in response. In general, respondents seem to favour remaining in South Africa, and undertaking various courses of action to ensure or increase their security. Of the adults, 69% voted to remain, with 51% of the younger respondents agreeing. The various courses of action to increase their security ranged from acquiring homes in white areas, to improving their qualifications and income potential.

Since such a wide range of unaided responses were supplied in answer to this question, it was decided to reproduce this table in order to facilitate understanding. The original questionnaire item (10K) was amended to read as follows: " In view of all the uncertainty that surrounds South Africa's future, what do you think is the best thing you can do to ensure a good future for you and your family?"

Of those who opted to leave this country in the face of an impending violent solution to the political situation, most, (18% in all) elected to go to Australia. Australia is the favourite country of adoption for most "coloured" South Africans seeking refuge from the injustices of apartheid, or

a haven from the storm which many anticipate is soon to overwhelm us.

TABLE ELEVEN
STATEMENTS GIVEN BY RESPONDENTS OF PRESENT STUDY AS
ADJUSTMENTS THEY WILL MAKE TO UPHEAVAL IN SOUTH AFRICA
1986

<u>CHOICE</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE OF SAMPLE</u>
<u>STAY IN SOUTH AFRICA</u>	
STAY & IMPROVE LIVING STANDARD	16.7
STAY & IMPROVE EDUCATION	10.5
STAY & MOVE TO BETTER AREA	8
STAY, S.A. IS BEST	8
STAY, ALL COUNTRIES HAVE PROBLEMS	4.
STAY & HELP CHANGE IN S.A.	4
STAY, EMIGRATION ONLY FOR YOUNG	3.3
STAY, S.A. ALREADY IMPROVING	3.2.
STAY, FOR RELIGIOUS REASONS	2.65
STAY & MOVE TO WHITE AREA	2.6
STAY, ONLY COWARDS LEAVE	1.35
STAY, AUSTRALIA WON'T ACCEPT "COLOUREDS"	.65
STAY, BECAUSE OF LOVED ONES	0.65
	<u>65.7%</u>
<u>LEAVE SOUTH AFRICA</u>	
GO TO ANY COUNTRY	4
GO TO AUSTRALIA	18
GO TO AMERICA	2
GO FOR CHILDREN'S SAKE	1.35.
GO TO CANADA	1.35
LEAVE ONLY IF S.A. BECOMES INTOLERABLE	1.35
LEAVE & RETURN LATER	.65
GO TO A WARM COUNTRY	.65
	<u>29.4%</u>

(n=150)

Respondents were divided on age lines as to whether desegregation of certain recreational facilities had had any significant impact upon the "coloured" community; 50.7% of the younger respondents felt that it had caused them to mix more with people of other race groups, while only 20% of their parents held a similar view - this is probably an indication of their differing activities which results in

dissimilar perspectives on the situation.

The final item in this section attempted to probe the respondents' opinions on the current practice amongst "coloured" people to register their children at private educational establishments which had hitherto been reserved for the exclusive use of the white community. In this regard, both sections of the sample seemed to feel that such a practice was advantageous for the people concerned.

5.4.6. SUMMARY.

In summary, the following picture emerges of the political orientation, characteristics and concerns of the Durban "coloured" people: they, as I suspected, and as previous researchers have indicated, are somewhat reluctant to engage in discussions of a political nature. My feeling is that this reluctance is born of a desire to avoid reprisals, but I would guess that in "safe" company, that is amongst trusted friends, this reluctance would probably disappear and such conversation would most likely centre around their discontents with the regime. In public, or amongst strangers, their lips would be sealed. This attitude stems from the early days of the Afrikaner Government, when spies abounded and the threat of detention without trial was a very real danger. Respondents actually told me this when they felt more convinced of their safety with me. I have also throughout my life heard friends and relatives voice similar reservations. This attitude of caution is more prevalent among older respondents, while younger ones were more forthcoming, although in many cases much more naive.

Secondly, the sample appear to be well informed of the significance of politics in a modern state, but reservations mentioned above prevent active involvement therein.

Finally it would appear the precedent of leaving South Africa has been well established by previous generations of "coloureds". Therefore the interviewees in this study entertained this option as a very real one in the event that events in this country proved to come up to their worst expectations.

5.5. ATTITUDES TOWARDS OTHER SOUTH AFRICAN GROUPS

5.5.1. ATTITUDES TOWARDS INDIANS

Upon investigating the perceptions of the respondents towards Indian South Africans, it was discovered that the most widely held stereotypic adjective is "cunning," and that it had a frequency of 63.3%, followed by the adjective "two-faced" which had the combined frequency of 33.3% in the whole sample. Thirty-three percent of the respondents judged Indians to be intelligent: this characteristic of Indian-South Africans is much respected by the local "coloured" population and one often remarked upon, often with the comment that we (that is the "coloured" people) could learn much from them.

To conclude the list of negative descriptions, the phrase "give nothing to others" had the fourth highest frequency of 29.2%.

The sample from Eersterust, who, when requested, by a series of questions, to indicate their acceptance for other groups in this country, gave clear preference to Indians over whites and Africans. (ibid., 3-17-9.).

The adjective "kind" had a frequency of 39.2% among adults in the present sample, this view was not shared by their offspring as this descriptive term only had the frequency of 5.3% among them. This discrepancy in perception can perhaps be attributed to the fact that older inhabitants had had experience of living in close proximity with Indians and the general consensus of opinion among them is that Indians are extremely kind and helpful neighbours. Therefore, my evaluation of the situation in the face of this anomaly is that in older interviewees their more negative perceptions of Indians is tempered by this previous positive experience, which had not been shared by younger respondents. Schlemmer found that his own respondents had registered similar ambivalence in their attitudes towards Indian South Africans, in that while like the present sample they too listed such adjectives as "cunning, two-faced and selfish" among the more negative perceptions, they also mentioned such favourable descriptions as "respectable, feel friendly towards, would mix freely with." I would say that this ambivalence is a fairly traditional attitude of Natal "coloured" people towards Indians. With regard to the attitudes of local "coloureds," Dickie-Clark (1959:40) discovered that a great deal of the overt hostility and derogation evinced by his sample towards Indians and Africans was a superficial attempt to conceal blood links with them. "...during the

interviewing and in informal discussion, antagonistic and derogatory statements about Africans and Indians were frequently made".

In general the attitude of Indians towards "coloureds," is favourable and they are usually anxious to be friendly in spite of the slights often handed to them. Currin's study, (1962:117) bears this out, in her observation, "towards the "coloureds" Catholic Indians manifested no apparent prejudicial feelings".

5.5.2. ATTITUDES TOWARDS BLACKS

In general attitudes towards Africans tended to be negative, with 83.3% of the sample feeling that the Africans were "less-developed" than other groups. Seen in the South African context such a description is perhaps more an indictment of the system than anything else. Schlemmer's sample also chose this adjective to describe black South Africans, strengthening my feeling that under the present system of Government, people agree that this group is the one most discriminated against.

It should be remembered that there are few "coloureds," particularly those in Natal, who are not linked by blood to the indigenous groups. In other societies, this fact would perhaps hardly be remarkable or worth mentioning, but in apartheid South Africa, where colour has assumed such significance, such ties could be perceived as being hazardous to one's own position in society and therefore could become a cause of much resentment and unhappiness. Such feelings could be ventilated in derogatory statements about this

particular group. In fact, previous researchers have found evidence of this tendency, as indicated by Dickie-Clark's findings (ibid;40) "it {the derogatory statement} was probably due to an unwillingness to acknowledge recent intermixture, particularly if it involved African or Indian strains".

This negative attitude is not unique of the "coloured" community, but is encountered just as frequently among other brown groups, notably the local Indian population, as recorded by Theresa Currin, in her ~~in~~vestigation of the Roman Catholic Indian minority of Durban. She states, "a few of them maintain a robust prejudice against Africans" (1962:63).

5.5.3. ATTITUDES TOWARDS WHITES

With regard to white Afrikaners, the adjective with the highest frequency among the respondents was "domineering" and it had the combined frequency of 60.5% in the sample.

The next most popular term used in connection with Afrikaans speaking South Africans was "selfish" and it was applied with the frequency of 45.5%.

The adjective with the third highest frequency was "unfeeling" with the frequency of 44.2%.

Quite obviously, local stereotypes of Afrikaans speaking South Africans are extremely negative. Therefore it might be quite instructive to compare the responses of the present sample with those of Lotter's sample who are Afrikaans speaking themselves to see if language influences the perception that groups have of each other. While Lotter's

research was based on slightly different premises, the results he obtained indicate that his respondents indicate no marked preference for white Afrikaners. In fact they rank them in the middle of the continuum of acceptability between Indians and Black people. (ibid., 3-17-9.) One could perhaps conclude that language and other cultural ties do not make for any stronger ties than usual between these two Afrikaans-speaking groups. Perhaps these cultural similarities are overwhelmed by the opposing political positions of the two groups.

Since Afrikaners are identified as the architects of apartheid, it is not too surprising that they are not held in high regard by the "coloured" people of Natal. Furthermore, since the Natal "coloureds" identify culturally with the English-speaking South Africans they are antipathetic towards Afrikaners. Indeed, even Afrikaans-speaking "coloureds" are viewed with a certain amount of caution.

Regarding English speaking white South Africans, "coloureds" appear to view them extremely favourably. Schlemmer also encountered this in his investigations, as the following statement, (1978:72) from him indicates, "the English speaking whites seem to emerge as a reference group; a kind of social elite".

From an analysis of the results produced by the present sample, the adjective, "well-bred," appears to be used most often, (62%) in connection with English-speaking white South Africans by the respondents of the present inquiry. I imagine that this is an oblique reference to both the appearance and manners of the group in question. Indeed, it

has been my experience on many occasions that the English-speaking whites have been admired almost to the point of reverence for their manner of speaking and their entire demeanour which is deemed by many "coloureds" to be wonderfully correct and the epitome of refinement. This is emulated by them as far as possible and the British way is the norm for many particularly in Natal.

Dickie-Clark (1966:148) discovered that 86% of his sample agreed that "coloureds" should try to live like whites and that this appeared to be the main way in which they judged each other.

In view of the awe in which English-speaking white South Africans are held, it is not completely surprising that the next most popular adjective appears to be "intelligent," which occurs with a frequency of 47% overall. The fact that "coloureds" can claim kinship with many British-South Africans via their male ancestry make it easy for the respondents to select English-speaking whites as their reference group.

It appears that the respondents also find this group to be attractive and 43.3% of them selected this alternative. Very few negative adjectives were chosen, or if they were, they occurred with a very low frequency, but of these, the term, "two-faced," is mentioned by 23% of the sample. This description most probably refers to the fact that in political discussions, the English-speaking whites are reputed to talk liberally, but to vote Nationalistically. That is, it is said by "coloureds" that English whites outwardly speak against apartheid, while secretly voting for

and applauding Afrikaner Nationalists who make it possible. On balance, it would appear that the younger respondents hold more negative views of English-speaking whites than their parents and more than a quarter of them have employed such words as "selfish" and "domineering" to apply to them. This is in contrast to their parents who use such terms far less, with a frequency of about 11%.

Dickie-Clark, (ibid., 41) endorses the opinion that the local "coloured" community hold English-speaking whites in very high esteem, and in contrast to their reluctance to mention bloodlinks with African or Indians, took great pride in mentioning (and probably exaggerating) such links with whites.

5.6. THE PERSONAL IDENTITY OF RESPONDENTS: THE IDENTITY INDEX

5.6.1. DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDENTITY INDEX

Since the personal and social identity of the subjects is the most pertinent issue in this study, an identity index for each of the respondents was calculated. The computed identity index served as a diagnostic tool to compile profiles of high and low scorers in terms of social background. The identity index scores obtained in my study were compared with the results of Mann-Dickie/Clark and Schlemmer enabling me to explore shifts in perceived identity.

In formulating the identity index I proceeded by assigning a score to each item in the personal identity battery of questions, (section 7) which consisted of 3 separate sections. These questions correspond to the items numbered 7a, 7b, and 7c on the questionnaire included in the appendix. The items used to construct the identity index were taken from the study of Schlemmer et al, who had extracted them from the Mann/Dickie-Clark investigation.

Question 7a consisted of nine statements formulated "to tap self-confidence, self-satisfaction, interpersonal security and self-esteem" (Schlemmer et al, 1978:78). The respondent had to state whether each statement was true or false when applied to him/herself.

Question 7b consisted of nine incomplete sentences for which respondents had to supply suitable endings. Each of these focussed on the feelings of the interviewees with regard to their capabilities, desires and orientation to the world. The respondents were encouraged to complete these as spontaneously as possible.

The final question in this section (7c) attempted to uncover the habitual feeling the respondent harboured about him/herself.

Question 7a was composed of 9 true/false items which were all given a score of 2 for false or 1 for true, except for the second one (variable 8) which was reversed (1 for false and 2 for true). I then proceeded to score the second group of questions which contained 11 sentence completion items. Because of the range of responses to these items it was decided to score them as follows:

positive responses	3
neutral responses	2
negative responses	1
no response	1

The few non-responses were scored similarly to the negative responses because the impression was gained that the respondents who failed to complete the sentences did so out of fear of compromising themselves by making some negative statement.

With regard to the last section in this group, which consisted of only one item dealing with the feelings of the respondents it was also decided to apply the same scoring as to the sentence completion items, viz. 1-3.

In the light of this scoring system, it was later decided to adjust the scoring of the first section so that each item was assigned equal weight. True items were assigned a score of one, false items received a score of 3, except variable 8, where scoring was reversed.

Possible scores thus ranged from 18 to 63. An item-whole analysis was applied to the data and based on the results of this analysis 3 items, (one from the true/false section and two from the sentence completion area) were later excluded since their correlation was found to be low. Thus the identity index was computed from the remaining 18 items so that the new maximum was now 54.

The actual scores ranged from 20 to 49. The scores were then separated into 4 groups as shown on table twelve.

TABLE TWELVE

ARRANGEMENT OF SCORES ATTAINED BY THE PRESENT RESPONDENTS ON
THE IDENTITY INDEX

1986

LOW SCORES	| (20-34)	| 16%
MEDIUM SCORES	| (35-39)	| 35%
FAIRLY HIGH SCORES	| (40-44)	| 33%
HIGH SCORES	| (+45)	| 17%

(n =150)

Respondents attaining a low score on the identity index were deemed to possess a negative personal identity, while high scores would indicate a positive personal identity.

The application of a reliability analysis to the identity index revealed the Cronbach alpha to be .68 in the case of the matriculation group and .66 for the adults. Since a value of .70 is considered a good indication of reliability, the index was considered sufficiently reliable for the purposes at hand.

The arrangement of scores in the identity index was used as a baseline for further analysis.

5.6.2. ANALYSIS OF THE IDENTITY INDEX SCORES.

The major aim of this inquiry was to test the hypothesis that the extent of the dislocation as evidenced by poor personal and social identity amongst the "coloureds" is dependent upon the degree of discrimination extant in the country. It was stated that the degree of discrimination was related to the degree of social dislocation; if the first one was decreased, then the second improved. Since the Government's announcement of the new Constitution and the phasing

in of the Tricameral Parliament, "brown" South Africans have be re-accorded a measure of political power. A number of apartheid laws have also been repealed, these include Immorality Act, the Mixed Marriages Act and the Separate Amenities Act. These occurrences indicate that discrimination is decreasing; this situation, taken together with these research results which suggest a decrease in the levels of social dislocation of the "coloured" people, would lead one to believe that the hypothesis might hold. Furthermore the status of "coloured" people has been upgraded in accordance with this new societal arrangement. These are the circumstances underlying the positive scores on the index.

The identity index was compounded out of items which were designed to uncover their feelings of comfort with themselves as individuals and as members of ~~the~~ the "coloured" group, it becomes clear then, that in comparison to the respondents participating in earlier studies, this sample appears to have reasonably improved self concepts and a higher level of integration with and acceptance of, their "colouredness".

From the analysis it can be seen that 54.3% of respondents achieved scores which could be construed as being in the higher levels of the identity index.

Schlemmer et al (1978:80-81) reports that one fifth to one quarter of his sample fared poorly in the two projective tests used to test self and group image. Only 16% of the present sample obtained low scores on the identity index, while over half scored well, so that some improvement appears to have been effected in the intervening decade.

The instrument that was developed proved to be reliable and when applied to the respondents, showed most of them to have attained high scores upon it. The high scores show evidence of positive personal identity, which together with the positive intra-group attitudes displayed by the respondents, allow one to suggest that the group may have made some improvements in these areas. Given these facts one may have grounds for suggesting that the research hypothesis stated at the outset holds.

5.6.3. APPLICATION OF IDENTITY INDEX SCORES

It was decided to make some attempt to isolate those factors which were associated with high identity index scores in order to gain some idea of the background factors which favour positive identity. The identity index scores were cross tabulated with the biographical variables so that the links between the two could be highlighted. However the variables associated with high index scores did not emerge as distinctly as it was hoped they would. Since the factors were clustered, only vague and diffuse trends could be discerned. Nevertheless, the relationship between biographical factors and the identity index scores will be discussed separately to demonstrate the apparent tendencies. Concerning the age of the adults in the sample, those respondents aged 60 to 69 emerged as the highest scorers, since 80% of them performed well on the identity index. This age group was followed by those between 30 and 39 years where 47% were ranked high on the scale. Amongst the matriculation

pupils, those in the eighteen year old age group achieved slightly higher scores than the other age groups. In this group were 30 pupils, 3 of them scoring low on the index, 11 of them having medium scores and 10 of them attaining medium scores. The final 6 pupils achieved high scores on the index. So that while these 18 year olds did not display scintillating results, their performance is appreciably better than other groups. For example there were only 2 pupils in the 21 year old age group and one of them achieved a low score, while the other was ranked in the medium area.

In the cross tabulation of identity index scores with educational levels of the parents indicated that those with less education scored more highly than the highly educated respondents. Sixty one percent of the adults with primary school education attained high scores, while only 40% of those with tertiary education attained similar ones. Of those adults who had completed junior high school, 51% could be ranked highly on the index; whereas 33% of those who had reached senior high school level, had a comparable score.

A look at the employment categories of the parents likewise revealed only a blurred pattern. It appears that the artisans and skilled workers have more positive personal and group images than any other group. The skilled workers in particular showed that 62.5% of their number could be highly rated on the scale, closely followed by the artisans, of whom 59% had similar scores. Those parents who had received professional training did not fare as well; none of them attained high scores, only 2 could be ranked as achieving

fairly high scores and the remaining 4 had medium scores.

Regarding the gender of the adult respondents, it transpired that 55% of the males could be ranked highly, while the same could only be said of 46% of the females. ✓ However, the position was reversed in the case of the younger respondents, since only 15 out of the 36 males attained high positive identity scores, while 21 out of 39 females did likewise.

When a cross-tabulation of the residential areas and the identity index scores was performed, it became clear that in the case of the adults, the residents of Sparks Estate-Sydenham had the monopoly of the higher scores. It was seen that 73% of these residents could be ranked highly, while 46% of those from Wentworth and only 35% of the Newlands East inhabitants were in the same category. A slightly different picture emerged when the same cross-tabulation was done using the younger respondents; here the Wentworth residents were ranked first, (52%) followed by those of Sparks Estate-Sydenham (48%) while the Newlands East residents brought up the rear, since only 44% attained high scores.

It became obvious that no consistent pattern of scoring could be detected when the religious affiliations of the respondents were cross-tabulated with their identity index scores. In the case of the adults, the Methodists achieved the highest scores, (80%) while in the case of the pupils only 50% attained similar levels. Those pupils with allegiance to the Pentecostal or Evangelical sects performed the best, because 57% of these attained high scores on the identity index. However, in the case of the adults the

Pentecostal churches fared very mediocrelly, with only 40% of them reaching the upper levels of the scale. The Roman Catholics also had variable scores for the adults and their offspring; the former had only 42% of their members scoring highly, while the latter had 55% in the upper ranks of the identity index. It is noteworthy that the single pupil professing no religious affiliation had a low score on the index.

5.6.3.1. PROFILE OF HIGH SCORING RESPONDENT

A profile of high scoring respondents was developed by combining all those biographical factors which were associated with high scores on the index. In the case of the adults, a high scoring respondent appeared to be a skilled worker, male, aged between 60 and 69 years, living in Sparks Estate-Sydenham, and belonging to the Methodist church. He would not have had much formal education, probably just having completed primary school.

In the case of the matriculation pupils, the picture emerges that a high scoring respondent would typically be an eighteen year old female resident of Wentworth, belonging to an Evangelical branch of the Christian faith.

5.6.3.1. PROFILE OF LOW SCORING RESPONDENT.

This profile was constructed by isolating those biographical factors which were linked with low scores on the index, these

variables have been combined below to develop an imaginary respondent who typifies these characteristics.

The type of adult "coloured" person who could be expected to have a poor self image and a low estimate of his/her group would be a female, Muslim, having completed high school, living in Newlands East, working as a business person, and aged between 33 - 39 years.

According to the data, the low-scoring young person would probably be male, 21 years old, living in Newlands East, with no particular religious affiliation.

5.6.3.3. SUMMARY OF FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH HIGH IDENTITY INDEX SCORES

The fact that respondents generally achieved high scores on the identity index implies that there might indeed be some link between discrimination and social dislocation. The factors that appear to be associated with high and low scores on the index are congruent with both the known facts of the respondent's circumstances and with the theories that have been offered to explain these findings.

The analysis shows that the following factors are positively related with high identity index scores.

1. Residence - Sparks Estate-Sydenham and Wentworth
2. Gender - adult males and adolescent females.
3. Religion - Methodists and Evangelists.
4. Age - older adults and younger adolescents.
5. Education - less education in the case of adults.
6. Occupation - artisans and skilled workers

5.6.3.4. DISCUSSION OF FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH HIGH AND LOW IDENTITY SCORES

What follows is a brief discussion of the reasons why these factors that have been shown to be correlated with high scores are feasible.

Newlands East has been consistently linked with low scores on the index - this is an acceptable result. The physical, social and economic characteristics make any other outcome highly unlikely. This area is still very new (less than a decade old) and in South African terms is still very unsettled and lacking in many facilities that would be considered basic.

The large number of sub-economic housing units in Newlands East point to the fact that most of the residents are not financially secure. In fact the residents are often hard hit by unemployment during slumps and recessions and this country has experienced several of these during the last ten years.

Many different classes of people are jumbled together and it is difficult to maintain good relations with neighbours under these circumstances. Since the area is still fairly new, residents are not acclimatised to each other, as it were, so that much friction and fragmentation still exists. These splits and divisions erupt into open gang warfare occasionally, and often innocent people are slain or injured in the fracas.

The opposite conditions operate in Sparks Estate-Sydenham and many parts of Wentworth. Both suburbs are well settled and contain pockets of extremely upwardly mobile class groupings.

The favourable conditions in these areas almost guarantee

that the "coloureds" who reside there will be contenders for high scores on the index.

The second factor to be discussed is that of gender: it is also unlikely that adult females would emerge as high scorers because black women suffer doubly from discrimination. Traditional cultural biases against women combine with racial stigmatisation to make it difficult for black women to assert themselves or form positive self conceptions.

Indeed, it is surprising that in the case of the adolescents, the females scored so well. Perhaps they are still too young to have been affected by society's bias ?

That a female Muslim individual should achieve low scores on the index makes sense to me, since members of this religious affiliation are generally poorly integrated with the rest of the "coloured" community. Many factors are responsible for this situation, some of which are the traditional hostilities extant between the Islamic and Christian faiths. This is exacerbated by the fact that the "coloured" Muslims or Malays are in the minority in Natal. Thus they have relatively few Muslim facilities and because of religious taboos cannot participate fully in mainstream "coloured" community life, which in Durban is so overwhelmingly Christian in its orientation. The minority group status held by Malays prevents them from receiving the respect that Christians claim as their due from the rest of the community.

As a result of these negative circumstances, Muslim "coloured" people find it difficult to develop flattering

perceptions of themselves or the group that they are officially attached to.

It is clear that the Evangelists preach a brand of Christianity that appeals to the passion and idealism of the youth and inspires much self-confidence. Many "born again" Christians maintain that their confidence and optimism stems from the assurance of salvation that is so emphasised in this denomination. They are a growing, vital branch of Christianity and to be associated with it is experienced as exciting and rewarding. It is therefore understandable that the respondents belonging to this religious group made such a good showing.

Anglicanism, Protestantism and Roman Catholicism are more conservative, they tend to emphasise the shortcomings of their congregations rather than attempting to develop their strengths. Indeed the focus of the message these religious groups espouse is a preparation for eternal, rather than temporal considerations. This kind of message does not favour the development of self-confident followers.

I can offer no insights either from the theories employed in this study or from first-hand knowledge as to why the Methodist faith should be associated with good scores on the index. Since more young people than adults favour Methodism, one can only speculate that such membership appears to have a positive effect upon the youth.

The fact that less educated adults have fared better on the scale is not inconsistent with the theoretical situation of disadvantaged groups or the circumstances which pertain in Sparks Estate-Sydenham. It appears that educated individuals —

in these collectivities learn enough to make them dissatisfied with themselves and their groups, particularly when they reflect upon the difference in the quality of life between themselves and the educated of the white elite. Research shows that the less-educated people of any group, whether privileged or discriminated, do not differ so substantially from each other. If this is true, then the less-educated "coloured" people do not have as much cause for dissatisfaction when comparisons are made between themselves and their counterparts in the white group. In South Africa, the educated of the disadvantaged groups are denied many cultural facilities and opportunities, which could foster a negative evaluation of themselves and their group.

Correlated with low education is the employment category of skilled worker and artisan; it is a fact that the many "coloureds" in this type of employment earn good salaries and are able to enjoy a good quality of life. If it is true that people in these two biographical categories are more concerned with material considerations than with cultural concerns, then this preoccupation could make up for other disadvantages they experience.

These factors did not emerge sharply, so that the correlates are offered in a tentative sense, indicating general and not definite trends. It has been suggested that the instrument was not precise enough in separating the different characteristics of the respondents and their choices. Perhaps insufficient time has elapsed between social upgrading and the interviewing process for a clearer picture to have emerged.

5.7. THE GROUP IDENTITY OF THE "COLOURED"
COMMUNITY OF DURBAN

This section of the survey is central to the inquiry since it attempts to uncover the attitudes of the respondents towards themselves and the group in general. Previous researchers, particularly Mann/Dickie-Clark, investigated this area quite thoroughly and wherever possible comparisons will be made with results obtained in their surveys.

At the end of this section one is expected to arrive at a clearer indication of the perceptions of the respondents regarding who they are, how they feel about themselves, and what they believe their personal and group priorities are in the present circumstances in this country.

5.7.1. INTER-GROUP ATTITUDES

The intention in this section was to obtain some indication of the picture respondents had of their group, as well as their feelings of identification with them. To this end, this battery of questions was divided into a number of sub-sections.

5.7.1.1. PERCEPTIONS OF ANCESTRY

In this section, interviewees were requested to state whether they had relatives belonging to another group. In reply, 42% of the parents and 61% of their offspring indicated that they had no relatives belonging to another racial or ethnic group. However, 33.3% of the adults and 5.3.% of the matriculants indicated that they had white relatives. Small numbers indicated that they had relatives belonging to either African, St.Helenan, or what they insisted upon calling

"mixed" groups. I came to understand that by "mixed" the respondent meant both white and African ancestors. An unusual fact which emerged from this question was that 16% of the pupils and 10.7% of their parents claimed Indian relatives. These numbers are rather larger than one would expect and reflects a growing tendency for intermarriage with Indians, which in former times was discouraged, mainly because of religious considerations.

In the original research conducted by Mann/Dickie-Clark, they experienced considerable difficulty in ascertaining the precise ancestry of their respondents. Most tended to claim white ancestry and deny any links with the indigenous groups, even though their physical appearance belied this. Eventually, they were able to arrive at the following figures: 17% with white relatives, .6% with Indian relatives and 5.3% with African relatives.

5.7.1.2. SUB-GROUP CATEGORISATION

In this section respondents were requested to name the types of "coloureds" they were aware of, or thought were sufficiently important. They were expected to list these groups or categories. In view of the heterogeneity of the group in question and the widespread dissatisfaction with officially designated categorisations bestowed upon them, it was considered worthwhile to obtain a subjective evaluation of the entire group. Furthermore, in a racist society such as ours has become, colour, race and ethnicity have become

extremely sensitive issues, with which all groups are much preoccupied. In this regard, "coloureds" are perhaps most concerned, since their fate is more susceptible than other groups to such capricious classification.

Therefore in answer to the question requesting them to name all the different types of "coloureds" they recognised or were aware of, it emerged that the group of categorisations with the highest frequency was that which grouped "coloureds" according to physical appearance: viz. - genuine "coloureds"; African "coloureds"; Indian "coloureds" and white "coloureds". This cluster of categorisations occurred with a frequency of 27,8% By the term "genuine "coloured", I assume is meant those "coloureds" who, by the standards of the respondents conform with their personal criteria for general acceptability as a "coloured" person. Similarly, an "Indian" "coloured" is one who physically resembles the stereotypic Indian person.

This system of categorisation by physical appearance seemed more widespread amongst older respondents and had a frequency of 39.5% in that group. This type of categorisation is fairly widely employed by "coloureds" when differentiating amongst themselves and Brindley (1976:75) mentions that her subjects often used physical appearance as the criterion for ranking in the area under observation at that time, "Well, there are 3 grades. At the top are those who look like Europeans: they are Grade I - the hair and complexion group. Grade II are on the suntan side and Grade III are the dark group".

When asked to name all the different types of "coloureds"

the respondents of Mann/Dickie-Clark supplied a list which included Mauritians, St.Helenans, Cape "coloureds", and Natal "coloureds". This is an interesting catalogue, bearing in mind that in these earlier times, the situation of "coloureds" in Natal was very different to its current status and that the Population Registration Board was still attempting to straighten out the entire confusing situation as it pertained to "coloureds". In this scenario, the sample provided what I would consider in many respects to be a fifties version of the catalogue given by the majority in my sample. According to the explanation provided by the researchers, the Mauritian and St.Helenan categories, both now defunct, according to the proclamation of the Government, correspond with the categories, Indian-"coloured" and white-"coloured" respectively. The group called Natal "coloureds" appear to correspond with the category called genuine "coloureds" by my sample.

This type of stratification system seems to be in distinct contrast to that encountered by the researchers of the institute for Sociological, Demographic and Criminal Research of the University of Pretoria, who under the leadership of Dr. J. M. Lotter, undertook a comprehensive survey of the residents of the "coloured" township of Eersterust in Pretoria. When these residents were questioned by the researcher, H.J.Strijdom, about their conceptions of prevailing stratification systems in their area, most (79.3%) said that no such system existed in Eersterust. Of the remainder, only 10.7% viewed physical appearance as a criterion for categorisation (Lotter et al, 1979:3-1-4).

It appeared that the younger respondents in the present study favoured a more economic categorisation and this had a frequency of 21.6% among the adolescent sample. The categories employed in the system were as follows: middle class "coloureds", working class "coloureds", and lower class "coloureds". This difference in categorisation is interesting as it perhaps reflects the different preoccupations of the different age groups. Interestingly, only 14.2% of Strijdom's sample favoured an economic stratification system (ibid. 1979; 3-1-4.).

5.7.1.3. SUB-GROUP AFFILIATION

The respondents in this study were then requested to place themselves in one of the categories of the system they had devised and it emerged that amongst those who had used physical appearance as the criterion for categorisation, most of the respondents placed themselves in the category of genuine "coloured".

Mann/Dickie-Clark reported a similar tendency on the part of their respondents to rate themselves, whatever their objective appearance as being typically representative of the "coloured" group.

Sub-group affiliation remains an interesting and somewhat baffling question with regard to Natal "coloureds." I decided to include it in this study because it appears to be an abiding preoccupation with them. People in this area go out of their way to establish the precise sub-group others belong to and many, particularly the older ones, will suspend further interaction until this has been as clearly pinpointed

as possible. Dickie-Clark (1959:60) devoted a whole section of his report to this section and eventually concluded that, "although the sub-groups are much talked about, they do not count for much in non-verbal behaviour."

In searching for an explanation for this preoccupation with sub-group affiliation, the only feasible explanation seems to be that earlier in the history of the group, each of the Eurafricans belonged to a distinct clan or tribe and identified closely with this grouping. People could thus be easily placed according to clan or tribe and as the group was much smaller then, one's exact position in the clan could easily be discerned. This practice still persists, even though it becomes increasingly difficult to identify such clan members. Older people tell me that until recently, the very real possibility of marrying a blood relative existed, therefore before a suitor could be accepted his family credentials had to be presented for scrutiny to ensure that incest taboos were not being violated. This practice has also persisted and has been extended to all strangers who wander into the ambit of the local "coloured" population. It appears that no offence or harm is intended by this habit, it has become a way of practising one's knowledge of the origins of the group and a pleasant way of getting to know a new person.

In many cases the respondent's classification of him/herself was distinctly at variance with the official categorisation as per the identity book. Since the aim of this question was to compare these two categorisations, (the official and the informal) it becomes interesting to observe these

differences. In many cases where the official classification of a particular individual did not meet with his approval, as was often the case for those who had been labelled as "other coloured" or "Griqua" or similar such unpopular categories, then the person inevitably reclassified herself/himself into a group that was more personally acceptable.

Most people (46.7%) agreed that there were significant and tangible differences between "coloureds" from Natal and those from elsewhere in South Africa, stating that these differences were based upon physical appearance as well as general demeanour - implying that the Durban group was more sophisticated, well-groomed and refined in manner. In general the impression was gained that the respondents felt significantly superior to others of their group from other parts of the Republic. This is a widespread opinion amongst the "coloured" community in Natal, probably based on the advantages that they experienced earlier.

When asked how they prefer "coloureds" to be ranked in this country with respect to other groups, they nevertheless indicated a desire that all these names and categorisations should disappear and that all the inhabitants of this country be grouped together as one South African group. The majority, 85.3%, chose this option, an indication perhaps that this preoccupation with rank, category and sub-category is a concern fostered as much by the unique circumstances of apartheid as by group inclination.

5.7.1.4. PERCEPTIONS OF PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MEMBERS

Upon being requested to provide a description of a typical Durban "coloured," all supplied extremely flattering pictures. The description they gave yielded an attractive individual very comparable of the more good-looking Latin or African Americans with whom we are bombarded on television. Almost every respondent seemed to enjoy answering this question and relished much time and thought to the description they gave. All were much at pains to enhance the descriptions they gave by adding details and refinements until they were satisfied that the picture was as complete as they could make it. It emerged that according to the respondents, the typical "coloured" person is possessed of a tanned complexion, dark curly hair and dark eyes, as well as regular and well formed features. This description is not significantly different from the one provided of the typical "coloured" person by the fieldworkers of Mann/Dickie-Clark. These fieldworkers found that this verbal portrait fitted 79% of the 504 residents of Sparks Estate-Sydenham that they initially interviewed.

To the next item which needed them to name a famous personage who in the mind of the respondent epitomised the typical "coloured" person, a wide range of answers were given. Thirty four different persons of both sexes and all race groups were named by the respondents as suitable specimens of typical "coloureds." Examples given ranged from the state president right through to Harry Belafonte. However an analysis of the results showed clearly that Michael Jackson, the popstar, had been the choice of 10.7% of the respondents.

Therefore it must be accepted that he, (Michael Jackson) epitomises the most acceptable example of themselves for this group. The famous person chosen to represent a typical "coloured", with the second highest frequency was the singer, Lionel Ritchie, who accounted for 8%. It is thus apparent that the local "coloured" community seems to identify with the more glamorous American pop-stars as reference groups. In their study, Schlemmer and his associates included a series of photographs of "coloured" children whom they claimed were available for adoption. The respondents were then requested to select from the series those photographs that they felt would be most acceptable to the general community as adoptive children. The respondents selected light skinned children in all cases and particular preference was given to a light skinned very young girl (approximately 3 years old) who had an overall frequency of 23%. In this regard, Schlemmer et al suggest that the community is no different from "coloured" communities universally, "... "coloured" people in Sparks Estate-Sydenham have a covert preference for lighter skins" (ibid., 74).

When Dickie-Clark, (1966:163) asked his respondents whether they ever wished for an appearance that was more "white-like," a few stated that "they wished for a lighter skin because they thought it looked nicer".

5.7.1.5. PRIDE IN GROUP MEMBERSHIP

When asked whether they were proud of being classified as "coloureds", 79.3% of the interviewees answered affirmatively, this compares favourably against those of Mann/Dickie-Clark, of whom only 66% held a similar view. When pressed to provide a reason for this pride, 66% of the respondents in this study said that it was God's will for them to be born as "coloureds", so they had to accept this. This is not a positive reason and implies that the respondents were dissatisfied with the fact of their "colouredness". Dickie-Clark's respondents also seem to have experienced great difficulty in providing sound reasons for their pride in their group. In fact Dickie-Clark (1966:162) mentions that a third of his sample actually said that they were not proud of belonging to the "coloured" group.

It was then asked whether the respondents of the present study had ever desired to belong to another race and overall 18% said that they had; in all but one of these cases the feeling was gained that they would have preferred to belong to the the same race as whites. Of the group interviewed in 1957, 52% replied that they often did wish that they belonged to a different group - in fact they mentioned that they preferred to belong to the white group. The group surveyed in 1976 had the same record of affirmative answers for this question as the present study.

The next item inquired whether they ever wished for an appearance that was more "white-like" and according to the results 22% nurtured such hopes at some time or other. Of Dickie-Clark's respondents, 36% expressed such a desire.

Schlemmer did not present his respondents with the same question, but invited them to comment upon the fact that between 1972 and 1975, 103 "coloured" people were reclassified as white: he found that almost half (47%) considered these "coloureds" to be lucky, while 30% thought that such reclassifications were unnecessary, but the last section, consisting of 23% of the sample openly disapproved of such behaviour.

On having this situation explained to them, the majority (47%) of the respondents in the present study evinced sympathy for these people who had to go through the trauma of reclassification and generally blamed the Government for causing this situation.

I then proceeded to ask the respondents to predict whether if the present sample were given the opportunity to be re-classified more or less would desire this. The sample differed sharply along generational lines in their response to this question: 45% of the adults felt that more of the respondents in this sample would opt for re-classification, saying that the circumstances in this country still favoured whites. Their children, however, felt very differently - 60% said that if given the same opportunity, "coloureds" today would not want to be re-classified. They gave the impression by their answers that the circumstances in this country today are such that it makes very little difference whether one is classified white or "coloured".

5.7.2. INTRA-GROUP ATTITUDES

Having gained some idea of the respondents' knowledge of the group and their inter-group affiliations it was felt that some indications of their attitudes towards the collectivity should be uncovered. In this regard it has already been discovered (in the previous sub-section) that although the respondents seemed unable to articulate sound reasons, they nevertheless strongly identify with the group and have clearly emphasised their ties with them.

Following the example of the previous researchers in this particular area, a set of questions was developed with the intention of examining the stereotypes held by the group towards themselves and other racial groups in this country. This section was presented exactly as Schlemmer and his associates did; that is 23 adjectives or adjectival phrases were presented to the respondents, requesting them to select 10 of these to apply to each of the four race groups in South Africa. In each case the interviewees were advised to select those adjectives which they felt fairly accurately described their feelings towards the group in question, they could use the same adjective to describe more than one group but each adjective could only be used once to describe the same group.

With regard to "coloureds", the statement with the highest frequency (68.6%) was "would feel proud to be one."

This was followed closely by the phrase, "feel close to," which had a frequency of 59.3%. In a similar vein, 55.7% of the respondents maintained that they "feel friendly towards" their own group members. When it came to selecting

appropriate adjectives to describe the group, 55.3% said that they considered "coloureds" to be "quarrelsome," this perceived negative quality was followed by the adjective "attractive," applied by 43.3% of the sample. One assumes that the term "attractive" is applied in its physical sense. In this connection, it seems apposite to mention that many "coloureds" approve strongly of their own physical appearance, claiming that they have the best of both black and white strains.

The adjective, "honest" received a rating of 32% by the sample. This description is often used by the group in order to emphasise the difference between themselves and the local Indian population whom they claim are often rather knavish in business dealings particularly.

The respondents in Schlemmer's sample seemed to hold much more positive perceptions of their fellow group members and mentioned such qualities as "proud, hardworking, intelligent, honest" etc. to describe them. This 1976 sample did not list even one negative adjective to describe the group. In this respect they differ from the present sample who, while seeming to have an overall positive regard towards their group, still included a number of negative adjectives in their descriptions.

During my interview sessions I received the distinct impression that the respondents felt very positively towards their fellow "coloureds" and this feeling was supported by the vigorous approval which accompanied their statements regarding the group.

Dickie-Clark (1966:162) notes that his interviewees were in a

similar quandary as mine when asked to provide reasons for their pride in their group. He states that only 7 of the 33 respondents were actually able to do this and even those reasons they did supply would be judged adversely by today's standards. They mentioned such facts as their possession of white blood as well as the better treatment they received in comparison to Indians and Africans. The rest thrashed about and could not provide sound reasons and some fell back upon fatalistic reasons saying that it was God's will, so they had to accept this. Throughout this section, one received the strong impression that Dickie-Clark's interviewees did not feel very positively about being "coloured". However, when one appreciates the circumstances which prescribed their lives, one comes to understand their feelings in this regard.

This chapter represents the main thrust of the respondents' feelings and attitudes to life, with the emphasis being laid upon their personal and group identity. This information will be analysed according to the theories of Sarbin and Scheibe, du Preez and Goffman in the next chapter.

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6. INTRODUCTION

The nature of the research topic as well as the conceptual tools used in this study necessitate that a chronological account of events be maintained. For these reasons the survey findings are approached from an historical perspective.

6.2. THE PROCESS OF SOCIAL DEGRADATION

6.2.1. THEORETICAL ASSESSMENT OF THE IDEOLOGY OF APARTHEID AS A VEHICLE FOR SOCIAL DEGRADATION

Because they were in power, in terms of the Sarbin and Scheibe model, the Afrikaner Nationalist government became the "granting group" with the authority to re-define the birthright and other ascribed statuses within the country. This redefinition would ensure that the social relationships between the different categories of persons would also be re-ordered.

A scrutiny of the goals of the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism reveals that it not only conforms with the aims described by Berger and du Preez in chapter two (2.5.2.) but for a while successfully achieved them.

Viewed from a psycho-sociological perspective the main task of this ideology was a task of self definition, since self definition would render all the other goals of nationalism realisable. Like all ideologies, Afrikaner nationalism was grounded in the material realities faced by the group at that time. Du Preez (1980:50) echoes some of the sentiments of Berger when he maintains that an ideology, "is a system of

ideas adapted to the lives of some particular group of people, with some particular identity or set of identities." This self definition was seen as a crucial task for the Afrikaner's continued survival, and thus of necessity their own identity was seen as the main identity, or in du Preez's terms, the referent identity. This, in terms of the model of social transvaluation is a granted role, the status requirements of which were carefully prescribed: the main expectations being that the occupants would be white, preferably Afrikaans speaking and belonging to a Protestant religion. If all of these status requirements could not be fulfilled, then the minimum expectation was that the incumbent of such a role would at least be white. Such people were regarded as fitting and suitable for the role of fully functioning South Africans with access to political, legal and indeed human rights.

Thus all other South Africans not conforming with these expectations could easily be singled out as being deficient in the criteria expected for acceptance into the referent identity, but suitable for categorisation as members of its complements in the system of relations that they envisioned for the new South Africa. Such prescriptions provided the basis of the roles and statuses which determined the nature of the "new" birthright introduced by the new government for this country at that particular point of its development.

In terms of this policy, the identity of the Afrikaner had to be upgraded, together with those of all other white people, this latter act being more one of expediency than anything else since other white people were composed mainly of British

settlers. The latter were viewed by the Afrikaners with extreme hostility, but their inclusion was seen more as an economic necessity, since without them the envisioned plan for the country would not be practicable.

The other people of South Africa had a different place in the economic and social plan for the area and in order to accomplish this, it was necessary for them to undergo a process of social degradation, where necessary.

Looking at this ideology which required such a narrow and precise definition of all the social actors and their relations with each other, one can only posit it at the closed end of du Preez's continuum since it conforms with those criteria proposed by him.

Viewing this situation according to Goffman's analysis, the indigenous and mixed groups in this country were deemed by the new government to be in possession of a tribal stigma which renders them abnormal or deviant when compared to the white group. In the case of the "coloured" people this stigma was their mixed heritage which revealed itself in their physical appearance. Apartheid, as a stigma theory successfully functions to "explain his [the bearer of the stigma's] inferiority and account for the danger he represents, sometimes rationalising an animosity based on other differences, such as social class." (brackets mine) (Goffman, 1963:15).

Certainly, the rationale Dr. Malan's Cabinet for excluding persons who were not white from full citizenship, mentioned various inadequacies they suffered from, but nevertheless, it was apparent that the common denominator was that of colour.

6.2.2. THEORETICAL ASSESSMENT OF THE HISTORICAL EVENTS
PRECIPITATING SOCIAL DEGRADATION OF "COLOUREDS"

From the perspective outlined by Sarbin and Scheibe, it is clear that the period immediately subsequent to the 1948 accession of the Afrikaner nationalists to political power in this country was a time of radical social transvaluation. This transvaluation involved social degradation for all South Africans who were not white and social upgrading for all white South Africans, particularly Afrikaans speaking ones. Peter du Preez, (1980:2) says that "politics is the consolidation and elaboration of an identity system in which the allocation of opportunities is regulated." Viewing the immense reorganising and restructuring that occurred after their 1948 victory, there is no doubt that a radical reorganising of opportunities was in progress.

Since the referent identity was to be that of whites, or more particularly, that of White Afrikaners, all others, as their referents had to be downgraded or, in the terms of the model, degraded.

With regard to the "coloured" people of South Africa, the new government certainly did not consider them to be worthy candidates for the reference identity. They were thus unfit to occupy the central positions in society and the place envisaged for them was in the middle and lower points of the hierarchy. In other words the social position envisioned was one intermediate to that of whites and the indigenous people. Since the place of the "coloured" people in society had not been previously rigorously defined, they were scattered all over the social pyramid. Particularly in Natal, they tended

to occupy positions far superior to those they were deemed worthy of by the new regime. In order to regulate this and bring order to the system, a process of social degradation was embarked upon.

6.2.3. THE ACTUAL PROCESS OF SOCIAL DEGRADATION

Sarbin and Scheibe point out (1983:7) that this process is achieved through two methods, derogation and demotion.

Derogation is characterised by the authors as being "verbal and symbolic;" (ibid., 1983:21) and this strikes me as being not unlike Goffman's stigma theory in that both attempt through extremely rational statements to explain one group's reasons for denying another their rights as human beings.

The point is perhaps elucidated if one considers as example the following statements made by various National Party Parliament members regarding their conception of the rightful place of coloureds and other South Africans who were not white:

"....And here in South Africa we have a task which is more difficult than it is for most other nations, since we have the task not merely for providing good and wise government for the white man of South Africa but for the good and wise government of those sections of the "coloured" nations living around us, those millions of adolescent "coloureds" who are not fit to govern themselves." (Dr.A. Hertzog, Member of Parliament for Ermelo, quoted in Hansard, column 6629, fourth sitting of the Tenth Parliament.)

"The democratic system of government is an invention of the Europeans, and other races with foreign and different cultures must first produce proof that they are fitted for the exercise of democratic rights before they can lay claim to such democratic rights." This statement was quoted in a parliamentary debate over the Separate Representation of Voter's Act in the same session of Parliament mentioned above and the same publication of Hansard by Mr. Serfontein, M.P. for Fauriesmith. (column 6589)

In Hansard of 26 January 1956, in a debate with a United Party M.P., Mr. J.E. Potgieter, N.P. member of Parliament for Britz, was quoted as follows:

"Yes it makes me feel lyrical especially when one sees that the non-Europeans in the country also realise that we are the White guardians and they the wards. I am very pleased that the Hon. Member for Stellenbosch (Dr. J.H.O. du Plessis) put it so clearly last night that the architects of the Constitution were in complete accord on one point, namely that the Europeans must retain the superior position of authority in this country - what Gen. Smuts called "paramountcy" or "White supremacy". (column 445)

These comments were made during the period when the Nationalist Party were involved in extremely strenuous efforts to remove "coloureds" from the Common Voter's Roll. These statements were, in the terms of Sarbin and Scheibe, clear acts of derogation, which means to "rescind, annul, or reverse a role with potential esteem to its negative counterpart." (op.cit., 1983:21.) They were made to set the stage and prepare the population for the actual act of

demotion which would follow. These statements identify "coloured" people as bad citizens who cannot be trusted in the democratic processes of the country and therefore must be excluded for their own good and that of South Africa. As Sarbin and Scheibe, (1983:20) emphasise, these "allegations involve considerable loss of respect." The loss of respect involved in demotion is considerable. Although the level of involvement of citizens in their political role may not be high, the opportunities afforded to them by their political roles are considerable. Therefore, in the case of all black people in this country, including the "coloureds," all aspects of their lives were irrevocably hampered by this new arrangement.

Politicians and apologists for apartheid have, over the years, made similar expressions which clearly indicate their orientation towards the people in question:

"....but we are specifically not granting them control of international conditions, of war and peace, of foreign policy. They ("coloureds") are not interested in those matters, and we, as the majority in this country, are capable of deciding about them for ourselves." This statement was made by C.P. Mulder, as recorded in R.P. House of Assembly debates, no.5, 1968, column 1570.

"Their ("coloureds") makeup is entirely different from ours. There is something different about them. I should like to say that there is a difference in nature between us and the "coloureds" (M.J. Rall, R.P., House of Assembly Debates, no.8.)

Such statements made so many years after the passing of the

Separate Representation of Voter's Act clearly displays the consistency of the attitude of the Nationalists towards the position they envisaged for "coloureds" in the South Africa they were creating.

The second of these processes of degradation involves the stripping away of attained statuses, it is a process of disparagement and is an instrumental process. The authors view it as "real or actual degradation" (1983:21). Thus the introduction of the various acts of Parliament which stripped coloureds of their franchise rights from 1956 to 1968 were, in terms of this analysis, acts of demotion. Malan's extremely strenuous efforts in this regard are more understandable when viewed against this background. The entire political order of the country was at stake and thus much enterprise and inventiveness was required on the part of the constitutional leaders to make the plans and ideas a reality.

The efforts of the Malan regime to remove "coloureds" from the Common Voter's Roll has been explained in Chapter Four of this investigation. However, its implications in terms of the inquiry deserve some attention:- "coloureds" did not possess the appropriate birthright qualifications for this privilege, hence their removal from the voter's roll was imperative. No matter how difficult or how unconstitutional such an act might be, this deed of demotion had to be achieved. The Separate Representation of Voter's Act accomplished this deed and left the "coloureds" in no doubt as to their future role in this country.

The amendments to this act and the other laws which paved the

way for the creation of the Coloured Person's Representative Council firmly placed this group of people in the satellite position outlined for them in terms of the granting group. The Prohibition of Political Interference Act bound them to this ineffectual place, while the Terrorism Act discouraged them from organising on their own behalf to improve their circumstances. All these laws had the effect of demoting the "coloureds" and ensuring that they remained so.

It can thus be seen that apartheid thus functions to, "reduce his life chances" in the way that Goffman (1963:15) describes since the new definition of non-white inhabitants of this country entailed a loss of privileges and human rights.

✓ In terms of the exposition outlined in the "Theory of Social Transvaluation, "demotions from achieved positions deprive the person of opportunities for enjoying esteem." (Sarbin and Scheibe, 1983:21) It thus follows according to the logic of the authors that, "the most degrading processes are those which combine derogation and demotion." (op.cit. ibid.) Needless to say, "coloured" people had both applied to them at this time, thus one would expect that they would experience this process as particularly humiliating and painful.

The studies conducted by Mann/Dickie-Clark did not actually canvass the feelings of the group at the time of disenfranchisement, though they did include in their questionnaire a few items designed to explore the respondents' experiences of discrimination. It was found

that they certainly felt excluded and discriminated against by the new laws and that the darker ones who could not pass avoided further hurtful experiences by, "keeping out of trouble and by not going where I know I am not wanted." (Dickie-Clark, 1966:159). In the absence of data from previous inquiries, such statements are offered in support of the anecdotal evidence supplied above by the respondents in the present investigation.

The sample of adults interviewed by Mann/Dickie-Clark and Schlemmer in the fifth and seventh decade of this century, respectively, were the direct recipients of the processes of derogation and demotion and they lived through a period when their social roles were severely reversed resulting in psychic chaos and turmoil as they struggled to come to terms with the new social order.

It is not surprising in these circumstances that the researchers found the "coloured" community of Durban to display the symptoms of anomie, low self esteem and lack of solidarity that they reported.

Since the main task of the government was to "re-allocate opportunities" in the favour of white Afrikaans speaking South Africans, the first goal in the accomplishment of this was firstly to identify this group and to isolate them from the others in society. So, it comes as no surprise that a perusal of the laws which came into effect shortly after the advent of the Afrikaner nationalist government, one is struck by the fact that they emphasise the identity of the inhabitants of the country, as well as the re-ordering of the relations between them:- the Population Registration Act for

Handwritten notes in the right margin: "The sample of adults interviewed by Mann/Dickie-Clark and Schlemmer in the fifth and seventh decade of this century, respectively, were the direct recipients of the processes of derogation and demotion and they lived through a period when their social roles were severely reversed resulting in psychic chaos and turmoil as they struggled to come to terms with the new social order."

instance with its elaborate and increasingly accurate definition of each racial and ethnic grouping made it possible to isolate and identify each person and categorise him accurately in the social hierarchy of this country. In this way positions and privileges could be scrupulously accorded.

The Immorality Act which made sexual relations between people of different racial or ethnic groups a criminal offence punishable by law had the effect of re-ordering relationships between the various groups. This was achieved in such a way that the new inferior status of the "coloured" group was maintained. Implicit in this legislation was the idea that "coloured" people were somehow inferior and therefore unsuitable as mates for the whites. In this way the white populace could be subtly prevailed upon to achieve the aims of the government. This was very much in keeping with the aims of nationhood, mentioned previously, in which the members are encouraged to achieve the development policies of the group.

The Separate Amenities Act which further separated people of different groups and I suppose it made it easier to bestow amenities and facilities of a superior quality to members of the granting group and inferior or indifferent ones to the satellite group.

The same could be said for all the other laws promulgated at this time; the Group Areas Act which clearly demarcated residential and business areas for the different races and the Separate Amenities Act facilitated the allocation of areas appropriately to the different groups. Thus

effectively diminishing contact between them, while apportioning less desirable areas and facilities of poorer quality for the non-whites.

The Job Reservation clauses of the Industrial Conciliation Act succeeded in procuring the more highly paid jobs for white people and rendered others unequal in the competition for positions; this too, was in keeping with the aims of nationbuilding. In this way, the holders of the birthright qualifications, were to be kept in positions superior to those of their complements.

In similar vein, the various Education Acts provided for separate, but unequal education facilities for the different groups.

Those were the legislative procedures or "acts of rescindment" undertaken to enforce the prescriptions of the birthright and it was done in such a way as to render the white South Africans eligible for appropriate role enactments leading to validated status in the society and thus facilitating the formation of positive personal and social identity. In effect white South Africans (especially Afrikaners) had been upgraded, while the other categories had experienced social degradation.

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6.2.4. THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF SOCIAL DEGRADATION

6.2.4.1. SARBIN AND SCHEIBE'S ANALYSIS

A formal analysis of the actual process of degradation as outlined by Sarbin and Scheibe reveals that different societies have different definitions of what constitutes ascribed or granted statuses and what constitutes achieved or attained statuses. An ascribed or granted status defines the individuals access to respect and involves such attributes as race, ethnicity, religious affiliation etc. In the South African context the Afrikaner nationalists define the birthright as being accessible only to those who are white; all South Africans not conforming to this are effectively proscribed. Furthermore, their access to attained statuses are also minimised by the previous proscription since the society is designed in such a way as to facilitate the progress of those who conform to the definition of the granted status rather than those who do not. In fact barriers are erected to impede the progress of those not covered by the definition. This explanation shows clearly what happened to "coloureds" in the early years of the Afikanerdom. The barriers which impeded the progress of the "coloured" people were the various laws discussed above and which made up the constitutional apparatus of apartheid.

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6.2.4.2. GOFFMAN'S ANALYSIS

According to the taxonomy proposed by Goffman and outlined in the second chapter of this report, (2.4.) the "coloured" community of Natal were in possession of a tribal stigma in relation to the labelling group, reference identity or granting society.

In terms of these conceptions (1968:151ff), one could say that the identity norms were established by the Afrikaner nationalists for the entire country. Those who conform to such norms are considered to be "normal" and the rest to be "deviant" or stigmatised. This term more accurately describes what it feels like to be black in this country, especially when one reflects upon the particular definition that Goffman (1968:13) supplies for it in a sociological context, "the term /stigma/ then will be used to refer to an /attribute/ that is /deeply discrediting/".

Goffman continues in his explanation to mention that "One of the conceptions that "normal people in a society have of the stigmatised is that they are not quite human, in which case various discriminations are practised upon them, thus effectively /reducing/ their /life-chances/" (Goffman, 1963:15) This scenario aptly sums up the process of social degradation.

Goffman enlarges his exposition by stating that often the stigmatised person quickly learns the nature of his/her inadequacies and the effect of these become incorporated into his/her identity system so that he/she often eventually colludes with the discriminators against himself/herself and acute shame becomes his/her habitual attitude towards

himself/herself, particularly in the presence of those who discriminate against him/her so that he/she cannot perform well in their presence. Thus eventually both he/she and they become convinced of his/her inferiority. In other words a self-fulfilling prophesy is established. It is these circumstances which cause damage to the self image of the "coloured" person and leads to the development of negative attitudes towards his/her group.

Indeed inferiority and self-doubt have become the omnipresent emotions experienced by most blacks in South Africa. N.C.Manganyi (1973:56) corroborates this assertion when he states that, "blacks and whites never really talk to each other.what seems to do the talking in the white man is the master and what does the responding in the black man is the servant."

The point is that these feelings of inferiority and inadequacy are socially induced and socially related. Furthermore it augurs badly for the psychological well-being of its victims. As reported by previous researchers, (Mann/Dickie-Clark and Schlemmer et al) the erosion of the self esteem of the "coloured" people of Durban is evidence of this. The lack of social integration, the marital discord, the alienation, the high drop-out rate of adolescents, the high incidence of heavy drinking amongst "coloureds" are cited by social scientists to be due in part to discrimination. Manganyi, (ibid;57) commenting as a clinical psychologist, confirms this feeling, "If one were to go by the occasional reports in the local press with respect to such socially pathological phenomena as crime, alcoholism,

divorce and drug abuse, one would be inclined to doubt the integrative status of South African society as a whole."

Schlemmer's study reveals that 27% of his sample listed "social deviance" as a severe problem in the area; of this group, the following specific problems are listed in the following order:

heavy drinking	56%
juvenile delinquency	42%
serious family and marital friction	41%
drug abuse	30%

Schlemmer comments that these problems listed under social deviance are probably understated due to the respondent's preoccupation with the housing issues which seem to be more pressing and urgent currently.

6.2.4.3. DU PREEZ'S ANALYSIS

In apportioning the identities necessary for the implementation of the new political dispensation, the identity frame employed was that of a simplistic polarisation between black and white. The latter being seen as the ideal occupants of roles which are superior to those performed by the former. Black people in this framework are at best seen as simple childish figures or at worst hostile enemies bent upon the destruction of whites.

The perceptions of whites vis-a-vis the "coloured" people appeared to be a watered down version of the above description. This perception of the group has the hallmarks of an identity trap as outlined by du Preez (1980:31) in

which he states that "to create a completely successful identity trap, all parties must be manoeuvred into sharing the same identity frame."

"Coloured" people are forced into a squeeze when they accept these negative images of themselves without question, or without resistance. However because of the highly complex, pervasive and extremely subtle issues involved in identity formation they often have little choice in the matter. Theorists agree that identity formation is a process, during which the individual is at the mercy of his social environment and utilises the particular tools of identity formation habitually employed by his/her group. These tools may vary within societies, as well as over time in the same group. In this connection, Susan Anderson (1987:231) maintains that they usually span a wide range, "through conceptions such as the religious, political, social, occupational and familial roles." By contrast, in South Africa, identity formation hinges very narrowly upon political conceptions only.

Since political privileges are dispensed according to ethnic or racial attributes, these considerations far outweigh all others in the identity formation process. In such circumstances it becomes difficult for those constituting the complementary identity frame in the society to develop positive self conceptions.

From the point of view of the "coloured" person, a "con" has been successfully perpetrated when she accepts the definition of herself that the government seeks to impose. In most

circumstances, the "coloured" person is actually unable to resist the imposition of this type of identity trap because of the legal issues involved. If a "coloured" person were to attempt to step out of the role that the authorities have prescribed and assume another, it could provoke a troublesome incident. In a society where the law steps heavily upon trouble makers, this takes more stoicism or even daring than the average non-white person possesses. Thus "coloured" people are forced into these identity traps, but most feel uneasy about them and the following section will reveal this fact. Therefore these traps can be said to be less than completely successful, since the subjects often express their dissatisfaction with the situation in covert, though clearly discernable ways.

6.2.4.2. THE REACTION OF THE DISCREDITED: GOFFMANN AND DU PREEZ'S ANALYSIS

This section refers back to chapter (2.5.) in which the usefulness of the theories of Goffman and du Preez in describing the alternatives available to those excluded from full social participation are elucidated. Looking through the range of reactions that the threat apartheid poses to the self esteem and identity of the "coloured" people, I find that they can be arranged within four categories: namely those who took fright at the situation; those who took flight from it; those who approached (confronted) the problem and finally those who avoided it.

[1] FRIGHT

The "coloured" people who fell into the identity traps described by du Preez, I would number among those who took fright at the situation. Du Preez, (ibid., 105) mentions that an identity trap is "..an attempt to manoeuvre others into supporting our frame, even though it gives them an inferior position within it." Force and control feature strongly in this definition and indeed the only way rational people can be persuaded to participate in an identity frame so disadvantageous to themselves is if they were afraid to do otherwise. One assumes that most human beings will not participate willingly in their own degradation, so that when they do, it is only usually from fear. Alternatives usually exist and if people do not seek them then it is often because they feel that the threat to their physical well-being is greater than the threat to their psychological health. I have found this to be the fear expressed directly or implicitly in my dealings with the subjects.

In the section of the questionnaire dealing with politics, those respondents who stated that they did not consider politics an effective method of achieving goals for the group were asked to supply reasons for this answer, most replied that "politics leads to trouble." They mentioned McBride and Apelgren as examples of the trouble politics could lead to.

Furthermore, when asked to mention the thoughts uppermost in their minds when they considered political matters, 7.5% of respondents mentioned such things as "gaoi/death/fear/hate". As has been mentioned previously, many respondents were even

too afraid even to embark upon answering the questions in the political section, so I feel justified in stating that it is often fear that forces them into these identity traps.

In order to survive, many non-white people in this country have accepted the identity frame proposed by the government, wherein they are seen as inadequate, incapable, unattractive and certainly not suitable for inclusion in the reference identity. Such perceptions doom them to a very narrow rigid existence, viewing the world in stereotypic terms and consequently often behaving in rigid, stereotypic ways.

In this country, people have been conned into believing that the ultimate standards of physical beauty and acceptability can only be described according to white norms. Therefore people who are not white often come to believe that they suffer from inadequacies and imperfections because they do not conform with these measures. As a result, they often feel that they must "improve" or "correct" their shortcomings by bringing their looks closer to those of the granting group. "Covering" is the name applied to such methods of correction or improvement and Goffman, (ibid., 125) defines it thus, "In some cases it will be possible for him to make a direct attempt to correct what he sees as the objective basis of his failing"

In this connection Dickie-Clark (ibid., 162-3) inquired of his respondents whether they ever wished that their skins were lighter and found that 54.5% had nurtured such hopes. When asked the same question, 22% of the respondents in this investigation indicated a similar desire. Schlemmer's

experiment with photographs of children revealed that the respondents had a preference for lighter skins.

It is because of these ingrained cultural stereotypes that marginal people suffer from poor body images and fall prey to dubious procedures and preparations which they feel will bring them closer to the prevailing norm by ridding them of their stigmas.

For the above reasons, it becomes clear that in South Africa the corrections attempted will be directed at changing hair texture and skin colour in efforts to render their physical appearance less black and more white. Hence the popularity of skin-lightening and hair straightening products in this country.

To my mind, the cause of covering is fear; the fear of being different, the fear of not conforming and also, I suppose since human beings often feel the need to mask themselves, the fear of being themselves.

The methods of dealing with apartheid that are embarked upon out of fear are usually only partially successful because the integrity of the self is being sacrificed. Therefore it is not surprising that people employing these methods display varying amounts of psychopathology. Addictions and insecurities being the main type prevalent among "coloureds."

N.C.Manganyi, discusses this phenomenon in some detail, mentioning that the dominant white group reject the black one on the basis of the black person's body. He calls this the "socio-cultural assault upon the black body" (ibid., 52) so

that attempts to anchor themselves in the world without the wholeness or "integrity" of the body are often doomed to failure and thus a flawed self image results. After his investigations, Schlemmer (ibid.,80) made the following comment about the community of Sparks Estate-Sydenham, "...we have established with lesser or greater certainty that the community we have studied has a fair measure of subjective problems concerning group self-image and emotional stress generally."

[11] FLIGHT

There are two avenues open to those who choose flight as a method of resolving the conflicts attendant upon discrimination: namely emigration and "passing". With regard to the former, the third chapter of this study indicated that many respondents favoured emigration as the best solution. When asked whether the situation in this country prompted them to leave or remain here, 32% of the respondents opted for the former alternative.

While I have not been able to procure actual figures to attest to this phenomenon, I have been able to witness personally the exodus of many "coloureds" from this country. For many, Australia is the country of choice and a large and flourishing community of Natal "coloureds" now reside permanently there. Of all the countries mentioned in the survey, Australia was the most popular and was selected by 18% of the sample. Slightly more pupils (21.3%) than adults (14.7%) mentioned this preference. Dickie-Clark (ibid., 119)

also had difficulty in acquiring official figures of departing "coloureds" and he concludes that it is an option resorted to by some in opposition to government policies.

Those "coloureds" I have questioned about their decision, maintain that they leave South Africa because they are not free; they cannot live where they would like or associate with those they would like and indeed they cannot "be" who they would like. These sentiments imply an awareness of the identity traps the government seeks to impose upon them and flight is their way of resisting this. Since they have not had these choices, they maintain that they would like to give their offspring these options.

The final method of dealing with discrimination as tabled by Goffman, (ibid., 92) is "passing." Many South African "coloureds" use this method to escape stigmatisation; the attitudes of those "coloureds" who do not or who cannot pass, ranges from admiration to disgust. But nevertheless, passing remains a time-honoured path promptly taken by many members of marginal groups. In this context to pass means to escape the official race categorisation designated to one by the Race Classification Board and to flee to a more advantaged one. This option is available only to those who sufficiently resemble the granting group in appearance and manner to be acceptable as such. Such flights from discrimination are not unknown to this community, in fact, practically every family has at least one member who has taken this option. During the interviewing process, many respondents regaled me with such tales and these are fairly commonplace in this sub-culture.

In their investigations into the community Sparks Estate-Sydenham, Mann/Dickie-Clark actually investigated this phenomenon very carefully. Dickie-Clark (1966:160) states that they presented their respondents with the following questions:

How do you feel about complete passing?

How do you feel about people who pass at work?

How do you feel about people who pass temporarily for amenities?

They found that 54 respondents favoured complete passing, while 40 were against it. With regard to passing at work, 70 respondents were in favour, while only 30 were against it. Fifty eight of respondents approved of passing for the purpose of enjoying certain amenities, with only 36 dissenting. The main reason given by those interviewees who were opposed to passing centred upon the disruption and heartbreak that this would cause to their families.

Such results clearly indicate that passing was considered an acceptable method of gaining those advantages which were denied them by the government. This is underlined by the fact that the researchers also found that most of their respondents could see no advantages attached to being "coloured".

It will be recalled that the majority (47%) of Schlemmer's respondents considered those "coloured" people who successfully attained reclassification as whites to be lucky and fortunate.

In counterpoint to the respondents of these earlier surveys, the majority of the respondents in the present study felt

sorry for those "coloureds" who sought reclassification, feeling that they had been forced into this drastic action by the government's unfair policies towards "coloureds". The fact that most (43%) of the interviewees in the present study felt that today less "coloureds" would opt for reclassification emphasises the fact that the phenomenon of passing is becoming less acceptable to "coloureds" as a method of obtaining privileges in South Africa. The indications are that it now occurs very rarely, so that while many families have relatives who in the past used passing as an avenue of escape from discrimination, currently the practise almost never occurs.

I have observed that some "coloured" people who themselves cannot pass, marry white people in the hope that their offspring may have one of the following choices open to them:- either the chance of passing, or at least the opportunity to suffer less from discrimination if they resemble the stigmatising group physically. I offer this to explain my observation and have noted that it is not peculiar to the population under survey.

Indeed it has long been noted by researchers that members of discriminated societies often strive to marry members of the oppressing group. Apparently this is a well-established means of attempting to minimize the stigma of discrimination. Such reports abound in studies of blacks in America. One such study undertaken by Warner, Junker and Adams, (1941:232) describes such a situation; "A few try to "to get white" in the sense of marrying out of their race..". In this regard, Dickie-Clark (1966:149) disclosed that 25% of his respondents

indicated a willingness to marry whites despite the legal penalties involved.

I have also noted that if a "coloured" man finds it impossible to marry a white woman either because of legal or other constraints, then marrying a "coloured" woman who bears some physical characteristics associated with the white group is his next choice. This accounts for the high value placed upon such "coloureds" by some of their fellows.

Goffman, (ibid., 130) takes note of this occurrence, as the following statement indicates, "The stigmatised individual exhibits a tendency to stratify his "own" according to the degree to which their stigma is apparent and obtrusive." Thus "coloureds" with lighter complexions and straight (as opposed to kinky) hair are rated highly as indicated in the previous chapter. One also observes that ideally, it is customary for the woman to bring these valued physical attributes to the marriage, while the man provides the financial security. This ploy is also one popular with other discriminated groups and Rita Freedman (1988:26) endorses this by her comment, "Marrying light still means marrying up ..."

This tendency is in many ways an alternative expression of the marginal person's white bias - figures supplied above indicate this preference for a white-like appearance.

The Approach/Avoidance theory of conflict resolution maintains that in any given circumstance a person may be pushed towards confronting a problem situation, while simultaneously be pulled away from dealing with it by different components of his makeup and circumstances. The

tactic he/she employs at any time is a function of many interlocking factors, such as the degree of inner security the person possesses, his/her assessment of the risks involved, the support received from significant others, etc. Thus people slip into a characteristic mode of dealing with problematic situations, some tend to attempt to resolve problems by steadfast avoidance, while others favour approach or confrontation tactics.

[iii] AVOIDANCE

My feeling is that the second most obvious characteristic of Natal "coloureds," namely their so-called political apathy, is an example of avoidance behaviour. Certainly apartheid is damaging to their egos and on instinct they might be inclined to challenge discrimination wherever and whenever it was warranted. However people are discouraged from doing this by consideration of the penalties involved. So a pattern of avoidance in relation to all things political could be developed.

An analysis of the answers given to the political section of the schedule confirms this. It will be recalled from the previous chapter that while 56% of the adults and 48% of the adolescents maintained that it was better to have nothing to do with politics, the majority (25%) also agreed that politics can effect real changes in their lives. Such a contradiction reveals the conflicts that politics represents for this group. Other reasons they supplied for having nothing to do with politics such as, "ordinary people know nothing", "politics leads to trouble", tends to confirm that

they have made an unconscious or conscious decision to avoid politics as far as possible.

Schlemmer reports that 20% of his sample said that they never discussed politics or were too disillusioned to waste time on politics. Dickie-Clark and Mann continually mention the political confusion of this group, which leads them to be politically apathetic.

The negative evaluation that these very institutions have bestowed upon them encourages avoidance. The low social estimate they have been accorded militates against their achieving a just dispensation, so such activities are avoided. This could be viewed as an attempt to achieve a certain amount of consonance in their lives, in accordance with the theory of cognitive dissonance. In order to attain consonance, they avoid those situations and circumstances which threaten to break down the tenuous hold they have of their self esteem. Avoidance of political organisations and activities is consistent with the process of identity resolution which the attempted imposition of the identity trap set in motion.

I also feel that the most glaring characteristic of the "coloured" people of Natal, namely their high degree of involvement in organised religion, could also in some cases, be an attempt to evade discrimination. Perhaps this method of dealing with apartheid is not as clearly an avoidance tactic as the previous one, but in terms of the choices available to them, I do not consider it an unfair assessment of the situation.

The model of social transvaluation has a very clear

explanation for this phenomenon: the model states that the most powerful group in society is deemed the granting group, since it has the power to foist its definition of the birthright upon the rest of the inhabitants, thus determining their personal and social identities to a large extent. However, this granting group is not the only one capable of defining the identities of people; other groups may provide this function as well. Particularly where individuals are dissatisfied with the definition provided by the granting group, they may turn to another group, named the referent group, for identification. The birthright provided by the referent group usually is more acceptable to these individuals since it leads to the formation of a more favourable identity and thus a wider range of role enactments.

In the present study it would appear that the institution of religion provides an altogether more desirable birthright than that provided by the state and the "coloured" people's involvement in church activities is a clear statement of this preference.

Statistics of this inquiry as well as those of Mann/Dickie-Clark and Schlemmer et al reveal that this community's level of involvement in organised religion is unusually high. Schlemmer et al (1978:51) found the level of involvement in church activities to be 23%, the current study places the figure at 62.3%. This suggests that people spend as much time as possible in those organisations within the ambit of religion. In a relatively closed society like South Africa, an identity built upon the birthright provided by the

institution of religion, is of only limited utility since the latter does not have jurisdiction over any other aspect of social existence.

Nevertheless a great deal of the spare time of the respondents is spent in voluntary religious activities. Perhaps this is done to reinforce and extend the more positive identity religion provides. I would venture to say that even though the church has little or no jurisdiction over most areas of the "coloured" person's life, the value derived from identification with this alternative granting group probably has added value in the psychological comfort it provides against the discrimination and humiliation attendant upon negative evaluation.

Du Preez would deem this phenomenon an attempt on the part of the group to achieve some level of authenticity in a situation that threatens its integrity. He would see this as evidence of a situation where people, unhappy with the inferior position assigned to them in the identity frame, attempt to change the internal criteria of identity: these internal criteria being their beliefs and knowledge about human identity. The beliefs provided by religion are infinitely more preferable than those supplied by the State; the latter denying them their authenticity and reducing their roles in society, while the former allowing them more freedom, self-expression and wholeness.

The statements chosen by respondents to describe the role played by religion in their lives would serve to support, rather than deny the above contention. They used phrases like "peace, happiness, contentment, secure base, firm

foundation," to describe the effect religion had upon them. Furthermore, the observations made by the previous researchers in this area (refer to previous chapter) actually pave the way for the assertion that religion gives the "coloured" people an opportunity to define themselves in a more positive fashion than the State has.

[iv] APPROACH

People who are able to tackle the threat of apartheid by approaching or confronting it usually do so by forming "in-group alignments" as outlined by Goffman, (ibid., 137) and explained in chapter two (2.5.3.)

The South African Student's Organisation, the Black People's Convention and Azapo are local black consciousness groups which most closely typify the characteristics of such in-groups. Though the African Nationalist Congress does not have quite the same agenda as the above groups, it nevertheless provides an alternative social policy which a number of "coloured" people have come to espouse. Such groups have been known to include small numbers of "coloured" people, the most obvious examples being McBride and Apelgren, mentioned in chapter three of this inquiry.

Du Preez (1980:105) would deem this approach an attempt to alter the prevailing norms and standards by "changing the external criteria of identity formation."

In closing his discussion on the political attitudes of the community in question, Schlemmer et al (1978:64) state, "our present results suggest that there is significantly more rejection of apartheid and separation than 20 years ago, but

that a very substantial ambivalence remains." This assertion is even more apposite for the present investigation: the survey of Mann/Dickie-Clark revealed that 56% of the sample were ambivalent about whether "coloureds" would gain or lose by apartheid, 22% felt they would lose and 22% feeling they would gain; of Schlemmer's respondents, 41% were ambivalent, 40% felt they would lose and 13% felt they would gain by apartheid. The present study discloses that 18% of the respondents thought that they would gain under apartheid, while 80.6% felt they would lose and only 2.4% were ambivalent. These statistics clearly reveal a much greater rejection of apartheid in the eighties, than in previous decades. Therefore it is reasonable to suppose that with this greater awareness more "coloured" people in the eighties would feel inclined to confront the government. Thus we have a situation where a number of people; students, committed Christians and political groupings have the conviction to act against discriminatory policies. The data in this study indicates that rank and file "coloureds" in Durban are still wary of political activities, but these pockets of dissenters do exist and McBride and Apelgren are proof of this fact. The last method of responding to stigmatisation is education; part of the perceptions or identity frame that white people have with regard to "coloureds" is that they are inadequate, incapable or less-developed. Although education, like "covering," is attempted by the discredited to improve themselves, it is not based on the same false premise as the latter. Indeed, Goffman would probably view as an attempt to acquire the symbols associated with the labelling group, and

thus a more legitimate effort to deal with stigmatisation than either covering or passing.

It is a fact that Natal "coloureds" lack education or training when compared with whites. It is also a fact that apartheid has played a role in causing this inequity. Nevertheless, "coloured" people have made education and training a priority community issue. This education has enabled many "coloured" people to gain sufficient self-confidence and insight to challenge the system in different ways. In this way a few "coloured" intellectuals have played a role in the liberation struggle, but it is also true that many have used the system to feather their own nests by supporting it.

Under Goffman's (ibid., 117) categorisation, education would probably be viewed as "an attempt to acquire the symbols of the normals." Since education is usually the preserve of the privileged, the under-privileged have to make great sacrifices to acquire education, often surmounting great obstacles in order to do so. This is certainly the case in South Africa, for all discriminated groups.

When interviewees in the present study were asked whether they were prepared to leave the country or remain in South Africa in the light of the imminent upheavals in South Africa, 10.5% chose the latter alternative, stating that the best preparation they could make for the new circumstances that would prevail in the country would be to improve their education. In his survey, Schlemmer reports that 23% of the respondents listed educational facilities as a problem in the area. These findings highlight the significance placed upon

education by the group.

Thus these four methods summarise the response of "coloureds" to the menace that apartheid presents to their identity. It is apparent that they have been employed with varying measures of success.

6.3. THE PROCESS OF SOCIAL UPGRADING

6.3.1. THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE HISTORICAL EVENTS WHICH PRECIPITATED SOCIAL UPGRADING OF "COLOUREDS"

When the historical events outlined in chapter two (2.4.3.) which gave rise to the new dispensation and thus to the social upgrading of all "brown" people including "coloureds", are surveyed from the perspective of Sarbin and Scheibe (1983:26), they clearly indicate that "the nation was losing respectability as an object of patriotism." Stated in Berger's terms (1974:150), it appeared as though the ideology of the government was rapidly "losing credibility" and thus the people could not be "mobilised to achieve the aims" of the ruling party. Indeed, du Preez, (1980:67) would say that the identity frame it had constructed was being challenged; also the system of relations between the various groups was continually being undermined and eroded. In the face of such overwhelming breakdown of the status quo, it became clear that the time had arrived for a new social organisation in South Africa.

6.3.2. THE ACTUAL PROCESS OF SOCIAL UPGRADING

The process of extending democracy found expression in the Tricameral Parliament: this involved the inclusion of "brown" South Africans, that is, Indians and "coloureds," into the central decision making process. While the precise mechanisms of the system are extremely questionable and the process has been rejected by many on this basis, the most influential political parties of both groups accepted it in 1983 and agreed to participate in the system. Once the co-operation of these parties were guaranteed, the Government engaged the white electorate in a referendum to test their attitudes and the result was overwhelmingly positive. This mandate can be attributed largely to the campaign embarked upon by the Government to influence public opinion in this regard.

This campaign was a clear case of commendation which in the analysis provided by Sarbin and Scheibe (1983:21), they describe as "positive public recognition" or as "verbal and symbolic acts that serve as social reinforcers." Thus the period immediately prior to the referendum and the general election thereafter were characterised by statements and actions by Government officials which left the general South African public in no doubt as to the new social position of Indians and "coloureds" in this country. The following statements serve to substantiate this point:

In Hansard of Wednesday, 24 August, 1983, Mr. A. E. Nothnagel, National Party M.P. for Innesdal is quoted in response to a Conservative Party member in a debate over the Constitution Amendment Bill:

"We must not rise in this house and pretend that we are going to dictate to the Indians and "Coloureds" what we believe to be in their interests. If we can abandon that paternalistic approach, we shall have gone a long way towards creating good relationships. We must stop making political capital out of provisions such as this one."

While on Friday, 26 August 1983, the Minister for Constitutional Development, the Hon. Chris Heunis, D.M.S., is quoted as saying in a debate over the same bill:

".....It is this very situation which the NP wishes to rectify by means of its new constitutional dispensation in order to give "coloureds," as co-inhabitants and fellow citizens of the same state as the Whites, the right to participate in political self-determination with regard to their own affairs and co-responsibility with regard to decision-making on matters of common concern."

Hansard, 16 March, 1984, records Mr. D.P.A. Schutte, appointed Member as saying, "I believe that the dispensation being heralded by this legislation is in the best interests of the "coloureds" and the Indians, but also in the interests of the Whites in particular. It will strengthen the position of those groups, but it will also strengthen the position of the Whites. I am saying this because this measure will usher in a dispensation that will offer a solution to the "coloureds," Indians and the Whites which would otherwise lead only to friction and discord. This will afford these three groups who have the potential to co-operate an opportunity for co-operation."

In the same edition of Hansard the N.P. Member of Parliament

for Wellington, Mr.G.J.Malherbe, in a debate with a Conservative M.P. in which the former is arguing the merits of the proposed new dispensation is quoted as saying: "What I am saying is that things have changed. We are building bridges and removing unacceptable situations of the past. We want to try and get away from confrontation politics of the past. We therefore really want to continue eliminating the spirit of confrontation - with this legislation as the place of departure - to the benefit of our country."

The Sunday Times of 12 October, 1986, reports the State President as having said on the occasion of the opening of Parliament: "the outdated system apartheid had been outgrown."

Law and Order Minister, Adriaan Vlok is reported in the Sunday Times; 09.07.89 as saying: "Apartheid is an albatross around the neck of the country and should be killed."

The actual passing of the legislation making the new constitution possible and the actual procedure during which brown politicians were admitted into the hallowed halls of Parliament, constitutes, in terms of the model of social transvaluation, an act of social promotion. This completed the process whereby "coloureds" were re-admitted to a degree of political status with the respect such status entails. Such an event undoubtedly contributed much to enhance the positive self conceptions of the group. The passing of the Tricameral Act of 1984, was however, the act of promotion par excellence, which re-accorded brown South Africans with citizenship rights, thus to some extent reversing the Separate Representation of Voter's Act of 1956.

6.3.3. THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF SOCIAL UPGRADING

By including the "coloureds" in the legislative arrangements, the Government (or granting group) has, according to the logic of Sarbin and Scheibe, redefined the birthright qualifications once more to cater for their changing needs and aspirations.

To hark back to du Preez, if politics is the "process whereby privilege is allocated," (1980:2) then it would seem that "coloureds" were allocated limited political privilege by this act.

Indeed some cynics might say that since the cake of privilege in South Africa was rapidly dwindling, whites were falling over themselves to allow brown people a share of the crumbs. Also it could be argued that brown people were being used by the Government as a bulwark against the aspirations of black nationalists. Nevertheless, for whatever purpose, these acts of social promotion provided "coloured" people with more opportunities than they had hithertofore enjoyed.

These acts of social promotion and commendation have sufficiently upgraded the "coloureds" so that they are once more valid occupants of a wide number of role enactments and statuses. Thus they once more qualify for respect from the rest of society. Any statuses they have attained for themselves could invest them with esteem. All of this would place the "coloured" people in a position to locate themselves more favourably in their social environments so that they could hopefully construct more positive personal and social identities in the way that white people have been privileged to do for three hundred years in this country.

In du Preez's terms, the identity frame has been altered; it would appear that "coloureds" and Indians now occupy the same position as whites, (or at least they are placed more closely to them) which is diametrically opposed to that occupied by black people. This slightly altered, yet still stereotypic conception is the basis of the objection spearheaded by the United Democratic Front, who mobilised brown people in 1984 to reject the new constitution.

In this new framework "coloured" people have been invited to become part of the reference identity, while black people are still confined to the complementary position. Thus the identity traps have been maintained, only the prey have been shuffled around. This perception prompted the Rev. Alan Boesak, Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Mission church, and antagonist of the new dispensation, to remark: Indians and "coloureds" taking part in the new parliamentary system will now also be responsible for South Africa's racist laws." (Natal Witness, 3 August, 1984.)

From the perspective of Goffman, one could say that the nature of the stigma has been slightly altered, but the stigma itself is still very much in evidence. Thus the stigma theory and all its negative connotations and consequences still exist, albeit for fewer segments of the society.

6.4. CONCLUSIONS

The final task of this chapter is to examine the results of the survey to establish whether upgrading has had any effect upon the responses given by the interviewees. Such evidence of the changed perceptions of the "coloured" people is apparent in some of the responses of the interviewees in this investigation.

Although still reluctant to engage in political activity, the answers given by present sample to questions in the political section of the questionnaire reveal a clear understanding of the realities of this country. It will be recalled that the first group of questions in the political section attempted to plumb the respondents understanding of the role of politics. It was discovered that 52% of the interviewees agreed that political activity could result in real changes in their lives. In contrast, 44% of Dickie-Clark/Mann's respondents replied that politics could effect little change.

While in the past, Natal "coloureds" have been characterised by their reluctance to engage in political activity, the 1980's has given rise to a fair amount of activism - the students' boycott and the engagement of the churches in the quest for a just dispensation are examples of this increased political activity.

When the respondents were asked to describe their view of the ultimate fate of South Africa, 48% gave positive answers. In response to the same question, 38% of the respondents of Schlemmer et al described an optimistic scenario. This indicates that the perceptions of the present sample with

regard to the policies of this country has improved. This could be attributed to the recent political changes that have occurred.

The most convincing piece of evidence of the new commitment that "coloureds" have to South Africa is that 66% chose to stay here even though the country's future seems so uncertain.

From the responses given, one receives the impression that "coloured" people, especially the younger ones, eagerly avail themselves of the facilities and amenities open to them since the repeal of the petty apartheid laws. This could positively affect their perceptions of the country by providing them with the opportunity to mingle freely without the frustrations of restricting legislature.

The new orientation of the present generation of "coloured" people is attested to in their attitudes towards people who seek reclassification into the white group; 47% felt sorry for "coloureds" who had to experience such trauma. Of the sample of Schlemmer et al, 47% thought that "coloureds" who qualified for such reclassification were lucky. The difference between the two samples is highlighted by their response to this item. The attitude of the present group of interviewees can only have been caused by the improved political circumstances in this country.

The fact that the present group of respondents evinced a more positive attitude towards their own group is further proof of their changed perceptions of their position in this country. This study shows that the sample under scrutiny display less

dislocation; that is they have more positive personal and group identities than the sample of previous researchers, this could be taken as demonstration of the effect of social upgrading.

The group identity of the respondents will be placed under closer scrutiny in the next chapter in order to discover whether it is any different from that of the "coloureds" interviewed by Mann/Dickie-Clark and Schlemmer et al.

CHAPTER SEVEN

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7.1. SUMMARY OF MAIN FINDINGS

The summary of findings will concentrate upon the longitudinal aspect of the study, in other words it will crystallise the differences between the respondents of the present study and those of Mann/Dickie-Clark (1956) and Schlemmer et al (1976).

7.1.1. RELIGIOUS CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

The respondents in this study display a wider range of religious affiliations than those of the two previous studies. These include the denominations that have been traditionally associated with the "coloured" community of Durban, as well as the smaller sects such as Jehovah's Witness, Seventh Day Adventists and all the various groupings of the Pentecostal or Evangelistic brands of Christianity. A fairly strong presence of Islamism is also evident.

This broader base of religious affiliation indicates that the personal and group perspectives of the community could be influenced to place greater emphasis upon the affairs and conditions of this life, so that respondents appear to display as much interest in their financial security as in their spiritual welfare.

I suggest that the brand of proselytising espoused by the Evangelists has infused the respondents with more self-confidence and optimism. This is supported by the data in that overall, this religious group scored more highly than most of the traditional collectivities and the smaller sects.

The present respondents are even more active in church activities than those of Mann/Dickie-Clark or Schlemmer's interviewees. They also evince a more pragmatic attitude towards religion in that they change their affiliation to suit their needs and do not slavishly cling to the religion they were "born" into. In conclusion, the two generations of respondents display different leanings in their religious affiliations; more young people favour the Methodist faith than adults, while the older respondents display a preference for Anglicanism.

7.1.2. POLITICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

The respondents still display the caution that has been ascribed to them by the two previous researchers. But they do display a clearer perception of their past and current political situation and their eventual political destiny. This is borne out by the fact that the majority (56%) acknowledge apartheid as being detrimental to their situation. This is in contrast to the respondents of both previous studies. The data reveals that they do not wish to be linked with whites or any other group, but favour a situation where all groups are equally acceptable as South Africans. The scenarios which they sketched as eventual outcomes for this country are for the most part realistic. Precisely a third (the modal category) are clear about the fact that a South Africa without apartheid, will be a better place for "coloureds".

Most contemporary "coloured" people appear to favour a

freer, more open society, since they have welcomed the removal of discriminatory legislature such as the Group Areas Act and look forward to the end of apartheid generally.

The results show that most "coloureds" do not make common cause with the more radical black groups as both sanctions and the violence amongst black political groupings are viewed as negative events.

The respondents in the present study named the state of emergency as the most negative recent event to occur in South Africa, indicating that they do not align themselves on the side of the government either. In this respect they differ from the Mann/Dickie-Clark respondents who clearly accepted the legitimacy of the government and took every opportunity to disassociate themselves from the political strivings of both Indian and African blocs.

Indeed when asked how they saw the future grouping of "coloureds", 73% of the interviewees in this inquiry indicated that all South Africans should be grouped together without all the separate name tags. This is distinctly unlike the samples of both previous researchers who saw their destinies as being separate from that of other black groups. The majority of Schlemmer et als respondents (46%) when asked the same question, voted for the maintenance of a "coloured" group identity, while Dickie-Clark (ibid., 158) mentions that "the great majority of the sample saw the "coloureds" as an appendage of the whites..." .

The three studies appear to chronicle the gradual evolution of "coloured" political perceptions, from passive dependency and subordination, to separatist leanings and eventually to

equal footing with other groups in united South Africa.

7.1.3. INTER-GROUP ATTITUDES

In general the current group of respondents seem to hold the roughly similar attitudes towards other groups as those of Mann/Dickie-Clark and Schlemmer et al.

With regard to Indians the attitudes of this sample remains ostensibly the same as the 1956 and 1976 samples; that is on the surface they seem to hold themselves aloof from Indians, in the same way that the respondents of Dickie-Clark/Mann and Schlemmer et al did. But on a deeper level some shifts must be evolving (that is, more positive attitudes towards Indian people may be developing) since more intermarriage has taken place recently. This could also be associated with the fact that there are more conversions to Islamism.

In any case no derogatory statements towards Indians or Africans were made in response to interview questions, or in conversation, which is an improvement upon the cases recorded by Mann/Dickie-Clark.

A fair amount of hostility towards Afrikaans-speaking whites was witnessed, both orally and written. In this regard, the current sample was more intense than that of Schlemmer, but this is easily explained in the light of the present sample's greater political awareness.

The English-speaking South African is still held in some awe, although this too, is tempered by their political insights, so that a higher frequency of negative descriptions of this

group was recorded for the first time.

Regarding Africans, the sample generally indicated negative conceptions, but the impression was gained that the respondents perceived the inadequacies that the Africans possessed to be a result of apartheid.

The fact that the sample generally favours a political dispensation which is colour-blind sums up the respondents' general orientation towards other South African groups.

7.1.4. RESPONDENTS ATTITUDES TOWARDS THEIR OWN GROUP

An assessment of the responses given to questionnaire items relating to group attitudes revealed that interviewees generally hold positive attitudes towards their own group.

A considerable amount of pride in belonging to the "coloured" group was evident and this approbation appeared to be centred upon the physical characteristics and honesty of the members. The most frequently mentioned negative description of "coloureds" was their "quarrelsomeness". This characteristic was also mentioned by the respondents who participated in Dickie-Clark's survey.

It appears from the responses of the two sets of interviewees in this study, that the adults are more tolerant than their offspring. This could simply be a result of idealism and lack of experience, as is usually the case with younger individuals. However, in the South African context, this could also be construed as being a result of apartheid which has not afforded them the direct experience of other

racial and ethnic groups. Statistics reveal that the younger interviewees are more willing to sever ties with South Africa if the political developments here are not to their liking. In that questions concerning types of "coloured" groupings they perceived and perceptions of their role in a new South Africa reflect an economical bias, one may conclude that the youth are more materialistic than the older respondents of this sample.

Most interviewees are content with their classification as "coloureds," but many wish they had lighter complexions. This last mentioned characteristic suggests that the white bias discovered by Mann/Dickie-Clark and Schlemmer, is still in evidence to some extent. However, this characteristic is shared with people of mixed origins all over the world.

7.2. SUMMARY OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SAMPLES OF
1956 AND 1986

7.2.1. DIFFERENCES IN RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON IDENTITY

The most significant differences in the consciousness of these two groups of "coloured" people are highlighted when one compares the responses of these samples to the sections of the questionnaire dealing with identity and politics.

TABLE TWELVE

QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS RELATING TO IDENTITY AND POLITICS

	1956	1986
COLOUREDS SHOULD BE GROUPEd WITH WHITES	+50%	6%
PRIDE IN BEING COLOURED.	66%	72.6%
DESIRE TO BE CLASSIFIED WHITE.	52%	17%
ATTITUDE TOWARDS PASSING.	54%	32%
DESIRE FOR MORE WHITE-LIKE APPEARANCE.	36%	22%
NEGATIVE ATTITUDES TOWARDS APARTHEID.	24%	56%

7.2.2. CONCLUSIONS BASED ON THESE RESULTS

An analysis of the responses given by the two sets of respondents shows clearly that the 1956 sample reflect more of a white bias than those of 1986. Put differently, it could be said that the earlier investigation revealed that the residents of Sparks Estate-Sydenham responded in a similar fashion as would be expected of the white population of this country.

On the other hand, the answers of the 1986 sample more closely approach the responses one could expect from a group that had suffered discrimination at the hands of powerful whites. Put differently, it could be said that their responses reflect an anti-white bias.

7.2.2.1. THE OLD "COLOURED" IDENTITY

According to the reports of Mann/Dickie-Clark, the community of Sparks Estate-Sydenham were really very similar to whites in their values and outlook. The researchers thus concluded that this cultural closeness was no pose, the group had not been so closely exposed to any other culture, so it was natural for them to identify with whites.

7.2.2.2. IMPLICATIONS OF THIS OLD IDENTITY

Mann and Dickie-Clark explain that the residents of Sparks Estate-Sydenham whose opinions they canvassed in 1956 displayed this white bias for the following reasons:

They were culturally similar to whites, and therefore they could identify more easily with them, rather than with Africans or Indians in Durban.

At the time that the fieldwork for this study was being done, the Government was processing legislation that would strip the Durban "coloureds" of their remaining franchise rights. The community was anxious to retain these privileges so they were careful not to alienate white opinion.

They felt that by aligning themselves with whites, the Government could be convinced of their deservedness of such advantages.

They were aware that in terms of Population Registration Act, association with Indians or Africans would weaken their claim to such privileges.

Under these circumstances, the white bias of the "coloureds" in Sparks Estate-Sydenham is more comprehensible.

After attitudes towards all black groups in South Africa began to harden and more and more discriminatory laws were passed, the Durban "coloured" people felt hurt and confused but continued to see English-speaking whites as the role models for their behaviour, or as their reference group. The following quotation by Dickie-Clark (1966:148) sums up the the situation between the Durban "coloureds" and whites:

"The "coloureds" cultural whiteness ensures that they will accept white values and have a high regard for whites in general despite the fact that so many of the particular white group with which they have to deal do not live up to what the "coloureds" consider to be typically white notions of justice and fair play".

The fact that identification with whites may be comprehensible under these circumstances does not remove any of the undesirable consequences such a situation entailed for the group under observation. These negative results have been detailed in chapter six and indeed have been the motivation of this treatise.

It has been stated in the fourth chapter of this study that the "coloureds" appear to have the ethos of a whipped people. I would suggest that this would be an appropriate description for the group just after they had been socially degraded in the post 1948 period.

7.2.2.3. THE NEW "COLOURED" IDENTITY

If a shift in self-perception has occurred, the question may be asked: how do the respondents perceive of themselves now? An answer may be found in the fact that the results of this

study indicate the "coloured" people of Durban now see themselves as being brown.

Evidence of this is gained by the fact that their answers generally reflect an anti-white bias, but the pivotal clue is gained from their responses to the item which asked them to name a famous personage who, in their opinion epitomised the typical Durban "coloured" person. The modal category (10.7%) named Michael Jackson as being typical of such an individual. The second choice was Lionel Ritchie. An objective analysis of the physical appearance of both singers confirms that they conform with the description given by the present respondents of themselves. What is even more significant is that both singers also comply with the description of the typical Durban "coloured" given by the fieldworkers of Mann/Dickie-Clark in 1956.

7.2.2.4. IMPLICATIONS OF THIS NEW IDENTITY

The development of this new identity may be attributed to the following circumstances which started to emerge in the seventies, at approximately the time when the fieldwork for Schlemmer's study was being conducted. These conditions were mentioned in the first chapter (page 2) of this report:

1. The advent of Black Consciousness with its positive attitudes towards black physical attributes, its Afro-hair styles and other accoutrement caught the imagination of many "coloureds" in South Africa. Most importantly, its message of political rebellion echoed their repressed

dissatisfactions with their lot.

2. The arrival of television in this country which exposed the local black people to other black lifestyles for the very first time. Television also amplified the effects of Black Consciousness and provided them with suitable black or brown heroes/heroines to replace white ones who were rapidly failing to satisfy the aspirations of this group.

3. The groundswell of organised resistance to apartheid which was fanned by Black Consciousness and the rising political awareness of the Durban "coloured" community. The Soweto students uprising passed by without really affecting them, but the students boycott in 1980 swept through South Africa and involved their own children, so that for almost the first time, rank and file "coloureds" in Durban could not escape involvement, they had to take some sort of political stand.

The Labour party of South Africa was at its most militant phase at that time, with the brief detention of Alan Hendrickse, so that most Durban "coloureds" felt encouraged by circumstances to oppose the Government and support the students.

This was a first for this conservative and politically apathetic group. Their political orientation has been permanently altered by the developments in the early years of this decade. With the Labour Party behind them they could oppose the Government and feel safe and correct in doing so.

4. The the wave of Evangelism and charismatic Christianity with which the "coloured" community was experiencing at the time did not actually support political adventurism, but the

conventional faiths began to adopt a much more radical stance. The Durban "coloureds" were influenced by the local leader of the Catholic church, Archbishop Denis Eugene Hurley, the Anglicans were led by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Methodists appear from reports to have become the most left-leaning of all the mainline religions at this time. The sanction of the church made political protest acceptable, even though by other standards, the Durban "coloureds" caught only a very mild dose of this militancy that was circulating at the time.

These are the influences which shaped and moulded the attitudes of the local "coloured" population during the seventies and early eighties of these decade. Decisive times in the history of this country were being unfolded and under these conditions, it is not at all surprising that the group under discussion underwent significant changes in consciousness which altered their perceptions of themselves, their community and their country.

The above events and circumstances would be seen by Goffman as a time when the "coloureds" began to reject the labelling system of the Government. It is certain that this would be applauded by du Preez, since in his terms the external criteria of identity were being confronted and challenged.

All these developments culminated in the upgrading of brown groups by the Government in 1984 with the introduction of the Tricameral System.

Before the process of upgrading had even occurred the local "coloured" people had already resolved their indentity crisis by replacing English-speaking whites with black American

entertainers as a reference group.

The consequences of this shift in consciousness are various: These glamorous American entertainers represent a more realistic and positive reference group than English-speaking whites. The fact of the situation is that "coloureds" are not white or even close to whites in their physical characteristics and by identifying with them, they had to first of all, deny their bodies, their physical selves, with negative consequences for their psychic health. Then they had to resort to elaborate correction procedures to alter their appearance so that they bore some resemblance to whites.

All these created great difficulties for the group and ultimately did not work. Some of them succeeded in passing, either at work or completely, but at great cost. In addition to rejecting their bodies, their relatives and even parts of their cultural experience had to be denied - this could hardly have been a happy experience.

Politically, their experiences and position is more similar to that of American blacks. The American blacks tend to be more militant in their talk and their music for which local "coloureds" displayed an avid and insatiable appetite, bemoaned their social situation and offered recipes for the improvement thereof.

The irony of the situation is that in the fifties the "coloured" people were extremely politically conservative in order to emulate the white reference group. In the eighties the "coloured" people became more radical in order to emulate the new black reference group.

What is even more ironic is that many of these brown heroes/heroines are not only admired by the "coloureds", but many white South Africans also find them most attractive.

If a contemporary "coloured" person were asked the question "Who are you?", it is very likely that he/she would answer thus: "I am a brown South African". Such an individual would make definite and positive replies to the question, "How do you feel about yourself and your group". The positive attitudes such a person is likely to feel towards himself/herself and the group may be gleaned from the results of this survey. In a similar fashion it is possible to extrapolate from these results what the average "coloured" person sees as the personal and group priorities.

In conclusion it can be seen that the new role models closely approximated the details of the lives of the local "coloured" people, so that for the first time there was more consistency and authenticity in their lives, a fact which once again would garner the approval of du Preez.

7.3 CONCLUSION

The various forces which combined to make apartheid impracticable successfully changed the "external criteria of identity" in this country. In so doing a process of reform and upgrading was initiated which makes it possible for all South Africans, not only "coloureds" to enjoy a wider range of roles and increasing the chances of their achieving positive personal and group identities. Whether the people

of South Africa exploit this opportunity to be more authentic and flexible would be a task for social scientists in the following decades to investigate.

On this point of the future possibilities for the non-white population of South Africa, it is interesting to note that a new publication by a black American academic issues a timely, warning in this regard. In his book, "The Content of our Character," Shelby Steele, (reviewed in the Sunday Times of 16 December, 1990) mentions that in his opinion, the greatest obstacle to the progress of the black minority in America is self-doubt, not racism. He maintains that after nearly twenty years of affirmative action and "entitlements" the position of this group has not improved, but in many cases actually deteriorated.

This is a sobering thought that underlines the significance of the role of the individual in successfully designing his/her destiny. The onus lies just as much upon the system as upon the individual within it. The insights presented in this book should give us all pause before South Africans indulge in euphoric illusions of the future.

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QUESTIONNAIRE

1. AGE.....
2. EDUCATION.....
3. EMPLOYMENT.....
4. SEX.....
5. RELIGION.....
6. RESIDENCE.....
7. SELF-CONCEPT:

(A) HERE ARE A FEW STATEMENTS WE ARE READING TO PEOPLE TO SEE HOW THEY FEEL:
 SAY WHETHER THE FOLLOWING ARE TRUE OR FALSE ABOUT YOURSELF

- | | | |
|--|-------------|--------------|
| | TRUE | FALSE |
| (i) I wish I could feel as happy as other people. | ..... | ..... |
| (ii) I feel deeply satisfied within myself. | ..... | ..... |
| (iii) I often feel I don't belong anywhere. | ..... | ..... |
| (iv) I often feel less adequate and worthwhile than others. | ..... | ..... |
| (v) Sometimes I feel that nobody really understands me. | ..... | ..... |
| (vi) I am often more nervous than other people. | ..... | ..... |
| (vii) If others hadn't prevented me, I would be far better off. | ..... | ..... |
| (viii) People seem to change from day to day in the way they treat me. | ..... | ..... |
| (ix) I often wish I felt as good as the next person. | ..... | ..... |

(B) HERE ARE A FEW SENTENCES WHICH WILL HELP US TO UNDERSTAND AND APPRECIATE PEOPLE:
 LOOK AT EACH ONE IN TURN AND COMPLETE IT QUICKLY. YOU NEED NOT THINK MUCH ABOUT THE ANSWERS - THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS. JUST GIVE THE FIRST ENDING THAT COMES TO MIND.

- (i) I guess I am.....
- (ii) If only I could
- (iii) People generally make me feel
- (iv) I am
- (v) Someday, I
- (vi) My background is
- (vii) Sometimes, I wish I were.....
- (viii) Other people
- (ix) Compared with most people, I am
- (x) As a coloured, I
- (xi) As a South African, I

(C) AS YOU REALISE, WE ARE INTERESTED IN THE WAY PEOPLE FEEL IN THE COMMUNITY.
 PLEASE THINK OF A PERSON - ANY PERSON - HE OR SHE CAN BE A REAL PERSON, OR ONE YOU MAKE UP. TELL ME 2 IMPORTANT FEELINGS HE/SHE COULD OFTEN HAVE ABOUT HIM/HERSELF.

(C) Have you thought of a person?

Name 2 important feelings he/she could have about him/herself.

- (i)
- (ii)

(If these feelings are both negative or both positive, ask respondents to think of 2 less happy/more happy feelings)

- (iii)
- (iv)

8. RELIGION.

(A) HOW OFTEN DO YOU ATTEND RELIGIOUS SERVICES AT THE CHURCH?

- (i) Everyday
- (ii) Thrice a week
- (iii) Twice a week
- (iv) Once a week
- (v) Once a fortnight
- (vi) Once a month
- (vii) Hardly ever
- (viii) Xmas/special occasions ...

(B) (i) Is your present church the one you were born and brought up in?.....^{NO}

(ii) If not what change (changes) did you make?.....
.....
.....

(iii) When

(iv) Why
.....
.....

(C) DO YOU HAVE ANY REGULAR PRACTISE ABOUT PRIVATE PRAYER? DO YOU:

- (i) Say prayers regularly everyday?^{NO}
- (ii) Try to be regular, but often miss a day or two
- (iii) Hardly ever say regular prayers in private
- (iv) Never say regular prayers in private

(D) APART FROM REGULAR SET PRAYERS, DO YOU EVER SAY SPONTANEOUS PRAYERS AT ANY TIME OF THE DAY, WHENEVER YOU WANT TO?

- (i) Everyday.....
- (ii) Nearly everyday
- (iii) Often
- (iv) Occasionally
- (v) Seldom
- (vi) Never

(E) DO YOU PARTICIPATE IN ANY OTHER ACTIVITIES OR GROUP CONNECTED WITH THE CHURCH

Specify?
.....
.....

8. RELIGION.(continued)

(F) WHAT DO YOU THINK RELIGION MEANS TO PEOPLE PERSONALLY - WHAT SATISFACTION DOES IT GIVE TO PEOPLE?

.....

.....

.....

(G) THINKING ABOUT RELIGION AND ATTENDING RELIGIOUS SERVICES, WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING IS...VERY IMPORTANT/ QUIET IMPORTANT/ UNIMPORTANT.

- (i) feeling close to God
- (ii) something interesting to do
- (iii) feeling one has done one's duty
- (iv) feeling comforted and secure
- (v) helping to think deeply about yourself
- (vi) feeling moved and inspired by the spirit of the Lord
- (vii) A place to be with good friends and people
- (viii) working for social reform and justice in this country
- (ix) feeling confident and stronger
- (x) finding Jesus and being saved

V.I.	Q.I.	Ui.
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

(H) (i) Nowadays people seem sometimes to find fault with religion. What faults are being found?

.....

.....

(ii) Do you agree/disagree with these criticisms?

.....

.....

(iii) Why?

.....

(I) Do you think people with problems can receive real help from a religious group or body, or is the problem best left to some other group.....

.....

GROUP IDENTITY

A. It appears that there might be a number of different types of coloured groups in South Africa. How many different types are you aware of?

.....

.....

9. GROUP IDENTITY

- B. What type of coloured do you describe yourself as?.....
.....
- C. Are you officially recognised as this type of coloured?
.....
- D. (i) Are Durban coloureds any different from, say, Coloureds in the Cape?.....
(ii) If yes, how?
.....
.....
- E. Could you provide a description of a typical Durban coloured?
.....
.....
.....
- F. Could you provide an example of such a person?
.....
- G. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS COMES CLOSEST TO YOUR OWN OPINION?
(i) All these types of coloureds are really pretty much the same.....
(ii) There are great differences between the coloureds in South Africa.....
(iii) All the coloureds in Durban are similar, but they differ from the rest
of the coloureds in South Africa.....
- H. COLOURED PEOPLE HAVE BEEN REGARDED AT VARIOUS TIMES AND PLACES AS:
(i) An appendage of the white group.
(ii) A distinct and separate group on their own.
(iii) Part and parcel of the non-white group.
(iv) Affiliate with the Indian group, but separate from the African group.
(v) In a group consisting of South Africans, regardless of colour.
WHICH OF THE ABOVE DO YOU PREFER?
.....

GROUP IDENTITY: (continued)

- I. SOME GROUPS, LIKE THE ZULU AND ENGLISH, SEEM TO BE VERY PROUD OF THE GROUPS THEY BELONG TO. Do you feel as proud to be a coloured?
- (i) Yes
 - (ii) No
 - (iii) Unsure.....
- J. Name some facts which make you feel this way.
.....
.....
- K. Do you ever wish that you were not a coloured person but belonged to some other group?.....
.....
- L. Have you ever wished you belonged to some different group of coloured people?.....
.....
- M. IN THE AREA WHERE YOU GROW UP WERE THERE:
- (i) only coloured people.....
 - (ii) people of other race groups. (specify).....
.....
.....
- N. IN A STUDY CONDUCTED IN SYDENHAM IN THE 1950's, a large number of coloured people (over 50%) said that they often wished that they were part of the white group:
- (i) What is your opinion of this?.....
.....
.....
 - (ii) How do you explain it.....
.....
.....
 - (iii) Do you think that the number of coloured people who would feel this way today would be ~~lesser/greater/the same~~?
 - (iv) Why?
- O. (i) Have you ever wished that your skin werelighter your hair straighter or your features sharper?.....
- (ii) Why? what advantages would these give you?.....
.....

- P. (i) Do you have Indian/African/White relatives? Specify.....

 (ii) Do you maintain contact with them?.....

Q. PEOPLE HAVE DIFFERENT IMPRESSIONS ABOUT VARIOUS RACE GROUPS IN OUR COUNTRY.
 BELOW IS A LIST OF WORDS AND CHARACTERISTICS - DECIDE WHICH OF THESE FIT THE
 GROUP ON THE RIGHT:

	AFRIKANERS	INDIAN	COLOURED	AFRICANS	ENGLISH
honest
less-developed
respectable
selfish
kind
give nothing to others
2 faced
quarrelsome
intelligent
lazy
generally attractive
domineering
cunning
well bred
unattractive
strong & determined
hardworking
feel close to
rough
would feel proud to be one
unfeeling
feel friendly towards
would mix freely with

10. POLITICS

- A. SOME PEOPLE SAY YOU CAN NEVER GET ANYTHING MUCH DONE BY MEANS OF POLITICS; THEREFORE IT IS BETTER TO HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH IT.
 (i) Do you agree/disagree with this?.....
 (ii) Why?.....

- B. When you think or talk about Politics what sort of thing is most often on your mind

C. Have there been any laws passed recently which in your opinion have:

(i) benefitted coloured people in South Africa.
.....
.....

(ii) been of a disadvantage to Coloured people in South Africa.
.....
.....

D. What things have occurred lately to make you feel:

(i) hopeful and optimistic about South Africa's future.....
.....
.....

(ii) worried and pessimistic about South Africa's future?.....
.....
.....

E. The government might abolish the Group Areas Act, thus enabling any person of any race to establish his/her home or business in any area whatsoever..

If this were to happen, do you think coloured people would:

- (i) Gain
- (ii) gain more than they lose
- (iii) lose
- (iv) lose more than they gain

F. If the Group Areas Act were to be removed, Sydenham/Wentworth/Newlands East might end up being a racially mixed area (coloureds, Africans etc.) How do you feel about this?
.....
.....

G. How would the community life be affected by the presence of people of other races?
.....
.....

H. A number of white politicians have said (according to news reports) that apartheid is dead. When you look around you in South African do you?

- (i) agree
- (ii) disagree

- I. Do you feel that as a result of apartheid, coloureds have:
- (i) gained
 - (ii) lost
 - (iii) gained more than they lost.....
 - (iv) lost more than they gained?.....

J. WHAT DO YOU think will eventually happen to coloureds in South Africa in the future:

- K. Supposing you had the money, which of the following do you think would improve you and your family's future.
- (i) moving to a (previous) white area.
 - (ii) emigrating to Australia.
 - (iii) neither
 - (iv) other.

- L. Do you think that the desegregation of beaches/hotels/cinemas has caused colour people to:
- (i) mix more with other races.....
 - (ii) had no effect on interracial mixing.....

M. A lot of people seem to be sending their children to white private schools -- what do you think of this?

11. REFERENCE GROUP

Can you think of any person whom you admire very much, or who has deeply influenced your life; and or on whom you have modelled, or would like to model your life.



S