“LOVINGLY” OBJECTIFYING THE OTHER?

A CRITICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ROLE IDENTITY OF THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH, IN LIGHT OF THEIR RELATIONAL DYNAMICS WITH 'THE OTHER' IN A MULTIRACIAL AND UNJUST SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY.

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by
Albertus Johannes De Mist van Zijl
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Dissertation written by

Albertus Johannes De Mist van Zijl

Lis. Theol., Stellenbosch University, RSA, 2009

M.Div., Stellenbosch University, RSA, 2008

B.Th., Stellenbosch University, RSA 2007

Supervised by Rev Anlené Taljaard

DECLARATION

By submitting this dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof, that reproduction and publication thereof by Free State University will not infringe any third-party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

ABSTRACT

The study forwards a social-psychological perspective on the notions of reconciliation and social cohesion. In this hermeneutic, the social identity approach in social-psychology together with the psychology of prosocial intergroup behaviour, is utilised to critically appraise the role identity of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) in a multiracial South Africa.

In-group role identity is informed by the social identity and relational dynamics in a specific intergroup context: Who we are in our relationship with others. I argue that group role identity has a negative impact on reconciliation and social cohesion when a strong in-group social identity becomes salient, because it leads to objectification of the other in the context of intergroup helping. Objectification occurs when people are differentiated from the in-group self as the other and then become strategically subservient to satisfy an in-group need. This is an automatic consequence of strong social identities.

This study aims to answer how does the relational dynamics, from a socio-psychological perspective on social identity and prosocial group behaviour, inform the contemporary role identity of Dutch Reformed Church congregations regarding their relationship with the racial other in a multiracial and unjust South African society?

The study historically traces the development of a strong white Afrikaner Christian social identity as core to the role identity of the DRC and how such an identity affected the relationship with the racial other. Mission constitutes the relational parameters of intergroup helping the DRC chose to engage with the other. The study argues that the racial other was objectified by the DRC because the missional relationship was managed strategically to serve the needs of the white Christian Afrikaner in-group.

A theological critique against a relational praxis of othering and objectification is discussed. Liberation-, Black Liberation- and Feminist theologies forward a reciprocal relationship of mutuality based on the *Imago Dei* concept and a Christology where Christ identifies with the poor and oppressed in the social margin. This is a critique of the psychological mechanisms inherent in strong social group identities by arguing for a strong superordinate identity of all

being made in the image of God and a purposeful identification with those in the social margin as participation in the *Missio Dei*.

From a social-psychological perspective it is clear that reconciliation and social cohesion will be severely hampered before the other is accepted as a self, in a relationship of mutuality. Psychologically speaking, acts of neighbourly love will always be suspect in the context of strong social identities.

This study seriously questions the significance of the contemporary DRC role identity in furthering the notions of reconciliation and social cohesion in a racially divided society where Afrikaner social identity is under threat. The helping endeavours of DRC congregations may still be interpreted as strategic in satisfying in-group needs: Objectifying the racial other as an object for alleviating guilt or as an object of charity to manage group impression or as a means to justify the social status of having a special calling to educate the racial other.

Key Words: Reconciliation; Social Cohesion; Social Identity Approach; Objectification; Dutch Reformed Church.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to both my parents who remain my greatest supporters. To Anton Le Roux, dr. Fredrick Nel and dr. Leoni Schoeman for your benevolence and love for Church Unity.

I also dedicate this work to my congregation, URCSA Die Hoogtes, for teaching me about plain and simple faith and endurance.

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CHAPTER 1

MOTIVATION, METHODOLOGY AND JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

1. INTRODUCTION

In the foreword of the Chairman of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa, Desmond Tutu (1998, 22) wrote: *"Ours is a remarkable country. Let us celebrate our diversity, our differences. God wants us as we are. South Africa wants and needs the Afrikaner, the English, the Coloured, the Indian, the Black. We are sisters and brothers in one family – God's family, the human family.... Let us move into a glorious future of a new kind of society where people count... because they are persons of infinite worth created in the image of God. Let that society be a new society – more compassionate, more caring, more gentle, more given to sharing"*

Denise Ackermann (1998, 19) reminds us of the fracturing consequence of Apartheid: *"Apartheid created mistrust, suspicion and hatred among people, destroying communities by grandiose projects of social engineering serving the interests of white minority rule*.". Gibson and Claasen (2010, 255) reminds South Africans that the fruitfulness of our future is dependent on the wellness of interracial relations, the healing of our fracturing past: *"There can be little doubt that the future of South Africa's nascent democracy depends upon the development of cooperative rather than conflictual intergroup relations. South Africa is a multiracial, multi-ethnic, and multilingual society, and it is inconceivable that this will change. As intergroup relations go, so goes the future of the country."*

The Church and its missional endeavours has an understated effect on ethnic relations in the world. *"Although often ignored and not perceived as a form of ethnic relation, missionary activity has been one of the major forms of ethnic relations for nearly 2000 years."* (Levinson, 1994, 160). The Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) played a crucial role in developing and justifying the apartheid ideology that served the interests of the white minority. DRC congregations have directly and indirectly participated extensively in interracial outreach programs in South Africa from before the Apartheid era until the present moment. The Church has also officially supported, institutionalized and theologically justified Apartheid and racial

segregation. The democratization of South Africa therefore had implications for the Church who previously upheld a lucrative relationship with the Apartheid government. After the fall of Apartheid, the DRC publicly apologized for their participation. This apology only surfaced in a time of regime change when there was really very little choice left but to apologize, leaving open the question: what is the nature and extent of the change. Prof. Dirkie Smit (2016, 119) thinks that *"Like Afrikanerdom in general, the DRC therefore never fully dealt with the apartheid past."*

Since 1994, and the fall of the white minority rule and the apartheid policies, the DRC has endured a struggle regarding their role identity in the new South Africa (Hendriks, 1999, 333).

I will try to determine the centrality of an Afrikaner social identity in the identity struggle of the DRC from a social-psychological perspective. Asking questions about the underlying motivations of the current missional endeavours of the Church in a multi-racial new South Africa, that is, how the DRC is applying their role identity in helping the racial other. Are the missional 'helping' praxis of the DRC strategic, motivated to advance white Afrikaner in-group needs that objectifies the out group racial other or, conversely, are they, as Tutu asks, motivated by a superordinate identity of all being *Imago Dei*? Is their helping of the other motivated by an identity forged out of the realization that all, being reconciled with God through the finality of Christ, are in fact equal or is their identity still deeply intrenched in Afrikanerism?

Is the DRC motivated to establish reciprocal relationships of mutuality based on an understanding of neighbourly love that the other is in fact me as Ackermann (1998, 17) states: *"The concept of mutuality in relationship is the touchstone against which the quality of our relationships is tested. Mutuality is concerned with the feelings, needs and interests of the each other. Mutuality spells forbearance, generosity, kindness, forgiveness and considerateness, virtues often neglected. Mutuality is the reciprocal interdependence of equals."*

2. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND RELATED TO THE MASTERS IN RECONCILIATION AND SOCIAL COHESION

The nature of the relation with 'the other' is a contested relation within the multi-racial society of the past and present South Africa. The prophetic voices in contextual theology, particularly feminist and black liberation theologies, have critique the DRC church of their view of 'the

other' as that of objectifying 'the other'. These views have consequently, manifested in a number of a-skewed practices of neighbourly love.

The prophetic voices argued for a restoration of relations with a dignified view of 'the other' as manifested in reciprocal relations that could resemble forms of restitution. The challenge for the DRC is to engage in forms of neighbourly love that signifies 'reciprocal relations' with the other, embedded in a dignified view of the other and with cognizance of the South African history and current needs of restitution and restorations of the relations.

This critical analysis of the view of the other as manifested in practices of neighbourly love, will give insight in how reconciliation and social cohesion is currently practised by the Dutch Reformed Church. The study argues for restitution as a relational concept, manifested in a reciprocal relation with the other and thus foster an understanding of social cohesion that takes place in the concrete space of 'loving thy neighbour'.

3. THE PURPOSE STATEMENT

The purpose of this study is to determine what social-psychological mechanisms underline the role identity of the DRC, and to critically determine how this affects the missional ideology and praxis of the church for the establishment of reciprocal relationships of mutuality with the other as means of furthering reconciliation and social cohesion.

The purpose is therefore to identify the mechanisms of role identity construction from a social-psychological perspective in order to point out how the DRC has constructed their role in South Africa by defining 'the other as an object. And to describe the nature and consequence of the prosocial behaviour the Church undertook that objectified the racial other from a socio-psychological perspective on intergroup prosocial behaviour. How was the other objectified in the past and to what extend has that changed? The study also aims to describe the critique of these relational practices from the perspective of feminist, liberation and black liberation theology that propose a 'subject-subject' view of the other within reciprocal relations. The study further aims to bring to attention the questionability of the contemporary role identity and missional praxis of DRC congregations.

4. THE RESEARCH QUESTION

How does the relational dynamics, from a socio-psychological perspective on social identity and prosocial group behaviour, inform the contemporary role identity of Dutch Reformed Church congregations regarding their relationship with the racial other in a multiracial and unjust South African society?

4.1. What social-psychological mechanisms informs the social role identity of the DRC?

4.2. How did the DRC construct their social role identity in South Africa with the view of the other as object?

4.3. What counter view does feminist -, liberation - and black liberation theology offer in their critique of the view of the other as an object and does this critique offer alternative forms of engagement such as reciprocal relations?

4.4. How to understand the nature of the change, if any, in the relationship the DRC pursues with the racial other from a social-psychological perspective? (Is the intent pervasive to establish a reciprocal relationship of mutuality based on a right praxis of neighbourly love?)

5. THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

The study is informed by frameworks from the social identity approach in social-psychology regarding intergroup relationships, the psychology of intergroup helping, feminist theory and from liberation and contextual theologies.

The study is a qualitative investigation of pertinent literature and studies that:

5.1. describe the social identity approach and the psychology of intergroup prosocial behaviour;

5.2. offer a historical and conceptual analysis of the development of a DRC identity that is intertwined with Afrikanerism based on a white ethnic Christian moral self-conceptualisation;

5.3. offer a historical and conceptual analysis of the missional praxis of the past that objectified the racial other;

5.4. offer an analysis of the theological criticism of the ambiguous relational praxis of othering in DRC missional role identity of the apartheid era;

5.5. offer an historical and conceptual analysis of feminist-, liberation – and black liberation Christology and their critique of the view of the other as an object and do they offer an alternative form of engagement such as reciprocal relations?

5.6. conclude with a critical evaluation of whether there is a significant change in altruistic intent in the missional helping praxis of the DRC towards the racial other for the establishment of a restored relationship of mutuality based on neighbourly love that will advance the reconciliation and social cohesion processes in South Africa.

A critical description of the mechanism that construct role identity, together with a cognizance of the theological interpretations of 'the other' will enable the researcher to review a number of practices to see how ‘the other’ was viewed, and how the nature of the relation is defined and if it has changed and whether the practices are done with cognizance of the broader process of reconciliation and social cohesion in the South African context.

6. THE LITERATURE REVIEW

Social identity will be understood as group identities or as collective identity. These collective identities constitute functional mechanisms that assist cognition and behaviour through social categorization and social comparison, helping people to identify who belongs to whom and what constitutes the difference. Social identity also provides the individual with a means of self-evaluation and self-enhancement. Important to note about social identity is that the usefulness of any particular social identity is determined by the perspective of the individuals holding on to that identity.

For the purpose of this study prejudice will be understood as unfair and negative attitudes held against a person or group. Racism, which relates to prejudice, is more elaborate, as Dovidio (2001, 830) states: *“Racism is more encompassing, it is more than a matter of individual prejudice and scattered episodes of discrimination, it involves a widely accepted racist ideology and the power to deny other racial groups the dignity, opportunities, freedoms, and rewards.* According to Abrams and Hogg (2006, 75) both racism and prejudice are part and parcel of people’s in-group identities. It is part of how people identify, see and understand themselves in relation to the social others in their social world.

Reconciliation will be viewed from s social identity perspective as the deconstruction of opposing group identity constructs and the establishment of reciprocal relationships of mutuality. Constructed bias towards the other is deconstructed to help people to perceive the enemy as a fellow human being and not as the enemy.

Social cohesion will be used as a term describing the measure of social wellbeing of a society for effecting the prosperity of all. Social cohesion defines how healthy our intergroup relationships are. In this sense, intergroup and interracial are practically synonymous terms in South Africa in light of the apartheid context and the focus of this study.

South Africa needs to develop healthy interracial relationships. This must happen in a context where strong divisions have been entrenched as racialized social identities that need to be deconstructed to develop healthy social relationships of mutuality between races.

Dovidio (2001, 846) talks about the evolution in the study and understanding of racism that identifies more subtle forms of racial bias in even the most well-intentioned of people. These contemporary forms of racial prejudice can be unconscious or subconscious, thus function without conscious realization.

These implicit forms of racism can also have detrimental consequences, even more so for social cohesion than explicit racism. Studies have shown how implicit racism can affect more negative participation from Black people when they are working in a team with implicit racists in relation to when they are in a team with more explicit racists, because these subtle forms of racial prejudice create distrust and anxiety in Black participants while they leave the White participants with a false sense that they worked well together as a team (Pearson, Dovidio, Gaertner, 2009, 5).

Being cognisant of the new developments in the study of racism and the changes in South Africa, the study questions the motivations of white Dutch Reformed Church members in their helping behaviour towards the racial other from a socio-psychological perspective. White Christians, in the new South Africa may, on the surface, seem to be motivated to help racial others, but below the surface, they might be motivated by an agenda for changing the other that will serve their own in-group needs. This happens when people hold on to a particular group

identity and use their in-group identity and inherent values to evaluate the out-group because, as John Dovidio (2001, 830) conclude: *"Ultimately racism and prejudice are fundamentally imbedded in people's own group identities."*

7. THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

7.1. CONTEXTUALISATION OF THE STUDY

How one will conduct a study is not just a practical concern about methods but also a deeply philosophical question because every human inquiry, inference and comprehension is influenced by a particular worldview (Wiredu, 2004, 4). How does a researcher, for instance, understand the essence or nature of the reality to be studied? The ontological position of the researcher will influence how the study will be conducted. Closely related to the ontological view of a scholar is his/her epistemological perspective (Crotty, 2005, 45). Apart from understanding the essence of the object for study, the researcher should also make known how he/she understands that this knowledge about the essence can be known as true, which will help others to understand his/her study. This is his/her epistemological perspective that is deeply informed and shaped by his/her ontology and the context from which one reads, interprets and understands.

7.1.1. Ontological Position: A Subjective or Objective Reality?

Bracken (2010, 2) quotes Beck: *"the purpose for social science is to understand the social reality as different people see it and to demonstrate how their views shape the action which they take within that reality."* Ontology determines what constitutes reality and how can we understand existence (Crotty, 2005, 53). There are two basic views on the nature of social reality. The first is an objective view of social reality as something that exists independent of the researchers and the social actors involved. The second, a subjective view, holds to a symbolic understanding of social reality as a phenomenon that is constructed in the minds of people.

In my ontological point of view social reality and its meaning is constructed by the actors involved in the action, and cannot exist independently from human actors and their perceptions as an absolute objective phenomenon that could be fully understood and studied from the outside. This does not mean that I have a relativistic understanding that social reality cannot be understood objectively because the social interaction between individuals also exist as an objectively observable reality. I therefore concur with Crotty (2005, 45) that *"…no object can*

be adequately described in isolation from the conscious being experiencing it, nor can any experience be adequately described in isolation from its object".

7.1.2. My Epistemological Position.

Epistemology is concerned with the truth of what can be known. Epistemology is how a researcher understands the world. It is how I think that knowledge about the world is created, how I think truth is defined and how this truth is commonly understood or shared (Schurink, 2008). My epistemological position is therefore my philosophical stance on how social reality can be known and how that knowledge can be demonstrated. Explaining my epistemological position will also assist others in understanding and assessing the reliability of my findings.

I understand the nature of social contact between individuals as both an observable happenstance that could be measured as an objective reality as well as a subjective construct.

Structural-functionalism or more precisely, neo-functionalism, describes the kind of social reality I see when I am looking at the church. Churches as voluntary organization that are well organized. This is very much the case with Dutch Reformed Churches who are well organized machines, organized according to a shared macro ideology (Religion). Within this macro system people function and adapt. I think this is particularly true for the church after the fall of apartheid, the system has adapted to keep on functioning.

My approach is also critical, aimed at challenging the social reality. In this sense, I am a Christian idealist, but not a true patriot of a Christian culture. This does not mean that I reject my cultural heritage. What it means is that I hold on to a Christology of Christ as the true incarnated Word bringing a message and an act of grace to the world aimed at reconciling all with God and with each other. A Christology that I describe as contra-cultural. Not against culture but a Christ who is a living Word that continuously admonishes the social dynamics behind group formation that places one group over another or excludes out-group others while favouring its own. Being a Christian is therefore not a culture that one adheres to, or an in-group one belongs to, but rather a cause of equality one comes to believe in and tries to follow.

A post-positivistic critical position encapsulates more accurately my epistemological view. I do not hold a pure positivistic view of an objectively knowable social reality and I also do not

believe that knowledge of the social reality is solely achieved through interpretivistic approaches. Although I hold to a constructionist view of social reality because of its subjective nature, I also hold to a functional view of reality because of its objective nature. Social reality is a complex reality that exists both at a macro and micro level, both at an objective and subjective level and both at an individual and structural level (Layder, 2006, 2).

In this study I want to measure the macro construction, the hegemony of the Dutch Reformed church, and how this functions at an interactional level. Do structural changes (e.g. fall of Apartheid) effect adaption at a functional level (Contemporary racism) without really challenging the social construction of racial stereotype as a product of strong ethnic-racial identities?

This will be done from a psychological perspective on social reality, specifically social identity.

7.2. RESEARCH DESIGN: QUALITATIVE OR QUANTITATIVE?

In research, there are two basic designs for conducting a study. The two basic approaches are termed quantitative and qualitative research designs. Quantitative research was historically understood as more scientifically rigorous and dependable because it usually provides measurable data (Creswell, 2009, 12). While qualitative designs were historically viewed as more speculative. This is mainly due to the popular tendency of people who believe in tangible figures (Kealy, 2007, 57) rather than subjective reasoning. This has changed and qualitative research has become much more popular, especially in the social science, where it has proved to be particularly effective. In many study designs both quantitative and qualitative measures have been mixed together to create more useful study designs that are much more contextually suited to answer a particular research question.

A simple understanding of the difference between the two basic research designs is that qualitative methodology helps researchers with a deeper understanding of what or why. While quantitative research helps researchers to ascertain how much or many (Schurink, 2008).

Qualitative methods have become more prominent is social sciences. Qualitative research uses a wide range of interconnected interpretive practices. The goal is for better understanding of

the social reality. The diversity of practices enlightens different parts of the social phenomena being studied (Schurink, 2008).

A Dictionary of Nursing defines quantitative research as *"...based on traditional scientific methods, which develop numerical data and usually seeks to establish causal relationships (or association) between variables, using statistical methods to test the strength and significance of relationships. In quantitative research, the researcher remains objectively separated from the subject matter."* (Martin & McFerran, 2014, 419).

In deciding between quantitative or qualitative research, it is important to consider each method's relevance to the research question to be answered and the proposed aim of the study (Creswell, 2009, 3).

A mixed method approach, whereby both sets of methods are used, has also gained much popularity in recent research. In a mixed method approach, it is important for the researcher to explain how his or her particular design will look and how it will help to provide the best result. A mixed methods approach may vary in how much of the design is basically qualitative versus quantitative forming two basic approaches in mixed methods. Although mixed methods provide more freedom for the researcher to develop and argue a suitable combination (Kealy, 2007, 59).

Using qualitative methods to develop a deep understanding of the social-psychological mechanism and the psychology of prosocial behaviour will help to determine the quality of the interracial apartheid reality of the past. Adding quantitative measures to determine the contemporary pervasiveness and consequence of strong ethnic-racial social identity imbedded in DRC member's self-conceptualisation, will produce the best results. This is in line with Creswell (2009, 8) who propose that a well-planned and thorough mixed methods approach will usually produce the best results in studying social reality. I therefore conclude that a mixed methods approach will offer the best results, but due to the scope of this study it will not be achievable.

The qualitative methodology will entail a literature study on the social identity approach as a social-psychological explanation of how social identity is constructed in relation with the other.

Literature on prosocial intergroup behaviour will help us in understanding the relational dynamics in intergroup helping. This will inform the role identity the DRC has developed in their relation to the racial other in South Africa. Role identity will be understood as the role adopted by a particular in-group in their relation to an out-group as informed and influenced by their social identity. The social identity approach will help us to understand how social or group identities are formed and inform cognition and behaviour. While the psychology of intergroup helping behaviour will help us to understand how the relational dynamics are influenced by strong group identities in intergroup relations. How does it function (mechanics)?

A historical analysis of how the DRC have historically constructed their role in South Africa by defining the other as "an object" of evangelization, development and contrition will be given. A literature analysis of feminist-, liberation-, and black liberation theology as a criticism of objectification and their arguments for reciprocal relations with the other and a plea for restitution will be provided. This study will conclude with a critical reflection, informed by the social-psychological perspective on social identity and intergroup helping behaviour, on the contemporary role identity and reciprocal relational dynamics with the racial other that DRC congregations pursue in South Africa.

8. CREDIBILITY OF THE STUDY

A critical reflection on the nature of the relations with the other remains an important task for the DRC Church in light of the Apartheid past. The view of the other is challenged by looking at the complex process of forming views, as well as restoring relations with the other. This critical analysis gives insight in the complex process of reconciliation and social cohesion relevant for the Dutch Reformed Church and the South African society.

8.1. LIMITATIONS AND DELIMITATIONS

The study is limited by the scope of this program and will only advance a qualitative understanding of the consequences of a strong in-group identity when helping the out-group. Needed field work and quantitative data will not be collected and captured in this study.

The study will examine the Dutch Reformed churches from a theoretical perspective through literature. This study does not represent the whole of the DRC and every individual. This however should not distract the validity of the study of the DRC praxis.

Social identity is a complex phenomenon wherein individuals may hold many identities, individually and collectively. People can function with cognisance of different social identities in different contexts. More complex taxonomies are available to study the complexity and multiplicity of social identity but this will also fall outside the scope of this particular study. As will be argued in this study, under certain circumstances a particularly strong social identity may become very influential.

8.2. POSITIONALITY AND REFLEXIVITY

The candidate is fully aware of his position as a white male in the South African context where the legacy of apartheid theology was developed and has become self-critical thereof. The candidate is also aware of the various theological challenges posed by contemporary South Africa in the aftermath of apartheid.

8.3. JUSTIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE

Numerous studies have already argued for the centrality of an Afrikaner identity in the self-understanding and loyalty of the DRC. Many studies have also critiqued the missional endeavours of the DRC as an ambiguous praxis motivated by an eschewed understanding of neighbourly love. There are also numerous studies that question the nature of the changes in the DRC brought on by the fall of apartheid. This study adds to this literature by asking the question(s) from the social identity approach in social-psychology. Most of the studies on the social identity of the DRC provide insight from a sociological perspective. This study also adds to the existing literature by providing insight on the praxis of the DRC from the psychological advances in the study of intergroup prosocial behaviour.

According to Kay Deaux (2000, 2) there are many similarities between sociological and psychological theoretical traditions on social identity. Both emphasise that the social self is constructed and dependent upon social context. The sociological however pays more attention to the structural while *"psychological models of social identity are more concerned with process, particularly cognitive processes of categorization and comparison"* (Deaux, 2000, 2).

The belief system(s) of the Afrikaans Reformed Churches is formative of the underlying values that White Afrikaans speaking Christians in general employ for their group identity and

worldview. These beliefs are influential in the establishment of the core values congregants employed in their judgement of others. Studying the social identity of the DRC and if that identity is constructed around a strong racial-ethnic Afrikaner identity and how that affects the missional helping and the relation with the racial others can provide valuable information for the Church in terms of their contribution as an integral religious institution in the South African context.

They may have the social capital to affect change as Swart (2006) concluded, but do they have the alacrity to partake in reconciliatory action and make the social investment to affect cohesion? Do they possess the insight and conscience to affect social justice? Or are their missional understanding and concurrent motives: purely judgemental (enhancing group social status - entitativity); self-preserving of group social status against a perceived threat; self-serving by providing meaning; preserving of group power and influence; seek to alleviating collective guilt?

Are the DRC on a deeper psychological level still trying to change those they judge as the other and thereby justifying (self-enhancing) their social status in society? Thereby objectifying the other by making them a stereotypical lesser other and object of self-enhancement.

This study could help the DRC with the necessary self-understanding for self-evaluation in terms of the effectiveness of its outreach programs to reconcile our racially fragmented society; Better understanding their motivational agency to foster reciprocal relationships of mutuality based on the concept of neighbourly love that seeks to address eschewed relationships of injustice.

The study contributes to the field of social cohesion and reconciliation as the engagement with the other remains pivotal in the restoration of relations with one another. The religious community offers by its own imperative - *to love they neighbour* - the relevance for a critical self-analysis of how the other is loved, especially in conditions of past and continued injustices. The notion of restitution is thus described as a relation concept in the face of the other who is the reciprocal other.

9. ETHICS OF THE STUDY

Any contemporary study on racism will have political and economic consequences. It will probably be even more true for this proposal because of the current and heated debates in the Dutch Reformed Church about the acceptance of the *Confession of Belhar* which stresses unity, reconciliation and justice. This might influence how this study will be received in the DRC and the Uniting Reformed Church in Southern Africa respectively and how the contents might be applied and understood.

Although racism and unity in the church are sensitive and contested issues, I do not foresee that this study will hold negative consequences for me personally. There are interested parties within the church for whom such an undertaking will be considered a meaningful contribution. Unfortunately, there are also a number of individuals who might feel threatened or hurt by such a study. As Coetzee and Conradie (2010, 112) attested, apartheid and racism in South Africa has become so politically and morally demonized for any respectable individual or office to openly oppose or subvert both myself or this study.

CHAPTER 2

WHY A SOCIAL IDENTITY APPROACH TO RECONCILIATION AND SOCIAL COHESION?

1. INTRODUCTION:

"…since war begins in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed." (Preamble of UNESCO).

Social cohesion and reconciliation in South Africa constitute the broad framework for this study. I therefore start this chapter by offering a short description of these terms to explain how they connect to a social identity approach. In the second part, I provide an explanation of the social identity process which will inform us about the cognitive mechanisms behind social categorizations, stereotype formation, group identity and their implications for intergroup relations, specifically interracial-interethnic group relations. The study will look at how groups are formed, and how people identify with them and how this affects intergroup relations.

2. UNDERSTANDING THE NOTIONS OF SOCIAL COHESION AND RECONCILIATION

This study engages with the notion of reconciliation and social cohesion in the South African society. These two notions provide the broad outline for this study and I begin by explaining the relevance thereof for the South African context and how they are related and how they are understood in light of an identity perspective.

2.1. SOCIAL COHESION – A NECESSITY FOR PROGRESS.

The National Development Plan (NDP) of the South African government have identified that South Africa remains a divided society and they identified the overcoming of this hindrance as the ninth challenge facing the country. The lack of social cohesion remains a stumbling block in the path of progress in post-apartheid South Africa. The Department of Arts and Culture received the mandate to access and address the social cohesion issue.

In academic literature, social cohesion is a broad concept of which the precise meaning is not yet accurately defined. The meaning is rather defined by the history and agenda of its users, although *"there is some consensus that social cohesion can be said to be present in societies to the extent that societies are coherent, united and functional, and provide an environment within which citizens can flourish."* (The Presidency of South Africa, 2007, iv).

In the report of the Department of Arts and Culture called 'Creating a Caring and Proud Society' the department employs social cohesion as a micro level strategy for intergroup relations. In the report, social cohesion is used to determine how healthy South African intergroup relationships are for attaining mutually beneficial goals, through the fostering of solidarity and the setting of common goals. The report found that in South Africa *"the remnants of racism remain visible in the spatial divisions of human settlements"* (2012, 31) and that this division must be overcome by creating a proud and caring inclusive society.

2.2. RECONCILIATION – BRIDGING THE GAP BETWEEN DIVIDED GROUP IDENTITIES

Reconciliation was a term particular to the Christian church and has only recently received academic attention from other disciplines. The changes in South Africa characterized by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission as well as other similar post-conflict peace processes have stimulated much interest in the concept (Kelman, 2008, 16).

The basic idea in these first conceptualisation definitions of reconciliation is captured by Ari Nadler (2012, 292): *"A common thread that unifies these early usages of reconciliation is that they all describe the mending of broken relationships: with one's god, one's church, or other people."*

2.2.1. *Reconciliation as the Mutual Acceptance of the Other*

According to Kelman (2008, 16) reconciliation is the mutual acceptance of the other by previous hostile groups. This acceptance includes structural and psychological processes directly involved in the development and maintenance of such acceptance which will be characterised by a positive attitude toward the other as well as trust in the other. This will include a sensitivity to and consideration of the other party's needs and interests. Kelman

(2008, 16) add to this that *"the key element is mutual acceptance of the other's identity and humanity."*

Nadler (2012, 293-294), provides three views of reconciliation. In the first view, structural inequality is posited as a reason for conflict and reconciliation is a structural process of *"societal changes in the direction of greater intergroup equality. Such a rearrangement of intergroup power relations is achieved by political, legal, and other structural changes."*

The second view focuses on repairing a broken relationship by building trust and dismantling negative perceptions. The third view understands the continuation of conflict as a product of continued identity threat. *"...removal of conflict-related threats to the collective identities of each of the parties. Unless removed, these threats to parties' sense of adequate and secure identity can fuel and maintain intergroup conflict."* (Nadler, 2012, 293-294).

Kelman (2008, 24) add reconciliation includes *"the transformation of the relationship toward a partnership based on reciprocity and mutual responsiveness"* and that such a reciprocal relationship should be built on *"an agreement that addresses both parties' basic needs."* Kelman (2008, 24) further adds that reconciliation goes *"beyond conflict resolution in representing a change in each party's identity. The primary feature of the identity change constituting reconciliation is the removal of the negation of the other as a central component of one's own identity."*

2.2.2. *Reconciliation as the Ethos of Peace*

Daniel Bar-Tal (2000, 351) also distinguishes between conflict resolution and reconciliation. Conflict resolution is the formal agreement and terms of peace by the warring parties which resolves the reasons for conflict but does not deconstruct the social psychological infrastructure constructed in the minds of people that enable them to partake in war. True reconciliation, according to Daniel Bar-Tal (2000, 351), entails the process wherein the ethos of conflict is substituted by an ethos of peace.

According to Daniel Bar-Tal (2007, 1430) people caught up in intractable conflict face certain challenges. These challenges are: (1) to satisfy the needs of the in-group; (2) to cope with the stress of conflict; and (3) to withstand the enemy. To meet these challenges, *"Societies develop*

appropriate socio-psychological infrastructure", which enables groups to persist in the enterprise of conflict. The emotional energy is marshalled through the establishment of an ethos of conflict which constitute this socio-psychological infrastructure. "*This infrastructure fulfils important individual and collective level functions, including the important role of formation, maintenance, and strengthening of a social identity that reflects this conflict. Special attempts are made to disseminate this infrastructure via societal channels of communication and institutionalize it. This evolved socio-psychological infrastructure becomes a prism through which society members construe their reality, collect new information, interpret their experiences, and make decisions about their course of action"* (D Bar-Tal, 2007, 1430). This also includes the formation of an out-group identity bias that helps the in-group members to vilify the enemy and justify themselves without being conflicted by quilt (D Bar-Tal, 2000, 353). The collective bias towards the enemy must be deconstructed to help in-group members perceive their enemy as a collection of individual people instead of a collective demonized whole.

2.3. CONCLUSION – DECONSTRUCTING RIGID SOCIAL IDENTITIES

In a multi-ethnic society such as South Africa where ethnic social identities are very rigid, the social cohesion and reconciliation processes will be severely hindered by strong in-group loyalties without a strong superordinate identity that binds people together. Peacebuilding, according to Brewer (2000, 131), cannot be sustained if category boundaries are institutionalized: *"Even long periods without overt conflict will not build trust if peace is achieved by institutionalizing category boundaries rather than forging common identity."*

In the South African context of intergroup conflict, social cohesion and reconciliation will be severely obstructed while strong ethnic group identities persist. Churches entrenched in strong ethnic group identities will therefore also struggle to contribute towards reconciliation and social cohesion.

The social-psychological approach to reconciliation and social cohesion proposed in this study focus on in-group vs. out-group identity and on the mutual acceptance of the other that deconstructs an ethos of conflict and constructs and ethos of peace at a social identity level.

3. THE SOCIAL IDENTITY APPROACH

I will now elaborate on the social identity approach in social psychology to explain the psychological mechanism underpinning intergroup relations. These mechanisms explain how identities are formed and how they affect behaviour from a cognitive perspective. I will first discuss social categorization and stereotyping as a spontaneous and functional cognitive ability, followed by how group construction and identity process work.

The two main theories, Social Identity Theory (SIT) and Self-Categorization Theory (SCT), that constitute the social identity approach will then be discussed to provide theoretical ground for understanding the social identity of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) and the consequences that a strong in-group social identity hold for reconciliation and social cohesion processes.

I will conclude this part on the social identity approach by describing when stereotypes are activated and applied and why they function so persistent, especially in the context of racial-ethnic intergroup relations.

3.1. STEREOTYPING – AN AUTOMATED FUNCTIONAL COGNITIVE ABILITY.

In most social situations, there are multiple ways of making sense of what is observed by an individual. Presented with the same situation, different people might draw different conclusions. Because we are confronted with many possible and ambiguous possibilities, human beings need to quickly and accurately assess their social environment to act appropriately.

Human beings thus have the ability to cognitively assess and make sense of their social environment. It is in these decision-making moments that *"social categorization and stereotyping aid humans to make quick and accurate inferences about the social world"* (Van Knippenberg & Dijksterhuis, 2000, 106).

This ability is already present from infancy. *"From early infancy, children have countless experiences with human behaviours and human variation. Classifying people into categories (e.g., girls, doctors, babies) is a crucial way of organizing these experiences. Social categorization enables children to encode and retrieve information about people efficiently*

and provides a valuable mechanism for predicting and explaining human action" (Rhodes, 2013, 12).

Van Knippenberg & Dijksterhuis (2000, 106) ratify that social categorization and stereotyping are closely related. They understand social categorization as the process of subjectively classifying people into different social categories that hold meaning for the perceiver. While they understand stereotyping as the mechanism that provides the knowledge of what a group or a member of a group may be like. Social categorization is the *sense-making mechanism* and stereotyping is the *judging mechanism* (Van Knippenberg & Dijksterhuis, 2000, 107).

Categorization assists the stereotyping process because people attach certain traits to each specific category they use. Without the attached content (trait), different categories cannot be differentiated from each other and then lose their usefulness (Operario & Fiske, 2001). The specific traits associated with a category is used to make stereotypical judgements about reality. In this way stereotyping works as a normal functional perceptual process that aids humans in making sense of what is happening around them (Van Knippenberg & Dijksterhuis, 2000, 106).

Stereotyping becomes automated to provide normal individuals the cognitive ability to access implicit means to create order and understanding of their social environment with quick and adequate ease. Which would be very difficult without this ability as Van Knippenberg & Dijksterhuis, (2000, 106) attest: *"It would be a tremendous handicap not to have stereotypes because lacking it, would leave one to 'compute' others intentions and states of minds, to try to make algorithmic, explicit, what for the rest of us is second nature".*[1]

Social categorization and stereotyping are normal functional competences which provide an individual with the implicit means to make quick and accurate sense of his/her social environment. In this way stereotyping is useful (1) *"to construct a meaningful and coherent interpretation of social events"* and (2) help us to differentiate *"between social stimuli in relation to their goals, motives, and tasks"* (Van Knippenberg & Dijksterhuis, 2000, 106).

[1] They refer to a book written by Sacks called 'An Anthropologist on Mars'. In this book, Sacks write about an autistic person who does not possess the capacities to distinguish social categories.

3.2. UNDERSTANDING THE GROUP CONSTRUCTION AND IDENTITY PROCESS.

As tribal or social beings, humans seek to be part of and construct groups for belonging. Therefore, part of the meaning-making process of categorization is to aid us in knowing where we belong, what to expect from others and how to behave. Central to this process is our ability to differentiate between 'us' and 'them' and the traits that set us apart.

Rhodes (2013, 12), for instance, affirm that children learn from infancy to intuitively identify (categorize) who belongs to whom (natural kinds) and to know what is expected (is obligated).

The social identity approach, which comprises of Social Identity Theory (SIT) and Self-Categorization Theory (SCT), has developed into the most influential theory of group processes and intergroup relations in Social Psychology (Hornsey, 2008; Turner & Reynolds, 2012; Capozza & Brown, 2000; Hogg, 2000; Hogg & Terry; 2000).

SCT developed historically as an elaboration on SIT and still share *"most of the same assumptions and methods and emerge from the same ideological and meta-theoretical perspectives"* (Hornsey, 2008, 207). Because of these similarities and the historical development, most researchers refer to these two theories as the social identity approach or social identity perspective (Capozza & Brown, 2000, vii).

The social identity approach is rooted within social psychology but its influence has moved far beyond the parameters of social psychology (Hornsey, 2008; Turner & Reynolds, 2012; Capozza & Brown, 2000, viii).

Proponents of this approach *"are vocal in arguing that social psychology must acknowledge the functional interdependence of mind and society in its theorizing about the nature of mental processes"* (Turner & Reynolds, 2012, 1). In our quest to understand the cognitive processes behind group formation and identification we will be recognizant of the contextual influences on the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) member's Afrikaner social identity. Chapter 4 will elaborate the contextual influences on the formation of the religious Afrikaner social identity that is core to the social identity of the DRC.

3.3. SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY (SIT)

Social identity theory, developed by Henri Tajfel, focus on intergroup relationships and how these relationships influence identity and behaviour (Turner & Reynolds, 2001, 2). SIT is *"an integrative theory, as it aimed to connect cognitive (thought) processes and (behavioral) motivation. Initially, its main focus was on intergroup conflict and intergroup relations more broadly"* (Ellemers in Levine & Hogg, 2010, 797).

Tajfel developed the theory to help explain the predictable pattern of in-group favouritism he observed in his experimentations on intergroup relations using the 'minimal group paradigm'. The minimal group paradigm consists of artificially created groups stripped of all context. As Hornsey (2008, 205) describes: *"The groups had no content, in the sense that they were based on trivial criteria. There was no interaction among group members, and in fact, participants did not know who else within the session was in their group. The groups had no history and no future outside the laboratory. Furthermore, the participants could not benefit or lose in any way…"* In these experiments on the minimal group paradigm a pattern emerged of in-group favouritism which could not be explained by traditional theories (Turner & Reynolds, 2012, 3).

Henri Tajfel initially explained the behaviour as competitive group behaviour, as Hornsey (2008, 206) states: *"the participants were obeying a norm of competitive group behaviour. But where did this norm come from? Why competition, and not fairness or some other strategy? The answers to these questions were later formalized in social identity theory*".

3.3.1. *Identity as purely individual or purely social.*

SIT differentiated the personal- or individual identities of a person from his/her group- or social identities, with the aim of explaining the intergroup behaviour observed in the minimal group paradigm (Ellemers in Levine & Hogg, 2010, 797).

According to SIT human interaction ranges on a continuum between being purely individual, totally unaware of any social categories, to being purely intergroup, that is being totally subsumed by some group identity one represents (Turner & Reynolds, 2012, 4). Shifts on this continuum is dependent on how people see themselves and each other. The process through

which people make the distinction between 'us' and 'them', changes how people view themselves and each other (Hornsey, 2008, 206).

According to Naomi Ellemers (in Levine & Hogg, 2010, 797-798), SIT depend on three psychological processes that people use to define their social identity: Social Categorization, Social Comparison and Social Identification.

1) *Social Categorization:* People tend to perceive themselves and others in regards to the different groups they distinguish between. This distinction between groups and allotment to a group is called *social categorization*.
2) *Social Comparison:* People also tend to allocate different statuses to groups. Doctors may be perceived to have more social value than teachers, or vice versa. Comparing and allocating statuses is called *social comparison*.
3) *Social Identification:* Social identification refers to the personal aspects influencing our self-perception and our view of others because of the inferences we draw from group membership.

Social identity is derived from these three psychological processes (Ellemers in Levine & Hogg, 2010, 798). Social identity comprises *"those aspects of an individual's self-image that derive from social categories to which he/she belongs*" (Hornsey, 2008, 206). SIT view these processes as directly influencing motivated social behaviour (Ellemers in Levine & Hogg, 2010, 798).

3.3.2. *Motivated to Possess a Positive Social Identity – Enhancing In-Group Status*

According to SIT individuals are motivated to possess a positive self-concept, not just at a personal level but also at a group level. *"Striving for a positive social identity, group members are motivated to think and act in ways that achieve or maintain a positive distinctiveness between one's own group and relevant out-groups. It was this process that was presumed to underpin real world instances of intergroup differentiation and out-group derogation"* (Hornsey, 2008, 207).

SIT recognizes that within a group there is a hierarchy of difference in member status and power. Much of the earlier research was spent on underlining the different strategies individual

group members may employ to claw their way back to a positive social identity (Hornsey, 2008, 207). SIT use people's motivation for a positive social identity to explain intergroup conflict because *"members of disadvantaged groups strive for the improvement of their group's position and social standing, whereas members of advantaged groups are motivated to protect and maintain their privileged position."* (Ellemers in Levine & Hogg, 2010, 799).

The strategy taken by an individual will depend on many factors, *"including the extent to which the boundaries between groups were seen to be permeable, and the extent to which the status differences are perceived to be stable and/or legitimate*" (Hornsey, 2008, 207).

3.3.3. *Social Identity Allows Fluidity.*

If a particular social identity is permeable, people can move between different group identities with ease, but if people are bound by a specific identity they will employ different strategies to obtain a positive identity. Group status, its stability and legitimacy, determines the positivity of the group identity. What is important in SIT is the perception of the in-group member informed by way of social comparison. What he/she believes about the permeability, status and legitimacy of a particular social identity in relation to an out-group will determine the positivity of a particular social identity.

In SIT, there is a parallel continuum of different social belief systems that varies between the ability to move freely between groups (*individual belief system*) and the idea that in-group status can change (*social change belief system*) (Ellemers in Levine & Hogg, 2010, 799). This continuum helps to explain the different strategies group members may adopt to buttress their social status.

1) *Individual Belief System:* If people believe that they are not restricted by their group status but rather judged individually, they will feel less need to enhance their social identity. Beliefs about the permeability of the social identity status awarded by a group will influence the strategies that an individual will take to enhance his/her social status (Ellemers in Levine & Hogg, 2010, 799).
2) *Social Change Belief System:* Influenced by the belief an individual will hold about the changeability of the in-group status in relation to the out-group(s). Beliefs about the stability (how safe is our status) and legitimacy (is it deserved) of group status will

affect the strategies individual will take to secure a positive social identity (Ellemers in Levine & Hogg, 2010, 799).

3.3.4. *Three Main Strategies to Counter Challenges to Group Status*

SIT identified three main strategies individuals may adopt to counter the challenges posed by their beliefs about their group status to their social identity: Individual mobility, social competition and social creativity (Ellemers in Levine & Hogg, 2010, 799).

1) *Individual mobility:* Individuals will try to physically or psychologically disassociate with the devalued group and seek inclusion or association with a valued group (Ellemers in Levine & Hogg, 2010, 799).
2) *Social Competition:* Individuals will participate or instigate a collective effort to enhance the group status (Ellemers in Levine & Hogg, 2010, 799).
3) *Social Creativity:* Individuals will adopt creative strategies to counter situations when improvements in status is not permissible (impermeable, stable and legitimate). Creative strategies include: (1) seeking different dimensions for comparison; (2) seeking to re-evaluate intragroup qualities to enhance group self-perceptions; (3) Seeking to compare with another group to enhance status (Ellemers in Levine & Hogg, 2010, 800).

3.4. SELF-CATEGORIZATION THEORY (SCT)

The cognitive element of SIT focused on the *inter*group process while SCT was developed to elaborate the cognitive element of the *intra*group process involved in categorization. People have access to a fast array of different social identities and SCT was developed to explain *"what determines which particular identity will become the basis for self-categorization in any one context"* (Hornsey, 2008, 208).

Turner developed SCT to explain the cognitive mechanism underpinning the personal- vs. social identity continuum of SIT. How people develop a social identity (Turner & Reynolds, 2012, 4). Initially, self-categorization was developed to explain how an individual defines (self-stereotype) him/herself more in group terms. In SCT this process is called depersonalization.

3.4.1. Depersonalization – Employing a Social Identity to Formulate and Maintain the Self-Concept.

Depersonalization in SCT explains the shift away from utilizing interpersonal resources towards accessing intergroup resources in the formulation and maintenance of the self-concept (Hornsey, 2008, 209). Depersonalization is helpful in understanding a range of group processes such as cohesion, influence and conformity (Hornsey, 2008, 209). *"It was argued that it is 'the cognitive redefinition of the self – from unique attributes and individual differences to shared social category memberships and associated stereotypes – that mediates group behaviour"* (Turner & Reynolds, 2012, 4).

In the self-categorization/depersonalization process people are no longer represented by their individual characteristics but, rather, *"as embodiments of the relevant prototype"* (Hogg & Terry, 2000, 123). *"Proponents of SCT argue that people cognitively represent their social groups in terms of prototypes. When a category becomes salient, people come to see themselves and other category members less as individuals and more as interchangeable exemplars of the group prototype"* (Hornsey, 2008, 208).

Although depersonalization is helpful to individuals to distinguish between 'us' and 'them' and functional because it prescribes in-group appropriate behaviour, it is distinct from dehumanization and discrimination. The goal is not dehumanization or discrimination per sé, but rather functional and positive distinction (Hogg & Terry, 2000, 123).

Depersonalization is descriptive of the mechanism through which value distinctions are made between 'us' and 'them'. In this process, the prototype is utilized as the measuring tool. It does not just aid self-perception, helping in-group members to know who they are and how they should act, but also aids out-group identification, who is not us and how to behave (or not behave) towards them and to anticipate their behaviour (Rhodes, 2013, 15).

3.4.2. The Group Prototype – Modelling Identity and Behaviour

The group prototype is constructed by a *"subjective sense of the defining attributes of a social category that fluctuates according to context"* (Hornsey, 2008, 209). *"Prototypes are stored in memory but are constructed, maintained, and modified by features of the immediate or more enduring social interactive context"* (Hogg & Terry, 2000, 124).

This structures the group identity (who we are), which prescribes to the individual which attitudes, emotions and behaviours are appropriate for each given context (Hornsey, 2008, 208-209). *"Prototypes are typically not checklists of attributes but, rather, fuzzy sets that capture the context-dependent features of group membership, often in the form of representations of exemplary members or ideal types (an abstraction of group features)"* (Hogg & Terry, 2000, 123).

Researchers using the self-categorization or self-stereotyping process relaxed their focus on social cohesion or social inclusiveness to focus more on intergroup relations (Hogg in Levine & Hogg, 2010, 729). Categories, build around the prototype, enhance entitativity (degree of clear definition and distinction) and form in such a way that the balance in inter-class similarities and intra-class differences are maximized. This principle of social comparison is known as the meta-contrast ratio (Hogg in Levine & Hogg, 2010, 729).

3.4.3. The Usefulness of a Social Category – Accessibility and Fit

In SCT the usefulness of a category in any given context, will be determined by both *fit* and *accessibility*. *Fit* revers to the degree that a social category will fit a person's perception of social reality. *Comparative fit* will be determined by how much the meta-contrast ratio exemplifies social reality in the eye of the perceiver. Fit is also dependent on the degree to which social behaviour is perceived to fit stereotypical expectations. This is known as *normative fit*, (Hornsey, 2008, 208).

Apart from fit, a particular category must also be accessible to the individual to form a basis for self-definition. SCT distinguishes between categories that are fleetingly and chronically accessible. Categories become chronically accessible when they are frequently activated by their persistent presence as a social construct or when people are frequently motivated to use them. Other categories are less frequent and are only accessed when they are primed in a specific context (Hornsey, 2008, 208).

When a particular social category is accessible to the individual and fits his/her social perception, then that specific category will help the individual to make sense of his/her social reality to his/her own satisfaction. This enables an individual to elucidate and maintain

functional stereotypes and develop and conserve his/her social identity as part of his/her self-concept.

Gender and race categorizations have proven to be particularly salient because they are chronically accessible and possess strong social constructs that informs a prevalent meta-contrast. These categories inform stereotypes which provide certain stereotypical expectations that function as a perceptual less through which the perceiver then 'reads' and understands reality. *"It appears that what we see is very much determined by the concepts that come to mind easily (accessibility) and their expected appropriateness (normative fit)"* (Van Knippenberg & Dijksterhuis, 2000, 117).

3.4.4. Salience of Ethnicity – A Dominant Prototype of Symbolic Meaning

According to Hogg (in Levine & Hogg, 2010, 730), the tendency of people to adopt more favourable in-group prototypes than out-group prototypes, represents ethnocentrism. This is in line with SIT, in that people are motivated to use their in-group identity to enhance their social identity. *"Ethnocentrism exists because of the correspondence, through social identification and self-categorization, between how the group is evaluated and how we are evaluated."* (Hogg, in Levine & Hogg, 2010, 730)

In line with the social identity approach, Van Knippenberg and Dijksterhuis (2000,117-119) understand social categorization as the subjective classification of people into a symbolic group that holds meaning for the perceiver to the degree that it co-varies with characteristics of the people or events the category represents.

It becomes clear that racial-ethnic identities are particularly prone to form strong social identities, that is they usually represent a clearly distinct social category that inadvertently lead to stereotyping.

3.5. STEREOTYPE ACTIVATION AND APPLICATION IN THE SOCIAL IDENTITY APPROACH

In social psychology, the view is still prevalent that stereotypes are automatically activated. (Devine, 1989, 5). This is in line with the functional approach to social categorization and stereotyping of Van Knippenberg and Dijksterhuis (2000, 124-125), who *"see social category*

activation and stereotype activation as conditionally automatic processes, that is, they tend to get activated when whatever we are doing at the time requires the sort of information stereotypes offer (e.g. knowledge about category members' traits or stereotypical expectations)", while they also conclude that in other task situations, in which the stereotypic information is utterly irrelevant, stereotype activation may be suppressed.

Although stereotypes are automatically activated, this does not mean they are automatically applied because activated stereotype content may also be actively suppressed. As Van Knippenberg and Dijksterhuis, (2000, 127) attest: *"negative stereotypes are maybe not always applied simply because people do not want their judgements and behaviour to be (or appear) biased and prejudiced. The latter suggests that stereotype application is not just a function of task requirements and resources, but also of higher order goals (e.g., social desirability or social approval)"*.

When a social category is activated it makes pertinent stereotypical content (traits) cognitively accessible for processing. These traits inform an individual about a category member. This is helpful to the individual in knowing how to behave and what sort of behaviour to expect. Functioning of stereotypes: People learn these traits through social constructs and experiences when there is high inter-category difference (high central tendency) and low intra-category similarity (low variability) (Knippenberg and Dijksterhuis, 2000, 128). In the mind of the perceiver, high central tendency occurs when there is something very distinctive about a group and their members when compared to other groups, while low variability occurs when members of a particular group seem to possess the same trait(s).

3.6. WHY STEREOTYPES PERSIST?

Social categories and stereotype content enable individuals to interact effectively with their social reality. For this to be true, stereotypes need to provide and individual with reliable information about his/her social reality. Stereotypes therefore need to be both accessible and fit in with social reality, as delineated in SCT. This is complicated because of the relativity of social reality. In most social categories, there will be some degree of variability. Prototypes are 'fussy' abstractions as Hogg (in Levine and Hogg, 2010, 729) describes them. Stereotypes therefore need to possess mechanisms for self-preservation, otherwise they will lose their effectiveness.

Van Knippenberg and Dijksterhuis (2000, 133-134) describe the mechanism that render stereotypes resistant to change through stereotype maintenance. Stereotypes function as filtering devices. When a social category is activated the stereotype content (traits) becomes more cognitively accessible while counter-stereotype content becomes inhibited. This is an automated process in two basic parts: (1) The stimulus of one memory gives rise to the stimulus of a line of other memories which form a perceptual pattern of (re)cognition making the stereotype content more accessible. (2) While stereotypical traits become more accessible, the mind will also filter out counter-stereotypical information through cognitive inhibition to help the mind make sense of social reality. *"The facilitated accessibility of stereotypic traits and the inhibited accessibility of counter stereotypic traits lead automatically to biased perception, biased inferences, biased judgements and biased retrieval. Importantly, all these processes are biased in a stereotype-confirming manner."* (Van Knippenberg & Dijksterhuis, 2000, 134).

Van Knippenberg and Dijksterhuis (2000, 134-137), provide three biases that effectively help to maintain stereotypes and may effectively protect them against change:

1) *Stereotypes are maintained through biased perception*: The more accessible a social category becomes, the easier it becomes to stimulate the perceptual pattern of memories associated with it. This becomes more automated and needs less stimulation to put in motion. Chronically accessible categories such as race or gender only need implicit or subtle stimulation to activate stereotypical perception of social reality. *"…upon category activation people need less stimulus input to detect stereotypic information."* (Van Knippenberg & Dijksterhuis, 2000, 135).
2) *Stereotypes are also maintained through biased inferences and judgements*. Any specific social happenstance may be interpreted in a variety of different ways. How social reality will be judged will be in part, determined by stereotype content. Stereotypes create the functional interpretation of social reality. Thus, the perceptual pattern of thoughts stimulated by the activation of a particular stereotype will have a controlling effect on the traits used to interpret the social happenstance. In this way stereotypes help individuals to make inferences and judge the "fussy" social reality they encounter.
3) *Stereotypes are maintained through biased memory*. Memory is also influenced by stereotype-confirming mechanisms after stereotype activation. Memories are

constructed by fusing new memories with old memories. In this proses stereotype content also affect what perception of social happenings will be remembered (or inhibited) and how this new information will be stored (categorized). This will determine what is retrieved when memories are activated.

Fyock and Stangor (1994), in a meta-analysis of 26 confirming studies, found the predicted hypothesis true that *"stereotypes are self-maintaining at least in part because people tend to remember expectancy-confirming (versus expectancy-disconfirming) information about social groups."*

4. CONCLUSION

There is a strong suggestion that in the cases of gender and race automatic activation of stereotype content does affects judgements, even in those perceivers who hold egalitarian beliefs (Van Knippenberg & Dijksterhuis, 2000, 127).

This is in line with modern perspectives on racism that identifies more subtle forms of racial bias in even the most well-intentioned of people. These contemporary forms of racial prejudice can be unconscious or subconscious, thus function without conscious realization (Dovidio, 2001, 846).

There are, however studies that suggest that there may be some individual differences related to prejudice. Van Knippenberg and Dijksterhuis (2000, 127) explain these individual differences by suggesting that *"even the spontaneous cognitive activation of the social category in question may not occur (or may occur less) in participants who do not have a priori beliefs about pertinent inter-category differences (i.e., who do not endorse the stereotypes in question)."*

I take from their perspective that those *who do not endorse the stereotypes in question,* mean that these individuals will not depersonalize and adopt strong social identities constructed around the particular category content or prototype. That is, they will not self-categorize or categorize others according to racial identities.

Not holding a priori believes of the racial other will be difficult in a South African context where racial categorization remains institutionalized. The report of the department of Arts and Culture have concluded that this is one of the main stumbling blocks towards reconciliation and social cohesion in the South African context: *"The remnants of racism remain visible in the spatial divisions of human settlements"* (2012, 31).

It becomes clear that racial-ethnic identities are particularly prone to form strong social identities, that is they usually represent a clearly distinct social category that inadvertently lead to stereotyping.

Another consequence of racial-ethnic social identities is that they seem to be very persistent. Where these rigid racial social identities remain strong, racial prejudice inadvertently seem to remain present, even in those individuals who think they are holding egalitarian beliefs about others.

In the South African context of intergroup conflict, social cohesion and reconciliation will be severely obstructed while strong ethnic group identities persist. Churches intrenched in strong ethnic group identities will therefore also struggle to contribute towards reconciliation and social cohesion.

CHAPTER 3

MOTIVATED TO PROTECT GROUP STATUS VS. PROSOCIAL GROUP BEHAVIOUR

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter elaborates on the motivational drives behind social identity, how strong group identities are formed and what the consequence of a strong in-group social identity entail for helping members of the out-group.

I firstly describe what motivates the construction and maintenance of a positive social or in-group self-concept. The literature argues that construction and maintenance of group social status is strongly motivated under conditions of uncertainty and conflict. I also add to this argument from the evolutionary perspective of tribal-instinct. According to tribal-instinct, people instinctively form certain alliances by adopting a tribal mentality and instinctively hold prejudice against others. In particular, tribal alliance argue that prejudice is activated by encountering the racial other. The point is that strong in-group identity (a tribal mentality) forms and become pronounced in intergroup relations in the context of uncertainty and conflict. Particularly in inter-racial intergroup interaction.

In the later part of this chapter we turn to the psychology of intergroup prosocial behaviour. This will help us to understand how across group helping function in intergroup situations where strong in-group social identities are located. Strong social identities influence the motivation for helping out-group members. Out-group helping seems to be motivated by meeting some in-group need(s) and is therefore not truly altruistic, even detrimental to the recipients of help.

I end this chapter by arguing that across group helping can be considered a form of objectification. This is a mechanistic consequence of across group helping in a context where strong social identities function. Objectification entail a twofold process by firstly identifying a person or group as a symbolic other in the mind of the preserver and, secondly, when the

other is then made subservient to satisfy in-group needs through the help provided by an in-group member that may be detrimental to the out-group recipient of help.

2. MOTIVATED TO FAVOUR AND PROTECT IN-GROUP STATUS

As stated earlier, SIT proposes that social comparison is integral to the process of group identity formation. People tend to differentiate in-group from out-group members in a biased manner *"because social identity derives its valence from the evaluative properties of one's own group relative to other groups"* (Abrams & Hogg, 1988, 317). Favourable intergroup comparison validates social identity, which is motivated by self-evaluation (This is the good we represent) and by self-enhancement (This is why we are better). In classic SIT the drive behind these two motives is the need for positive self-esteem (a positive social identity).

In SCT, depersonalization is the basic process that facilitates a change in self-conceptualization and the conceptualization of others in group terms. It is the process whereby social identity aids self-conceptualization and prototypes delineate the content of the social categories constructed, because people seek to maximize entitativity and a favourable balance in the meta-contrast ratio. Self-categorization is a product of social comparison utilizing the meta-contrast ratio and entitativity (Hogg in Levine & Hogg, 2010, 729). *"In addition to being motivated by self-enhancement, social identity processes are also motivated by a need to reduce subjective uncertainty about one's perceptions, attitudes, feelings, and behaviours and, ultimately, one's self-concept and place within the social world."* (Hogg & Terry, 2000, 124).

In several tests conducted by Hogg (2000, 247-248), self-categorization proved to reduce subjective uncertainty while enhanced self-esteem rendered less convincing results. A core human motivational mechanism is uncertainty reduction about contextual matters that are important to an individual's self-concept (Hogg & Terry, 2000, 124). People are intrinsically motivated to determine and enhance their security status, both physically and psycho-socially. This is a basic survival drive inherent in social beings.

"People need to feel certain about their world and their place in it." (Hogg, 2000, 227). It is a matter of survival, knowing that what we are and what we do is satisfactory, knowing that what we think about ourselves and others is acceptable and leaves us passable. This enable us with the confidence to continue. *"Self-categorization reduces uncertainty by transforming self-*

conception and assimilating self to a prototype that describes and prescribes perceptions, attitudes, feelings, and behaviours. Because prototypes are relatively consensual, they furnish moral support and consensual validation" (Hogg & Terry, 2000, 123).

As discussed in the previous chapter, stereotyping is a mechanism to obtain certainty instead of leaving us undecided in different social encounters. This mechanism is activated when people become unsure of their in-group status.

In reducing the uncertainty brought on by the threat, the individual becomes motivated to self-measure against a symbolic prototype, that offers moral support and consensual validation. The prototype is therefore important to provide security and direction.

3. THE RIGIDITY OF SOCIAL IDENTITY IN CONFLICT – TWO ELABORATIONS.

Building on the foundation of the social identity approach, I provide two perspectives that elaborate the identity approach to further explain how group identities can become very rigid and resistant to change. The first elaboration explains how deep-seated emotional schemata develop in conflict that enlarge entitativity. The second elaboration provides evolutionary insight that, towards specific groups, people may tap into primal instincts that will enlarge entitativity.

3.1. INTRACTABLE CONFLICT AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF A WAR ETHOS

For any struggle to persist for a long time, people need to find the motivation and agency for continuation. According to The Oxford International Encyclopaedia of Peace, *"intractable conflict occurs when destructive conflict endures for a long time while meaningful attempts at conflict resolution failed*" (Young, 2010, 486).

According to Daniel Bar-Tal (2007, 1430), people caught up in intractable conflict face certain challenges. These challenges are: (1) to satisfy the needs of the in-group; (2) to cope with the stress of conflict; and (3) to withstand the enemy. To meet these challenges, *"Societies develop appropriate socio-psychological infrastructure"*, which enables groups to persist in the enterprise of conflict. The emotional energy is marshalled through the establishment of an ethos of conflict which constitutes this socio-psychological infrastructure. *"This infrastructure fulfils*

important individual and collective level functions, including the important role of formation, maintenance, and strengthening of a social identity that reflects this conflict." (D Bar-Tal, 2007, 1430). This also includes the formation of an out-group identity bias that helps the in-group members to vilify the enemy and justify themselves (D Bar-Tal, 2000, 353).

The problem with such an infrastructure, according to D Bar-Tal (2007, 1430), is that *"it becomes hegemonic, rigid, and resistant to change as long as the intractable conflict continues. It ends up serving as a major factor fuelling the continuation of the conflict, thus becoming part of a vicious cycle of intractable conflict".*

In conflict, individuals adopt a socio-psychological infrastructure, which is constructed by collective memory and group identity, rooted in the experiences brought about by conflict itself. New generations are born into these identities and become the inheritors of the shared memories that shape the ethos of conflict. Ethos is *"the configuration of shared societal beliefs that provide a particular dominant orientation to a society"* (D Bar-Tal, 2007, 1438), thus an ethos of conflict provides a particular dominant orientation for a society that shapes the goals, gives direction, establishes group identity and demonizes the enemy in times of conflict.

3.2. A TRIBAL PERSPECTIVE – TRIBAL ALLIANCE HYPOTHESIS

Vugt & Park (2010, 20) provide an interesting hypothesis from evolutionary psychology called the Tribal Instinct Hypothesis. *"It assumes that our tribal psychology is the result of a long history of intense intergroup rivalry and competition, a history that shaped the way we think and behave in intergroup contexts."* (Vugt & Park, 2010, 20). The natural formation of in-group vs. out-group categorizations is enhanced by a history of strife for survival. People form symbolic social bonds (alliances) with others based on *tribal-instinct*. Tribal instinct is the psychological mechanism that aids humans to form coalitions, to compete and cooperate with a particular out-group in a specific context to serve tribal needs (Vugt & Park, 2010, 20).

Tribal instinct elaborates on the social identity approach, by emphasizing that group loyalty can exceed intergroup status, by including basic survival strategies that have come to incorporate mechanism to form coalitions, in order to dominate and exploit others. These mechanisms developed over time and only function when individuals are confronted by out-

group members that conform to specific tribal out-group characteristics imbedded in humans as an evolutionary instinct.

"In modern environments, heuristic cues such as skin colour, speech patterns and linguistic labels… may activate these mechanisms." (Vugt & Park, 2010, 20). According to this theory certain out-groups may then be much harder to reconcile with because they *"tap into the psychology of tribal alliances, and, thus prejudice against such out-groups is, not surprisingly, highly resistant to intervention… (but) do not imply that reducing intergroup conflict is hopeless"* (Vugt & Park, 2010, 31).

Vugt and Park (2010, 15-18) provide some interesting behavioural traits associated with a tribal mentality. From the tribal perspective humans are unique in (1) forming deep emotional attachments to anonymous in-group members. These emotional attachment (2) equips humans with the ability to empathize with specific out-group members. (3) They will feel good when the in-group or a symbolic in-group member performs well and disappointed when the in-group fails. (4) Humans will be inclined to dislike in-group members who are disloyal to group interests. (5) They will also naturally distrust out-group members and trust in-group members based on stereotypical assumptions. (6) Confronted with an out-group that taps into tribal instinct, in-group members find it easy to morally justify aggressive actions against out group members.

This *"hypothesis provide new insight into why certain kinds of intergroup settings arouse especially strong responses among people, and why those responses so often involve fear, danger-relevant stereotypic beliefs, and desire to avoid out-group members if at all possible."* (Vugt & Park, 2010, 31).

Later in this study the probable tribal or enclaved mentality of the DRC Afrikaner will be discussed as a very rigid social identity constructed around a reformed Christian prototype in the context of uncertainty and intractable conflict.

4. UNDERSTANDING PROSOCIAL GROUP BEHAVIOUR

In the volume edited by Stefan Stürmer and Mark Snyder (2010) called the 'The Psychology of Prosocial Behaviour' they discuss the recent research on prosocial behaviour. Part of the

new line of research is the coming together of the inter-individual perspective on prosocial behaviour and research on group processes and intergroup relation. In prosocial behaviour, the intergroup dimensions of helping were neglected while the research on group processes tended to focus more on the negative side of intergroup interaction, vis conflict and discrimination. These new insights elaborate on the social identity approach by focusing attention on the dynamics of across group helping (Stümer & Snyder, 2010, 4).

4.1. A TENDENCY TO BE MORE CONCERNED WITH IN-GROUP WELLBEING THAN OUT-GROUP HELPING.

Psychologists generally regard true altruism with severe scepticism. This is even more applicable to intergroup relations, as Stephen Right and Norann Richard (2010, 311) states: *"In fact, psychology offers a plethora of theoretical explanations for why we should avoid providing assistance to out-groups and their members, including evolutionary and genetic predispositions, basic cognitive and motivational processes, justice principles and political ideology, and even existential angst and fear of death."*

Denying these impediments to across group helping, says Wright and Richard (2010, 333) *"would simply be foolish, as the evidence for these numerous obstacles is strong…"*. This does by no means imply that people do not help out-group members, in fact *"acts of assistance and helping across groups are commonplace."* (Wright & Richard, 2010, 334). It is rather a question of understanding why people help out group members.

As advocated by the social identity approach to intergroup relations, people are naturally more concerned about their own in-group members. Stürmer and Snyder (2010, 6) quote Gordan Allport who stated that: *"even though humans may be thought of as "tribal" – and there do seem to be plenty of reasons to assume that they are – their preferential attachment to the in-group does not necessarily imply negativity or hostility toward out-groups, but rather a general concern for the in-group's well-being".*

4.2. HELPING WHEN IT IS MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL

This concern for the wellbeing of the in-group, may in the long term, motivate the construction of peace and the building of trust between groups for mutual benefit. Competition with other groups are therefore not the only way to serve in-group needs (Stürmer & Snyder, 2010, 6).

Vugt and Park (2010, 31-32) affirm that humans indeed have abundant *"... psychological mechanisms for peace-making and peacekeeping between groups…"*, while they also warn that many kinds of modern groups still *"tap into the psychology of tribal alliances, and thus, prejudice against such out-groups is, not surprisingly, highly resistant to intervention".*

Form a social identity approach it is understandable that, although peace and trust may have long term benefits, this does not always explain intergroup behaviour. Saucier, McManus and Smith (2010, 110) stress that when an in-group member find him/herself in a situation where he/she may help an out-group member, where there is a strong category distinction such as race and gender, then in-group members are more likely to discriminate against out-group members by not helping when the situation *"have characteristics that would make a decision not to help justifiable."* This implies that a justifiable reason may hide explicit racial prejudice, because overtly prejudiced people will grab any justifiable excuse not to help or to avoid interracial contact (Pettigrew, 1998, 65).

4.3. MOTIVATED TO HELP WHEN THE OTHER BECOMES PART OF SELF-CONCEPTUALISATION.

Wright and Richard (2010, 335) proposed that situational ambiguity creates uncertainty, that can lead to apathy and the tendency not to help, because people may not know how to act. They argue that this uncertainty is likely to be much greater in cases of cross-group helping. Situational ambiguity provides a positive perspective on intergroup relations and propose that advantaged group members may help members of a "*disadvantaged out-group when they perceive the situation as clearly discriminatory". They will also provide greater support when the ambiguity …is reduced."* (Wright & Richard, 2010, 335).

However, this change when the advantaged group members are encouraged to focus on their own in-group, then advantaged group members no longer perceive the favourable context as unjust and become unlikely to make demands for change. *"It appears that while situational ambiguity can effectively undermine cross-group helping, it is also possible that contextual variables that clarify the situation can be particularly effective in increasing out-group assistance and support."* (Wright & Richard, 2010, 335).

Strong in-group-out-group distinctions affect cross group helping and social cohesion mostly in a negative way. This trend changes when people start to include the out-group in their self-concept, for instance as a friend with whom they have a close personal relationship. This may *"lead to strong support for out-group interests and genuine assistance to out-group members"* (Wright & Richard, 2010, 334).

This is in line with what the social identity approach advocates, in that a strong superordinate identity can supersede subgroup identities and therefore strengthen social cohesion (Brewer, 2010, 117). Wright and Richard (2010, 334) "*propose what may be a basic underlying process through which out-groups and their members can be seen as attractive possibilities for self-expansion. Thus, self-expansion motives and inclusion of the out-group in the self may represent antagonistic processes to the many other psychological processes that lead us to avoid and fear out-groups*."

4.4. MOTIVATION AND CONSEQUENCES OF OUT-GROUP HELPING

Stürmer and Snyder (2010, 58) suggest that helping the out-group involves different motivations. From the perspective brought on by the growing occurrence of volunteerism, Van Leeuwen and Täuber (2010, 81-82) insist that this form of prosocial behaviour is dependent on volunteers also benefitting from their involvement, because volunteers decide how long they will help and this decision rests in part on how much volunteering will meet their own needs. In their paper they provide a short list of these benefits:

a) being involved in activities that are valued by important others;
b) having the opportunity to serve others helps volunteers to reduce their guilt for being more fortunate;
c) a mechanism for self-esteem enhancement as predicted by the social identity approach;
d) new learning experiences with career benefits.

In line with the social identity approach, Van Leeuwen and Täuber (2010, 82), state that when the context is shifted from an interpersonal to intergroup context, then the groups needs become more salient. Groups do work together but, "*The need for positive distinctiveness, which is often achieved through intergroup competition, thus needs to be met within the overarching framework of interdependence and intergroup cooperation. This mutual dependency requires members from different groups to collaborate – for example by sharing information and*

exchanging help when necessary. However, these acts of cooperation may be driven, in part, by more strategic or in-group-serving motives, which stem from the need for independence and positive distinctiveness." (Van Leeuwen and Täuber, 2010, 82) They identifies three strategic motivations that serve in-group needs in out-group helping.

4.4.1. Power and Autonomy

The first in-group helping strategy that will be discussed, is the power obtained by helping and the threat it poses to the need for autonomy of the one being helped. People or groups in need of help, lose a measure of autonomy because there is something they cannot do for themselves and therefore need to depend on someone else. This influences the power dynamics in helping behaviour. Power is defined as the ability to effect influence over others, while autonomy is related to the degree of self-governance (independence) (Van Leeuwen & Täuber, 2010, 84).

Van Leeuwen and Täber (2010, 84) refer to a study of Nadler and Harpaz-Gorodeisky that show that the dependence of the out-group on the help of the in-group demonstrates the greater worth of the in-group, because their help is needed. They further show that help that was unsolicited, inadvertently demonstrates that the one being helped is less capable. In this way, a power differential is portrayed by helping behaviour, that provides power to the helper and threatens the autonomy of the one being helped.

They also sketch situations of helping that is empowering to the one being helped. The difference is related to the conditions under which the help is given and who is giving the help, and most importantly the freedom of the person in need to choose who and what kind of help they want. *"As autonomy is undermined by forces experienced as alien or pressuring, the experience of a need for help could undermine autonomy when the person in need feels she has little choice in matters such as whether she seeks help, who she seeks help from, and what type of help she may receive."* (Van Leeuwen & Täuber, 2010, 85).

Van Leeuwen and Täber (2010, 85-86) explain the consequences of reduced autonomy because the exchange did not meet the criteria of mutual respect, did not provide the freedom of choice and contained the suspension of ulterior motives: *"The costs of a reduced sense of autonomy are well documented and include reduced performance on tasks that require complicated or*

creative capabilities, ego-depletion, less satisfaction of intrinsic needs, and the experience of poor relationship quality."

4.4.2. Meaning and existence

When a group or individual help another, they gain a sense of meaningfulness and purpose. *"As helping implies a dependency relationship between the aid-recipient and the aid-giver, helping can serve as a tool to provide meaning to one's existence. It follows from this that when the meaningfulness of one's identity is threatened, helping can be used to restore it."* (Van Leeuwen & Täuber, 2010, 87). In this sense, helping can become strategic because it can provide existential legitimization to the helper's status as the helper.

Here the recipient only has meaning to the degree that the recipient provides opportunity to the helper to hold meaning. The recipients cannot actively pursue meaning in such a relationship and holds a secondary position.

4.4.3. Impression Management

Help can become a very effective tool to advance group image by creating a favourable group impression. Van Leeuwen and Täuber (2010, 88-89) explain that this involves both warmth and competence which form part of the stereotype content model as an elaboration on the social identity approach. In this model warmth and competence are understood as the primary dimensions underlying stereotyping. That is, both warmth and competence illicit positive emotions and behaviours in others regarded as in-group members. In-groups are perceived in a favourable (competent and warm) way while out-groups are thought of as less competent and warm.

Both warmth and competence can be shown through helping others as Van Leeuwen and Täuber (2010, 89) explain, *"…helping can be an act of communication through which people can demonstrate their generosity to doubting others"*. Several studies mentioned by them provide evidence that people are motivated to strategically enhance their in-group status through helping.

In this relationship the helper possesses the means to communicate warmth and competence while the recipient is stripped of warmth and competence, being rendered inferior and in need of out-group generosity and assistance.

In conclusion, there may be more motives for helping out-group members while these three should also be understood as interrelated. Also, these motives may not be chronic, in that people may not be chronically motivated to help others as a means to enhance group identity by showing their worth because they hold the power to afford help or by enhancing identity by justifying their existence or promote a positive group image. But when the group status is threatened, people may become motivated to enhance their in-group identity (Van Leeuwen & Täuber, 2010, 96).

5. OBJECTIFYING THE OTHER

Although objectification is a term that is usually used with reverence to the way women are treated as objects instead of people, I am using the term in intergroup relations to refer to a strong in-group out-group distinction and help that is offered to the out-group as a strategy that serves in-group needs.

Immanuel Kant was the philosopher who introduced the term. *"Kant argued that the risk of objectification is present in all sexual encounters, where a person can become merely a need-satisfying ''object of appetite''."* (Loughan, Haslam, Murnane, Vaes, Reynolds & Suitner, 2010, 709). In Kant's view people lose a part of their humanity when they are only used as an object.

The other influential thinker on this topic, Nussbaum, *"elaborated this idea, arguing that objectification has many facets, some of which are more morally problematic than others. Treating a person as an object is especially troubling when certain human characteristics are denied (i.e., autonomy, subjectivity, agency)."* (Loughan, Haslam, Murnane, Vaes, Reynolds & Suitner, 2010, 709).

From these two standpoints, (Loughan, Haslam, Murnane, Vaes, Reynolds & Suitner, 2010, 709) understand that objectification has two key features: Emphasis on the target's instrumentality and denial of their humanness or personhood.

I argue that the depersonalization process in SCT and the identity distinction motive behind SIT, denies others an equal standing with the in-group because in-group members are motivated to make a positive distinction. That is, they are inclined to make a positive in-group distinction in relation to an out-group. The balanced and ease with which people will try to assert the positive distinctions, will be dependent on how strong the social identity is, how accessible it is, how well it fits the context and how much individuals are motivated to enhance their group status.

Secondly, I argue that in line with the psychology of prosocial in-group behaviour, out-group help serves in-group needs. Thus, in a diverse society with strong ethnic social identities, help of out-group members may well be understood as objectification. That is the use of others to serve in-group needs in a way that strips the other of individual characteristics and renders them subservient. This is strengthened when considering the dire effect of helping may have on the recipient.

Objectification is the sum of a twofold process. The first part is when someone is made into a *symbolic other*. That is, when people depersonalize themselves by identifying with an in-group (adopt a social identity) while also depersonalizing an other, they identify with an out-group. This distinction between in-group and out-group members is then enhanced in an in-group favouring way through entitativity motivated by the need for self-enhancement. Thus, the other is created as a symbolic representation of an out-group filled with symbolic content by the perceiver that functions to maintain the in-group status. In this way a clear and distinct stereotype other is created. A symbolic other.

In the second part of the process of objectification, the symbolic other is rendered *subservient to in-group needs.* The other then becomes an object when he/she is engaged or used, even helped in a way that renders them subservient to satisfying in-group needs, which may possibly hold detrimental consequences for the recipient.

In this chapter, I described how a social identity is constructed and when an individual will function under his/her group identity. In this chapter I described the consequences that a strong social identity holds for prosocial intergroup behaviour. I understand role identity as the role

adopted by a particular in-group in their relation to an out-group as informed and influenced by their social identity. That is, that the social-identity and in-group prototype will inform group behaviour and this identity will also influence the way others are helped.

6. CONCLUSION

In the previous chapter, I concluded that racial-ethnic identities are particularly prone to form strong social identities and that they usually represent a clearly distinct social category that inadvertently lead to stereotyping and hinders the reconciliation and social cohesion process. Such a social identity is constructed around a symbolic prototype.

In this chapter I tried to delineate that people are motivated to enhance their in-group social status as an extension of their self-concept. They are motivated to maintain, even enhance their in-group social status. This is especially true when they become uncertain about their group status.

Social identity becomes further entrenched in the context of intractable conflict and I added to this argument by discussing the development of tribal-instinct that advance the formation of a tribal or enclaved mentality.

After describing the development of a rigid social identity – a tribal mentality, I turned to understanding what it may entail for intergroup helping. It becomes clear that intergroup helping is influenced by strong social identities. This entail that the motivation to help out-group members, function strategically to satisfy an in-group need. Such help also hold certain detrimental consequences for the out-group recipient of the help.

I then concluded the chapter, by arguing form a social-psychological perspective, that intergroup helping in the context of a strong in-group identity leads to objectification. A twofold process that produce a symbolic other that is rendered subservient to satisfy the helpers needs at a cost to the recipient.

In an intergroup context, where group identity distinguishes in an in-group favouring way, and helping functions to serve in-group needs, the other then becomes objectified. Objectification

will be enhanced by subjective uncertainty, more so in times of intractable conflict and when tribal-instinct is activated.

The question is now posed to the DRC, to what degree does the DRC poses a rigid ethnic social identity and how does that affect their 'helping' behaviour towards the racial-ethnic other?

What is the role identity of the DRC in relation to the social other? We now turn to the past to determine the social identity and group prototype of the DRC as it has developed. This will help us to delineate the substance and rigidity of the in-group social identity of the DRC before we investigate the effect of this rigid identity on their relationship with the racial other.

CHAPTER 4

DRC ROLE IDENTITY – CONSTRUCTION OF AN AFRIKANER SOCIAL IDENTITY AROUND A RELIGIOUS PROTOTYPE

1. INTRODUCTION

In the next two chapters, I will provide a historical analysis of how the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) have developed their social role identity. This chapter will provide a historical analysis of how the DRC developed a rigid, racial-ethnic social identity around a religious prototype. The next chapter will provide an analysis of how this their social identity influenced their helping role that rendered the racial other "an object" of evangelization, development and contrition.

In this chapter, I will apply the social identity approach as a hermeneutical lens to elucidate the development of an Afrikaner social identity as it developed in contrast with specific influential out groups: The Roman Catholic other, the racial other and the British Imperialist other.

Social identity theories argue that in-group members are motivated to enhance their group status, as this is a central feature of intergroup relations. As predicted by the social identity approach, in-group members seek a positive group status and they are particularly motivated to do so when their status is being threatened.

I will argue that Afrikaners construct a positive social identity based on a religious distinction that sets the Afrikaner apart from other groups which function as a status enhancement tool. This self-serving self-distinction tool affected the ecclesiology and theology of the DRC which rendered them blind to their own hubris.

2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AFRIKANER SOCIAL IDENTITY ON RELIGIOUS GROUNDS

Julia Aaboe (2007, 18), in her doctoral thesis, state that the Afrikaner identity in South Africa has developed in relation to several cultural others. Although she defines these others in cultural terms, working from a sociological perspective, they also constitute distinct out-groups in the

minds of Afrikaner people and therefore function as cognitively accessible social categories. These others represent a very distinct social category, a meta-contrast that becomes significant for the development of the Afrikaner social identity from a psychological perspective. These out-groups provide the context for the Afrikaners to build a positive social identity by positively distinguishing themselves from the others.

2.1. THE AFRIKANER SOCIAL IDENTITY – DEVELOPING IN CONTRAST TO THE OTHER

From Aaboe (2007, 18), I take three distinct social categories or group identities that acted as a meta-contrast for the development of the Afrikaner's social identity.[2] The first is the Roman Catholics, the second is the racially distinct ethnic groups based on skin colour and lastly, the British imperialists. Social identity is context bound and I will discuss these three contrasts in relation to the Afrikaner history.

2.1.1. The Roman Catholics as the Religiously Significant Other

When the first Europeans settled at the Cape of Good Hope, they brought with them a noteworthy history. Most of Western Europe was affected by the reformation and there was a strong rift between the protestants and Catholics. The third wave of the reformation brought Calvinism to the Netherlands, a form of Protestantism. The Catholics tried to preserve the Catholicity of the Church while the reformers felt responsible to protect the church from fallacy that dominated over the sovereignty of the Bible as the Word of God, as well as the centrality of Christ as the only means of salvation. The protestant up rise was also directed against the totalitarian authority that ruled the Church. Most of western and central Europe was conflicted by religious battles until the end of the 30 Year War in 1648. At that stage the Netherlands was firmly settled as a Protestant nation. These first settlers, who came to the shores of the Cape in 1652 with Jan van Riebeeck were mostly reformed Protestants (Murphy in Ackermann, Schroeder, Terry, Upshur, & Whitters, 2008).

In 1610, a civil war broke out between two Protestant Calvinist factions, the remonstrant (Arminians) and the counter-remonstrant (Gormarists), over doctrinal issues. This war was won by the Gormarits and led to the Synod of Dort (1618-1619) and the Canons of Dort. This was

[2] In her doctoral thesis Afrikaner women are also portrayed as a significant cultural other to the Afrikaner man because the Afrikaner society was very patriarchal.

an international synod of reformers and helped to solidify Calvinism (Murphy in Ackermann, Schroeder, Terry, Upshur, & Whitters, 2008).

The Dutch settlers arrived at the Cape in a time when they had to defend their own religious identity and believes against the Roman Catholics. At a time when their own religious convictions where freshly solidified. Afrikaners through their history continued to refer to the Roman Catholics as the *Roomse gevaar*. The settlers where in a defensive mindset about their own beliefs and values.

2.1.2. The Racially Significant Other and Social Status

Jan van Riebeeck was at the Cape before[3] and supported the idea of establishing a port at the Cape of Good Hope. When the directorate of the United East India Company (VOC)[4], the Heeren XVII, asked Van Riebeeck for his advice, he suggested the following according to Pauw (2007, 61): *"that the local people "were not to be trusted and were a brutal bunch who lived without any conscience." Yet, he said, it was a good idea that they be taught Dutch and a still better idea "the propagation of our reformed Christian religion" for which a "good teacher" would be advantageous. For this reason, a fort would have to be built for protection."*

From the outset, the Dutch settlers arrived at the Cape as a cohesive group on ethnic and religious ground (Pauw, 2007, 61-62). While the Dutch where in charge of the Cape, a small proportion of Germans also came with the Dutch. The Germans were also reformed and thus became part of the in-group. Their social identity as white reformers stood, as van Riebeeck's advice suggests, in contrast to the Khoi out-group which demanded structural distinction through erecting a fort to physically distinguish and separate them from the others.

Psychologically, these others were perceived as a threat and needed to be educated and reformed. In the minds of the settlers, it seems from van Riebeeck's point of view that there was a clear distinction in group status on moral grounds because they cannot be trusted and need to be educated. The settlers therefore self-categorized as possessing a superior moral status over the *heathen* natives.

[3] He was part of a party that sailed the stranded crew of the Nieuwe Haerlem back to Holland. Their leader, Leendert Jansz, established a good relationship with the Khoi people and suggested to the Heerden XVII that a post should be established at the Cape of Good Hope to supply passing ships (Pauw, 2007, 61).

[4] VOC is the Dutch abbreviation for *Vereenigende Oostindische Compagnie* (Dutch East India Company)

Most of the settlers worked for the VOC. Some of these members stayed in the Cape after their contracts ended. They farmed and produced supplies for the ships and where known as *Vryburgers*. They grew in numbers and came into increasing conflict with the Khoi. The French Huguenots[5], who came later, also shared the protestant religious social identity with the Dutch and Germans in contrast to the indigenous Khoi and later Xhosas. Together these three groups of protestant Europeans developed as a cohesive group that became known as the Afrikaanders (Aaboe, 2007, 19).

Later, apart from the slaves that the company imported, some of the Khoi became slaves of the *Vryburgers* because the settlers took away their means of making a living as they robbed them from the opportunity to supply fresh goods for the ships – an income the Khoi become dependent on earning.

Giliomee (2003, 214) comments that the colonists (Vryburgers) *"developed an inflated notion of their status as burgers and as born Christians"* in contrast to the slave servants. In his argument, freedom for the *Vryburgers* meant freedom to own slaves. Slaves and their servility *"determined the master's honour, dignity and manhood"*.

It is clear that the positive distinction between us and them made by the *Vryburgers* were aimed at self-enhancement, at enhancing their in-group status in relation to the slaves.

2.1.3. The British Imperialists as the Oppressive Other

The Dutch gave the Cape over to the British after 143 years under the VOC's rule because they feared that the French would take over. The British agreed to give the Cape back a few years later to the Batavian Republic[6] in 1803 as part of the Treaty of Amiens. Three years later the British invaded the Cape and took over the colony because they also did not want the French to take over the colony (Pauw, 2007, 65). The British instituted Ordinance no. 50 in 1828, which afforded *"equal status between "whites" and "people of colour"",* and abolished slavery three years later, before it was abolished in Britain (Aaboe, 2007, 20).

[5] The French Huguenots where French Calvinist reformers who were forced to flee France or convert back to Catholicism.

[6] When the French took over the Dutch republic they set up the Batavian Republic (Pauw, 2007, 64).

The identity of the Afrikaners was already firmly established by this time. The name *Afrikaanders* (later Afrikaner) was in frequent use by the 1800's (Aaboe, 2007, 19 & Pauw, 2007, 66) and functioned as a linguistic marker of group identity. The word *Afrikaanders* identified them as a distinct group in opposition to the others, the natives, slaves and British.

The harsh and hostile circumstances the Afrikaner experienced also helped to fortify this social identity. They were trying to establish themselves as a group and as a group they were caught between the natives and the British who they both perceived as a threat[7]. This threat was not just a physical threat to the Afrikaner, but also of a psychological threat to their group status and power.

The British brought with them a slightly different history. The reformation in England lead to the establishment of the Church of England. This differed from the Dutch, German and French Huguenots who were Protestant. For the Protestant colonizers, their strong religious convictions formed the centre of their social identity while the British were held together by their British Imperialism (Murphy in Ackermann, Schroeder, Terry, Upshur, & Whitters, 2008) and had a more open stance towards religion (Giliomee, 2003, 217).

While the Protestant colonizers departed their homeland in time of religious civil war, the British came to the Cape in a time when they were caught in an imperial war with the French. It is thus clear that both these groups came from conflicting contexts to South Africa, and in times of conflict social identities become more entrenched (Vugt & Park, 2010, 13).

The Protestant settlers felt threatened under the rule of the British they suspected of *Verengelsing*, of changing the Cape into an English society through *"Anglicisation – a policy to replace Dutch with English"* that coincided with the abolishment of slavery (Pauw, 2007, 66). The Afrikaners experienced this as a threat to their social identity. This is clear from the well-known diary of Anne Steenkamp, the niece of Piet Retief, one of the Afrikaner leaders: *"...it is not so much their freedom which drove us to such length as their being placed on an equal footing with Christians, contrary to the laws of God, and the natural distinction of race and religion, so that it was intolerable to any Christian to bow down beneath such a yoke,*

[7] Unfortunatley, the Afrikaners were not the only group whose social status was threatened. The Khoi and other Afrikan ethinic groups were also threatened by the Afrikaaners.

therefore we rather withdrew in order thus to preserve our doctrines in purity." (in Aaboe, 2007, 21).

The positive status of the Afrikaner social identity was threatened by the British who gained control of the Cape. Afrikaners accused the British of *gelykstelling*, of trying to place the Christian Afrikaners on an equal foot with slaves and heathens (Aaboe, 2007, 20; Pauw, 2007, 82; Giliomee, 2003, 216). This threatened the group status of the Dutch colonist to the degree that they started to migrate inland.

A pattern emerged were the Protestant colonist settled further and further away from the British and consequently came into more conflict with the indigenous ethnic groups. The British rulers were reluctant to get involved in these conflicts, which added to the growing distrust between the English and the Afrikaner farmers (Boers). This inland migration is known as the *Groot Trek*.

Later, as the Boer migraters settled into new territories across the Orange river, they started their own republics (Pauw, 2007, 82). These territories marked their independence and sovereignty, which was at first recognized by the Queen but later the British started to annex the Boer Republics after diamonds and gold where discovered. This lead to the unification of South Africa as a British colony in 1910.

An influential pattern emerged in the history of the Afrikaner and their struggle to uphold a positive social identity. They were caught between two others which they could not escape, as they moved further inland their clashes with the other become more intense.

In light of the formation of social identity, it is thus clear that when the Dutch came to work in the Cape of Good Hope, they were a small group that needed a collective identity as a means of security in new and testing circumstances. This collective identity was formed because social bonding creates security.

In the unfamiliar and new territory, far from their "home", the settlers needed to define who they are, where they belong, how they need to behave and who their allies are. The construction of such a social identity involves cognitive process of categorization and stereotyping (Van

Knippenberg & Dijksterhuis, 2000, 107). This identity was continually threatened and thus needed to be continuously re-established.

In the minds of the Afrikaners, their identity was being threatened by British imperialism and being equated with heathens as the racially other. There was no real end to their struggle for a positive social identity. As Coetzee and Conradie (2010, 120) suggest: *"…perhaps the need for emphasising such a sense of cultural superiority"* by the Afrikaners *"was born from feeling threatened or from an even deeper sense of inferiority -which probably resulted from decades of cultural and linguistic imperialism."* (Coetzee & Conradie, 2010, 120).

2.2. CONTINUOUS THREAT AND THE FORMATION OF A LAAGER MENTALITY.

One of the biggest fears of the Afrikaners was called *Gelykstelling*. It is the fear the Afrikaners held of being equated with the racial other and slaves they categorized as heathen, (people with a low moral and civil standing who live apart from God). "*Opposition to gelykstelling manifested itself in response to any action that violated the social conventions that underpinned the status and class hierarchy."* (Giliomee, 2003, 216).

Giliomee (2003, 216-217) argues that the social hierarchy came over from the VOC and is not directly linked to the religious beliefs of the Dutch. In the beginning all Christians did serve together and interracial marriages were allowed. The process whereby Afrikaners developed a collective self-awareness and felt the need to defend this identity grew over time. The Afrikaner identity grew as Afrikaners felt the need to defend their faith, their values and western civilized standards from the *"sea of barbarism"* that surrounded them (Coetzee & Conradie, 2010, 120). This they perceived as part of their calling, to uphold the faith and stay true to the Word of God as Protestant reformers (Aaboe, 2007, 75). This was also to protect the poor-white Afrikaners from falling into the trap of poverty (Coetzee & Conradie, 2010, 120-121).

This must also be understood in unison with the way the Afrikaner moved away from the threat of *Verengelsing* and *Gelykstelling* when the British abolished slavery and refused to get involved in the border conflicts the Dutch colonist had with the Khoi and later Xhosa speaking tribes. The Afrikaners felt that their social standing as civilized Christian westerners were not acknowledged by the British authorities and that they therefore had to rely on themselves and each other. *"The stressful event of the Trek and the often bloody meetings… became binding*

factors for the development of a community of unity. These events gradually fostered a laager mentality in the Boer community later becoming a substantial part of Afrikaner identity." (Aaboe, 2007, 21 and 81).

Hendriks (1999, 330) states that such a Laager functions symbolically in Afrikaner identity: *"In their struggle to escape English colonial rule, the Voortrekkers trekked North from the most southern point of Africa in their wagons. En route, and while settling in 'Africa, they came into conflict with the local African groups. In order to protect themselves and their livestock, their wagons were drawn in a circle, a laager. ("In unity is strength" is the logo on the state emblem of the Republic of South Africa). Similarly, in order to survive, Afrikaners united by forming 'a symbolic laager."*

Psychologically speaking such a laager mentality resembles what Vugt and Park (2010, 18) call a tribal alliance and what Daniel Bar-Tal (2000) would interpret as a war ethos, which develops in intractable conflict (see chapter 2). Daniel Bar-Tal (2000, 353) identifies South Africa as one of the places caught in intractable conflict.

In the long struggle for segregation conflict occurred that was particularly destructive and enduring, resisted interventions and created a whole generation of people that only knew conflict. Apartheid, with the accompanying struggle, structured an institutional and symbolic world characterized by division. And, according to Vugt and Park (2010, 20), race is one of the more common triggers of tribal behaviour towards an out-group member.

These two perspectives add emphasis to the strength of the Afrikaner social identity and its resistance to change. Being foreigners in a new country and confronted with a racial other helped to form a tribal or laager mentality in the European settlers who, over a long period of time had many conflicts with the other racial groups and developed a very segregated society on racial grounds in their 'survival' struggle over many generations.

2.3. THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH AND AFRIKANER SOCIAL IDENTITY – CONSTRUCTING A PROTOTYPE.

In the self-categorization/depersonalization process people are no longer represented by their individual characteristics but, rather, *"as embodiments of the relevant prototype"* (Hogg &

Terry, 2000, 123). *"Proponents of SCT argue that people cognitively represent their social groups in terms of prototypes. When a category becomes salient, people come to see themselves and other category members less as individuals and more as interchangeable exemplars of the group prototype"* (Hornsey, 2008, 208).

As explained in Chapter 2, prototypes in SCT structures the group identity (who we are), which prescribes to the individual which attitudes, emotions and behaviours are appropriate for each given context (Hornsey, 2008, 209). In this sense, as the basic content of group identity, prototypes are "*not checklists of attributes but, rather, fuzzy sets that capture the context-dependent features of group membership, often in the form of representations of exemplary members or ideal types (an abstraction of group features)"* (Hogg & Terry, 2000, 123).

Categories, build around the prototype, enhances entitativity (degree of clear definition and distinction) and form in such a way that the balance in inter-class similarities and intra-class differences are maximized. This principle of social comparison is known as the meta-contrast ratio (Hogg in Levine & Hogg, 2010, 729). The prototype is in essence what sets 'us' apart from 'them' and what characterizes 'our' behaviour in opposition to 'theirs'.

The Dutch settlers who came from a religious civil war in the Netherlands, continued to practiced their faith as members of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) in the Netherlands. Dutch law instructed the VOC to further and protect public religion. In the beginning the ministers of the DRC were employed by the VOC (Aaboe, 2007, 83).

Reformed theology therefore constituted the core of the moral instruction and help to construct the civil belief system of the settlers. Central to this civil religion was the idea that Afrikaners were "chosen by God" to bring the gospel to the heathens in Africa (Aaboe, 2007, 90).

Gilliomee (2003) offers a better explanation when he says that the Afrikaner took it upon themselves that it would serve the interest of all if they led the racial others towards becoming self-determined Christian nations.

Coetzee and Conradie (2010, 120) explain the prototypicality underlying the Afrikaner social identity. Afrikaner social identity and the othering of people of colour "*was based on an even*

deeper sense of cultural superiority. This was associated with Western civilisation, best expressed by the cultural refinement of the Afrikaner elite, including pastors, teachers and cultural leaders. This notion of "civilisation" was associated with technological advances, superior weapons, literacy, hygiene, dress code, culinary habits, medical services, transport, higher education and an appreciation or "higher" forms of culture such as literature, poetry, music and the arts. This sense of superiority was reinforced by class differences and by separation that prevented ongoing exposure to the language, customs, worldviews and religious beliefs of others. Here apartheid was regarded as the only way to protect "Western civilised standards" against the surrounding "sea of barbarism". ...In order to maintain a particular cultural identity and a sense of superiority, clear distinctions had to be drawn." In short, the Afrikaner people, in their self-conceptualization construes a social identity as a 'civilized developed western Christian'.

As I have argued above, the Afrikaner identity developed over time in contrast to the other whom the Afrikaner differentiated themselves from. One of the core components of this identity is the shared reformed religious beliefs that the Dutch, German and French settlers held. This identity was well established through historical conflicts and was already present when these groups of settlers arrived in South Africa and became more salient over time.

This Christian self-understanding is therefore foundational to the Afrikaner social identity that developed between these groups of settlers. As time went on, they developed other cultural features that further established their identity, such as language, food and music (mostly construed from Dutch, German and French roots). Their struggles as a cohesive group with British Imperialism, harsh living conditions and clashes with the African tribes all strengthened the need for a positive in-group identity.

This self-distinction on religious ground functioned as the prototypical mechanism that demarcates the Afrikaner identity and provides a positive status in contrast to the Roman Catholic, non-white heathen and British imperialist others.

2.4. A GROWING SOCIAL IDENTITY AND STRUCTURAL DISTINCTION IN THE CHURCH

The religious beliefs of the protestant Afrikaners did advocate equality (Giliomee, 2003, 215). Unfortunately, the white DRC members increasingly struggled to share the Eucharist with their non-European members as the Afrikaners developed a positive social identity in contrast to the non-White others. *"It seems therefore that during the first half of the 19th century the official position of the church was that all members, irrespective of ethnicity, were to worship in the same building and to share together in the Eucharist. Various examples to the contrary show that in practice this was not always the case, but discrimination was repudiated in principle and often reprimanded."* (Pauw, 2007, 68).

2.4.1. *Separation of the Eucharist Table*

The continued difficulty around the Eucharist eventually lead to the separation of the Church. At this stage the Church still thought of separation as a weakness in faith. All Christians, irrespective of race where still thought to be united as brothers and sisters and that it was weakness in faith that ultimately caused separation to be accommodated. Later the Church tried to justify separation as the will of God through apartheid theology.

In 1857 the synod of the DRC accepted a proposal that opened the door for the separation of different races in worship. The proposal by Rev. Andrew Murray of Graaf-Reinette: *"Synod regards it as desirable and Scriptural that our members out of the heathendom should be accepted and incorporated within our existing congregations, wherever this can happen; but where this measure could, as a result of the weaknesses of some, obstruct the advancement of the cause of Christ amongst the heathen, then congregations formed out of the heathen, or which may still be formed, shall enjoy their Christian privileges in a separate building or foundation."*[8] (Pauw. 2007, 75). This opened the door for separate worship and many congregations followed by starting a *gesticht* for the non-European members.

This separation in worship continued and culminated in the establishment of different synodical mission commission under whose authority the Black- and Brown congregations were gathered. Later these commissions broke away to form their own separate Church. Most of

[8] *"Of het de goedkeuring der Synode wegdraagt dat in de Gemeenten der Ned Geref Kerk, waar men dit begeert, de gekleurden in een afsonderlijk gebouw echter onder bestier en opzicht van den kerkeraad, alle voorregten der Christelijke godsdienst afzonderlijk genieten zullen"* (Pauw, 2007, 75).

these Churches later united to form the Uniting Reformed Church in Southern Africa and stood as a critical voice against their "mother" church and apartheid theology (Pauw, 2007, 94-96).

2.4.2. *The Mission Policy of 1935 of Separate Development*

In general, Afrikaners where fearful of *gelykstelling* and this was particularly strong in the beginning of the 20th century with the growing concern about poor-white Afrikaners. Coetzee and Conradie (2010, 120) attested that the threat to the Afrikaner posed by a "*Sea of Barbarism"* is evident in the cause of the Afrikaner to address the growing poverty amongst the poor whites. The Afrikaner society, in particularly the DRC mobilized themselves to address the problem (Giliomee, 2003, 231-232).

Aaboe (2007, 33) describe the role that Afrikaner women in particular played through the Afrikaanse Christelike Vroue Vereniging (ACVV): *"The growing poor white problem was becoming an obstacle for the ethnic development of the Afrikaners. Severe drought and economic stagnation after the Anglo-Boer and first World War had a devastating impact on the livelihood of the Afrikaners. Many settled amongst or close to "people of colour", a matter of deep concern for the ACVV, fearing the poor Afrikaners would eventually mix with "Blacks" and "Coloureds"."*

In 1935 the DRC passed a mission policy that was drafted in 1931 in Kroonstad. According to Thias Kgatla and Anderson Magwira (2015, 365) *"It was at this conference that the DRC expressed itself unequivocally against any form of equality (gelykstelling) between blacks and whites."* According to this policy white and black should be strictly separated and that black people should be evangelized to "*refine black nationalism"* (Kgatla & Magwira, 2015, 365).

It was a policy of strict separate development for the assumed benefit for all. The 1935 mission policy was the first policy to hold the name apartheid and influenced the government and the development of apartheid policy of the state (Giliomee, 2003, 227-228).

Through this policy the white DRC continued with a self-understanding that it is their calling to develop or civilize the non-white heathens and bring them to self-determination. This policy was also against any kind of fusion (*gelykstelling*) between whites and racial other. Kgatla and Magwira (2015, 365) state: *"…cultural superiority prevailed because of the 'self-*

preservation', the 'self-identity' as well as the 'self-interest' that superseded the love for the neighbour."

2.4.3. *A Blind Bias Against the Critique of Apartheid*

The social identity approach predict that group members develop a bias in favour of their in-group members and in-group. The separation of Christians and society on the grounds of their race, did not happen without critique. There where criticism from outside but also criticism from within the DRC against apartheid and apartheid theology, but the DRC did not heed to these voices that pointed out their faults.

For instance, there were some leaders at the Cottesloe Consultation in 1960 where that raised their voices against apartheid. There was some awakening because of the abuse of state power and state violence such as the Sharpeville Massacre which the Church could not condone.

From within the daughter Churches, there were also criticism against the Apartheid policy of government and the Theological support of the DRC through the confession of Belhar. The daughter[9] Churches also succeeded in having the DRC abdicated form the World Alliance of Churches who depicted Apartheid Theology a heresy (Giliomee, 2003, 236). As Willem Nicol (2016) reflects: *"A theology critical of Apartheid tried to break through, but the loyalty of the Church to the Afrikaner, the tendency to reflect and sanction their beliefs, was altogether too strong."*

The DRC did re-evaluate their mission policy which was captured in the *'Kerk en Samelewing'* (Church and Society) document. The slight variations did not constitute any real change. According to Kgatla and Magwira (2015) there were no significant changes in the policy. *"But these changes did not mean anything more fundamental. The fundamental question of property rights, equality and restorative justice of imbalances of the past were not addressed. It was more a change of language than reality."*

It was not until the 1990's that the DRC significantly re-evaluated the apartheid policy of separate development. Many scholars do not attribute the change in the DRC as a change of

[9] The DRC described themselves as the mother church in relation to the missional commissions who became independent churches. These churches were known as the daughter churches.

heart but rather as the conceding to the pressure from the outside because apartheid was failing. "*...the change of heart shown by the DRC in the Church society in 1990 was due more to the isolation imposed on it by the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, than due to an actual change of principle and belief."* (Kgatla & Magwira, 2015).

3. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, it becomes clear that the DRC adopted a particularly strong white Afrikaner national Christian identity. This identity was developed over time in the context of struggle, conflict and status threat.

The context brought Europeans together who came from countries where they endured struggles to protect their Protestant understanding of Christianity. In the new context they felt threatened by the other and this bonded them into a particularly strong group who further endured to emerge as the rulers of a country where they were a minority. They tried to protect their identity by being loyal to their in-group interests. They advanced policies to safeguard their identity, distinguishing themselves both physically and psychologically from the other, specifically the status threatening racial other that they distinguished as heathen.

The ideal of the DRC is captured in a Western-Protestant-Christian idealism that constitute the group prototype. This group prototype functions as the yardstick, as informative to the meta-contrast ratio, used to distinguishes the Afrikaner from the racial other in an in-group favouring way. This was motivated by the self-enhancement of the in-group social status. The DRC developed as an institution around this group prototype that furthered Afrikaner nationalism.

The group prototype directed the behaviour of the DRC and superseded certain fundamental Christian moral ideals such as, love for they neighbour, equality and Christ's great command: *"...to love one another"*[10] with which their actions and theology were criticised, but they failed to truly accept their failure until the demise of the apartheid state, leaving question marks as to the truthfulness of the changes that came after the fall of apartheid and the apologies at the TRC hearings.

[10] John 13:34 *"I am giving you a new commandment to love one another. Just as I have loved you, you also should love one another."* (New International Version).

CHAPTER 5

DRC ROLE IDENTITY – MISSION AS AN IN-GROUP HELPING STRATEGY.

1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I discuss the missional enterprise of the DRC as the structurally organized and prominent form of across group relationship building and helping. Mission became the way through which the DRC came to think of themselves as helping the racial other in Southern Africa.

As we have established in the previous chapter, the DRC adopted a particularly strong white Afrikaner national Christian identity. The ideal inherent in this self-understanding is captured in a Western-Protestant-Christian idealism that constitute the group prototype. This group prototype functions as the yardstick in the meta-contrast ratio that distinguishes the Afrikaner from the racial other and advances the in-group social status of Afrikaners.

In this chapter, I argue that the missional zeal of the DRC can also be critically assessed as a form of strategic help to out-group members that served in-group needs. This add to the main argument that, in the minds of DRC Christians, the racial other remained distinguished from the self.

In this chapter, I will argue, in line with the psychology of prosocial intergroup helping, that when there is such a strong social identity distinction, in-group helping of out-group members function strategically to satisfy certain in-group needs.

This mean, as I have argued in Chapter 3, that objectification of the other occurs because the racial other has become something distinct from DRC in-group social identity as the racial or heathen other, and made subservient to satisfying an in-group need through the missionary helping endeavours of the DRC. The missional relation constitutes the preferred way the DRC establishes a relationship with the racial other.

In this chapter I will argue that there are at least 3 ways the racial other was objectified through mission. I name them: objects of evangelization, development and alleviating guilt.

2. MISSION AS OBJECTIFICATION:

The Moravians, particularly George Schmidt, and later the British, through the workings of the London Missionary Service (LMS), were the pioneers of mission in South Africa. The Afrikaners, at first, tried to uphold and promote their faith by staying true to their reformed traditions by physically and psychologically distinguishing themselves from heathenism and Anglicization. The intense zeal the DRC has for mission developed much later, probably from the end of the 1700's right through the 1800's. (De Grunchy, 2005).

The missional awareness of the DRC had a strong evangelical influence. They became aware of the cause of the lost heathen who had to be helped by hearing the good news. This help was focused on saving the lost souls. Kritzinger (1990, 141) writes that the DRC "*understood the saving of the soul as the focus and other forms of helping as mere "auxiliary services" ("hulpdienste" in Afrikaans) … Whites were regarded as Christians who had to reach out with the gospel to "racial other". The "haves" (in a spiritual sense) reach down to the spiritual "have-nots".*" Turning the non-white heathens into Christians was understood as the most profound way white Christians could help the racial other, according to their own perception.

2.1. THE OTHER AS OBJECT OF EVANGELIZATION

In the DRC, a distinction was made between mission and evangelism that turned into a racial or class distinction in practice. Mission was understood as saving the souls of the racial other who were perceived to be the descendants of heathen cultures, while evangelization was understood as taking the good news back to those born from a Christian (white) culture.

Later this distinction became stereotypical. The Black and Brown congregants and their decedents where still seen as stemming from a heathen culture and therefore remained the object of mission as Kritzinger (1990, 141) states: *"The White church member in the pew regards even the churches among Blacks as objects of mission!"* The DRC pride themselves on their history of mission to the Africans and natives in South Africa despite the obvious racial distinction inherent in their practice and thoughts.

This distinction is also prevalent in the development of separate churches. *"Even the converts in the South African communities were eventually organised into "mission" churches and nurtured separately from the established congregations among Afrikaans-speaking Whites."* (Kritzinger, 1990, 140). The Black and Coloured congregation did not receive full member status but where placed under the administration of the missional commission of the Church (Pauw, 2007, 71).

In the DRC, the distinction grew between Christians from European and African descendants. In practical terms descendants of these non-Christian cultures come to "*represented the "mission fields". The NGK was indeed exemplary in reaching out to these groups. But it is also clear that in spite of all the theological rhetoric, the perception became deeply ingrained that mission was "church work among Blacks". Thus, colour consciousness - and even racist feelings - could find an ally in this perception of mission."* (Kritzinger, 141, 1990)

The DRC and its missional praxis are therefore characterized by racial categorization and stereotyping. The in-group consists of the Afrikaans speaking Whites while the out-group constitutes the racial other. This distinction is structurally accommodated and had stayed alive in the minds of many white South Africans. The racial other was continuously perceived as the objects of mission. This perception is very persistent even though many of the racial other developed as Christian decedents serving in DRC mission Churches.

2.2. THE OTHER AS OBJECT OF DEVELOPMENT - WHITE DOMINION

The major stereotypical distinctions that the white Afrikaners made about the racial other was the other needed to be developed. This development had to lift them out of "dark Africa" and bring them to become a civilized Christian Western norm – They had to become what the DRC represents. This ideal represents the calling or role identity of the DRC in Africa.

2.2.1. *Development as Education.*

As the objects of mission, the primary way in which help was offered to racial other, apart from converting their lost souls, was through education. Educating the heathens was an important task and part of the mission of the church which also included the DRC having control over the education of racial other. *"…in the minds of most Protestant missionaries, civilization and*

evangelization belonged together, and civilization was understood ethnocentrically." (Kritzinger, 2003, 550).

The missional endeavours of the DRC can also be understood as across group helping, motivated, as Van Leeuwen and Täuber (2010) argued (see Chapter 2), by satisfying in-group needs. According to Kritzinger (2003, 550): *"Mission schools were seen as very efficient and strategic aids in this civilizing process and as beachheads of Christian civilization in pagan territory, which had helped in vanquishing pagan culture"*.

The missional focus on educating or civilizing the racial other, was also an attempt to hold power by effecting control over the other, as Kritzinger (2003, 549) confirm: "*Who owns the schools will own Africa"*.

The Catholics where also interested in owning the schools and this resulted in an upsurge in missional endeavours by the DRC to plant churches and schools to ensure that the Catholics do not teach *"Black people values that were contrary to the values informing the fledging apartheid state."* (Kritzinger, 2003, 549).

2.2.2. <u>*Development with a Focus on the Soul*</u>

In stark contrast with the churches' involvement with the saving of Black souls, the DRC have a long history of being involved with the socio-economic wellbeing of poor-white Afrikaner people (Gilliomee, 2003). The help offered to the poor-white people differed from the help given to the racial other because Whites where tangibly helped by focusing on their socio-economic wellbeing while Blacks received help to save their souls.

The physical wellbeing of fellow white people was more important because it uplifted the status and wellbeing of the in-group identity. The help offered to racial other attempted to address the threat posed by the heathens to the Whites by their uncivilized neighbours.

The help the DRC offered the poor White was accomplished in opposition to the interests of the racial other. *"The problems between the poor-whites and the "people of colour" were intrinsically interwoven, and by opting to support the poor-whites the church had in reality already chosen a policy of segregation, furthering the theology of the weakness of some."*

(Aaboe, 2007, 91). The DRC blamed *"the British, the "black peril" and the city life with all its temptations and the problem of mixed living areas"* as the cause of white poverty (Aaboe, 2007, 89).

It seems clear that the motivation of the DRC to be involved with the plight of the poor-whites was an automatic response, just as viewing the racial other as the objects for mission became an automatic response.

It also seems that the way people thought of the racial other was that they were in a sense more lost, the problem was with their soul and not with their circumstances. The poor Whites were less lost, they had no problem with their soul but the problem was merely circumstantial, not inherent.

2.2.3. *Developing the Other Enhanced White Supremacy.*

These forms of development show a clear social group distinction vested in the minds of the DRC which is chronically accessible. This means that the racial other is automatically categorized as 'them' and become the object of help. This help is of strategic importance for the needs of Whites.

Whites are positively distinguished from the racial other. And the racial other is objectified and thus provide the DRC power and autonomy while rendering the other helpless and needy, provides meaning to the DRC as the helper while making the other second-tier and provides the DRC with a tool for positive self-enhancement.

This argument is strengthened by just taking note of the linguistic ease with which these distinctions were readily made, e.g. *blank* and *nie-blank*, and how clearly these linguistic group distinctions were structurally marked, e.g. the *gesticht* or mission station as the place of worship for people of colour as opposed to a *kerk* (church).

The National Party government implemented the apartheid policies initiated by the DRC which further benefitted the Afrikaner over the racial other. These policies uplifted the white Afrikaner people while subjecting the others as an in-group serving objects.

This is made clear in the writing of Coetzee and Conradie (2010, 119): *"...the struggles of Afrikaners to compete with blacks for jobs in the industrial and mining sectors; the protection of the economic interests of whites through apartheid legislation; the job creation programmes for Afrikaners; the increasing affluence of the urban white middle class since the 1960s; and continuing patterns of the employment of domestic servants, farm workers and manual labourers. Such prosperity may serve as a concrete illustration of the "salvation" that apartheid brought for those who benefited from the system. It also suggests that separation was never complete and that race was often used as an easy way of maintaining class distinctions and thus of safeguarding economic interests."* As Aaboe (2007, 33) puts it: *"the poor white problem came to play an immense part in unifying the Afrikaners and strengthening the nationalistic cause."*

Therefore, the help that is offered to the other is of strategic importance for the social status and social distinction of the white Afrikaner. Because of this status enhancing mechanism, the power to control education and administration and to make the decisions were kept in the hands of the Afrikaner (Kritzinger, 2003, 550).

The most significant difference between the kind of helping of out-groups versus the help of in-group members are characterized by racial prejudice. Whites are evangelized because they are perceived to be 'born Christians' while generations of non-white Christians remain the object of mission because they are stereotyped as 'born Heathens'.

2.3. THE OTHER AS OBJECT FOR ALLEVIATING GUILT.

Giliomee (2003, 215) argues that the Afrikaner, because of their historical status clash as protestants with the Roman Catholic elite and because of their suffering as *vryburgers* fleeing the English, were egalitarian in thought and therefore needed biblical justification for their fight against *gelykstelling*. *"It was because Protestant whites were so much more egalitarian in their own ranks than Catholic-based societies that they so desperately sought a doctrine to justify racial discrimination."* (Giliomee, 2003, 215).

Apartheid provided a logical solution that would benefit everyone in South Africa from the perspective of the Afrikaner (and other whites). In the minds of the Afrikaners, even Church leaders, apartheid was based on egalitarian principles because it was supposed to afford each

ethnic group the opportunity to develop into their own good Christian nation (Gilliomee, 2003). In this sense, it freed the National party government from taking responsibility for all the poor South African citizens and freed their conscience from guilt when they concentrate on helping their own. As Coetzee and Conradie (2010, 120) suggest: *"...we suggest that the deepest reason for the moral blindness of Christian leaders regarding the evils of apartheid may well lie here. If apartheid, in the form of cultural distinction, was necessary for social upliftment, this could only be regarded as appropriate, beneficial, advantageous, the right thing to do."*

Apartheid was an instrument for the Afrikaner and the DRC to justify their preference to uplift their own. It was a deliberate and strategic policy that objectified the racial other as a means to alleviate in-group guilt and intergroup responsibility. Pervasive in the nationalistic thoughts of the DRC was firstly that it was God's will that different races and *volke* existed. This justified the strict segregation that would keep the Afrikaners pure. Secondly, that each ethnic group should develop into a self-determined Christian nation.

This justified the cooperation and support of government policies that uplifted the poor Afrikaner at the cost of the poor racial other. And thirdly, that the DRC had a special calling to evangelize and develop the lost heathen other which justified the control they kept over the racial other.

3. CONCLUSION

It becomes clear that the Afrikaner and DRC become so involved in their group identity that everything, from politics to religion to socialising to demography was rendered subservient to their in-group serving strategies. This included their missional outreach which demarcated the type of relationship they sought with the racial other and the form it took.

The severity of the threat induced by the others in South Africa in the mind of the Afrikaner consisted of two kinds. The first was a status threat to a positive in-group social identity by *gelykstelling*. The second was the economic threat the other posed to Afrikaner self-interests.

The Afrikaners also held the others in distrust, convinced that there are forces at work that pose a threat to the future of white children (the future of the Afrikaners and their culture in South Africa). This is clear from Verwoerd's plea that all the white people must stand together to

ensure that South Africa will become a Republic: *"In a Republic, we will be able to give our full attention to what is so important for our survival. That is to create a safe future for Whites, together with righteousness also for the racial other. …Or, will South Africa – through your to-do if you do not vote for a Republic – continue as a state wherein English and Afrikaans speakers (Whites) cannot become one? …In most of the other African regions the threat of civil confrontation and the further forcing out of the Whiteman. Until the eyes of the Western nations open further, we will have to save ourselves by standing together. …If we do not take the one step now that will bind us together, then we may already, but our children will surely, have to go through the same misery the Whites in one Africa region after the other experienced of being overwhelmed and chased."* (Own translation)[11]

What Verwoerd is offering here is an emotional plea based on the perceived threat Whites experienced. This threat fostered a defensive *laager* mentality which made it very difficult for other insights to be heard. In fact, it is clear from this passage that Verwoerd hoped that the eyes of the West will open in the future to help the Afrikaner in their struggle.

Stereotype maintenance is enhanced under conditions of threat because group cohesion becomes more important. In the South African context, the stereotype content of the racial disparities was chronically accessible and explained the behaviour of the out-group members in a way that fit in with the Afrikaners beliefs system.

In this passage by Verwoerd, the Afrikaners wanted to unite with the white English speaking South Africa. The Afrikaners also sought independence from British rule that they may have autonomy. That is the power to defend themselves against the threat they saw in the racial other.

They also wanted to enhance their power with the hope that the Western nations will come to see what they saw because they thought that the strife against communism blinded the Western

[11] "In 'n Republiek sal ons saam ons aandag voluit kan gee aan wat so lewensbelangrik is. Dit is om 'n veilige toekoms te skep vir Blankes, gepaard met regverdigheid ook teen die nie blankes. …Of sal Suid-Africa – deur u toedoen indien u nie vir die Republiek stem nie – voortgaan as 'n staat waarbinne Engels- en Afrikaans-sprekendes nie een kan word nie? ...In die meeste ander dele van Afrika dreig onderlinge botsing, en verdere verstoting van die witman. Totdat die oë van die Westerse nasies nog meer oopgaan, moet ons ons-self red deur saam te staan. …As ons nie nou die een stap neem wat ons sal saambind nie, dan sal ons miskien reeds, maar sekerklik ons kinders, die ellende moet deurmaak wat die blankes in een Afrika-gebied na die ander oorval en verjaag." (H.F. Verwoerd, 20 September 1960)

world towards the rights and freedom of Whites in Africa. At that stage in the South African and world history, communism was understood as a great threat to Christianity. In this passage, it is clear from Verwoerd's urge that this threat of communism was an economic threat. *"The struggle between the Eastern and Western nations, between Communism and Christianity, have taken the form that both nation-groups want to give and give in everything (including the Whiteman in Africa and his rights) to win the support of the Blackman. This led to chaos in the Congo."* (Own translation)[12]

Apartheid, like the struggle against communism was in essence an economical struggle that was justified under the banner of Christianity. In this sense the DRC played a major role in aiding the apartheid government by providing a theological justification (Giliomee, 2003, 233).

Apartheid was designed to provide Afrikaners with a system to control others and secure their own freedom and survival. It provided influence over resources because the Afrikaner regime controlled the separation and allocation of resources. This practice was justified by the DRC, in fact, its roots were designed and instigated by the DRC, who practiced apartheid under the guise of missional helping. This correlates with Van Leeuwen and Täuber (2010, 84-84) who demonstrate that out-group helping becomes a strategic ploy to obtain power and autonomy for the in-group.

People can become blinded by their struggle for survival and act in justifiable selfish ways without the motivation to challenge the group psyche in a time when it makes more logical sense to stand together. This laager or tribal mentality compelled Afrikaners to demonize those in-group members who dared to speak out against apartheid instead of heeding their call. Even church members and leaders where ostracized. According to Coetzee and Conradie (2010, 118) one of the ways Afrikaners draw clear boundaries between us and them was by the *"the ostracising of "joiners", "hensoppers", "traitors", "volksveraaiers" and "volksvreemde elemente".*

[12] *"Die stryd tussen Oosterse en Westerse nasies, tussen die Kommunisme en die Christendom, het die vorm aangeneem dat albei nasie-groepe alles (insluitende die witman van Africa, sy besittings en sy regte) wil gee en toegee om die guns en die steun van die swartman te verwerf. Dit het uitgeloop op chaos in die Kongo."* (H.F. Verwoerd, 9 September 1960).

This defensive in-group vs. out-group mentality affected the way the racial other was helped by the DRC. Their help was strategic in promoting in-group interest and differed from the help given to their own. White in-group members received socio-economic help at the expense of the socio-economic interest of the racial others. While the help to the racial others served to keep them under white dominion by making them objects of civilizing evangelism and educational development. In fact, the whole apartheid system, initiated by the DRC, was designed to lead the racial other towards self-determination in a way that was explicitly favouring Afrikaner interests at the cost of others. The justification of this exploitation of others was provided by the theology of the DRC which was wrought with self-interest.

The DRC where blinded by their self-survival that influenced their usage of Scripture as a means of self-justification. This is explainable through the psychological mechanisms underpinning intergroup relations.

CHAPTER 6

A CRITICAL VOICE AGAINST ESCHEWED RELATIONAL PRAXIS.

1. INTRODUCTION

In this part of the study I will review literature from two contextual theologies that stand as a critique against the missional praxis and othering in the apartheid theology and ecclesiology of the DRC. These voices speak from the perspective of the poor and oppressed in society and act as a critical stance against the eschewed race relational praxis of the DRC. These voices provide critically important and insightful ecclesiological, missiological and Christian anthropological insight into what it means to be the authentic body of Christ and representative of the kingdom of God in an unjust socio-economic order. In this sense they are prophetic, proclaiming God's righteousness in the face of injustice.

These prophetic voices are important for this study because they make an insightful contribution towards the working of reciprocal voices. In a constructive manner, they provide a theological description of reciprocal relations, as a relationship in which the dignity of human beings is theologically grounded and affirmed.

This study provides a historical and theoretical account of these voices, not just a critique of apartheid theology and praxis, but also as a voice that offers a constructive approach to theology, particularly the theology of right relationships.

The first contextual theology, is the form of Liberation and Black Liberation Christology that developed in South Africa, against a DRC missional praxis that objectifies the racial other. It critiques white supremacy that cannot recognize the racial other as a fellow Christian with equal Christian dignity, not just as an object for evangelization but as a unique witness of the gospel that also needs to be heard by Whites Christians, for the Whites to be authentic Church.

The second contextual theology, stems from the feminist experience of not being fully human in a society where women are made the other in a world dominated by the male image. Feminist theology asks for a renewed anthropology where all are representative of the image of God,

despite the sin of class, race and gender discrimination. In this new anthropology we can only be fully human if and when we recognize the full humanity, the image of God, in others. From this perspective, justice is the establishment of a right relation, wherein the humanity of both the oppressor and oppressed, is liberated through the establishment of a mutual or reciprocal relational praxis.

2. FROM THE MARGINS, A CONTEXTUAL CRITIQUE.

All theology is contextual theology. All theology, any ideas or philosophies, are born out of a specific context and Daniel Migliore (2004, 197) reminds us that *"the whole church has something to gain from the newer contextual Christology and much to lose by ignoring or dismissing them."* Although apartheid, as theology, was born from a specific context and is therefore a contextual theology, Migliore (2004, 197) also warns about the danger in contextual theologies because they can also become self-serving rather than God-serving.

Apartheid was deemed a heresy by many critical South African theologians and ultimately also by the World Council of Churches because of its defiance of the unity of the Church and its selfish intent.

Two particular contextual theologies, that enlighten the church from the perspective of those caught in the socio-economic margins in society, is Black Liberation Christology and Feminine theology. According to Bosch (2005, 424), these new theologies are suspicious that Western theology was *"designed to serve the interests of the west"*, because all theologies were developed in a specific context. Migliore (2004, 197) find it positive that these theologies recognize the dominance of Western thought (philosophies and history) and their influence on traditional theology: *"…historical and cultural context is a factor in all Christian life, witness and theology. Traditional European and North Atlantic theologies are no less contextual than African…the whole church has something to gain from the newer contextual Christologies…and much to lose by ignoring or dismissing them."* (Migliore, 2004, 197).

Behind the development and social identity of the DRC is a warped religious self-understanding built on the assumptions that they "own" the truth about God. This religious self-understanding was formed through their threatened history, caught between the "sea of barbarism" and British Imperialism. The DRC deliberately developed a theology that, in their

own minds, was designed to serve all, but in reality, placed barriers between them and the racial others. These barriers also function psychologically by distancing the civilised Christian *boer* from the heathen other, thus enhancing group status and entitativity. It is therefore exactly because of this self-serving nature inherent in our cognitive functioning that there is always a need for critical voices. These voices must be heard to expose the biases inherent in intergroup relationships and in one-dimensional knowledge production.

2.1. LIBERATION AND BLACK LIBERATION CHRISTOLOGY

One of these other voices is liberation Christology. This voice speaks from the perspective of the poor and the marginalized. One of the problems Kritzinger (2003, 550) identifies with the DRC's missional praxis is that in their mind evangelization and civilization belonged together and civilization was understood ethnocentrically. As mentioned in the previous chapter, this sort of missional praxis devaluated the racial other into an object of evangelization as a civilizing strategy. In reaction to this form of devaluation, Liberation or Black theologies, understood and applied conversion as freeing the Black- and Brown mind from White domination. Black theology therefore propagated a radical conversion from an imposed "non-white" to a self-chosen "black" identity. (Boesak, 1984, 19).

Liberation Christology, with its roots in Latin America, function as a voice for the poor, by promoting a new awareness of the quandary of the poor by accenting Christ's centrality in their plight. Central to Black Christology, is *"the encounter with Scripture through the lens of the experience and faith of the black community results in a rediscovery of the good news of God's liberation of the oppressed."* (Migliore, 2004, 205). From this perspective Christ is understood to reach into the world where *"the poor, the despised, and the Black are, disclosing that he is with them, enduring their humiliation and pain and transforming oppressed slaves into servants."* (Migliore, 2004, 205).

2.1.1. God with the Poor and Oppressed

These contextual insights renewed an ecclesiology that identifies with the poor and the oppressed in a new way contrary to the objectified strategy of DRC missiology. Charles Villa-Vicencio (1988, 193) describes what he calls a liberating ecclesiology *as "a church seeking to rediscover a gospel identity, reactivating the dangerous memory of its revolutionary*

beginnings." In this new ecclesiology, the church *"…recognizes its essential identity to be among those who are marginalized by society – primarily the poor and oppressed."*

The Biblical and Trinitarian foundation for this new ecclesiology is captured in the gospel of Matthew 25:31-46. The Trinitarian interpretation that Villa-Vicencio (1988, 194-204) offers resembles the *Missio Dei* concept that was influenced by Barthian theology: *"Mission was understood as being derived from the very nature of God. It was thus put in the context of the doctrine of the Trinity, not of ecclesiology or soteriology. The classical doctrine on the missio Dei as God the Father sending the Son, and God the Father and the Son sending the Spirit was expanded to include yet another "movement": Father, Son, and Holy Spirit sending the church into the world."* (Bosch, 2005, 390).

2.1.2. The Social Location of the Church – In the Midst of the Poor and Oppressed

Included in this understanding of mission as essentially God's work, is the understanding that God is already present and active in the world, bringing salvation to all. Therefore, the "*Churches missionary activities are only authentic insofar as they reflect participation in the mission of God. The church stands in the service of God's turning to the world. The primary purpose of the missiones ecclesiae can therefore not simply be the planting of churches or the saving of souls; rather, it has to be service to the missio Dei, representing God in and over against the world… In its mission, the church witnesses to the fullness of the promise of God's reign and participates in the ongoing struggle between that reign and the powers of darkness and evil."* (Bosch, 2005, 391).

In liberation theology, the social location of the church is moved back to the margins of society, to the poor and oppressed, away from the social centre of the powerful in society who are often the ones responsible for driving the others to the margins. This is according to the example of Christ who acted and was crucified in the social periphery (Vila-Vicencio, 1988, 194).

Traditional theology believes that God can only be known through his self-revelation. Matthew 25:31-46[13] is interpreted as God revealing Himself in the image of the poor and the oppressed.

[13] Matt 25:31-46: "[31]But when the Son of Man comes in His glory, and all the holy angels with Him, then He shall sit on the throne of His glory. [32]And all nations shall be gathered before Him. And He shall separate them from one another, as a shepherd divides the sheep from the goats. [33]And indeed He shall set the sheep on His right hand, but the goats off the left. [34]Then the King shall say to those on His right hand, Come, blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. [35]For I was hungry, and you

"The mystery of God's self-revelation in one emptied of all glory, taking the form of a servant, continues, according to Matthew 25:31-46, in the poor of succeeding generations who have servitude and deprivation imposed on them." (Villa-Vicencio, 1988, 197). In fact, Bosch (2005, 436) attest that *"There can be no doubt that both in the Old Testament and in the ministry of Jesus there was a significant focus on the poor and their plight."*

The Church is therefore challenged by Liberation theology to rediscover its true identity. *"Liberation theology has helped the church to rediscover its ancient faith in Yahweh, whose outstanding qualification—which made him the Wholly Other—was founded on his involvement in history as the God of righteousness and justice who championed the cause of the weak and the oppressed."* (Bosch, 2005, 442). When the church accepts that God is at work amongst the poor and oppressed it can no longer sit idly on the side line or continue to marginalize and oppress the poor.

2.1.3. <u>The Poor and Oppressed as Evangeliser.</u>

Another profound way in which Liberation theology liberates the poor is, because the poor are no longer viewed as the objects of evangelization but become evangelizers themselves. This is a challenge to the DRC to accept that those racial others cannot remain the objects of evangelization, they must also be able to evangelize us.

They must possess equal freedom to evangelize the dominant White church, just as much as the evangelizing White church takes that it is their responsibility to evangelize the racial others. *"...it may mean that the church is required to do what it has never succeeded in doing effectively, that is, to listen to and learn from those very people whom it believes it is called to serve. For this to happen the Church is required not only to be in solidarity with the poor in*

gave me food; I was thirsty, and you gave Me drink; I was a stranger, and you took Me in; [36]I was naked, and you clothed Me; I was sick, and you visited Me; I was in prison, and you came to Me. [37]Then the righteous shall answer Him, saying, Lord, when did we see You hungry, and fed You? Or thirsty, and gave You drink? [38]When did we see You a stranger, and took You in? Or naked, and clothed You? [39]Or when did we see You sick, or in prison, and came to You? [40]And the King shall answer and say to them, Truly I say to you, Inasmuch as you did it to one of the least of these My brothers, you have done it to Me. [41]Then He also shall say to those on the left hand, Depart from Me, you cursed, into everlasting fire prepared for the Devil and his angels. [42]For I was hungry, and you gave Me no food; I was thirsty, and you gave Me no drink; [43]I was a stranger and you did not take Me in; I was naked, and you did not clothe Me; I was sick, and in prison, and you did not visit me. [44]Then they will also answer Him, saying, Lord, when did we see You hungry, or thirsty, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister to You? [45]Then He shall answer them, saying, Truly I say to you, Inasmuch as you did not do it to one of the least of these, you did not do it to Me. [46]And these shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into everlasting life." (New King James Version).

the sense of making the struggle of the poor the struggle of the church, but to be enlightened by the poor and allow itself to be taught and evangelized by them." (Villa-Vicencio, 1988, 196).

It is the Christ-like experience of suffering in the social margin that the poor and the oppressed know and it is this context from which they interpret Scripture that provides them with insight that differs from the context of the socially powerful in society. This insight was amiss in the dominant White Churches in South Africa during the heyday of apartheid. Their theology did not help them to identify with the racial other as a neighbour, it did not help them to seek a relationship of mutuality where they would be open to also learn from the racial other.

2.1.4. Church Unity in One Body – Partaking in Suffering

Participation in the suffering and resurrection of Christ is essential to authentic Christianity. This unity with Christ is a central element of Christian worship. Allan Boesak (in De Gruchy & Vicencio, 1983, xi) found it ironic that it was around the communion table that separate worship was first allowed by the 1857 DRC synod because of the weakness of some. For this reason, Bosch (2005, 436) stresses that it is not about being a *Church for Others* but about being a *Church with Others*.

Villa-Vicencio (1988, 197) refers to the Church *of* the poor and the importance of partaking in the suffering of the poor. *"The Church of the poor is formed and characterized primarily not by those who voluntarily identify with the poor (as important as that may be) but by those who are trapped within their poverty. Knowing that their own liberation is tied up with the radical transformation of society, …and yet the church is called to be one, knowing neither class nor social distinction."* Paul, in Romans 12[14], urges Christians to cry with those who cry and laugh with those who laugh. It is this infused state, infused with Christ and infused with each other as the Body of Christ which constitute the essence of the Church around the Eucharist.

Apart from speaking against the objectification of the racial other, the DRC was also criticized by their own 'daughter' churches for their racial separation of the Church. This is no more evident than the Belhar confession of faith. In 1982 the Dutch Reformed Mission Church drafted the confession of Belhar after The World Alliance of Reformed Churches declared

[14] Romans 12:15 *"Rejoice with rejoicing ones, and weep with weeping ones;"* (Modern King James Version)

Apartheid a sin. *"We declare with black Reformed Christians of South Africa that apartheid is a sin, and that the moral and theological justification of it is a travesty of the Gospel and, in its persistent disobedience to the Word of God, a theological heresy"* (De Gruchy, 2004, 193).

In the confession of Belhar, there is a definite connection between Church unity and the ethics of justice. De Gruchy (2004, 193) state that *"its significance for the church struggle was that it made ethical commitment to justice central to the faith and therefore to the unity of the church."* Bosch (2005, 436) states that poverty must not be viewed in a strict economic or materialistic sense but must also include an understanding of poverty as a product of injustice. In his reading of Luke, he understands that poverty is *"an all-embracing category for those who were the victims of society."* This includes the people who are marginalized in society and cannot fully participate and lack the resources to change their situation. This explains why Liberation theology was taken up by Black theology in South Africa against a racist *missiones ecclesiae* that inflicted poverty on people.

2.1.5. Concluding – Getting to Know Christ in the Suffering of the Poor and Oppressed

The purpose of Liberation theology is the liberation from injustice that objectifies the poor. This liberation brings the poor out of the margin and into the social epicentre of the Church, they are brought to the feet of the cross as the place where God is active. Not to be the mere objects of evangelization but to be the evangelizers in an unjust world. In the ideal of Matthew 25, to participate in the struggle of the poor, the church unites under the *missio Dei*, under God's liberating work in the world.

This voice was repressed and shunned by the DRC and the apartheid government because they perceived liberal theology and communism as a danger to Christianity. Bosch (2005, 437-441) maintains that, because of the wrong equation of liberation theology with liberal theology and with Marxist views, these voices were not heard or listened to by the DRC, who denied themselves access to this knowledge because it was taken up as "communist" and "liberal" influences and a danger to Christian ideals (Bosch, 2005, 437-441).

Charles Villa-Vicencio (1988, 197) asks a provocative question *"...whether the rich and powerful, who have never known the material deprivation and alienation of the historical poor,*

can ever become part of the Church. More pertinent: Are they in a position to comprehend the mystery of God?"

2.2.FEMINIST THEOLOGY

A second voice in contextual theology that speaks from the perspective of the marginalized in society, is Feminist theology. The marginalization of women or their invisibility is due to the fact that women are defined in contrast to males in a patristic world. In such a patristic world, male imagery dominates and functions as the prototype. Maleness determines what it means to be a woman because women are framed as the male's other. This defining of women as the male's other is also dominant in the Church as a social space. In the apartheid era, such marginalized framing of women was pervasive as women could not hold office but were defined as the male's aid. Black women in particular experienced devastating discrimination based on race, class and gender.

Denise Ackerman (1992, 13) speaks of the experience of women as the other when she says that *"Our authentic experience of ourselves plays no part in shaping the cultural and language reality in which we live. We are present as the silent Other, as our reality finds no expression in the accepted discourse."* Women are dominated and become the other in a world dominated by male imagery where males function as the prototype of what it means to be human. In the DRC the white male was prototypical of what it means to be a real human.

Ackermann (1998, 14), when she speaks about the apartheid context in South Africa, she asserts that the problem with difference and otherness in human relations is that the "I" become the norm against whom all others are measured. The other is defined as those who do not conform or fit in with my norm. For her, *"the inability of human beings to live together in justice, freedom and peace"* is at its core a problem of difference, which is then an issue of relationality.

2.2.1. The Other: Denied Selfhood and Perceived as a Threat

One of the problematic responses against difference, is when the other is simply seen *"as a tabula rasa, a person with no story, no selfhood, no history."* (Ackermann, 1998, 14). In her discussion, she equates this response as a common occurrence in Christian mission. *"Many intrepid souls came to "darkest" Africa to bring the light of the gospel and then, on*

encountering the indigenous people whom they clearly found to be very "other"—that is other than themselves—sadly failed to understand local stories, cultures and traditions to such an extent that they did not truly see the selfhood of these people. Difference was made over into sameness... The underlying text is: "You should be like me. But, as you are not like me, remember that I am the centre, the fixed point by which you and 'the rest' will be defined". (Ackermann, 1998, 15).

A second response she identifies is when the other is experienced or rather understood as a threat. *"The poisonous apartheid mentality of Afrikaner nationalism, …are contemporary examples of otherness as threat."* A common reaction to this type of threat, is *"the strategy to separate people and then, increasingly, to dominate and to demonise them."* (Ackermann, 1998, 15).

Women also find themselves excluded from individuality, certain freedoms and opportunities while they are included under imagery dominated by a male perspective where women are presented as one of two possible subservient selves. *"Within the Christian tradition women have been subjected to an anthropology which has tended to swing to extremes: they have been categorised as either the sinful Eve or the virtuous virgin Mary."* (Ackermann, 1992, 14).

2.2.2. Restorative Justice as a Right Relationship

What Feminist theology seeks is a form of restorative justice as Ackermann (1992, 14) states: *"Thus a feminist liberatory approach seeks that which is freeing and whole-making for both women and men. ...it sees the oppressor as yet another manifestation of human brokenness which requires healing."* It is clear that feminist theology emphasized that when the humanity of another is violated then the humanity of all, including the oppressor, is broken.

From this perspective, the faith praxis is one of justice as a right relation. When an oppressive relationship dehumanizes then the humanity of all involved becomes broken. Restorative justice is achieved when the relationship between the parties is restored to a state of mutuality. Restorative justice can only be served when an unjust relationship becomes a right relation and dignity is restored to all.

This entails that a new anthropology is sought that *"affirms the full humanity of all"* against a contradictory praxis wherein, on the one hand, all humanity is created as the image of God, while, on the other hand, fellow human beings in practice are being restricted and oppressed in regards to gender, race and class. Feminism seeks a theological anthropology that is not comfortable when certain people are dominated by others, but rather when a right relation is fostered as a reciprocal relationship of mutuality.

2.2.3. A Reciprocal Relationship of Mutuality – A Theological Proposal

The concept of the *imago Dei* in Gen. 1:27[15] has been interpreted by feminist theology from the perspective of diversity and not from a male dominated perspective. From feminist hermeneutics[16] the imago Dei concept does not include a hierarchy between race, class or gender or any other human distinction but does seem to imply diversity: *"This seems to imply that there is plurality too in the concept of God which is mirrored in the sexual differentiation of humanity. The imago dei also expresses the relationality of humanity. This does not mean that the woman-man relationship is the only or compulsory model. It implies a broader human relationality which calls us to recognition of imago dei in every human being, and to the exploration of what that means."* (Ackermann, 1992, 17).

In this understanding of the *imago Dei* concept, not every human being is supposed to be the same (drafted around a specific prototype), but rather implies that each one is on equal footing before God and that our plurality is representative of God. God is understood as relational and representative of all. This understanding holds consequence for human relationships.

Taken further, Jesus Christ[17] becomes the model of what it means to be fully human, that is, Feminist theology is not fixated on the biology of Jesus, but rather focuses on his message and praxis. *"Jesus' reversal of the system of religious status - the last shall be first and the first last - is seen as a reversal of hierarchy and domination in social relations*." (Ackermann, 1992, 18). In this sense God brings transformation or restitution through Christ of the unjust social

[15] Genesis 1:17 *"And God created man in His image; in the image of God He created him. He created them male and female."* (Modern King James Version).

[16] Ackermann (1992, 17) argues that the imagery in the Bible is the imagery of a patriarchal society and therefore it cannot be assumed that the writers did not hold patriarchal views. Feminist theology, then brings a feminine perspective on the concept. *"Ultimately a hermeneutic of creative actualization seeks meaning for women in the imago dei as representative of our authentic humanity united with God."*

[17] Jesus Christ is the incarnation of God and therefore representative of both God and humanity alike.

order in the world that places one human being above another. This is understood as a distortion of God's order wherein every human being is the *imago Dei*.

Central to this understanding is Jesus's summation of the law of God and his command: *"You must love your neighbour as yourself"* (Mark 12:31)[18]. This speaks directly to relationships amongst humans. Ackermann (1998, 17) acknowledge that, although relationship is something central to our humanity and our well-being, it remains a difficult concept to define. She rather opts to define it by describing what it is not. *"It is easier to say what relationship is not: it is not alienation or apathy, isolation or separation."* It is, in this command of Jesus, an obligation to love the other as thyself. *"Relationality is thus the expression of love for self and neighbour as well as the result of praxis directed towards this goal. It lays emphasis on the relational aspects of the reign of God values and praxis."* (Ackermann, 1992, 20).

The opposite of relationality is alienation, and therefore both oppressor and oppressed need a right relation to be authentic selves as the *Imago Dei*. To love the other as yourself therefore includes a state of equality and mutuality as God's reign and His justice to a broken world of broken and distorted relationships. Sin is then interpreted in relational terms as any form of discrimination, the distortion of relationships by the alienation of the other. This includes both *"collaboration with and apathy towards injustice."* (Ackermann, 1992, 15).

From this perspective the apartheid praxis is critiqued by Ackermann (1992, 22): *"Relationality is the opposite of racism (and classism, ageism). The institutional and culturally mandated racism in South Africa has thrived on a distorted anthropology. The majority of whites have not only viewed blacks as "other" but as not quite human. The concept of a common relational humanity based on the demands of love and justice may be acknowledged theoretically in South Africa but oppressive praxis negates such theories. Just as the Holocaust was "an arena of radical evil," so is apartheid. Both thrive on the absence of relation."*

What is needed is a relationship hallmarked by mutuality. A reciprocal relationship of mutuality. *"The concept of mutuality in relationships is the touchstone against which the quality of our relationships is tested. Mutuality is concerned with the feelings, needs and*

[18] Mark 12:31 "And *the second is like this: You shall love your neighbor as yourself. There is no other commandment greater than these."* (Modern King James Version).

interests of each other. Mutuality spells forbearance, generosity, kindness, forgiveness and considerateness, virtues often neglected. Mutuality is the reciprocal interdependence of equals." (Ackermann, 1998, 17).

3. CONCLUSION:

In this chapter, the silenced voices that spoke against the missional and ecclesiological praxis of the DRC, argues for a just relational praxis amongst people as the image of God.

In such a praxis of mutuality, the other is me and I am the other, because both of us represent humanity in the light of God. Denying the other equates to denying that both of us represent the *Imago Dei.* It is denying our shared humanity as God's image which becomes more than merely denying the other but also becomes a denial of the self as God's image.

This praxis seeks to restore a right relationship with the other as a fellow human being amidst a broken and unjust relationship, and represents the just praxis of the Christian faith. In this just praxis, the other cannot be objectified as a tool for in-group benefit, but rather becomes the in-group in a profound and all-encompassing way as all of humanity share in the *Imago Dei*.

Consequently, because of God's righteousness, God cannot be fully located within the centre of socio-economic power when inequality and marginalization in any form, overtly or subtly, persist. Rather, form a liberatory theological perspective, the *Missio Dei* locates God amongst those who are marginalized, as Jesus was present between those in the margins of social power. In this sense, denying the plight of the poor and the oppressed is to deny God and God's justice.

In contrast to the denial of the poor, listening to the dignity of the poor and marginalized is equal to listening to God in a special revelatory way. Hearing the dignity of the marginalized is achieved through a reciprocal relationship of mutuality that does not objectify the racial or gender other as a means to an end. Such a reciprocal relation of mutuality rather seeks to engage with the marginalized as the subject matter for understanding myself as the other and God more fully. It is seeking to find each other in God's image and in Christ's suffering as we become one in the Body of Christ and share in each other's plight. Without truly sharing in the suffering of the marginalized, those in the socio-economic epicentre are detached from a special source

of Devine revelation because they cannot come to know God more fully in the body of Christ because they are detached from the part of the body of Christ that is suffering the most.

Taking this point further, a right relationship is not about evangelizing the other but about letting God evangelize us because we come to know Him more fully in the suffering of our fellow human beings. When, through being the body, both our strengths as well as our vulnerability are shared, then our relationships will become more honest and more humane and more Christ-like.

A strong in-group identity that is built around any other social distinction except the Imago Dei concept, is challenged by this theological approach because in-group members have a natural bias in favour of itself. Identifying only with those who share in our racial or other differentiating in-group identity will activate the very mechanisms that lead to social categorization and stereotyping. Truly bonding, that is identifying with the other as one of us as we share in being the image of God, entail a strong bond under an all- encompassing social identity as all being the image of God. This is the Christian praxis of reconciliation and social cohesion highlighted from the perspective of contextual theologies speaking from the social margin. No other in-group identity can be allowed to supersede our shared identity as the *Imago Dei*.

The DRC, as all other churches and denominations, is challenged by this theological insight to change the nature of the relationship they seek with the other in their social context.

In the concluding chapter, the question is put to the DRC: What is the nature of and depth of the change in the DRC regarding their social identity and their relationship with the racial other?

CONCLUSION

1. INTRODUCTION

I began this study with a quote from the TRC report written by Desmond Tutu that calls all South Africans God's family, people created in the image of God. *"South Africa wants and needs the Afrikaner, the English, the Coloured, the Indian, the Black. We are sisters and brothers in one family – God's family, the human family.... Let us move into a glorious future of a new kind of society where people count... because they are persons of infinite worth created in the image of God."* (Tutu, 1998, 22) (see full quote in Chapter 1).

In this closing of the TRC report, Archbishop Tutu clearly stresses our diversity under a superordinate identity, as people of worth created in the image of God – we are all the Image of God and brothers in sisters in one family.

When we looked at the history of the DRC in chapter 4, such a superordinate identity was lacking or the values inherent in the *Imago Dei* notion was thwarted by racial-ethnic social identities. This was highlighted by the theological critique against the DRC delineated in chapter 6.

One of the problems identified by the NDP was the fact that South Africa remains a racially divided society. Chapter 2 of this study purported that, because of our history of intractable conflict and social segregation, social cohesion and reconciliation in South Africa will be severely obstructed while strong ethnic group identities dominate all other social identities. It follows then that Churches who are still stuck in strong ethnic group identities will therefore struggle to contribute significantly towards reconciliation and social cohesion.

In this study the notions of reconciliation and social cohesion was understood from the perspective of intergroup social identities. From this perspective it is clear that reconciliation and social cohesion will only be achieved when the other is accepted as a self, in a relationship of mutuality. This is when the ethos of conflict is substituted by an ethos of peace which can only happen when opposing ethnic social identities are reconciled under a strong superordinate social identity or when ethnic social identities are less activated and people rather function from individual identities.

When reviewing the history of South Africa, specifically the history of the DRC. It is clear that the DRC became a host for a particularly strong Afrikaner Christian racial social identity. The preservation of this identity, and those who identified with each other under this identity, overruled certain fundamental Christian values such as mutuality, equality, love for the enemy, and even love for fellow Christians when it came to ecclesiology and church policy. Racial identity distinguished 'us' from 'them' by differentiating between the 'true' church and the mission field, not on the basis of faith, but rather on the basis of race.

Approaching the relational dynamics between the DRC and the racial other from a social-psychological perspective on reconciliation and social cohesion, as forwarded by this study, highlights how strong social identities and intergroup helping strategies hinder reconciliation and social cohesion. This social-psychological appraisal enables at least four points of critical engagement with the DRC:

1) It offers a critical engagement with the role identity of the DRC in the South African context by describing how the social group defines who they are in relation to the others and how it affects intergroup relations through intergroup bias.
2) It points to possibilities of how in-group identities function during any form of change and threat. How a lager mentality is constructed and in-group loyalties exacerbated in the context of change and threat to in-group status and security.
3) It points out that 'help of the other' functions strategic to satisfy in-group needs and thus inadvertently effect the objectifying of the other.
4) It points to the possibility that intergroup bias can become unconscious and automated, effecting implicit forms of racial prejudice masked behind altruistic behaviour.

The study concludes that a description of the social role identity of the DRC can offer insight on the efforts of the DRC towards social cohesion and reconciliation. Are the efforts of the DRC essentially a continuation of in-group identity and behaviours or has there been theological change towards a new identity that does not lovingly objectify the other?

2. DOES THE DRC STILL ACCOMMODATE A STRONG AFRIKANER CHRISTIAN RACIAL SOCIAL IDENTITY?

As we have concluded in chapter 4, the Afrikaner people developed a particularly strong racial Christian identity that held devastating consequences for South Africa and the majority of its

people. This social identity was accommodated, even advanced, by the DRC. The context in South Africa has changed, particularly on the political front. In the past the Afrikaners and the DRC were politically empowered to the extent that they influenced the governance of the country. This power has been lost and the context has changed dramatically: From being a well-known overtly racist nation, South Africa has changed and racism and racial prejudice has become socially unacceptable, forcing racial prejudice into the shadows.

The place and nature of racial prejudice has changed, moving from the public to private, overtly to covertly and explicit to implicit. This leaves questions about the depth of change visible in the DRC. Have they really changed all that much?

2.1. CHRONIC ACTIVATION – SPACES DOMINATED BY WHITE FACES

We have learned in chapter 2 that human interaction ranges on a continuum between being purely individual, totally unaware of any social categories, to being purely intergroup, that is being totally subsumed by some group identity one represents (Turner & Reynolds, 2012, 4).

SCT was developed to explain the cognitive mechanism underpinning the personal- vs. social identity continuum of SIT. Self-categorization explains how an individual defines (self-stereotype) him/herself more in group terms. We have learned that this process is called depersonalization.

Depersonalization occurs when a category becomes salient. That is when the social context makes people aware of their group identity. In a context where a specific social category is chronically accessible and both normatively and comparatively fit what is being socially observed, categorization and stereotyping will automatically occur.

South Africa remains a visibly divided society and this is also true for the DRC church. Racial division is still clearly present in most of the social spaces in South Africa and this is definitely not limited to secular spaces but also include religious spaces. This is particularly true of most DRC congregation where, bar a few exceptions, the churches remain spaces of white worship.

Antje Krog (2003, 248) provides interesting statistics from the Institute of Justice and Reconciliation: *"56.4% of blacks, more than half of all blacks, can say that they do not know*

of a white person whom they could call a friend. More than a third of all whites cannot think of a single black, including the woman who works in the house, whom they could call a friend. Yet most South Africans are Christians."

Krog (2003, 245) raises the issue of the church as a space where black and white can meet. She understands the church as a place that should not discriminate and where people can share in mercy (Krog, 2003, 258). Thus, picturing the church as a space that fosters reconciliation and social cohesion.

She critically asks if the Afrikaner reformed churches could play a significant role in fostering reconciliation while white and black rarely meet each other in these spaces: *"But how can we become friends if more than 80.7% of black people have never shared a single meal with a white person, (let me emphasise: not receiving food from whites, but sharing food with whites), while nearly half of the white population, 45%, has never shared a meal with a black person. A more upsetting statistic can be deduced from this: 14% of black people then do have a white friend but has never shared a meal with him or her. Isn't it so that one expects the church to be the one place where there is sharing? Where there is no competition for resources, because the church provides space to all of God's children? Where they can meet and share and be strengthened and comforted for their (our) daily struggles? Why isn't the church pre-eminently the place where Christians meet and care for each other knowing that the grace of God is good and enough? Why is there not a massive link up of churches across suburban borders, holding communion together…"* (Krog, 2003, 248).

It is clear that the DRC is still a space where white faces dominate, in a society where different races occupy different spaces. Such a clear spatial division between racial groups dominate almost all social spaces in South Africa and therefore constitute a context that is inadvertently salient to racial categorization. It is therefore conceivable that racial social identities still remain chronically accessible. This includes the majority of DRC congregations where racial social identity remains chronically accessible and will therefore be readily activated.

Social identities function as a means of self-enhancement. When a context lends itself towards the activation of intergroup social identities the power structure also comes under the spotlight

to determine how severely people will be motivated to uphold, change or advance their social identities.

2.2. AN ENDURING RACIAL CHRISTIAN SOCIAL IDENTITY

From chapter 2 it is clear that racial-ethnic identities are particularly prone to form strong social identities, that is, they usually represent a clearly distinct social category that inadvertently lead to stereotyping that distinguishes 'us' form 'them' in an in-group favouring way.

Another consequence of racial-ethnic social identities is that they seem to be very enduring. Where racial social identities remain strong, racial prejudice inadvertently seem to remain present even in those individuals who think they are holding egalitarian beliefs about others. There are however individual exceptions because people may also function from their individual identities or from under other group identities.

Social identity function as a form of self-enhancement. People will, in certain circumstances, rely on their group social status as a means of self-enhancing. *"In addition to being motivated by self-enhancement, social identity processes are also motivated by a need to reduce subjective uncertainty about one's perceptions, attitudes, feelings, and behaviours and, ultimately, one's self-concept and place within the social world."* (Hogg & Terry, 2000, 124).

2.3. ENDURING IN THE FACE OF UNCERTIANTY AND THREAT

Developing, maintaining and functioning under a group identity is activated and strengthened in contexts of subjective uncertainty and threats to in-group status. How secure/legit is the white Afrikaner social identity and does Afrikaners feel that their group status is threatened?

2.3.1. *Subjective uncertainty – A continued identity struggle.*

Since the demise of apartheid, the loss of state power, coupled with the realization that white South Africans and their rule of South Africa is perceived as a crime against humanity. Many white South Africans are struggling with their identity. Once they were the proud conquerors who struggled to survive the *swart gevaar*, the colonial expansion of the British Empire and who rose up to rule South Africa and enjoy her riches. Now they are a political minority and economically threatened by affirmative action policies and further calls for economic transformation. Who are the proud white Afrikaners now? Their social status is under threat.

According to Hendriks (1999, 333), the DRC is struggling to find a new identity. They played a significant role in the past as architects and justifiers of apartheid but has now become a church that is rapidly declining. Once they were influential and privileged because of the close relationship they had with the government, now they are a struggling church who has to defend itself, not just from the evils of its apartheid past, but also from the influence of charismatic and evangelical churches who seem to flourish by becoming a new haven for their fleeing members.

Once the DRC was a social institution that epitomised the white Afrikaner ideal, it was the home for the white Afrikaner Christian social identity. Now they represent the apartheid past and struggle to free themselves of such a negative identity marker.

2.3.2. Threat and fear of the other – High Crime rates and economic reform.

High crime rates and specifically *plaasmoorde* (murders of white farmers) have become politicised and perceived by many white South Africans as a form of genocide: black people taking revenge and targeting white farmers. Generally white South Africans also perceive transformative action and land reform as reverse racism.

Lemanski (2004, 109) speaks about the securing and privatisation of spaces because of a fear of crime and a fear of the other as contributing to racial prejudice. *"This can be seen in perceptions of the causes of crime; while whites see rising crime as representing the new (black) government's inability to rule (i.e. protect citizens), blacks attribute increased crime to unfinished democracy and African immigrants. Whites have long used fear of crime as a euphemism for fear of blacks; apartheid's "swart gevaar" and "skollie menace" justified segregation, and post-apartheid uncertainty extends this to fear of "their" rule."*

In the minds of many white Afrikaners their in-group status is both physically as well as psychologically being threatened by the other. This threat is not something that one could escape because South Africa continues the use of race distinctions. Race classification is still institutionally accommodated as a means to measure transformation.

2.4. DEALING WITH UNCERTAINTY AND STATUS THREAT

When there is no escape of a threatened social identity then the social identity approach has identified three main strategies individuals may adopt to counter the challenges posed to their beliefs about their group status, challenges against their social identity status. These are *individual mobility*, *social competition* and *social creativity* (See chapter 2).

2.4.1. Gathering in white spaces or migrating – Individual Migration

People will physically or psychologically try to disassociate with the devalued group and seek inclusion or association with a valued group.

After the fall of apartheid many South Africans have migrated and live abroad. Leaving open the door for speculation about their true motivations for leaving. Are they physically distancing themselves?

Many DRC members are leaving behind their "backwards" DRC congregations and joining the forward-thinking evangelical or charismatic or so-called non-denominational churches. Although many of these supposedly progressive churches are still dominated by white faces around the worship table. These middle to upper class comfortable new white dominated spaces don't get involved in politics but contribute through charity. Krog (2003, 257) critically asks: *"Is the only relationship we see for ourselves with our fellow African Christians that of charity?"*

2.4.2. Enclaved Nationalism – Social competition and escapism.

Ellemers (in Levine & Hogg, 2010, 799-800) explain that social competition entail that individuals will participate or instigate a collective effort to enhance their group status.

Christi van der Westhuizen (2016, 2) argues that although white Afrikaners may have abandoned nation-state ambitions in post-apartheid South Africa, nationalism does not need a nation-state ideal to be operationalized. In this neo-nationalism the focus is *"on cultural, economic and social autonomy"* (Van der Westhuizen, 2016, 9). Such neo-nationalism is institutionally expressed and symbolically articulated to preserve a cultural community.

In practice, this entail that Afrikaners migrate inwardly, away from national spaces, into own-spaces that are kept white. These own-spaces provides Afrikaners opportunities for cultural, social and economic autonomy that may become institutionally and culturally expressed.

This poses a question to the DRC: to what extent does white DRC congregations acts as harbours where white Afrikaners receive the freedom to socialise in a space where they are freed from the status threat posed by the other, the other that is conveniently absent when they gather?

The DRC is under pressure to act as a political vehicle to cater for the fears of the white Afrikaner such as being involved in the preservation of the Afrikaans language, speaking up about land reform and affirmative action as so-called reverse apartheid and to get involved in convincing the government to act against *plaasmoorde* (perceived as the persecution of white farmers).

How serious is the DRC about issues related to the white Afrikaner in-group compared to other issues experienced by other Christians that are part of a different racial group, especially when there is a clash of interest? Are certain DRC congregations choosing to stay silent on white issues because of the changes in the social context because they are trying to convey political correctness or have they really had a change of heart and identity? Are they choosing to speak up or stay silent because they are trying to keep their white flock together and advance their public image?

2.4.3. Ducking Responsibility and Justifying the past – Social Creativity

According to SIT individuals will adopt creative strategies to counter situations when improvements in status is not permissible (impermeable, stable and legitimate). Creative strategies include: (1) seeking different dimensions for comparison; (2) seeking to re-evaluate intragroup qualities to enhance group self-perceptions; (3) Seeking to compare with another group to enhance status.

Many young South Africans distance themselves from the past, stating that they did not participate in apartheid because it was before their time. Some, like former DA leader Hellen

Zille, argued very controversially that South Africa would never have had the infrastructure it has now, was it not for white colonialization.

In the church similar statements are made when Whites claim that without them most of Africa would still be lost, they would not have come to know Christ as their saviour but will still be captured by ancestry. These strategies legitimize the role identity of white churches.

Comparisons between the old regime and new democratic government also tent to be made in a way that creates the impression that the apartheid government did a better job of ruling the country for all of its people.

Unfortunately, none of these strategies will help South African on the road of becoming a reconciled nation that has broken the racial-ethnic barriers that remain such a deep-seated part of the social structure of the so-called Rainbow nation.

In a context where it is very difficult to overtly show ethnic-racial loyalties, especially when you are white, it is difficult to determine the depth of racial prejudice still prevalent in DRC churches.

2.5. THE DRC AND THE SOCIAL IDENTITY APPROACH – A MECHANISTIC CONCLUSION

The social identity approach seems to be more helpful than the sociological approaches adopted by Julia Aaboe (2007) and Jacobus C. Pauw (2007) mentioned in chapter 4 because it captures a more mechanistic approach to understanding group behaviour because the social identity approach relies on cognitive processes that may become automatically activated or subconsciously activated.

This does not mean that contextual influences become irrelevant because both the sociological and social-psychological approaches underline the importance of the social context when studying social reality.

Sociological approaches however focus more on the outward structure of the social reality, while the *"psychological models of social identity are more concerned with process,*

particularly cognitive processes of categorization and comparison" (Deaux, 2000, 2). The social identity approach tries to explain the influence of the cognitive processes on intergroup relations, cognisant that cognitive content has developed and plays out in specific (differing) social contexts, thus influencing the information inherent in cognitive processing.

From a sociological perspective, positive changes in social reality will more readily mean change in racial prejudice. From a psychological perspective this is not such a straight forward equation because of the precarious nature of social reality. As we have seen in chapter 2, cognitive processes are apt at dealing with this precarious nature of social reality. Certain perspectives are maintained because they remain a useful categorization mechanism to make sense of the fussy social reality an individual may encounter. Stereotypes will, as far as it remains useful, be maintained through biased perception, biased inferences and judgments and by biased memory (see chapter 2).

Changes may have occurred in the social reality of the DRC but this does not necessarily mean that stereotypical content, or for that matter, racial prejudice, has changed to the same degree. In fact, from the social identity approach it is more mechanistic to assume that in a context where racial classification and socio-spatial segregation of races is still very prevalent, racial stereotypes will be maintained and the other will remain the other and stereotyping will be automatically activated.

Social norms can change because of a change in the social context but it does not mean that racial prejudice (stereotyping) will follow suite, it just means that when racial stereotypes are activated they will be dealt with differently (influence by social norms).

If racial-ethnic identities are still accommodated by the DRC, what does that entail for intergroup helping situations?

3. CONCLUDING – WHITE SPACES AND HELPING OF OTHERS?

In chapter 3 of this study I have argued that objectification of the other occurs when (1) someone is made into an out-group member, that is, made an other and (2) when that other is then made subservient to satisfying some in-group need.

In chapter 5, I argued that missional helping, in the context of a racially segregated church, could be interpreted as objectification of the other. From the psychological perspective of intergroup helping, helping of out-group members tend to serve in-group needs. Thus, in missional helping objectification occurred because the other was created through racial categorization and rendered subservient to in-group needs (see chapter 5).

Racial categorization remains prevalent in the DRC because unity is still allusive. That is, the spaces are still dominated by mostly white faces in a country where whites are a minority and where church unity with their black and brown brothers and sister has not yet been achieved. They still worship separately and therefore the other still exist in a country where racial social identities are still dominant. If this does not change significantly and continues, it becomes obvious that the first part of objectification is still in place.

It also follows that the second part will also be in place because strong social identities still help to create a definite distinction between us and them which influence the motives behind intergroup helping. The psychological perspective on in-group helping dictate that helping an out-group member is marred by being strategic in serving in-group needs. This does not mean that different groups will not help each other, it does however mean that such help will be tainted by some self-serving motive. Chapter 5 also brought under our attention that such helping could hold dire consequences for the recipient and thus thwart the reconciliation and social cohesion processes.

In chapter 4, helping in the church was equated with mission. Mission has since adopted a more holistic approach that includes the socio-economic upliftment of the poor and church involvement with the issue of poverty (Kritzinger, 2000, 96 and 106). This change has influenced many DRC congregations who are now more involved with social upliftment in the form of charity (Kritzinger, 2000, 99).

3.1. WHY HELP – STILL OBJECTIFYING?

Van Leeuwen and Täuber (2010, 84) have identified three strategic motivations people employ that serves their in-group needs when they help out-group members: Power and autonomy, meaning and impression management.

Power and autonomy: a power differential exist in helping behaviour because the one party needs what the other party has. Helping behaviour will provide power and autonomy to the helper while threatening the power and autonomy of the one being helped.

Meaning: When a group or individual help another, they gain a sense of meaningfulness and purpose. In this sense, helping can become strategic because it can provide existential legitimization to the helper's status as the helper. The power differential reduces the ability of the recipients to actively pursue meaning because they only hold meaning as a passive receiver, they hold a secondary position.

Impression management: Help can become a very effective tool to advance group image by creating a favourable group impression. As we have seen in Chapter 3, this involves both warmth and competence because both warmth and competence illicit positive emotions and behaviours in others. In this relationship the helper possesses the means to communicate warmth and competence while the recipient is stripped of warmth and competence, being rendered inferior and in need of out-group generosity and assistance.

3.1.1. The Other as an Object of Charity?

As mention earlier in this chapter, Krog (2003, 247) asks critically if the relationship of white Christians with the racial other should be defined as a relationship of charity. Such a relationship creates an unbalanced power differential between them that awards whites with power and autonomy while depreciating the power and autonomy of the racial other.

This will also afford Whites' meaning in a country where they have been stripped of meaning and power because of the political changes and the diminishing of the DRC as an authoritative and influential role-player in South Africa. This is a threat to in-group status and helping becomes a means to enhance their group status.

3.1.2. The Other as an Object of Alleviating In-Group Guilt?

Many Whites struggle with their complicity and apathy towards the ills of the apartheid past. Whites need to make up for the past. Guilt signals that one has hurt another person and motivates reparative behaviour in order to undo the wrongdoing (de Hooge, Zeelenberg, Breugelmans, 2007, 1037).

Trying to rectify the past may explain why DRC members opt for an unbalanced relationship with the racial other where they act as the helper who is then trying to make-up for the past. White DRC members actively choose not to join black and brown churches or worship services. They, for the large part, do not choose to engage in reciprocal relationships with the racial other but rather opt to uphold a charitable relation. DRC members seem to be comfortable in their 'own' spaces as a social space of reciprocal friendships and only move over to the space of the other where they act as the helper.

Such charitable or prosocial helping behaviour is usually advertised on social media, on bulletin boards, in church services though PowerPoints and feedback sessions and on websites. Taking a critical viewpoint from the perspective of the psychology of prosocial behaviour, when the type of relationship that is chosen, is an unbalanced power relationship, it raises serious questions about what might motivate people to advertise their helping activities? It would seem that impression management might be a strong motivator. Impression management might still be an influential motivator when people seek to establish a balanced type of friendship relationship as a means to prove that they are indeed such a 'good' person.

I conclude by stating that as long as social spaces remain racially segregated, serious question marks will remain regarding the truthfulness of the neighbourly love that the DRC has for the racial other. From a social-psychological perspective it remains doubtful that their acts in the name of neighbourly love is rarely more than the mere objectification of the other.

According to Dirkie Smit (2016, 124): *"The final proof that the DRC wanted or wants to move away from Apartheid will be unity; and no commitment to any other ideal will ever be able to replace this acid test."* When and if unity happens and if people of different race groupings start to identify with each other under a strong social identity when unity occurs, then they will be brothers and sister in Christ, part of God's family and people created in God's Image. Then their acts of neighbourly love will have to be evaluated differently.

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