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*responsibility: an educational perspective  
part 2: responsibility of the bantu  
in a western cultural context*

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***RESPONSIBILITY: AN EDUCATIONAL PERSPECTIVE  
PART 2: RESPONSIBILITY OF THE BANTU  
IN A WESTERN CULTURAL CONTEXT***

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## P R E F A C E

In a previous study undertaken by the Institute for Educational Research of the HSRC, an analysis was made of the nature of responsibility in order to establish a basic plan for this study. After a comprehensive literature study on the Black man's religion and culture, it appeared that the basic plan which emerged from the previous study, offers a meaningful structure for planning an investigation into the problem of responsibility among Blacks in the Western cultural context. Empirical investigations, especially those undertaken by ethnologists (Anthropologists), indicate that some of the most profound religious convictions of Blacks as well as some of the most fundamental customs from their culture make it very difficult for them to accept responsibility in a Western cultural context. From an educational point of view, these aspects from the Black man's religion and culture represent an important dimension of the total educational field in as far as it concerns the education of the Black child.



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## OPSOMMING

Die Komitee Insake Navorsing oor die Ontwikkeling van die Bantoe (KINO) het aanvanklik versoek dat navorsing gedoen moet word oor die moontlikheid om 'n opleidingsprogram daar te stel wat daarop gemik is om 'n sin vir verantwoordelikheid by die Bantoes in diens van regeringsdepartemente in te skerp. 'n Ondersoek na verantwoordelikheid as sodanig het egter aan die lig gebring dat dit nie korrek is om verantwoordelikheid as 'n soort vaardigheid te beskou wat 'n mens kan aanleer soos byvoorbeeld 'n taal of 'n beroep nie. Verantwoordelikheid verwys na die wyse waarop mens lewe en meer bepaald na die wyse waarop take aangepak en afgehandel word. Dit is dus meer korrek om te praat van 'n verantwoordelike wyse van lewe of van 'n verantwoordelike wyse van taakvervulling. Die mees primêre verantwoordelikheid van elke mens is sy verantwoordelikheid om daardie persoonsmoontlikhede wat hy as gawes ontvang het, te verwerklik. 'n Mens kan geen taak verrig indien bepaalde persoonsmoontlikhede nie reeds tot 'n bepaalde niveau verwerklik (ontploo) is nie. Persoonsmoontlikhede word egter verwerklik by wyse van taakverrigting. Die verwerkliking van persoonsmoontlikhede impliseer dus ook die verwerkliking van dit wat in die natuur aanwesig is en om dit tot kultuur te omvorm. Roeping (en die take waarin dit uitdifferensieer) spreek tot die mens uit die kultuur. Die kultuur bepaal ook welke persoonsmoontlikhede tot welke niveau verwerklik moet word.

In hierdie studie is nagevors in welke mate die volgende aspekte uit die Bantoe se tradisionele geloof en uit sy tradisionele kultuur die verskyning van verantwoordelikheid by hom binne Westerse kultuurverband kan rem:

### a. Geloof

#### 1. Geloof in God

Al die Bantoevolke het tradisioneel geglo in 'n Oppermag of God as Skepper en Instandhouer van alles. Hulle het egter geen duidelike begrip betreffende die wesenswaard van God gehad nie. God was vir hulle ver verwyderd en het Hom weinig met die mens

en sy probleme ingemeng. Hulle het God hoofsaaklik gesien as 'n Gewer en waar hulle wel tot Hom gebid het, was dit om versoeke tot Hom te rig. Die tradisioneel georiënteerde Bantoe beleef God dus nie as 'n eisestellende gesag aan wie verantwoording gedoen moet word ten aansien van die gestalte wat die eie lewe hier op aarde aanneem nie. Vir die tradisioneel georiënteerde Bantoe is God dus afwesig uit die struktuur van verantwoordelikheid.

Verskeie ondersoeke dui daarop dat die Westers georiënteerde Bantoe (ook dié wat tot die Christendom bekeer is) se Godsbegrip nog baie ooreenkomste toon met die tradisionele Bantoe se Gods= begrip. Hulle beleef God wel as nader tot en meer toeganklik vir die mens. Hy bly egter hoofsaaklik gewer en nie eisesteller nie. Christus word deur baie van die Bantoe-Christene gesien as dié voorouer van die kerk, terwyl die Heilige Gees in verband gebring word met 'n onpersoonlike krag of magie.

## 2. Die geloof in die voorouers

Tradisioneel glo die Bantoe dat wanneer 'n mens sterf, verlaat sy gees sy liggaam en vertrek na die hiernamaals. Die hiernamaals word gesien as 'n getroue weergawe van die tradisionele "hierdie" wêreld van die Bantoe. Daar bestaan kommunikasie tussen hierdie wêreld en die hiernamaals. Die beoefening van voor= ouerverering het tot gevolg dat die Bantoe sterk verledegerig lewe. Die hiernamaals (die toekoms vir elke individu) beteken wesenlik 'n herskepping van 'n geïdealiseerde verlede. Beplanning met die oog op verandering(vooruitgang) is onversoenbaar met die Bantoe se geloof dat die toekoms sig uitstrek na 'n geïdealiseerde verlede soos dit beliggaam word in die hiernamaals.

Voorts glo die Bantoe ook dat sy voorouers gedurig in sy lewe inmeng. Baie van die dinge wat met hom gebeur (of dinge wat hy doen), skryf hy eenvoudig aan inmenging deur sy voorouers toe. Hy neig dus om van sy verantwoordelikhede op sy voorouers af te skuif.

Resente ondersoeke dui daarop dat die Westers georiënteerde Bantoe oor die algemeen nie sy geloof in die voorouergeeste prys= gegee het nie. Die geloof ten opsigte van die verhouding met die voorouers het onder die Westers georiënteerde Bantoe heelwat

skakel onder andere met sy gesin, sy verwantskapgroep, sy ouderdomsgroep en sy stam. Verantwoordelikhede word verder in 'n baie groot mate deur groepe gedeel. Wanneer 'n meisie byvoorbeeld verwagting raak, bring sy 'n skande oor al die meisies van haar ouderdomsgroep. Die seun wat vir haar toestand verantwoordelik was, se hele familie word geag medeverantwoordelik te wees vir sy onverantwoordelike daad. Vir die tradisionele Bantoe word die aanvaarding van individuele verantwoordelikheid dus ontmoedig.

### 3. Geloof in 'n onpersoonlike krag of magie

Die tradisioneel georiënteerde Bantoe glo ook in die bestaan van 'n onpersoonlike krag wat of tot voordeel of tot nadeel van die individu of gemeenskap aangewend kan word. Die toordokter wend die krag tot voordeel en die towenaar wend dit tot nadeel van die individu of gemeenskap aan. Hierdie aspek van die Bantoe se geloof bied aan hom die geleentheid om verantwoordelikheid vir bepaalde gebeurtenisse op towenaars en hekse af te skuif. Resente ondersoeke dui daarop dat die Westers georiënteerde Bantoe nog redelik algemeen glo in die krag van die toordokter en towenaar.

#### b. Kultuur

##### 1. Temporaliteit

In die Christelik-Westerse kultuur word dit as 'n geloofsoortuiging aanvaar dat die geskiedenis met die Skepping begin het, 'n reglynige verloop neem en sal eindig met die vervulling van God se plan met die heelal. Die Christen glo dat hy met medeverantwoordelikheid bekleed is ten aansien van die verloop van die geskiedenis en dat hy direk aan God verantwoording verskuldig is vir die gestalte wat sy lewe hier op aarde aanneem.

Die tradisioneel georiënteerde Bantoe glo wel dat alles in die gryse verlede deur 'n Oppermag geskep is. Hy glo egter nie dat God hom veel bemoei met die verloop wat die aardse geskiedenis neem nie. Sy (die Bantoe se) toekomst word vervul met sy toetrede tot die hiernamaals wat in wese 'n herskepping is van 'n geïdealiseerde verlede. Op grond van sy geloofsoortuigings leef die tradisionele

verander, dog dit neig nog steeds om die verskyning van verantwoordelikheid by die Bantoe te rem.

## 2. Betekenisontdekking

Vir die Westerling is beheersing van die werklikheid 'n baie belangrike doelstelling. Een voorvereiste vir toereikende beheersing van die werklikheid is outentieke kennis daarvan. Die wetenskap en tegnologie het daarom wesenskenmerke van die Westerse kultuur geword.

Die tradisionele Bantoe glo dat een van die wesenskenmerke van die heelal is dat alles wat is, beskryf kan word as krag. God is die oorsprong van alle krag, maar ook die mens, dier, plant en dooie materie besit krag. Die kragte van die heelal toon 'n bepaalde hiërargie en is onder ideale omstandighede harmonies aan mekaar geskakel. Sodra die natuurlike harmonie verbreek word, volg teenspoed en rampe. Die kragte werk egter op mekaar in en hulle kan mekaar versterk of verswak. Alles wat gebeur, kan verklaar word in terme van die inwerking van kragte op mekaar. Hierdie kragtefilosofie verskaf aan die tradisioneel georiënteerde Bantoe 'n betekenisraamwerk aan die hand waarvan hy alle gebeurtenisse probeer verklaar. Die motivering vir egte betekenisontdekking en toereikende beheersing van die werklikheid ontbreek dus. Wysheid is vir die tradisioneel georiënteerde Bantoe ook 'n krag wat die mens van buite ontvang en die mens kan uit homself niks doen om sy wysheid te versterk nie. Beheersing van die werklikheid is in die hande van kragte buite die mens. Die mens besit wel ook die krag om ander kragte te beheer, dog dié krag is aan hom geskenk deur 'n hoër krag en dit word verder ook deur hoër kragte versterk of verswak. Met so 'n kennisleer as 'n lewens- en wêreldbeskoulike oortuiging word die verwerkliking van veral kreatiewe verantwoordelikheid, dit wil sê verantwoordelikheid wat voortdurende beplanning aan die hand van feitlike gegewens vereis, baie bemoeilik.

## 3. Medesyn

Binne die tradisionele Bantoe-kultuur word die ontwikkeling van individualiteit ontmoedig, terwyl harmoniese groepskakeling sterk beklemtoon word. Die tradisionele Bantoe is 'n groepmens. Hy

Bantoe dus verleidergerig.

Binne die Westerse kultuur het verobjektiveerde of horlosietyd 'n belangrike norm geword aan die hand waarvan aktiwiteite beplan en verantwoording gedoen word. Voor hul aanraking met die Blanke het die Bantoevolke nie horlosietyd geken nie. Die Westers georiënteerde Bantoe ken wel horlosietyd, dog ondersoek dui daarop dat hy dit nie net so intens as die Blanke as 'n norm beleef nie. Hy neig gevolglik steeds tot 'n stadiger lewenstempo.

Die tradisionele Bantoesamelewing toon verder 'n hiërargiese sosiale struktuur wat ook die grondstruktuur vir hul politieke hiërargie vorm. 'n Opperhoof en sy familie het meer status en gesag as ander lede van die stam. 'n Eersgebore seun het ook meer status en gesag as die res van die gesin en 'n man het meer status en gesag as 'n vrou. 'n Persoon wat binne die tradisionele hiërargie 'n laer status beklee kan nie gesag voer oor iemand wat 'n hoër status as hy beklee nie. 'n Bekwame, hooggekwali-fiseerde Bantoe mag dit daarom byna onmoontlik vind om binne tradisionele samelewingsverband 'n pos te vul waar hy met gesag oor ander beklee word.

#### 4. Seksuele moraliteit

Feitlik alle Bantoevolke binne die RSA het tradisioneel voorhuwelikse seksuele omgang toegelaat. Die wyse van omgang wat toegelaat was, was egter van so 'n aard dat die meisie nie gedee-floreer of bevrug kon raak nie. Streng sosiale kontrole het verseker dat die voorskrifte betreffende die wyse van seksuele omgang op voorhuwelikse vlak baie selde oortree is. Wanneer 'n meisie wel verwagting geraak het, moes die man wat vir haar toestand verantwoordelik was, lobolo betaal en met haar trou. Indien hy nie met haar wou trou nie, moes hy en sy familie aan die meisie se familie vergoeding betaal. Onder die Westers georiënteerde Bantoe vind voorhuwelikse omgang nog algemeen plaas. Die tradisionele voorskrifte betreffende die wyse van omgang word egter in groot mate verwerp. Die gevolg is 'n groot toename in die aantal buite-egtelike kinders wie se opvoeding onbevredigend verloop.



Die Bantoe heg tradisioneel baie waarde aan 'n groot familie. Onder tradisionele omstandighede was 'n groot familie nodig om onder andere te help werk, vee oppas en jag. Op grond van sy geloof het die Bantoe dit as een van sy basiese verantwoordelikhede aanvaar om sy gesin en verwantskapsgroep soveel as moontlik uit te brei. Die Bantoe het dan ook tradisioneel baie waarde geheg aan die vrugbaarheid of baarvermoë van die vrou. Lobolo is dan ook beskou as betaling vir die vrugbaarheid van die vrou en nie vir die vrou self nie. Totdat lobolo betaal was, het 'n man geen aanspraak gehad op die kinders wat sy vrou in die lewe gebring het nie. Indien hy lobolo betaal het en sy vrou blyk onvrugbaar te wees, moes haar familie een van haar susters aan hom gee om vir hom kinders in die lewe te bring.

Westers georiënteerde Bantoes heg nog waarde aan die lobolo-gebruik. Jong Bantoemans vind dit egter dikwels moeilik om geld vir lobolo bymekaar te kry. Buite-egtelike geboortes is die gevolg. Baie jong Bantoemans laat die meisies egter in die steek na die geboorte van een of meer kinders. Die kinders word gewoonlik deur die meisie se moeder of grootmoeder groot gemaak. In baie gevalle verloop die opvoeding van die kinders nie bevredigend nie.

c. Slotopmerking

Uit die voorgaande uiteensetting moet nie afgelei word dat die tradisioneel georiënteerde Bantoe se geloof en kultuur die verskynsel van verantwoordelike mens as sodanig by hom rem nie. Binne sy tradisionele samelewingsverband is die tradisioneel georiënteerde Bantoe 'n verantwoordelike mens. Die hoogs geïndustrialiseerde Westerse samelewing stel egter ander kriteria aan die hand waarvan geoordeel word of 'n persoon verantwoordelik lewe al dan nie. Hierdie ondersoek het spesifiek ten doel om vas te stel welke aspekte van die tradisioneel georiënteerde Bantoe se geloof en kultuur dit vir hom moeilik maak om verantwoordelikhede binne Westerse kultuurverband te aanvaar.

## SUMMARY

The Committee re Research on Bantu Development (CORBD) initially requested that research be undertaken into the possibility of constructing a training programme intended to inculcate a sense of responsibility in Blacks employed by government departments. However, an investigation into responsibility itself showed that it is incorrect to regard responsibility as a kind of skill which can be acquired like learning a language or training for a profession. Responsibility refers to a way of life, and more specifically to the way in which a task is tackled and completed. It would therefore be more correct to speak of a responsible way of life or a responsible way of fulfilling a task. The most fundamental responsibility of every person is his responsibility to realise those personal potentialities which he received as talents. One can accomplish no task unless specific personal potentialities have been realised (developed) to a certain level. However, personal potentialities are realised by accomplishing a task. The realization of personal potentialities therefore also implies the realization of that which is present in nature and of transforming that into culture. Vocation (and the tasks into which it is differentiated) appeal to man in relation to culture. Culture also determines which personal potentialities have to be realised to a specific level.

This study examined the extent to which the following aspects of the Black man's traditional faith and culture may impede the manifestation of responsibility in a Western cultural context:

### a. Faith

#### 1. Faith in God

Traditionally all the Black peoples believed in a Supreme Being or God as Creator and Maintainer of everything. However, they had no clear concept regarding the essential nature of God. To them God was far distant and seldom interfered with man and his problems. They regarded God mainly as a Provider and if they prayed to Him, it was to request Him for something. Consequently the traditionally oriented Black man does not experience God as an authority making demands, to whom an account must be rendered in respect of the nature of the individual's life on earth. For the

traditionally oriented Black man God is absent from the structure of responsibility.

Various investigations indicate that the concept that Western oriented Blacks (also those converted to Christianity) have of God still corresponds in many respects to that of traditional Blacks. They experience God indeed as being closer and more accessible, but he remains chiefly the provider and not one who makes claims. Many Black Christians regard Christ as the ancestor of the church, whereas the Holy Ghost is related to an impersonal force or magic.

## 2. The belief in the ancestors

Traditionally Blacks believe that when a person dies, his spirit leaves the body and departs for the hereafter which is seen as a faithful replica of the traditional "present" world of the Blacks. There is communication between this world and the hereafter. The practice of ancestor worship results in the fact that Blacks' lives are strongly directed towards the past. The hereafter (the future for every individual) implies essentially a re-creation of an idealised past. Planning with a view to change (progress) is irreconcilable with the Black man's belief that the future stretches to an idealised past as embodied in the hereafter.

Blacks also believe that their ancestors continuously interfere in their lives. Many of the things which happen to them (or which they do) are simply ascribed to interference by the ancestors. They are thus inclined to shift responsibilities on to the ancestors.

Recent investigations indicate that (generally speaking) the Western oriented Black man has not surrendered his belief in the ancestral spirits. The belief in respect of the relationship with the ancestors has changed considerably among Western oriented Blacks, but it still tends to hamper the sense of responsibility among Blacks.

## 3. Belief in an impersonal power or magic

Traditionally oriented Blacks also believe in the existence of an impersonal power which may be administered to the advantage or disadvantage of the individual or community. The witchdoctor applies this power to the advantage and the sorcerer to the disadvan-

tage of the individual or community. This aspect of the Black man's belief offers him the opportunity of shifting responsibility for particular events to sorcerers and witches. Recent investigations indicate that Western oriented Blacks fairly commonly still believe in the power of the witchdoctor and the sorcerer.

## b. Culture

### 1. Temporality

In the Christian-Western culture it is accepted as a religious conviction that history began with the Creation, follows a linear course and will end with the fulfilment of God's plan with the universe. The Christian believes that he is co-responsible for the course of history and that he must account directly to God for the form of his life on earth.

Traditionally oriented Blacks believe that everything was created by God in the far distant past. However, they also believe that God is not too concerned with the course of the earth's history. The Black's future is fulfilled when he enters the hereafter which, fundamentally, is a re-creation of an idealised past. On account of their religious convictions, traditional Blacks therefore live directed to the past.

In Western culture objectivised or chronological time has become an important norm on the strength of which activities are planned and an account given. Before their contact with Whites, Blacks did not know chronological time. Western oriented Blacks do know it, but various investigations have indicated that they do not experience it as a norm as intensely as Whites do. Consequently they are inclined to live at a slower tempo.

### 2. Discovery of meaning

Control over reality is an important aim of Westerners. One prerequisite for adequate control of reality is authentic knowledge of it. Thus science and technology have become essential characteristics of Western culture.

Traditional Blacks believe that one of the essential characteristics

of the universe is that everything that exists can be described as a force. God is the source of all force, but also people, animals, plants and lifeless matters exert force. The forces of the universe show a particular hierarchy and under ideal conditions they are harmoniously linked. Adversity and catastrophe follow as soon as the natural harmony is disrupted. However, these forces affect one another and may strengthen or weaken one another. Everything that happens may be explained in terms of the effect of forces on each other. This philosophy of forces provides traditionally oriented Blacks with a framework of meaning on the strength of which they try to explain all events. Consequently there is no motivation for true discovery of meaning and adequate control of reality. To traditionally oriented Blacks wisdom is also a force which man receives from outside and on his own man cannot do anything to increase his wisdom. Control of reality is in the hands of forces outside man, although man also has the power to control other forces. However, this power has been granted to him by a higher force and is strengthened or weakened by higher forces. With such a theory of knowledge as a philosophical conviction, the realization of creative responsibility in particular, that is, responsibility which requires constant planning on the strength of factual data, is seriously impeded.

### 3. Co-existence

In the traditional Black culture the development of individuality is discouraged, whereas harmonious group integration is strongly emphasised. The traditional Black is one of a group. He integrates with his family, his relationship group, his age group and his tribe. Responsibilities are shared to a large extent by groups. For example, when a girl becomes pregnant, she brings disgrace to all the girls of her age group. The whole family of the boy responsible for her condition is considered co-responsible for his irresponsible deed. Traditional Blacks are thus discouraged from accepting individual responsibility.

Moreover, the traditional Black society reveals a hierarchical social structure which also constitutes the fundamental structure for their political hierarchy. A chief and his family have more status and authority than other members of the tribe. A first-born son has more status and authority than the rest of the family and a

man more than a woman. A person of lower status in the traditional hierarchy may not wield authority over a person of higher status. A capable, highly qualified Black may thus find it almost impossible to fill a post in the context of the traditional society in which he is invested with authority over others.

#### 4. Sexual morality

Traditionally, practically all Black peoples in the RSA permitted premarital sexual intercourse. However, the manner of intercourse allowed, was of such a nature that the girl could not be deflowered or impregnated. Strict social control ensured that the prohibitions regarding the manner of sexual intercourse at premarital level were hardly ever violated. When a girl became pregnant, however, the man responsible for her condition had to pay lobolo and marry her. If he refused to marry her, he and his family had to pay compensation to the girl's family. Among Western oriented Blacks premarital sexual intercourse is still common. However, the traditional prohibitions concerning the manner of intercourse have to a large degree been rejected. The result is a large increase in the number of illegitimate children whose upbringing is unsatisfactory.

Traditionally Blacks accord much value to a large family. Under traditional conditions a large family was necessary to help with the work, to look after the cattle and to hunt. On account of his belief, the Black man accepted it as one of his basic responsibilities to enlarge his family and kinship group as much as possible. Traditionally the woman's fecundity was highly esteemed and lobolo was regarded as payment for the fecundity of the woman and not for the woman herself. Until lobolo was paid a man had no claim on the children the woman gave birth to. If lobolo had been paid and the woman proved to be barren, her family had to give one of her sisters to the man to bear him children.

Western oriented Blacks still consider the custom of lobolo to be of value, but young Black men often find it difficult to save money for lobolo and this leads to illegitimate births. However, many young Black men leave the girl in the lurch after the birth of one or more children. The children are usually brought up by the girl's mother or grandmother and in many cases their upbringing is unsatisfactory.

tisfactory.

c. Concluding remark

It must not be deduced from the foregoing exposition that the belief and culture of traditionally oriented Blacks hamper their sense of responsibility as such. In his traditional society the traditionally oriented Black person is a responsible person. However, the highly industrialised Western society imposes other criteria of assessing whether a person lives in a responsible manner or not. The specific aim of this investigation is to determine which aspects of the traditionally oriented Black man's belief and culture make it difficult for him to assume responsibility in a Western cultural context.





## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION, STATEMENT OF PROBLEM, AIM AND PLAN OF STUDY

#### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

The problem of responsibility among Blacks in the Western cultural context was examined in this study. The term responsibility may give the impression that we are concerned here with a detachable and definable factuality which constitutes only a facet of the personality as a whole. For the purposes of this study, however, it is accepted that responsibility points to an action, namely the action of accounting for. However, accounting for as confirmation of authentic responsibility is preceded by a feeling and realization of being responsible for one's own actions. This study also revolves round the question why people feel called upon to act responsibly in respect of particular aspects of everyday life, whereas other aspects do not at all appeal to them. Only fundamental aspects will be discussed, such as those underlying the feeling of being responsible and which also contextually qualify the realization of being responsible in the sense that norms for accountability are provided. Aspects are discussed from the Black man's religion and culture which have determining significance for the realization of responsibility among Blacks in a Western cultural context. (See Section 1.2) Although the traditional Bantu cultures along a wide front have been and are being dismantled, it nevertheless appears that some fundamental, traditional religious convictions and cultural traditions still form the foundations of the Black man's philosophy of life.\* Some of these fundamental as-

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\* For example, in 1963 Dr S D Onabamiro, Minister of Agriculture and Natural Resources in Western Nigeria, wrote as follows: "The mind of the average African student, therefore, is invariably divided into three watertight compartments. With one compartment he absorbs the traditional beliefs handed over to him by his parents concerning his origin and the origin and purposes of other living things around him. He is ever conscious of the powers wielded by evil spirits surrounding the village which delight in afflicting his family with diseases and death. With another compartment if he is a Christian, he absorbs the doctrine of the new religion with re-

pects of the Bantu cultures have an unfavourable effect on the acculturation process. Some of these hampering factors from the Bantu tradition are identified in this study. It will also be considered how this hampering effect of some of the traditions can be eliminated without confusing the Black man.

This investigation is chiefly based on aspects which resulted from an analysis of the structure of accounting for or of responsibility (the experiencing of a vocation → fulfilment of a task → accounting). Life-tasks (and also daily tasks) refer to particular contents of the world of experience on the strength of which responsibility obtains dimensional characteristics according to which a distinction can be made between specific responsibilities. These dimensional characteristics of responsibility were not considered to be of fundamental importance to this study and were therefore not examined. However, in particular situations (for example in the training of mechanics, engineers, public prosecutors, et cetera) it may be of value to take the dimensional characteristics of responsibility into consideration as well. As introduction to this report, some possible dimensional characteristics of responsibility are therefore discussed in outline.

In the first instance responsibility shows differences in level. On the one side of a rising line there is simple routine responsibility which requires very little high-level thought and insight. For example, a person has to dig a trench or tighten nuts. On the other side of the line there is responsibility which is accomplished at a high cognitive level and which is characterised by a high degree of creativity ('creative responsibility'). This form of responsibility is characterised by well-known facts being integrated in thought with one another, thus creating new structures as potentialities and comparing them on the supposition that a choice will be made which must result in action. The significance and results of the action for which the person accepts responsibility, are not always

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lation to the Bible stories of the Creation and the flood. When he gets to the science laboratory in his school, he strives to learn with the third compartment the properties of matter, the atomic theory and the theory of biological evolution. Small wonder then that the African student, by the time he enters the university, is in a highly confused state" (Anabamiro, 1964, p. 46).

predictable. Routine responsibility reveals few creative characteristics. Creative responsibility may, however, also show a large degree of routine, especially when emphasis is chiefly put on the physical actions of the worker. A researcher's responsibility, for example, is strongly creative in nature, but much routine is still involved, whereas the responsibility of an artist (for example a painter) needs much less routine. (Every physical action requires a decision which eventually forms an integral part of a new creation.)

Responsibility also has a particular scope or impact. The responsibility of the person digging a trench is limited in scope. The responsibility of the driver of a passenger bus is mostly routine, requires little creativity, but nevertheless has a particularly wide scope. A headmaster's responsibility may not be very creative, but the routine is unstable (the routine is often disturbed) and has a particularly wide scope or impact. There is relatively little routine in the responsibility of a head of state, but much creativity, and it covers a wide range.

This study is not concerned with the quality of responsibility in respect of the dimensional characteristics. A good labourer's responsibility does not differ qualitatively from that of a good head of state. The quality of a person's responsibility has a bearing on the intensity of his experiencing of a vocation and does not necessarily depend on the dimensional characteristics of responsibility. It can be assumed, however, that responsibility that demands a high degree of creativity, will also require the bearer of that responsibility to have a sound knowledge and understanding of the culture in which this responsibility is situated. In this case, and especially also when responsibility is of a wide scope, secondary aspects of the culture became part of the issue (for example, money, housing, clothing and possible holidays). These matters are not discussed in this study, but the reader must bear in mind that they may affect the individual's responsibility in different ways.

## 1.2 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The problem which gave rise to the request for this research to be undertaken is chiefly concerned with the absence of a sense of responsibility among Blacks working in the administrative sections

of government departments, although the problem is not restricted to administrative staff. The aim of this study will therefore be to indicate basic principles which may serve as the foundation for the inculcation of responsibility during the training of Blacks for all occupations, with at most a shift in emphasis to make provision for possible mutual differences with regard to the culture of the various Black peoples in the RSA.

With regard to Blacks, however, the problem reveals three aspects which are all equally significant, especially if looked at in the context of the development of the homelands. They are the following:

- (a) The absence of a sense of responsibility is illustrated by unsatisfactory work performance as well as dishonesty which seriously impedes the progress of Blacks as a group.
- (b) An inability to accept responsibility which is not clearly defined by prescribed duties. New development projects therefore have to be initiated and to a large degree controlled by White officials. Only when new projects turn out to be successful, will the Black man be prepared to accept responsibility for them.
- (c) Blacks often reveal an inability to perceive similarities between various problems and problematical situations. They are then unwilling to accept responsibility in respect of the solution to new problems, despite the fact that they have the necessary knowledge and skills for coping with such problems.

The aforementioned three aspects of the problem of responsibility among Blacks were formulated mainly by officials concerned with the training of Blacks. These aspects should therefore be regarded as justification for this investigation.

It should be pointed out, however, that it has been accepted as the point of departure for this study that no genetic differences with regard to the ability to achieve and to accept responsibility can be indicated between Whites and Blacks (as population groups). It should be emphasised that the foregoing refers to possible differences between groups and not between individuals.

When responsibility is considered as a human potentiality, it implies that it is present and can be realised in man as a potentiality, irrespective of race or colour. Differences naturally occur among individuals, but it has been assumed for the purpose of this study that such differences are not related to differences in race or colour. However, the fact that a problem has arisen with regard to the realization of responsibility among Blacks in a Western cultural context, indicates that changeable factors must be active which in some way co-determine the realization of responsibility. It was unconditionally assumed for the purpose of this study that any differences which became apparent between the White man's sense of responsibility and that of the Black man in a Western cultural context, must be attributed to differences in education in an autogenous cultural context. The Westerner bases his education on a different philosophy of life and consequently has a different educational aim for his child than the traditionally oriented Black man has for his children.

In a preliminary study (Nel, 1977) to this investigation in which a structural analysis of responsibility was undertaken, it was stated that the realization of responsibility can be described as an original human way of life which is accomplished in the following manner: A responsible person experiences being called upon by a transcendental instructor to give a particular shape to his life by his own efforts. The shape that his life has to take is to a large extent determined by norms which apply in the society in which he lives. The responsible person feels himself called upon in particular to complete the tasks which arise from his calling in such a way that by doing so he contributes to the shape that his life has to take. Task performance is essentially a response to the appeal and is still no accounting. However, the responsible person experiences another question being asked of him from the transcendent, namely whether qualitatively and quantitatively his task performance satisfies the demands contained in the original calling. The reply to this 'reflected' question is accounting, and is the task of the conscience. Accounting for (the realization of responsibility) is therefore not identical to giving an account to a fellow person (for example a supervisor) of individual activities (Nel, 1977). In the case of a responsible person these two (responsibility and giving an account) will correspond, but not necessarily so in the case of an irresponsible person.

The aforementioned analysis of responsibility showed that a number of aspects from the human world of experience determine the realization of responsibility. They are:

- (a) Faith in God or in something or someone who in place of God is experienced as transcendental instructor(s)
- (b) Culture
- (c) Philosophy of life
- (d) The conscience
- (e) Human potentialities

The previously mentioned aspects constitute inseparable interdependent essential characteristics of one indivisible personal world of experience. The philosophical convictions are rooted in faith and culture. When these two are discussed as aspects which are of particular importance for the realization of responsibility (essential conditions for the manifestation of responsibility), a similar discussion on the philosophy of life does not appear necessary.

In the preliminary study on responsibility to which reference has already been made, it was foreseen that direct empirical investigations into conscience could produce specific problems. It was also assumed for the purpose of this study that the conscience of the Black person does not differ fundamentally from that of the White Westerner. It was therefore concluded that the conscience of the Black person in a Western cultural context does not constitute a problem that can be examined in this study. This does not imply that the realization of the Black person's conscience in a Christian-Western cultural context constitutes no problem whatsoever, but it is seen as a problem which can only be introduced indirectly by way of an exposition of his faith and culture and its significance for his realization of responsibility in a Western cultural context.

In the aforementioned preliminary study on responsibility, it was found that for the Protestant Christian (Westerner) the most original responsibility is represented by the responsibility to realise the human potentialities which every person receives as talents. In fact, the realization of human potentialities constitutes the most original responsibility to the adherents of any religion or culture. If a person takes on a particular responsibility, it is accepted as a presupposition that he already has the particular knowledge and abilities required for completing the task arising from the responsibility. If looked at in the light of the problem that has to be examined in this study, the problems regarding the realization of human potentialities as co-determinants for the manifestation of responsibility, lie in the fact that culture co-qualifies the realization of human potentialities. The culture to which a person belongs, co-determines which human potentialities are realised and to what level they can be realised (Grant, 1969, p. 64). It is clear that in this respect a particular problem regarding responsibility among Blacks in a Western cultural context presents itself. The Western culture requires that by means of education and formal instruction, specific human potentialities should be realised (developed) in the maturing child, whereas in the Bantu cultures more emphasis is laid on a different realization of human potentialities. The HSRC is at present conducting two studies on the realization of specific human potentialities in the Western cultural context, namely mathematical aptitude and mechanical aptitude. The realization of human potentialities was therefore not accepted as a problem field for this study.

The problem that must receive attention in this study, is the Black man's religion and his culture as fields of origin for his sense of responsibility and the influence of these two on the realization of responsibility (by the Black man) in a Western cultural context. If aspects from the Black man's religion and culture can be particularised as hampering the realization of responsibility in a Western cultural context, the hampering effect of such aspects may be eliminated during the preponderantly Western oriented training programmes for adult Blacks.

### 1.3 METHOD OF RESEARCH

This investigation will be completed in the following two phases:

- (a) A comprehensive literature study is undertaken during the first phase. The facts obtained from relevant literature will be interpreted, systematised and reflected in the form of a report from the point of view of the statement of the problem, namely responsibility among Blacks in a Western cultural context.
- (b) During the second phase the report will be distributed among as many authorities on Blacks as possible, such as training officers, personnel officers, ethnologists, educationists, missionaries and prominent Black academics. The persons concerned will be asked to serve on an advisory committee for discussing the report and for devising guidelines for possible empirical investigations.

#### 1.4 AIM OF THE STUDY

The aim of the study is to identify aspects from the Black man's religion and culture which may hamper the realization of responsibility in a Western cultural context, and to make recommendations for eliminating such aspects, particularly in the labour situation.

#### 1.5 THE PLAN OF THE STUDY

The religious convictions of Blacks and the relationship between these convictions and their sense of responsibility are discussed in Chapter 2.

Temporality as an aspect of the Black man's life world is discussed in Chapter 3, with specific reference to its significance for the Black man's sense of responsibility in a Western cultural context.

The theory of knowledge of traditional Blacks as well as their attitude with regard to sense - according and discovery of meaning is discussed in Chapter 4, with specific reference to the relationship between that and their sense of responsibility.

The principles underlying interhuman relationships among Blacks are discussed in Chapter 5, with reference to the relationship between these principles and the Black man's sense of responsibility.



Traditional Black man's views regarding reproduction are discussed in Chapter 6 with specific reference to the connection between reproduction and responsibility in the modern, Western societal context.

Chapter 7 consists of a synopsis of the study and some recommendations.

## CHAPTER 2

### RELIGIOUS VIEWS OF BLACKS AND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THESE VIEWS AND THEIR SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY

#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

In a preliminary study to this investigation it was found that belief in God or in something or someone put in the place of God, is one aspect of man's life which is of determining significance for his sense of responsibility. In the particular study, belief or religion as such was not studied in detail. The foundation for the statement that man's religion has determining significance for responsibility in him, lies in a structural analysis of responsibility. The calling to man, which is an essential condition for responsibility, comes from a transcendental instructor and the nature of this instructor is qualified by man's religion (the Christian's religion is qualified by the demands made on him by God as the source and destiny of everything). The term 'religious views of Blacks' refers to the Black man's views regarding forces outside and beyond man which have an effect on the shape a man's life on earth assumes. According to the religious views of the traditionally oriented Black there is not only one such transcendental force, but a multitude. In outline this multitude can be divided into three groups, namely a Supreme Being or God, the ancestral spirits and an impersonal force or magic which can be manipulated by man. These three forces will subsequently be discussed. The reader has to bear in mind, however, that the Black man does not experience these forces as distinctly separate from one another. It may even appear that they experience the various groups only as hierarchically manifested forms of the same force which is to be found in the Supreme Being or God.

#### 2.2 THE TRADITIONALLY ORIENTED BLACK MAN'S VIEWS REGARDING A SUPREME BEING OR GOD AND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THAT AND HIS SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY

Bruwer (1963, p. 122) points out that all Black peoples have a realization of a Supreme Being, a force that reigns over everything and that cannot be related to the ancestral spirits. Parrinder (1969, p. 39) also writes in this connection: "From the earlier view that

African religion was crudely fetishistic, with an idea of God where it existed being an importation, informed opinion has now swung round to the conviction that most, if not all, African peoples have had a belief in a Supreme Being as an integral part of their world view and practised religion." Mbiti (1970), on the strength of available literature regarding the God image among traditional Black peoples of Africa, made a study of more than 270 tribes and found that belief in God as a Supreme Being is common among all the Black peoples of Africa. Parrinder (1969, p. 39) has the following to say on this topic: "Missionaries have found, often to their surprise, that they did not need to argue for the existence of God, or faith in a life after death, for both these fundamentals of world religion are deeply rooted in Africa." (See also Ashton, 1962, p. 116.)

For the purpose of this investigation it may be accepted as a proven fact that the traditionally oriented Black believes in a Supreme Being as all-powerful creator and disposer of everything. A start can therefore be made with determining what role the Black man's view of God fulfils in respect of the development of a sense of responsibility. To understand the relationship between the traditionally oriented Black man's belief in God and his sense of responsibility, it is necessary first to determine on the strength of which essential characteristics he comprehends and experiences his god as god. Obviously no detailed exposition can be presented here. Mbiti, professor of Theology and Comparative Religion at the Makerere University College in Uganda, devotes his entire work of 250 pages to a description of the idea that the Black peoples of Africa have of God. It can be assumed that what is essential of Black peoples of Southern Africa's view of God is also included in Mbiti's work (Mbiti, 1970). For the purpose of this study it is sufficient to present a general impression of the Black man's idea of God based on some essential characteristics.

With regard to the essence in the concept of God as held by the Blacks of Africa, Parrinder (1969, p. 40) writes the following: "God is always creator and ruler, the one beyond all thanks ... It is clear that God exists by himself; he is not the creature of any other being, but is the cause of everything else. His pre-eminence and his greatness go together. But since he is greater than any other spirit or man, God is mysterious and nobody can under=

stand him, he creates and destroys, he gives and takes away."

It is necessary at this stage to draw attention to the apparent paradox between the transcendental, distant and the imminent, all-present nature of God. Mbiti (1970, p. 12) points out that the transcendental nature of God is comprehended in different ways by Blacks. With regard to temporality more emphasis is placed on the past and the present than on the future: Further back in the past than man can imagine, God was God and He is still the same unchanged God that he has always been. There are few myths and beliefs in the traditional cultures of Black Africa with regard to the relationship between God and the future. The traditionally oriented Black person is therefore ultra-conservatively rooted in the past. This fact must undoubtedly be of vital importance to the development of a sense of responsibility among traditionally oriented Blacks. Engelbrecht (n.d. p. 13), for example, writes the following on this matter: "Projects extending to the future are doomed to failure. Planning for the future does not really exist. To the Black man the future is in the hands of forces beyond man. In fact, it is wrong in their religion, a sin, to have a future perspective." (Translation.)

With regard to spatiality, God is experienced as immanent, omnipresent, but at the same time also infinitely distant, out of reach of all people. With regard to the immanence of God, Blacks believe that God is present everywhere in everything. Engelbrecht (n.d. p. 5) writes for example: "I was told that the inhabitants of the area believe that the natural vegetation stops growing as soon as a church is built. The divinity, the source of life which, according to them, lives in all plants and things, is then transferred to the building of the White man. No wonder then that the plants no longer show any signs of life " (Translation). Although to Blacks God is present everywhere, in everything, they do not identify God with earthly objects. No examples have been found where Blacks raise earthly objects (plants, mountains, animals, et cetera) to idols which they worship. This apparent inconsistency can be explained in terms of Tempels' (1946, pp. 25-30) explanation of the Black man's philosophy. According to Tempels, Blacks see the universe as arranged in a hierarchy of forces or powers with God as the Supreme Power. All events in the universe can therefore be explained in terms of the influence of forces on each other, the increase of some forces and the decrease of others, or the subjection

of one force to another. Forces cause plants to grow, a fire to burn and enable people to act. As Supreme Power and as Creator and maintainer of everything, God is therefore present in all forces, therefore in everything that exists. As a force God is also present with and in man, but this force does not create access for man to God and that is why God remains infinitely distant and unapproachable, according to Parrinder, "beyond all thanks". Ashton (1962, p. 116) writes the following with regard to the concept that the Basuto have of God: "The traditional Lesuto conception of God was of a very distant being, situated somewhere in the heavens, too remote and too aloof to pay much attention to man and his petty affairs although prayers for his help were made in time of drought or sickness and by barren women."

Although the Black man therefore regards himself as entirely inferior, submissive to and dependent on God, it cannot be deduced purely and simply that he feels responsible to God for the course his life takes. From the point of view of responsibility, various other aspects of the Black man's faith serve as a shield between him and his God. The most important of these aspects is that the Black man does not experience his God as a demanding force which establishes norms with which man has to comply (Ashton, 1962, p. 118). The Zulu do admit that in the remote past God made certain norms known to their ancestors by which man should live. They also admit, however, that they no longer know most of those norms (Mbiti, 1970, p. 175). Traditionally oriented Blacks do not experience God as a judge to whom an account has to be rendered in respect of the shape that life on earth has to assume (Parrinder, 1969, p. 45). Neither do Blacks believe that man in the hereafter has to atone for his deeds during his life. They firmly believe in a life after death, but man has to atone for his sins while still on earth. Mbiti (1970, p. 219) summarizes the relationship between the Black man and his God as follows: "We have shown that people seek after God's help and attention through prayers, invocations, sacrifices and offerings. They believe that he responds and helps them. This search after his attention is utilitarian and not purely spiritual; it is practical and not mystical. As far as our sources are concerned, African peoples do not 'thirst after God' for his own sake alone. They seek to obtain what he gives, be that material or even spiritual; they do not seem to search for him as the final reward or satisfaction of the human soul or

spirit." With regard to the traditionally oriented Basuto's concept of God Ashton (1962, p. 119) writes: "... their belief in God does not portray Him as a being to whom one should, or could, pay personal devotion; still less does it indicate Him as the personification or representation of the ideal to be striven for for its own sake."

According to their belief, the principles according to which Blacks give shape to their lives and the norms they have to obey were made known to their ancestors by God in the remote past. These principles and norms are embodied in the customs and usages of the people (Parrinder, 1969, p. 44). In this respect Engelbrecht (n.d. p. 14) writes: "The past forms a practical and ethic framework; a source of knowledge to draw on for the present. Blacks still attach much value to this historical world of the ancestors, the people who devised a meaningful basic structure for daily life. This is the world to which they will go after death. There is no doubt about this; they are not caught up in a theology of eschatological expectations and a complex system of ethical prescriptions and codes." (Translation.) The tribal chiefs, elders of the tribe as well as the departed ancestors watch over the tribal customs and traditions. God is not experienced as the one who ultimately fulfils man's destiny, and that is also why he is not experienced as the authority to whom an account must be rendered in respect of the shape that the life on earth has to assume. To the Black man responsibility therefore does not extend to the future. In fact, to him the future means a return to his ancestors, therefore essentially a return to the past.

## 2.3 THE WESTERNISED BLACK MAN'S CONCEPT OF GOD

The arrival of Christianity has resulted in a change in the traditional concept of God among Blacks (also the traditionally oriented Blacks). For example, Pauw (1969, p. 61) writes as follows: "It is evident, however, that there was no extensive cult of Qama-tha in pre-Christian times, and that he was conceived of as a distant God with whom man has hardly any direct contact. This idea has changed considerably and even Red Xhosa nowadays speak of praying to Thixo and asking his forgiveness, but they themselves interpret Christianity as involving a closer relationship with God than that which they recognize." The works of Ashton (1962, p. 117)

and Schutte (1974, p. 126) also confirm that the Bantu Christians regard God as closer to man and approachable through prayer. It appears, however, that the Bantu Christian's concept of God still retains characteristics of the traditional concept of God held by Blacks. The Xhosa Christian, for example, finds it difficult to think of God as a triune God. Pauw (1969, p. 63) writes as follows in respect of their view of Christ: "He appears more separate from, than one with God the Father, and more subject to than equal with Him. In as far as Christ is given prominence, it is rather as the great ancestor of the Church than as the second person in the Trinity". With regard to the Tswana, Erasmus (1970, p. 103) writes: "The conviction of the Tswana that Modimo is the God of Christianity, is therefore only a recognition that Modimo is the 'highest', just as the God of Christianity is proclaimed as the highest." (Translation.) In other words, the concept of God is not completely separated from the traditional concept of God and the belief in the ancestral spirits. The question now is to what extent the Western oriented Black man accepts God as the Person to whom he is ultimately responsible for the shape of his life on earth. It appears from the literature that was consulted that the Bantu Christian feels himself responsible to God mainly in respect of his moral conduct (Pauw, 1969, p. 64). The utility idea apparently still constitutes a strong component of the belief in God. For example, Pauw (1969, p. 63) quotes the following prayer of a Bantu elder in the N.G. Kerk at a prayer meeting for rain: "Lord we are here in agony. Your earth is blank. Father we ask you to draw up your clouds from the sea. Yes we know there is no other who can help us except you... There is nothing we can do, and meanwhile time is moving on. We have done this Lord to come nearer to You, coming with our diverse affairs to lay them at your feet ... we are in conflict with your earth. Here are your children opening their mouths like little birds, saying: Let your rain of peace descend by this afternoon" (p. 63). This absence of a confession of guilt reminds of Mbiti's (1970) view: "The search after his attention is utilitarian and not purely spiritual" (p. 219). The surmise that the Bantu Christian's concept of God is not completely purified of his traditional views, is emphasised by Schutte who writes as follows: "This statement (by one of Schutte's respondents) apparently indicates that prayer could be a channel whereby supernatural power can be conducted to man" (p. 128). (Translation.)

Möller's (1972) investigation also confirms that the Western oriented Black and even the Bantu Christian's concept of God still shows much similarity to the traditional Black concept of God. He writes for example: "In general it appears that although God, probably especially by means of Christianity, has emerged more clearly as a person than in the traditional pre-Christian view, He nevertheless has not got much closer to man. The distance is still filled in with expectations round the ancestral spirits and magic means, also of the church" (p. 85). (Translation.) More specifically with regard to the labour situation, Möller (1972) arrives at the following conclusion: "With regard to the concepts revolving round work and prosperity, it can be stated that despite many references to God, little direct interest or intervention is expected of God. To many this aloofness is overcome and compensated for by the ancestral spirits, whereas magical manipulations still play a part. Man's own ability to work out his prosperity, with or without the blessing of God, is also significant, especially among members of the orthodox churches with White contact.

The views of the young respondents on this matter correspond so much with those of the older groups that no distinguishing tendency can be indicated at this stage" (p. 86). (Translation.)

Möller (1972) finds with regard to the Western oriented Black man's views on sin and punishment that: "In the light of the opinion that most of the present generation are bad, it is important that in this opinion reference is always made to others. What is bad is never applicable to the speaker" (p. 88). (Translation.) Möller also avers: "A reasonable degree of vagueness about the involvement of God in forgiveness for sins and punishment is noticeable. An aloofness accompanied by a lack of a sense of responsibility towards God can be seen in this" (p. 88). (Translation.)

It therefore appears justified to make the deduction that the large majority of Western oriented Blacks know God only as a concept at the intellectual level. Fundamentally God does not form a part of their world of experience, and that is why God is not experienced as the transcendental instructor to whom an account must be rendered. To the large majority of Western oriented Blacks, the place



of God in the structure of responsibility is occupied by the ancestral spirits.

## 2.4 THE ANCESTRAL SPIRITS

The Black man's belief in the spirits of his ancestors constitutes the most important aspect of his religious life. To obtain a clear idea of responsibility in Blacks, it is necessary to obtain clarity beforehand regarding his relationship with the spirits of his departed ancestors.

The Black person sees man as a two-dimensional being consisting of a perishable body and an imperishable spirit. On the nature of the spirit, Ashton (1962, p. 112) writes the following in respect of the Basuto belief: "The spirit is not regarded as a motor or vital force, which keeps the body going and whose withdrawal would cause it to decay. When death occurs and the body ceases to function, the spirit departs from it."

When a person dies, his spirit leaves the body. However, the fact that the spirit departs for the hereafter does not mean that contact is broken with the terrestrial and especially with the surviving relatives. With regard to this, Bruwer (1963, p. 129) writes the following: "In this mosima, - as the Southern Sotho call the hereafter - the spirits of the departed will pursue the same activities as they did on earth and they will have the same status. Neither is their contact with society disrupted, and they remain an influential although invisible part of the social group." (Translation.)

This belief in the continued existence of the ancestral spirits entails a reciprocal responsibility, namely the responsibility of the ancestral spirits for the welfare of the surviving descendants and on the other hand the responsibility of the descendants towards and for the welfare of the ancestral spirits. In their life in the hereafter the ancestral spirits also have particular physical and social (cultural) needs which are affected by the conduct of their surviving

descendants. The spirits of the ancestors (so it is believed) can deliberately exercise a powerful influence on the lives of their descendants. This influence is not always beneficial and this is why Blacks fear the spirits of the ancestors and "... if they find themselves dreaming of their kinsmen and friends and brooding over their death, they resort to various rites to stop it" (Ashton, p. 114). On the other hand, however, the living may also turn to methods to render harmless that ancestral spirit who has an unfavourable effect on his descendants on earth (Tempels, 1946, p. 35).

Parrinder (1969) points out that to the Black man, his ancestral spirits are realities which constitute a part of everyday life. He writes the following in this connection: "The ancestors are not just regarded as part of man's experience only: they have life and power in themselves, they are dead persons who survive as real and immortal beings. The profound conviction of the vitality and continuity of the dead as a great cloud of witnesses cannot be explained in African terms, as a simple experience of the survivors. Even if this were a scientific explanation it would not be what people believe" (1969, p. 84).

Bruwer (1963) also indicates the status of reality which the ancestor spirits have for the Black man. He writes the following on this aspect: "The numerous usages in connection with death and funerals emphasise the fact that to the Black man death does not mean the end of everything. It is only a physical separation from the earthly existence and a new beginning in the spiritual world which in many respects can be represented as a perfect copy of the life on earth. The spirits also have their inner urges and needs, and the social relationship between them and the earthly inhabitants is maintained; hence the rites in connection with their veneration" (p. 125). (Translation.)

The social status of an ancestral spirit in the spirit world is strongly influenced by the activities of his descendants on earth. And in this sense the living descendants have a responsibility towards the ancestral spirits, a responsibility which mainly entails obedience to traditional, ethical and moral norms. In this sense the ancestral spirits fulfil the role of a disciplining and conserving force. In respect of the traditionally oriented Xhosa, Mayer (1971) writes for example: "The ancestors are always pulling the migrant

back - back to his home and back to the ways of his ancestors" (p. 150). Although the traditionally oriented Xhosa believes that his ancestral spirits remain near his (the Xhosa's) home village in the rural area, he also believes that distance is no impediment to the ancestral spirits, since they can immediately reach a living descendant at any place on earth. This means that a traditionally oriented Xhosa does not sever his ties with his ancestors by moving to large cities or towns. He may do so, however, by rejecting the traditional norms of life. "The spirits resent insult and neglect, they are quick to feel when a man 'does not want' them, and they retaliate by 'not wanting' him" (Mayer, 1971, p. 156).

The responsibility of the ancestral spirits implies on the one hand that they will watch over the traditions of the tribe and on the other that they will watch over the welfare of the living descendants who remain true to the tribal traditions. The protection which the ancestral spirits afford the descendants refers to matters which are of primary importance to the Black man in his everyday life, for example, illnesses, barrenness in woman, financial gain, working conditions and social status. However, this protection is conditional: "... the spirit's guardianship is conditional, much as that of a living parent is conditional. One has to earn it by acting rightly" (Mayer, 1971, p. 155). Correct conduct to the traditionally oriented Xhosa means that he has to live in a way that will be approved by the community. Mayer (1971) writes the following in this connection: "What the ancestors particularly care about, in the Xhosa scheme, is the good name of their own family - a concept which only has meaning when the family is considered in relation to the community and its opinions" (p. 156). The good name of the surviving relatives also affects the position of the ancestors in the spirit world: "The spirits are shamed by the wrong behaviour in their descendants because the behaviour of those descendants reflects their own (the spirits') moral and disciplinary powers" (Mayer, 1971, p. 157).

The view with regard to the ancestral spirits therefore has significance for the structure of responsibility, but only in as far as responsibility in the traditionally oriented Xhosa becomes manifest in traditional context of life. Outside the traditional context of life the significance of the ancestor spirits disappears from the structure of responsibility or it is at least obscured or made less prominent. Mayer (1971) writes in this connection: "In human terms,

the concept of the spirits constitutes a fully effective conscience only in proportion as the individual remains an acknowledged member of his community and/or the Red section ... He passes beyond their (the spirits') reach the moment he throws in his lot with something or someone else: a church, a forgiving Jesus, a welcoming circle of town or school friends. It is only to the faithful, who stay within the Red fold, that a tale of personal calamity can spell out the lesson of the might of the Red ancestors and their terrible retaliation" (p. 160).

The question is, however, whether the concept of ancestral spirits, or the belief in them, can really be regarded as an effective driving force for the conscience of the traditionally oriented Black man. In respect of the traditionally oriented Basuto, Ashton (1962) writes the following in this connection: "The old religion had little concern with conduct except as regards the observance of certain rites and kinship obligations, and its influence was retrospective rather than prospective: if a person wanted to shirk his obligations, he did so without thought of the gods, and they only affect his behaviour if later they showed their displeasure and induced him to make amends" (p. 118). Also with regard to the traditional Xhosa it can be concluded that the concept of ancestral spirits is more a substitute for the conscience rather than a fundamental driving force for it. The ancestral spirits affect the person's behaviour when they (the spirits) show their displeasure, for example when the person or a member of his family becomes ill or when financial disasters are threatening. The belief in the ancestral spirits confines the function of the conscience to clearly definable "behaviour patterns" which are endorsed by the group. Outside the traditional group context the belief in the ancestral spirits may seriously hamper or confuse the functioning of the conscience among tradition-bound Xhosa who are inclined to shift responsibility for what happens to them, and for their actions (or passivity) to the intervention by the ancestral spirits. Pauw (1969) writes for example: "one of the stereotypes of ancestrally caused misfortune, then, is that of efforts which always fail, whether in the home or at work, in family life or economic activities. ... Under rural conditions failure may take the form of losing or being without stock, or of stock failing to increase. In town the inability to 'keep money', the squandering of earnings or profits is a typical instance of ancestrally caused misfortune. Unemployment or losing a job are also

typical examples" (p. 135).

Personal prosperity on the other hand is also attributed to the intervention of the ancestral spirits (Pauw, 1969, p. 137). With reference to the aforementioned it can be concluded that individual initiative, dedicated task fulfilment and responsible resolutions and actions are to a large extent obscured by the belief in the ancestral spirits.

## 2.5 ANCESTOR WORSHIP BY THE WESTERN ORIENTED BLACK MAN

The question arises whether the Black man's ancestral spirits disappear from his religious system when he becomes westernised. The views with regard to the ancestral spirits have no place in Western culture and are directly opposed to Christian doctrine. It can therefore be expected that the Western oriented Black man who has reached a reasonable level of education and who has been converted to Christianity, will reject the belief in the ancestral spirits. This does not, however, appear to be the case. The investigations of Pauw (1969), Schutte (1974), Möller (1972) and Erasmus (1970) confirm that the large majority of Bantu Christians still believe in the existence of the ancestral spirits. Pauw's (1969) investigation also revealed that among the Xhosa, high educational qualifications do not assist in undermining the belief in the ancestral spirits.

The question now is whether there are any essential differences between the traditional belief in the ancestral spirits and the belief of the Western oriented Black man in them. It has already been indicated that the traditional Xhosa believes that as soon as a person rejects the tribal traditions and turns to the Western culture, he steps beyond the reach of the ancestral spirits. However, this is not what the Western oriented Bantu Christian believes and his belief in the living ancestral spirits survives next to his belief in God. For example, Möller (1972, p. 91) writes as follows: "For the Black man of today in the city, the concept of the ancestral spirits as intercessors with God is a commonly accepted one and in the survey only a very small minority stated that there is no mention of the ancestral spirits as mediators with God." (Translation.) The nature of the relationship between the Western orien-

ted Black man and his ancestral spirits must now be studied and also whether this relationship can fundamentally influence the manifestation of responsibility among Blacks.

In the modern Black society it is becoming practically impossible to maintain tribal and family classifications. The individual Black integrates with other social groups, for example the church or sports clubs. The disciplining influence of the ancestral spirits, namely to make the individual adhere to the traditions of his tribe and family, therefore becomes blurred. However, the ancestral spirits do not disappear from his religious convictions, but they become important to every person in his individual capacity in the new social dispensation. Möller (1972) draws attention to the possibility "... that the greater emphasis on individual relationships in the present urban situation, in comparison with the existing traditional relationships, also results in a difference in the kind of relationship experienced with the ancestors" (p. 129). (Translation.) The ancestors may still cause profit or disaster to befall the individual. However, in this respect Pauw (1969) writes: "Altogether it seems that the 'malevolent' role of the ancestor, their sending misfortune to punish or complain have moved far into the background in the stable rural Christian communities, although it is still fully recognized in popular dogma" (p. 133).

Fields in which the ancestral spirits can interfere in a person's life, cover the entire spectrum of cultural life. Pauw (1969) mentions the testimony of a number of Blacks in his study group to indicate how and in respect of what the ancestral spirits intervene in the individual's life. The following has particular significance for the purpose of this study: "A successful urban business woman ascribed the dissipation of her profits to the fact that she did nothing to thank her ancestors responsible for her success. They had therefore allowed her to lose her profits in a manner of which she could not give account. Another urban worker said his ancestors were the cause of his difficulties at work" (p. 124). Möller (1972) quotes a former elder of the NG Kerk: "I worked as an insurance agent and stayed away from home for three years. (With this he means the graves of his parents in Botswana.) During that period I did not know what happened to my salary. But after I had gone home and had satisfied my parents, I could see what I was doing with my money" (p. 92). (Translation.) Belief in

the ancestral spirits may therefore tend to block the manifestation of authentic responsibility.

Schutte (1974) writes as follows in respect of belief in the ancestral spirits among confessed members of a Black congregation on the Rand: "Forty-three per cent informed us that they regularly pray to the ancestors ... The fact that the rest do not pray and make sacrifices, does not actually mean that they do not believe in the existence and assistance of the ancestors" (p. 131). (Translation.) He has the following to say about prayer among members of this church: "The fact that he addresses himself to the ancestors in prayer is a clear proof of the religious seriousness with which he regards contact with the ancestors" (p. 131).

Möller (1972) found that only a small percentage of the Blacks who were involved in his investigation did not believe in the existence of the ancestral spirits. In respect of this group he writes: "The aforementioned examples have one fact in common, namely that they all grew up in homes where the parents did not believe in the ancestor cult" (p. 112). (Translation.)

Schutte (1974) offers the following explanation for the continued belief in the ancestral spirits among the Black Christians: "By his sacrifices and prayers the individual member exercises control over his environment (in the widest sense) which he does not always have under his control. In his ancestors he experiences an extension of his own power and influence, finds hope for rising above his helpless self in the urban situation and at the same time acquires confidence in the daily life. Naturally, the member does not always succeed by means of his ancestors to end the disarrangement and disorganization in his life or the life of his family. Nevertheless, the belief in the ancestors provides him with a certain degree of certainty in as far as he is able to explain why this recovery is not taking place in his life. If help is not forthcoming, he ascribes it to the arbitrary power of his parents or to some error or misdemeanour which he committed, wittingly or unwittingly" (p. 148). (Translation.)

In the opinion of a large part of the Western oriented Blacks, the ancestral spirits have an important influence on the development of the human potentialities. Möller (1972) writes for example:

"God is the giver of life, but nevertheless the ancestral spirits have a large share in the seriti or isithunzi (shadow or personality). The view with regard to this seriti is that it gives one prestige among people, or an ability to do well in sport or in a job" (129). (Translation.) Even the most original responsibility, namely that for developing the individual human potentialities, is shifted to the ancestral spirits. Nor is there any indication that the Black man experiences a particular feeling of guilt when he turns to his ancestors. Möller (1972) writes for example: "It also appears that there is little mention of a particular confession of guilt, whereas the sacrifice is not regarded as a kind of scapegoat to which the sin will be transferred. Bruwer describes the sacrifice as a sacrifice of atonement, as the most important medium of connection with the ancestors to stabilise the harmony between the earthly inhabitants and the spirit world as their seniors" (p. 154). (Translation.)

In the sacrifice to the ancestors there is little mention of a confession of guilt, for example as a result of neglect of duty. Möller (1972) also mentions the following: "Since there is not much evidence of a confession of guilt and self-examination and since the expectation is largely directed to the magical recovery or confirmation of relationships, it can be stated that individual personal responsibility is to a large extent evaded in the sacrificial rituals" (p. 160).

It appears from the foregoing discussions and quotations that the belief in the ancestral spirits tends to obstruct the manifestation of authentic responsibility among Western oriented Blacks.

## 2.6 VIEWS WITH REGARD TO MAGIC AND WITCHCRAFT

The Black man's belief in God and in the spirits of his ancestors is supplemented by another religious system which is connected with magical forces or impersonal supernaturalism. Bruwer (1963) writes in this respect: "To the Black man this magical factor embodies a non-specific, formless power that is present in the objects of magic. This power may be employed for good or evil and can be manipulated by persons who can practice witchcraft" (p. 139). (Translation.)



In the Black society this belief is expressed in an impersonal magic or witchcraft in a bipolar structure, on the one side of which are to be found persons who use this magic power to the advantage of the individual and the community, and on the other those who employ it to the disadvantage of the individual and/or the community. The former are known as witchdoctors and the latter as sorcerers. Bruwer (1963) writes the following with regard to witchdoctors: "These witchdoctors are in effect the link between society and this invisible power. Sometimes they are invested with an almost priestly authority which controls the magical element in the ritual ceremony. In every witchdoctor there is a concentration of magical ability to understand, interpret, prevent and control things. He has the exclusive power of using the impersonal supernaturalistic force in which everybody believes but which few can control. For this reason the witchdoctor always has considerable influence in society. He is the source of protection and success, the mystic figure moving in the field of the invisible magic world. His word is law and in this field he is outshone only by the paramount chief who, on the strength of his position of honour, is almost always regarded as the chief witchdoctor of the people" (p. 140). (Translation.)

Traditionally there were two kinds of witchdoctors, each acting in his own specialised field:

- (a) The medicine men provided medicine containing ingredients with magic power. These medicines consisted of plants and/or parts of animal bodies and/or parts of human bodies and/or objects worn on the body as charms. The medicine man's chief task was to cure diseases.
- (b) The divination doctors or soothsayers concentrated on diagnosing inexplicable phenomena. Bruwer(1963) writes: "They analyse the causes of particular events and interpret the messages from the ancestral spirits. They use objects of divination such as knuckle-bones, or explain the unknown by their particular visionary power. They may also dictate what should be done in times of crisis to ward off dangers. Their position is chiefly that of soothsayers, seers or prophets, but they often provide also the magic objects required for the specific case which they diagnose" (p. 141).

(Translation.)

Bruwer also distinguishes a group of witchdoctors that may be regarded as spiritualistic media. They practise their art of soothsaying by means of a spirit or spirits which take possession of them and speak to people through them. However, there does not appear to be a fundamental difference between the work of this kind of soothsayer and that of the diviners.

As far as the sorcerers are concerned, a distinction is made between the unknowing and the knowing sorcerers. The magic spirit of the sorcerer leaves his body at night to do its baleful work while the person himself remains unaware of it. The knowing sorcerer, on the other hand, deliberately makes use of his malevolent power to harm his victim (Bruwer, 1963, p. 149).

With regard to the Xhosa belief, Mayer (1971) writes that the sorcerer (usually a sorceress or witch) directs his/her witchery against people he/she knows well. "In terms of Xhosa myth, the witches cannot work across wide social distances because the familiar (by means of which the evil is wrought upon the victim) has to 'know the victim', 'know his smell', 'recognize him perfectly having lived very close'. A familiar sent out to a victim it did not 'know' well enough would miss its target, and might be deflected in some unexpected direction, possibly back on to the witch herself. It is essential for the witch's own safety that she should know her victim's circumstances intimately and thoroughly. Otherwise he might happen to be a user of strong protective medicine, which would send the familiar flying straight back in 'great anger' to turn upon the witch" (p. 161).

The traditionally oriented Xhosa who suspects that he has become the victim of witchcraft, may look for protection in two ways. Firstly, he may approach a witchdoctor for assistance who will then provide him with protective medicines. In addition to this he may also try to keep secret his place of work and his residence so that the sorcerer's media cannot trace him. In practice this means that he continuously has to change his job and place of residence and that he must also avoid his traditionally oriented friends, since the media can trace him through them. His belief in magic therefore tends to separate the traditionally oriented

Black from his traditional ties and therefore stands in direct confrontation with the ancestral spirits whose task it is to make the Xhosa adhere to his traditions.

The Black man's belief in magic and witchcraft may be partly attributed to his inability to comprehend and control, to an adequate extent, the total reality with which he is daily confronted. At the same time, however, his belief in supernatural forces and magic offers him a convenient framework of meaning on the strength of which he may explain events, so that there is no motivation for more adequate discovery of meaning and more complete control of reality. In this way the traditionally oriented Black man remains caught up in a vicious circle. The manifestation of authentic responsibility in this circle becomes almost impossible, since religiously he is not allowed to accept responsibility for events which he, on account of his religious convictions, ascribes to sorcerers or his ancestral spirits.

## 2.7 VIEWS WITH REGARD TO MAGIC AND WITCHCRAFT AMONG WESTERN ORIENTED BLACKS

Investigations have confirmed that the belief in magic and witchcraft has not disappeared among Western oriented Blacks (also those who have accepted the Christian religion). Even in the case of Blacks who received secondary school education (and even higher), this belief in magic and witchcraft is still fairly common, although not as common as among Blacks with lower educational qualifications (Pauw, 1969, p. 224).

Möller (1972) writes as follows in respect of the urban Black's belief in witchcraft: "It appears therefore that magic forces have significance for the majority of urban Blacks, although their convictions in this respect may vary considerably in strength. In the case of the unorthodox independent churches these convictions constitute an essential part of the church life. The orthodox churches reject these magic forces but a direct confrontation rarely takes place, with the result that magic elements can be indicated here to some extent. ... The significant group, although still in the minority, who has had negative experiences with the Bantu doctor and Zionist prophets, is probably support for the idea that the secularization process does have influence. The fact that persons

who are altogether inactive in the church also reject magic forces, although they are still few in number, is another indication. There is the potential that the new generations will increasingly reject magic forces" (p. 226). (Translation.)

Pauw (1969, p. 239) provides the following data to illustrate the distribution of the belief in witchcraft among Xhosa Christians. (Table 2.1 refers to responses to questions regarding the arrangements that people should make in case of illness, accidents or other personal disasters.)

TABLE 2.1: TABLE TO INDICATE THE EXTENT OF THE BELIEF IN WITCHCRAFT AMONG THE XHOSA (ACCORDING TO PAUW)

	Urban	Rural
"Prayer (own, of church people, minister, <u>u Mthandazeli</u> et cetera)	59	41
Consult Xhosa doctor or herbalist or use Xhosa medicine	77	20
Consult medical doctor	36	5
Seek advice from elderly people/relative/others	11	-
Attempt to dispel the belief	7	-
Consult fortune-teller	3	-
Diverse	4	-
Do not know	3	1
Size of sample	180	67

Pauw (1969) discusses the foregoing table as follows: "Here also we must note that only a small proportion advised recourse to a medical doctor although the proportion is larger among urban than among rural informants. The majority of urban informants therefore also seem to regard such illness as being outside the scope of a medical doctor, and some also make this explicit. But this does not necessarily imply acceptance of the belief that Tikoloshe causes illness. From those who advised a Xhosa doctor there were no comments indicating disbelief in the witchcraft myth and it may reasonably be accepted that with few exceptions persons in this category do accept the belief. But of those advising prayer, a number definitely indicated disbelief while a few others spoke of the patient being out of his mind or of praying that the idea should be removed from his mind. On the other hand others advising prayer expressed their belief in witchcraft, so that the persons advising prayer included both believers and sceptics in regard to the witchcraft and sorcery myth. However, there were more in the 'prayer' category of the urban sample who expressed disbelief than in the rural sample. Considering all the pointers our material provides, I shall say that more than half of the urban sample accepted the belief in witchcraft" (p.240)

Pauw (1969, p. 237) also points out that the Xhosa differentiate between the causes of disasters (for example illness) and the symptoms of disaster. To get treatment for the symptoms (for example a fractured leg caused by an accident, or internal pains caused by a disease) some of them will consult a medical doctor, although they believe in witchcraft. However, if they suspect that the accident or disease is caused by a sorcerer or witch, in addition to a medical doctor they will also consult a Xhosa witchdoctor to obtain medicine for neutralising the power of the sorcerer or witch. The Black man's belief in magic or witchcraft has still not been destroyed by the greater scientific knowledge which is at his disposal today. Scientific knowledge and belief in the myths are reconciled, and in many cases the belief in the myths holds a more central position in the world of experience than the scientific knowledge does. Durand (1970) writes the following in this respect: "Two extremes meet in the person of the modern urban witchdoctor, and we see a heroic attempt to make the old magic establishments of life applicable to a world of science and technology where apparently everything can be reduced to 'natural' causes and results"

(p. 93). (Translation.)

Schutte (1974) writes the following in respect of the urban Black man's belief in witchcraft and magic: "Conceptions and uses of magic live on in the cities. The same powerful remedies are employed for purposes which are more adapted to city conditions. The same doctors are found here as well" (p. 160). He reports on his empirical investigation: "The members of Meadowlands are not strongly divorced from the 'magic' beliefs of the people in their urban environment. Of the seventy members of the congregation who were interviewed and of whom most have been members of the Reformed Church for more than eight years, 91,3 per cent still believed in the existence of boloi (sorcery), 5,2 per cent rejected it and 3 per cent were doubtful" (p. 160). (Translation.)

According to Möller (1972, p. 184), witchcraft has an effect on many aspects of daily life, especially on interhuman relationships and injuries in the job situation. He also quotes the example of a girl (p. 202) who believed that her lack of diligence was due to the fact that she had been bewitched.

Belief in magic and witchcraft is therefore still fairly common among Western oriented urban and rural Blacks. Since the Black man in the Western society is integrated in a much more complex network of social and labour relationships, the role of witchcraft will also become much more complex and it can be expected that the manifestation of responsibility among the Western oriented Blacks will be affected in all possible fields of life.

## 2.8 THE NEGRO IN THE USA

In specific psychological schools of thought in the USA, a theory was formulated which separated motivation (at least as far as man is concerned) from the mechanical stimulus-reaction theory and based it on what is called 'Personal Causation' - freely translated as 'personal initiative'. De Charms (1968, pp. 269-270) explains this concept as follows: "Man's primary motivational propensity is to be effective in producing changes in his environment." Man strives to be a causal agent, to be the primary locus of causation for, or the origin of his behavior; he strives for personal causation. ... Personal causation of this sort is not to be

taken as the motive for all behavior, however. It is an overarching or guiding principle upon which specific motives are built. The environment sets different problems (obtaining food, achieving success, gaining friendship, etc.) that may help to define specific motives for individual behavior patterns. The dimension that underlies all of these is the attempt to overcome the problem through personal causation - the desire to be master of one's fate. If I achieved the goal through my own efforts, my subsequent behavior will differ from my behavior if the goal was presented to me on a silver plate, so to speak. Attaining a goal through luck, chance, or through the benevolent agency of a helper is not the same as doing it myself. The feeling of personal causation can apply to any goal, to any class of goals that help to define a specific motive, and hence is a contributing factor to all motives" (pp. 269-270).

Working on the assumption that man's striving for personal initiative constitutes the most fundamental driving force behind his motives, De Charms distinguishes what may be called two extreme personality types which he indicates with the terms 'Origin' and 'Pawn' (p. 273). The terms 'Initiator' and 'Puppet' adequately describe what is meant by the terms 'Origin' and 'Pawn'. De Charms (1968) explains the meaning of these terms as follows: "An origin is a person who perceives his behavior as determined by his own choosing; a Pawn is a person who perceives his behavior as determined by external forces beyond his control" (pp. 273-274).

In a publication The Black Self (1974) Wyne, White, and Loop approach the problem of self-concept (especially in the sense of self-respect) in the American Negro from the point of view that one of the most fundamental qualities of man is the fact that he wants to be the initiator of his own actions. They give the following grounds for this point of view: "Western culture generally and American culture particularly relied extensively on the myth of potency to give meaning and direction to life. ... The belief that the individual alone was responsible for his successes or failure became incorporated into the American cultural norm. The dissonance created by this dominant theme of self-potency, which permeates American culture and promotes a belief in the desirability, even the necessity, of being able to exert control over the

environment as against the prevailing realities surrounding the black man in American society makes this dimension of self-concept one of fundamental importance to Blacks.

The central problem for the Black self appears to be an undermining of the sense of responsibility. Certainly many Blacks today (and this was true for even more in the past) are convinced that even if they assert their will, their actions will do no good" (p. 47).

The three authors quoted above also point out that American Negroes in general reveal personality traits on the strength of which they can be classified as 'Pawns' (Puppets). According to these authors, this personality quality of the Negroes is a product of history. The Whites, as the largest and culturally dominant group, treated the Negroes, from the time they arrived in America, as slaves, as puppets. The result of this was that the Negroes were in fact 'conditioned' to believe that on their own initiative they could not add to their own welfare and that their lives were arranged by forces beyond their control.

The authors also warn against absolutising of Initiator ('Origin') and Puppet ('Pawn') as personality types. These terms should only be regarded as concepts representing two extreme poles and the reality is found in an uninterrupted distribution between the two poles. The personality traits of the Initiator and Puppet are also determined by the situation. In one situation a person may experience that he is initiating his actions on his own, whereas in another situation he may experience that what is happening to him is in the hands of forces beyond his control. The author of this study draws the conclusion that when a person experiences himself as a puppet over a wide section of life, he will be inclined towards a fatalistic attitude towards life, namely: "I am not responsible for my actions, since the events of life are controlled by forces beyond me". It is obvious that in such a case there cannot be any authentic responsibility, but only accounting to a higher earthly authority.

In respect of the Blacks in the RSA, it can be stated that the tendency towards "Puppet experiencing" and fatalism (thus the rejection of authentic responsibility) is not originally the result of social conditioning. The Black man's conviction that the initiative



for the course of his own life is not in his hands, is probably intensified by some aspects of the political, social and economic system in the RSA. However, it has been indicated in the first part of this chapter that the Black man's experiencing of himself as a puppet is originally rooted in his religious convictions.

In this study the principle of personal initiative for actions (which implies the acceptance of full responsibility for actions) is founded in the Christian principle of life which, as original instruction to man, can be formulated as follows: "Be fruitful, subdue the earth and have dominion over it out of gratitude to God whom you have to love with all your heart, and with all your soul and with all your mind, and show in all your actions that you love your neighbour as you love yourself" (Gen. 1:28 and Matthew 22:37-40). To the Protestant Christian the foregoing implies that in the first instance he is called upon to develop or to shape the potentialities or talents which he received as gifts from his Creator, in order that he may carry out the specific tasks into which his vocation differentiates and accept all the particular duties attached to every task with due consideration for the initial instruction. From this point of view, responsibility forms the basis for all human action, whether games, sport or work. 'Initiative', as a comprehensive tendency in the personality, therefore from this point of view also immediately implies the recognition and acceptance of boundaries. The 'Initiative' is limited, inter alia, by the boundaries laid down by the individual's potentialities, by philosophical convictions, by norms which apply to the pursuit of science, by social rules or taboos, and by rules which apply to the pursuit of sport. It is therefore clear that the original, foundation-forming responsibility towards self-realization is confined and qualified to the extent that it differentiates into tasks and duties.

The South African society is composed of a variety of cultures of which each reveals a tendency to develop into the direction of the highly industrialised Christian Western culture. Generally speaking, the most significant situations in the RSA which require personal initiative and thus personal responsibility, reveal a definitely Western basis and orientation. This study refers, in fact, to responsibility in the Black person who, on account of his traditional religious convictions, is inclined to reject initiative and who

also tends to experience himself as a puppet in the hands of personal, living ancestral spirits and of impersonal forces (magic) which are manipulated by sorcerers, witches and witchdoctors. Fundamentally it would therefore be wrong merely to reduce the problem of responsibility among Blacks to the attitude of Whites and the limited opportunities available to Blacks. The present political, economical and social set-up in the RSA may have a hampering effect on the development of a positive self-concept among Blacks and therefore on their sense of responsibility in the Western cultural context. However, the attitude of Whites and the limited available opportunities do not underlie the problem, and a change in the attitude of Whites and the creation of more opportunities for Blacks will only produce positive results if they are accompanied by (or rather preceded by) re-orientation by Blacks with regard to their belief.

## CHAPTER 3

### TEMPORALITY AS AN ASPECT OF THE BLACK MAN'S CULTURE AND ITS INFLUENCE ON HIS SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY IN THE WESTERN CULTURAL SET-UP

#### 3.1 TEMPORALITY

As far as the relationship between time (or time experiencing) and responsibility is concerned, there are two distinguishable aspects of temporality that are important for the purpose of this investigation. The first concerns the philosophy of life which is directly related to the religion, whereas the second has a bearing on the tempo of life which is more related to the style of life.

##### 3.1.1 Temporality as a constituent of the philosophy of life

The Christian philosophy of life accepts it as a fundamental fact that history began with the Creation, that it takes a linear course and that it will end when a particular aim has been achieved, namely the fulfilment of God's plan with the universe. Especially the Protestant-Christian religion emphasises the fact that earthly history also constitutes a part of God's plan with the universe and that the individual is invested with responsibility in respect of his personal history and that in a wider sense he is also co-responsible for earthly history in general. Mostert (1974) outlines the religious foundation of the Western concept of historicity in the following words: "On the other hand, the Biblical principle of historical realization of the existence implies that man acts originally in time. This original action in time is the effect of a destiny initiated in history by God and which will be fulfilled in history" (p. 81). (Translation.) From the point of view of responsibility, the following words of Mostert are also important: "However, Israel does not learn to understand this will of God as an impersonal, universally compelling law, but as a selecting will which has to bring about a specific purpose in history. The nation and the individual are continuously confronted with a Present Will which demands from the people and the individual a volitional decision in respect of the acts and words of God" (p. 83). (Translation.) Mostert also writes: "Essentially faith, as a human function, is acceptance of the saving intervention of God and obedience

to the calling which is implied in historically realising God's will as 'I am Jahweh'. Such an interpretation of faith was, in fact, understood by Eliade as by itself being a breaking out of the archaic structure. This assists man from the space of integration in the cosmic order to the space of creative freedom" (p. 84). (Translation.)

The Westerner's intensely future creating orientation originates in his religion and more particularly in the Protestant-Christian religion. All the dynamic philosophies of life (also those which reject the Christian doctrines) which originated in the West, strongly emphasise the creative freedom of man - a freedom which implies being free to break through the natural course of cause and effect - a freedom which is embodied in the course of history. This creative freedom is intended to achieve an aim. To the Christian this aim is the fulfilment of God's plan with the universe. To quite a few other Western philosophies this aim is the creation of a humanistic utopia. In the Western society plans are always being made for the future and there is much organising and working at a certain tempo to put these plans into execution. The successful person in the West, is the one who can plan realistically for the future and who can take the necessary steps to put these plans into practice.

But even if the religious basis of the Westerner's experience of time is not taken into consideration, temporality remains an anthropological fact of existence and it comprises present, past and future. In respect of these three dimensions of human time experiencing, Lynch (1972) reports as follows on investigations undertaken by Aaronson in the USA during the sixties: "Obliterating the present - or both past and future together, of which at least one seems to be required to give the present meaning caused the most violent reaction. Subjects resisted vigorously or lapsed into catatonia. Present timelessness equaled death or madness. Expansion of the present on the other hand, or of present and future together brought great joy and energy. When the future was made long relative to the past, involvement in the present increased. When the past was relatively long, the subjects experienced disengagement. Where both past and future were lengthened relative to the present, the subjects seemed to abandon the world of action for daydreams and obsessions" (pp. 133-134). (Author's

underlining.)

The Westerner lives in the present. His directedness towards the future, however, accords meaning to the present and forms a dynamic driving force behind the development of Western culture. To a large extent the past is interpreted in terms of the present.

Sonnekus (1968), for example, writes the following on memorising: "For the time being it has to be concluded that memorising is a personal mode of being, an experiencing of a personal historical order of time, in which the person's historicity is experienced by him in the present, in contrast with the past and the future" (p. 86). (Translation.)

What is the position regarding the traditionally oriented Black man as far as temporality as a constituent of his philosophy of life is concerned? The Black man's interpretation of time is not characterised in the same way by cyclical repetitions as is the case in some Eastern cultures. Reincarnation in terms of the African religion implies that an ancestor strengthens some of his descendants by means of a specific spiritual force which he had and which characterised him as a unique person. In terms of the African religion, the spirit of an ancestor can thus be reborn in several of his descendants while the ancestral spirit itself goes on living intact. The Black man does not, however, see the line of historicity as directed towards an ultimate fulfilment of purpose, the realization of which depends in part on his actions. To him the future is fulfilled in a utopia from which he cannot escape, viz the hereafter as the world of the ancestral spirits who live there largely as they had lived in the past on earth (Bruwer, 1963, p. 125). To the Black man the destiny of his life is a return to that which he knows from the past and that is why he is mainly oriented towards the past and, in particular, towards preserving the traditions. In essence the future to him is a re-creation of the past. The Black man is therefore little concerned with the future and does not feel responsible for planning for the future. Engelbrecht (n.d.) writes in this connection: "Inspectors of Black schools with years of experience point out that there is little sense or purpose in working out programmes and syllabuses. They are just not carried out" (p. 13). (Translation.) Officials with years of experience in respect of the training of Black workers also point out that a lack of

initiative with regard to planning for the future is probably the main reason why much more responsibility cannot be given to Blacks at this stage (personal conversations). A repetition of Lynch's (1972) words will be particularly appropriate here: "When the future was made long relative to the past, involvement in the present increased. When the past was relatively long, the subjects experienced disengagement. Where both past and future were lengthened relative to the present, the subjects seemed to abandon the world of action for daydreams and obsessions" (p. 133). Engelbrecht (n.d.) writes as follows on a job situation which he observed: "Other workers sit on top of a ladder waiting for him. They converse tranquilly like Homer's elders on the walls about beautiful women, about the things of yesterday and the day before. I hear no word about plans for tomorrow, about the future. ... The man takes up the saw again. What does it matter if he finishes the work tomorrow, the day after, or next year? Where is the end and destination of everything if one lives only in the present and the past?" (p. 7).

It is clear that in the case of the Black man the concept of historicity is an important impediment in accepting responsibility, especially in respect of creative activities in the Western cultural context.

### 3.1.2 Objectivised or mathematical time

Another aspect of temporality which has direct significance for responsibility in the Western culture, is the so-called objectivised or mathematical time, better known as clock time. This aspect is typical of Western culture and is characteristic especially of the Protestant-Christian sphere of Western culture. No example of a culture can be found in history where time was ever objectivised to such an extent as it is in Western culture. The Western clock time, namely the division of a day into hours, minutes and seconds, is an arbitrary classification which by no means corresponds with any known natural rhythm. That is why the 'Time concept', as it functions in the Western culture, is not something which 'develops' in a child. It has to be deliberately taught to a child. For example, Lynch (1972) writes: "Moments do not exist, they are classes of events in which there is no need to distinguish one event as occurring before another" (p. 120). The clock serves to repre-

sent the moments which do not exist (in the sense that they cannot be perceived by any of the senses) concretely visual as seconds or parts of seconds. This objectivised representation of time then serves as a reference framework for planning the individual life.

It is undoubtedly true that this objectivised clock time constitutes a dynamic driving force for development in the Western culture: All actions, whether labour, sport or social intercourse, and sometimes even the length of a church service, are evaluated by means of time as a criterion. Productivity is measured in terms of quantity and quality produced in a given length of time. To the Western clock time has already become a fundamental norm on the strength of which he accounts for his actions. With acknowledgment to Mumford, Lynch (1972) writes: "The clock, not the steam engine, is the machine of the Industrial age" (p. 127).

This objectivised, mathematical time concept appears to be one of the main points of friction when members of an industrially less developed culture come into contact with the Western culture. With regard to the situation in schools in the USA, Bazeli (1975) writes: "A fourth difference which handicaps disadvantaged minority group children is adherence to a set of values which do not conform to the Protestant work ethic. Major value differences occur in perception of time utilization, speed, organization and accuracy. Middle class persons use time as a commodity; activities are programmed and scheduled, and appointments are made with a discrete time orientation. Very many persons of other subcultures perceive time as a field in which they are suspended; appointments and attendance are treated with a diffused time orientation. Since schools operate on components of the Protestant work ethic, individuals who do not conform are punished, often by failure" (p. 43).

The Black man also finds it difficult to orient himself in respect of the artificial classification of time which determines the rhythm of life in Western society. Engelbrecht (n.d.) strikingly outlines the differences between the Black man in this respect: "What is noticeable, is the calm, restful and leisurely way in which they work - a leisureliness which gives me unease. I am in a hurry. This, and other work must be completed. I have plans for today,

tonight, tomorrow, the day after, next year. My time passes fast. Much too fast. In actual fact I live in the future. I become aware of two tempos. ... in front of my window the Black labourers are busy. They are not in a hurry. Two tempos next to each other with only a glass window separating them" (p. 6). (Translation.)

Nzimande (1951) found in his study that the Black man is beginning to take over the Western concept of time as he gradually becomes more Western oriented. He writes as follows in this connection: "Contact with Europeans is giving the Africans the so-called 'time neurosis' characteristic of Western culture. The African is becoming aware of, and anxious about, the passage of time. He is learning to care about the future, to be anxious about the possible adverse eventualities, and to plan ahead" (p. 5). Today, however, 25 years after Nzimande's study, there are indications that even some academically highly qualified Blacks, who are fully familiar with the objectivised time concept (clock time), are still inclined towards a slower, more restful tempo of life than the one required in the highly industrialised Western cultural context (De Villiers, 1972, p. 47). The reason for this must probably be looked for in the fact that their religious convictions are so deeply rooted. It is clear that this aspect may determine the manifestation of responsibility among Blacks in specific job situations. However, very little empirical information on this vitally important aspect of responsibility among Blacks is available.



## CHAPTER 4

### DISCOVERY OF MEANING AS AN ESSENTIAL CONDITION FOR THE MANIFESTATION OF RESPONSIBILITY

#### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

Western culture found an important driving force for the phenomenal progress of the past two or three centuries in the Protestant-Christian philosophy of life. One important foundation of the Protestant-Christian philosophy of life is contained in the first divine instruction to man, namely: "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over ... every living thing that moveth upon the earth" (Gen. 1:28). This instruction constitutes one foundation on which all responsibility in the Christian-Western culture is based. It implies, first of all, that man must realise his inherent potentialities for subduing the earth and for having dominion over everything on it. This most original responsibility underlies all forms in which responsibility becomes manifest. This is such an obvious basic truth that all further foundation for it is unnecessary. This original responsibility emphasises the decisive role of education in respect of the development of responsibility in man. The small child needs the assistance and guidance of his educators to realise his potentialities and (as he becomes mature) he may gradually take on the responsibility for giving shape to his own life. If a child's educators partly refuse this responsibility, he will grow up with a disadvantage which he will later overcome with difficulty or not at all. One example is affective neglect of a child which can sometimes lead to his becoming a psychopath. A characteristic of a psychopath is, in fact, a lack of a sense of responsibility.

The effect of educational neglect on a maturising child will not be discussed in more detail here. Interested readers are referred to works by Bowlby (1968), Weininger (1972), Bronfenbrenner (1975 (a) + (b)) and Buhler (1935).

The aforementioned original instruction to man also implies a duty to discover meaning. If a person does not understand the constituents of a particular situation, he cannot react in a genuinely responsible manner to that particular situation. Control requires

comprehension and skill. Learning, as preparation for a specific task in life, therefore entails discovery of meaning and the development of skills. These two aspects are the opposite sides of the one basic form of responsibility, namely the realization of inherent potentialities.

In view of what has been said before, the first part of the original divine instruction, namely "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth," is qualified in a particular way. Uncontrolled increase at the present juncture can only be experienced as accountable by those persons who fail to appreciate the second part of the command, namely " ... subdue the earth and have dominion over everything that moveth upon it", or by those who disregard education as essential condition for the development of the inherent potentialities for ruling and controlling. The demands made of parents in the modern Western society restrict the number of children that they can educate to responsibility. However, this matter will be discussed again at a later stage. In this section the Black man's traditional way of according sense is contrasted to the Western-founded demands of authentic discovery of meaning in order to obtain insight into the nature of the problems which Blacks may experience in showing responsibility in the Western culture.

#### 4.2 THE WORLD REVEALS A NETWORK OF MEANINGS

The world man inhabits reveals a structure which to him appears like a network of meanings. Man is called upon to unravel this structure and to accord meaning to it, or to discover the meanings implicit in the structure, thus making the earth habitable to himself, or, put in a different way, to subdue the earth to him. It is known that science, especially the natural sciences, have become a foundation of Western culture. Phenomena and events are usually explained in terms of scientific principles. By applying their knowledge of these principles, technology was devised as a means for subduing the earth to man. In Western culture, however, there is a tendency to explain human modes of realization unilaterally in terms of natural principles and especially in terms of cause and effect. However, the existence of a vast amount of empirically verified and verifiable scientific knowledge which is so characteristic of Western culture, cannot be accepted as the basis for the manifestation of responsibility among Westerners. At best it

may serve to promote a greater degree of differentiation in respect of the kind of responsibilities that can be supported.

It was indicated in a preliminary study to this investigation that the development of human potentialities (with which the acquisition of knowledge is closely allied) is the most original manifestation of responsibility and is essentially the foundation of all responsibility in every culture. However, the acquisition of knowledge, and concomitant with that the development of human potentialities, is in itself a responsibility based on the religion which becomes apparent, inter alia, in the philosophy of life. The responsibility of the Protestant Christian to develop his potentialities is grounded in the original divine instruction to subdue the earth to man. It is apparent from the following words of Eliade (quoted by Mostert, 1974) that this facet of the Protestant Christian faith had tremendous significance for the development of Western culture: "Faith in this regard means absolute emancipation from any kind of 'natural law' and hence the highest freedom that man can attain: freedom to intervene even in the ontological constitution of the universe" (p. 85).

Mostert points out, however, that faith as seen by Eliade is essentially an acceptance of the saving intervention of God in the life of man and obedience to the calling which this entails for man to realise God's will historically (Mostert, 1974, p. 84). This view of Mostert also implies that to the Protestant Christian his faith constitutes the foundation of his original responsibility, namely the responsibility to develop the personality potentialities, concomitant with which is authentic understanding of the objective reality.

There is no doubt that this religious basis of the Westerner's responsibility is crumbling along a wide front and is being replaced by other convictions. However, it is not considered important to this investigation to go into further possible developments in this respect in the Western culture. What is important, is that the previously mentioned facet of the Protestant-Christian religious conviction formed, and in many countries still forms, a vital driving force for development in the Western culture. The Westerner can only accept responsibility for a particular situation if he understands what is at stake and if he has the potentialities for continuously

reconstituting the situation in accordance with specific norms. This is a demand made in respect of every situation, irrespective of how straightforward or complex it may be.

The demands for understanding as an essential condition for the manifestation of responsibility are also valid for the traditionally oriented Black man in his traditional cultural context. An important difference, however, is that the traditional Black man's epistemology is radically different from that of the Westerner. His theory of knowledge is based on a completely different faith so that the nature of his feeling of responsibility will be radically different from that of the White man.

Tempels (1940) provides an illuminating exposition of the Black man's epistemology. In conjunction with his "forces philosophy" theory he writes as follows in respect of the Black man's fundamental convictions: "God knows, he gave every human the 'power' to know. Every being is a force and every one of a person's faculties is a force, the force of knowing and the force of willing.

Man can therefore know. But first of all, the ancestors know, and after them the first-born, deceased and living. And, besides, for people real wisdom is metaphysics, the insight into the world of forces, its general laws, its hierarchy, its interdependence and mutual relationships from strength to strength" (pp. 39 and 40). (Translation.)

One important principle that has significance for the manifestation of responsibility among Blacks, is the position of certain persons (for example first-born children) as having particular wisdom merely on account of their descent and the fact that they are the first-born. The power to have more wisdom, which is characteristic of ancestors and the first-born, also comprises greater insight into and knowledge of the traditional norms on the strength of which every individual has to account for his activities. As will become apparent later on, this greater power to know in the first instance entails deeper insight into the basic structure of the world of powers. Biesheuvel calls it Spiritual Force (Pretoria News, Friday July 16, 1973, p. 12). On account of this deeper insight, the first-born are more capable than other people of interpreting events correctly. As a person (apart from the first-born) becomes older,

his wisdom increases and concomitant with that also his responsibilities in the traditional cultural context. Age is an important criterion of status acquisition among Blacks. In this respect Tempels (1946) writes: "The younger ones cannot know without the older ones. Black people say that if there were no elders, the young ones would be left to themselves, the town would go to ruin, they would not know how to live, on their own they would know neither customs nor laws, nor would they be able to acquire essential knowledge; they would separate and become lost.

Personal study, or own discoveries, without the elders, cannot lead to wisdom. Man is capable of learning to write, calculate, drive a car or master a trade, but all this has nothing to do with wisdom, it provides no ontological insight into the nature of beings, but only accomplishments, childish skills which are not wisdom" (p. 40). (Translation.)

The mere acquisition of knowledge is therefore not regarded by Blacks as fundamental responsibility. Wisdom does underlie responsibility, but, as will be seen later, the increase or enlargement of wisdom as a spiritual force in the first instance is not seen as the outcome of personal dedication. It is received from stronger spiritual forces, especially from the departed ancestors.

The Bantu philosophy (or Bantu metaphysics) also underlies the Black man's knowledge and therefore his understanding of nature. In this respect Tempels (1946) writes the following: "But to have a general opinion regarding the beings is something completely different from knowing each being in detail according to its own inner nature. It is no longer a philosophy ... here we are more concerned with natural science" (p. 44). (Translation.)

Tempels mentions three principles of knowledge which to the traditionally oriented Black man serve as criteria for the interpretation of reality. These principles are not important for the purposes of this study. What is important is that the Black man explains reality in terms of the functioning of spiritual forces that are arranged hierarchically. Every event is characterised by either the confirmation, or the increase, or the decrease of a particular spiritual force. Every event has a cause which can be traced back to the functioning of these spiritual forces. The acquisition of knowledge

and the inculcation of skills are definitely not related to the increase of a person's spiritual force. For example, it is known that among Blacks in the RSA a prospective witchdoctor has to complete an apprenticeship under a qualified witchdoctor before he may start practising on his own. Tempels (1946) writes the following with regard to the initiation of the new witchdoctor: "The witchdoctor can only teach his pupil the tricks and ceremonies; he can train him for the higher life he is going to lead; but, in my opinion, he cannot give him the power and the knowledge" (p. 50). (Translation.)

Tempels also writes: "But someone who is possessed in this way, becomes enraptured at the moment that the spirit or vidye 'poseses him'; and it is at this moment that the novice obtains the higher force to know and to influence" (p. 49). At the moment that the pupil becomes possessed, he obtains his power and superior knowledge of "... a higher force of life than that of the instructor's that has to intervene. Thus there can be no mention of actual initiation by the instructor" (Tempels, 1946, p. 50). (Translation.)

It is known that Blacks in the RSA who become witchdoctors, state that they are called to this profession by the spirits of the ancestors. These spirits may make their wishes in this respect known to the individuals concerned in different ways, for example by afflicting him with a chronic disease (Möller, 1972, p. 200). Even today the Black witchdoctors still have an important function among Blacks living in White areas in the RSA (Möller, 1972, p. 188). It therefore appears to be justified to assume that the traditional epistemology of the Black man still plays an important role, even among Western oriented Blacks. The fact that many Black Christians sometimes consult the priests of independent Bantu churches as divination doctors, may also be an indication that the Christian doctrines offer the Black man the scope to interpret reality in terms of his traditional epistemology.

This probably confronts the researcher with one of the most difficult problems in respect of responsibility, namely the question of what significance a person's acquired knowledge and skills are to him as a person in a specific cultural set-up. With reference to Tempels, it was indicated earlier on in this subsection that objec=

tive, empirically verifiable scientific knowledge is regarded by Blacks as superficial non-essentials. It was also pointed out in Chapter 2 of this study that Blacks in the RSA, especially in respect of illnesses, tend to differentiate between cause and symptom. Western science can treat the symptom, but the cause which is more deeply rooted than the symptom can only be treated by someone who has insight into the functioning of the spiritual forces (and who is able to manipulate them). Knowledge of reality is therefore meaningful to the Black man if it enables a person to explain reality, and especially specific occurrences, in terms of his philosophy of forces. The traditionally oriented Black man directly relates the spiritual forces to the spirits of his ancestors and to impersonal witchcraft or magic. Events which fundamentally affect his life are caused by forces outside himself and he can only make a contribution to the course of his life if he can manipulate the spiritual forces in some way. The important role that is played by Bantu witchdoctors, even among Western oriented Blacks, proves that this approach to the reality of life is still an essential characteristic of the Black man's philosophy of life. According to Möller (1972, pp. 208-227) the priests of some of the independent Bantu churches in many respects are very similar to the traditional Black witchdoctors.

It can therefore be assumed that to many Bantu Christians the meaningfulness of knowledge acquisition and the development of skills or abilities that are required in the modern society do not arise from the same fundamental convictions as in the case of the White man. This statement does not imply that the situation in the Western cultural context is perfect. Also in the Western cultural set-up just as clear a distinction can be made between a clever (or intelligent) person and a wise one. This is also the reason why intelligence and aptitude tests have a limited prognostic value and why many highly intelligent people do not succeed in life, and particularly in professional life. It is also for this reason that highly intelligent people who have proved their ability by their personal successes, sometimes land in prison on account of a lack of an authentic sense of responsibility.

In the light of the foregoing discussion it can be stated that discovery of meaning does not entail only the acquisition of knowledge or the development of personal skills. By virtue of all the impli-

cations of responsibility, the chief concern is the sense and meaning which a person's knowledge and skills have for him as a person. In other words the main issue is not merely the subjection of the earth and the control over it, but above all whether this subjection and control lead to the realization of a particular aim. Norms on the strength of which an account is rendered of the individual actions therefore refer, on the one hand, to the quality of the work performance, which can be measured objectively, and on the other, to philosophical principles which cannot be measured but which can be comprehended.

Bijl's (1960, p. 24) view that responsibility extends to the shape that the individual life has to assume, corresponds with what has been said above. However, it still offers no solution to the problem, namely how to lead the Black man towards authentic responsibility in a dynamic Western culture. It appears that the Black man's philosophy of life cannot easily be integrated with objective, empirically verifiable knowledge, especially in view of the fact that such knowledge should be seen as media for change with a view to realization of aims. Extensive empirical investigations should be undertaken in order to gain perspective on this foundation of responsibility in the case of Blacks. Such investigations should be undertaken jointly by White and Black researchers since the important factor here is the integration of fundamental convictions underlying two cultures which, from the Black man's point of view, have to be integrated.



## CHAPTER 5

### CO-EXISTENCE AS DETERMINANT OF RESPONSIBILITY AMONG BLACKS IN A WESTERN CULTURAL CONTEXT

#### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

Co-existence means the total network of interpersonal relationships which affect all aspects of every person's life. Interpersonal relationships undoubtedly influence responsibility in every individual and since these relationships affect the total spectrum of a person's life, it is impossible for the purpose of this study to discuss co-existence and the connection between that and responsibility in detail. Only some important dimensions of co-existence will be discussed here, whereas its importance for responsibility among Blacks in a Western cultural context will be indicated.

As premise for this study it was assumed that the Christian-Western culture is to a large extent rooted in three Christian principles of life, namely control over reality, total love for God and equal love for the self and the fellow-man. There is no doubt that nowadays the last two principles are often lost sight of. However, they still function, but in a camouflaged form, often integrated with each other as one way in which the belief in a personal God is dismissed. In the USA, for example, much recognition is given to the concept Great Society and whatever is connected with that. Communism which can also be regarded as an offshoot of Western culture, attaches absolute value to a communist-socialist society structured in accordance with Marxist-Leninist principles. It is an ideology which replaces the commands of a transcendental instructor, and which rejects individualism (in the sense in which it is still regarded in the Western democracies). (M Mchedlov, 1975, p. 78.)

In highly industrialised societies, group loyalty can also be put in the place of (Communism) or next to (for example in the USA) a transcendental instructor and it may be applied either to promote (as in the USA) or to undermine individuality (Communism).

In the RSA the Christian principles of life still constitute an important foundation of the White man's culture. Interpersonal relation=

ships in this country still mean relationships between individuals, with love as an important determinant of the quality of the relationships. Within the context of this study individuality must be seen as an essential condition for co-existence. In the light of what was said earlier in this study, it is clear that to the Communist co-existence does not primarily imply individuality. Also in the traditional Bantu culture co-existence does not primarily imply individuality, but rather conformity.

However, in neither of the cases is individuality denied, but definite instructions are laid down on the strength of which individuality may be actualised.

It is obvious that a fundamental aspect of responsibility is introduced here. In the Christian-Western cultural context responsibility basically means individual-subjective accounting as the concern of the conscience. However, responsibility also entails shared or collective responsibility which is shared, for example, with a culture group or fellow-workers (for example the staff of a school) or a family group. Responsibility also comprises co-responsibility for the shape of the lives of fellow-men, or some fellow-men, for example the members of the same family and more particularly the responsibility of the parents in respect of their children. It must be remembered that the nature and quality of co-existence will differ from culture to culture. The nature of the responsibility which is determined by co-existence will therefore also differ from culture to culture. This study is specifically concerned with responsibility among Blacks in a Western cultural context - a culture which they have not fully assimilated.

It must be pointed out once more that responsibility, as it becomes manifest in everyday life, may appear at different levels and that responsibilities which become apparent at the same level, may still differ in respect of their extent and impact. (See Chapter 1, Section 1.1.) For example, responsibility may purely refer to routine actions such as reporting promptly for work and completing simple manual tasks in accordance with certain demands, especially with regard to length of time. However, these routine actions may also cover a wider field such as in the case of a train or bus driver who has to follow the same time-table every day, but who, in the execution of his duties, accepts wider responsibility than

mere punctuality. This increased extent of the routine responsibility arises from the very principle of co-existence. The bus driver does not only accept co-responsibility for the lives of his passengers, but he also shares a particular responsibility with each of them, namely to get them to their destination on time. However, routine responsibility may also become manifest at a higher level, such as in the case of a works manager who has to co-ordinate the daily activities in a factory, or an officer who has to control an extensive military parade. Activities are undertaken according to a particular plan which also provides norms on the strength of which an account can be rendered. However, responsibility which becomes manifest at the higher levels, requires a greater extent of creative thought of the individual. When something unforeseen happens in a factory, the works manager should be able to take original and judicious decisions to ensure continued production. As far as the manifestation of responsibility at the highest levels is concerned, reference can be made to creative responsibility which is practically fully demonstrated in the manifestation of personal initiative - the person initiates projects on his own and to a large extent chooses his own norms (mainly from his culture in accordance with his personal philosophy of life) on the strength of which he accounts for his actions. It is not considered necessary to give a detailed account of possible distinctions between routine and creative responsibility. In fact, the two should not be regarded as different forms of responsibility, since responsibility always reveals the same form. It should also be emphasised that differences in level do not imply differences in quality. Authentic responsibility cannot differ qualitatively, no matter at what level it becomes manifest or what scope it reveals. The quality of responsibility refers to the person's willingness to account to a transcendental instructor in respect of the quality of his work, irrespective of the fact whether the work entails the filling in of forms or the designing and building of a large irrigation project. It is clear, however, that cultural context and especially the personal philosophy of life will affect the quality of responsibility at all levels. As far as quality is concerned, the responsibility of a person used to acting in a group context according to traditional rules, who now has to act as an individual in accordance with a larger number of norms that are less clearly defined, will be weaker than that of someone who has been brought up to assume an individual point of view and to accept responsibility. As individual the former person will not feel himself

so strongly called upon to render an account.

Although this study is chiefly concerned with the quality of responsibility among Blacks in the Western cultural context, it is clear that in respect of interpersonal relationship (co-existence) and self-assertion (being someone oneself) the dimensional characteristics of responsibility must also be taken into account.

## 5.2 THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF INDIVIDUALITY, CO-EXISTENCE AND RESPONSIBILITY

The traditional Bantu culture is a closed and therefore fairly clearly structured culture. The Black child (in the traditional context) grows up in a society where the shape that his life has to assume is fairly clearly outlined. Definite rules determine his behaviour in respect of almost every situation with which he may be confronted in the traditional cultural context. Minnaar (1975, p. 28) points out that the "... strong sanctional prescriptions do not promote ego development in the Western individualistic sense of the word. Whereas the tradition oriented personality represses individualism in ego development, the demands made by the competition oriented nature of the Western cultures stimulate attempts in this direction". (Translation.) Traditionally the Black man attaches little value to individual independence, in fact, he discourages its development. The aim of the traditional education of the Black child is to instill fixed habits with regard to life in the traditional society. According to Badenhorst (1972, p. 37) this moulding results in "... acquiring external habits and forms of conduct instead of an own, personal, meaningful order of value preferences... Nel avers that devotion to collectivity leads to a semblance of an experience of security". (Translation.) It will be indicated later on that traditionally the Black man is a group person who primarily experiences security in kinship groups.

In his survey on literature with regard to the Black man's personality, Erasmus, with acknowledgement to Klukhohn and Murray, comes to the following conclusion: "This consequently causes one to conclude that, in a study of personality, cognisance should be taken of humanity culture ('like all other men'), national cultural ('like no other man')" (19, p. 2). Among traditionally oriented Blacks the development of an 'individual culture' is deliberately

suppressed, whereas the development of a 'national culture' is strongly emphasised. The aforementioned does not imply that individuality is foreign to the Black man. Essentially it means that the realization of the self is to a large extent accomplished in accordance with clearly defined cultural norms. According to his traditional upbringing, the Black man asserts himself as an individual in, and in harmony with, a clearly structured group by virtue of firmly outlined unchangeable traditional cultural norms.

A basic need of the Black individual is therefore mutual integration in a group. In the traditional society the Black man had some important links with his family, with his wider kinship group and also with his age group (Bruwer 1963). This need for group integration in the Black man is of particular significance for the manifestation of responsibility. In the first instance, as an individual he feels less intensely responsible for his actions. His self-assertion is realised in the collective integration with a group and when his conscience calls him to reflect, he first of all becomes aware of a threat to his integration with the group and especially with his ancestors. Möller's (1972, p. 160) view that the Black man's ritual sacrifices to his ancestors are a way of evading personal responsibility, can only be justified if it is viewed from a Western cultural context. In the traditional Bantu culture the sacrifice is seen as an authentic way of obeying the voice of his conscience which calls upon him to restore or to strengthen his ties with his ancestors. The ancestors are experienced as representatives (from the transcendent) of the group with whom the individual Black man has to integrate on earth. Möller (1972, pp. 399-401) found that this need for integration with a group (primarily the kinship group but equally important with wider groups such as the church) is still an essential need of the Western oriented urban Black.

The question now is whether this traditional group orientation of the Black man, this tendency to reject an individual assumption of a point of view on the strength of an own unique hierarchy of values, can be altered by means of training programmes. There are indications that this characteristic of the Black personality has a deeply religious basis - that it is rooted in his philosophy of life and consequently cannot be easily altered. (See for example Möller's findings to which reference has already been made.)

Erasmus (1970) agrees with Tempels' exposition of the Black man's philosophy of forces which forms the foundation of his philosophy of life. (See also Chapter 4 of this study.) He points out that at least the Tswana attach much value to the preservation of the natural balance between all the forces in the universe. The natural structure of the world of forces is revealed in a harmonious integration between them all. This implies that as an individual the Black man should also be meaningfully (harmoniously) integrated with a group - especially with his family. The family again, must be meaningfully integrated with the tribe. If, by his actions, an individual disturbs the balance between the forces, it may lead to disaster for himself, for his family (including his departed ancestors), and even for the tribe as a whole. The harmony is restored by adherence to specific ritual actions. In the opinion of Erasmus, the tradition of group integration among Blacks therefore has a deeply religious basis.

Of interest is also the opinion of two Negro researchers, Henderson and Washington (1975, pp. 353-360), that some characteristics of the original Africa-Negro culture can still be perceived today in the modern Negro culture in the USA. They point out that the Negro American, unlike the White American, does not educate his children towards individual assumption of a point of view in respect of social events. They write as follows in this respect: "Both the children and the adults within the community behave in ways that suggest their awareness of social control mechanisms. The significant feature of this control system, for our analysis, is that it seems to operate external to the child. That is to say, that the laws of social control are external to the child and in growing up he learns to adapt appropriately to increasingly diverse and complex social situations and their relevant control features" (p. 357).

It appears therefore that this particular aspect of the Black man's personality will not easily be changed by training programmes. It appears to be more accountable to assume that any attempt to strengthen individual responsibility among Blacks, will have to link up with the principle of group integration.

Another aspect of the Black man's group involvement that has significance for his responsibility, is the hierarchical structure of his

traditional society. In this respect Bruwer (1963) writes the following: "An important feature of the Black man's concept of kinship is the particular code of behaviour which governs it. This code is particularly clearly outlined and the Black child learns from infancy how to behave towards people who have a specific kinship relationship with him. Age always plays an important role in the Black society, and respect for the elders is one of the most important codes of Bantu behaviour. This code does not only function between people of different generations. The right of primogeniture and the status it entails, underlie the entire system of hereditary right and law of succession of Blacks... Another principle which applies in this relationship is the fact that men are normally regarded as superior and are treated accordingly" (p. 46). (Translation.)

This manner of determining rank does not apply only to the family, but also to the wider front of kinship. In this respect Bruwer (1963) avers: "The same rules of rank that apply in the family, as based on the right of primogeniture and the status of the mother, also apply along the line. The eldest son of the chief wife of the eldest son in the senior generation therefore always remains the highest status person in the line" (p. 50). (Translation.)

The status order of rank is extended to include the tribe as a whole. The paramount chieftaincy of the tribe is hereditary and the incumbent of this position is seen as the earthly representative of the original founder of the tribe. He has the highest authority and status in the tribe while his relatives, like brothers, sisters and children also enjoy particular status. Lesser chiefs, each with his particular status, rule over smaller communities and kraals. Bruwer (1963, p. 174) mentions the following: "The entire political organization and tribal government is therefore an organizational entity which functions from the bottom upwards and from the top downwards. In reality it is a political system which is closely related to the social structure and which closely integrates the tribal government with the nature of the national organism" (p. 174). (Translation.) In the traditional society this social and political structure of the Black people fulfils an important function as far as maintaining law and order is concerned. However, a system in which status and authority are so strongly dependent on birth can seriously hamper progress towards westernization, since it impedes the execution of responsibility. A Western oriented urban

Black man who is appointed in a senior government position in a traditional community on account of his qualifications and ability, may experience problems in exercising authority over people over whom he has been appointed but who, on account of their descent, have a higher status than he. Highly qualified Western oriented Blacks may therefore be unwilling to serve among their own people in the more traditionally oriented homelands. It may consequently be particularly difficult to establish an infrastructure in the homelands although this is an essential condition for development in all fields of life. The capable and qualified Blacks who are necessary for establishing and maintaining such an infrastructure tend to emigrate to White areas in the RSA or even to other Western countries.

A solution for this problem (the establishment of an effective infrastructure) must be found in an integration or compromise between the traditional way of acquiring authority and status, and the system which applies in Western society and which is based on personal ability. The Black man attaches particular value to ritual ceremonies when members of the community are promoted from one status level to another. One example is the initiation ceremonies upon reaching adulthood. According to Tempels (1946) these ceremonies have a religious foundation in so far that it is believed that during the ceremony the individual is strengthened from outside by a force through which he, in fact, becomes a different person and therefore even receives a different name (p. 60). The question is whether obtaining educational qualifications (certificates, diplomas or degrees) will not become of more significance to the Bantu community in all its facets (for example politically and socially) if these qualifications are awarded during ceremonies organised in accordance with definite traditional Bantu customs.

In the same way Bantu officials can be promoted during ceremonies at which one or more Bantu leaders can clearly impress on the community as well as the official concerned, what his new status and responsibilities are. The Black man's need for group integration can also receive more attention in the labour context. For example, if it would be possible to establish a strong group spirit among incumbents of similar posts, the group (in accordance with traditional customs) may serve to combat irresponsible behaviour among its members. In the job situation of the Black



man, group integration and group responsibility should be emphasised in addition to individual responsibility.

## CHAPTER 6

### FERTILITY AND RESPONSIBILITY AMONG BLACKS IN A WESTERN CULTURAL CONTEXT

#### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

Probably one of the most difficult and complex problems regarding responsibility is discussed in this chapter. It is a problem that has a bearing on responsibility in the individual, in communities, in nations and in encompassing cultures such as Christian-Western or Mohammedan Culture. To gain perspective on this problem regarding responsibility, it is necessary to refer to the basis of the modern Christian-Western culture, especially three Christian principles. Of particular importance for the purpose of this subsection of the study is the cultural command to man as recorded in Genesis 1 : 28: "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over ... every living thing that moveth upon the earth."

It has been pointed out earlier on that the second part of this command implies the most original human responsibility, namely to realise the inherent personality potentialities (to develop and give shape to them). If a person wants to do a particular job or pursue an occupation, then his first responsibility is to learn the skills that are necessary for doing so. This is the primary responsibility of all people from all cultures. To the Protestant Christian this primary responsibility has a specific religious foundation. It is clear from the aforementioned Bible text that to the Protestant Christian an equally original command is entailed in the words "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth ...". From this original cultural command arises a dual responsibility for man which at present tends towards an irreconcilable ambivalence which also affects responsibility in the RSA fundamentally. Man has the responsibility to increase, but also to create culture (to subdue the earth). Out of gratitude the Christian feels called upon to assume this dual responsibility joyfully. At the present juncture it has become obvious that an uncontrolled increase of mankind without a corresponding development (more adequate control over the earth) may lead, for example, to famine. A too rapid increase in the population can also be regarded as an important reason for a slow

tempo of development in many countries.

From the point of view of responsibility, the dual problem of population increase and development to a large extent revolves round the problem of the realization (especially in the sense of developing and giving shape to) of human potentialities which is, in effect, a matter of norms, in other words, a child does not develop automatically, but he realises himself on the strength of specific cultural norms. Consequently, a child cannot simply be left to his own devices, but he needs educational assistance from adults who know the cultural norms. In the more primitive cultures, where development in the sense of control over reality is at a comparatively low level, the educational assistance is also quite simple. In the traditional Bantu cultures education is mainly accomplished by means of imitation, whereas the conduct in life and the style of life that were learnt by imitation, were given content by way of stories related mainly by the grandparents.

In the modern Western cultural context, a more differentiated realization of human potentialities is required at a much higher level. In modern times the education of a child makes high demands on the individual parent and on the community as a whole. It is obvious that the number of children who can be adequately educated (according to modern Western culture norms) by an individual parent and by the society as a whole, is limited by the particularly high demands made in respect of the education of children. The Protestant Christian thus lives with the responsibility to increase (to have children), but also with the responsibility to educate his children. He has to assist his children to realise their human potentialities according to specific Christian principles to the level required by the modern Western culture. Fundamentally the Protestant Christian therefore also bears the responsibility for family planning.

Contact between the Western and Black cultures in the RSA focused attention on the interdependence between population growth and development among Blacks as a particularly topical problem. It will be indicated later on that procreation has religious significance for the Black man as well. However, sex itself has no religious connotation to the Black man. The Western civilised way of life, including the contribution made by medical science, resulted in a de-

crease in the number of deaths among adult Blacks. Science also led to a decline in Black infant mortality. The result is an uncontrolled population increase among Blacks which seriously hampers their development as a population group. Especially the education has become unsatisfactory as a result of a too large number of children for whose education the individual parent and the community as a whole have to accept responsibility. The population growth is also accelerating because the traditional methods of birth control have fallen into disuse among the Western oriented Blacks.

Leistner and Breytenbach (1975) write the following with regard to this uncontrolled population increase among Blacks which hampers their development: "It is worth pondering what the effect on wages would be if, instead of the current 2,87 per cent or more, the Black population had suddenly begun, say in 1960, to grow at the mere 1,54 per cent per annum recorded by the local White population" (p. 36). An oversupply of Black workers forces down their average wages. These workers who, by Western criteria, are at a low level of development and who earn a lower salary than Whites, as heads of families often have to carry the responsibility for more children than their White counterparts. Leistner and Breytenbach (1975) write for example: "... for every 100 males 15 - 64 years old there were 100 children under 15 years of age in the case of Whites as compared to 158 children in the case of Blacks" (p. 36). The data that are quoted point to a disturbing situation.

## 6.2 SEXUAL MORALITY

### 6.2.1 Introduction

It appears that traditionally the Black man, on the strength of his philosophy of life, made a different distinction between gratifying his sexual urges and the woman's fecundity or fertility than the Christian who, on account of his religion, may not separate the two. This does not imply that the Black man was not aware of the causes of impregnation. The aim of most traditional restrictions on extramarital sexual contact was to prevent the woman from becoming pregnant and that is why most of them referred to the behaviour of the woman. The woman's fecundity (her ability to bear children) was regarded as a specific asset which had economic

significance (not for the woman herself), but which apparently also constituted an integral part of their religious convictions. In this subsection the Black man's traditional attitude to sex gratification is discussed first and then his views regarding procreation (begetting children).

#### 6.2.2 Gratifying the sexual urge: Premarital and extramarital (adulterous) sexual intercourse

Coertze (1935, Chapter 1) penetratingly discussed the traditional customs regarding premarital relations among the various Black peoples of Southern Africa. Premarital sex, according to him, is approved by practically all Black tribes in the RSA. The most important restriction regarding sexual freedom among all tribes, is that the girl must not be deflowered and, above all, that she is not impregnated. If this happened her father could claim compensation from the man responsible for her defloration or impregnation.

Ashton (1967, p. 38) points out that among the traditional Basuto, boys under 10 played games during which the sex act in animals was imitated. This was only a mockery to which most parents had no objections and girls did not take part in this. However, as soon as the Basuto children reached puberty, sexual chastity was expected of them. It does appear, however, that sexual abstinence before marriage was not accepted as a norm by all Basuto. For example, Ashton (1967, p. 40) writes the following: "On the other hand many Basuto allege and deplore that nearly everyone has premarital love affairs: there is good evidence that some children's sexual experience begins even before puberty. Actually, however, provided that lovers conduct themselves discreetly and the girl avoids pregnancy and is not promiscuous, no one worries much about their affairs. Indeed they are half expected and a girl who had no lover would be regarded as unnatural and suspected of consorting with a familiar" (p. 40). It must be assumed, however, that traditionally the Basuto attached much value to premarital chastity. Ashton (1967) writes for example: "...various customs, particularly those concerned with marriage, ..., clearly indicate that formerly the Basuto expected and to some extent succeeded in obtaining strict continence from their children. ... the fact that the Basuto claim that former generations were chaste indicates their dissatisfaction with the present day sexual laxity" (p. 39).

The Zulu, traditionally, had a different approach to premarital sex which corresponded more with the customs that were in use among most other Black nations in the RSA. However, Zulu customs were characterised by strict social control and a large degree of self-discipline was expected of young people. Before reaching puberty, Zulu children were freely allowed to have sexual relations. After reaching puberty the girl came under the control of a group of girls belonging to the age group older than she and who were informed of all her comings and goings. The older group of girls traditionally elected a 'queen' from among themselves without whose permission girls from the younger group could not enter into a love affair. Actually, a boy who wished to start a relationship with a girl had to obtain permission from the older group of girls and more specifically from the 'queen'. This 'queen' also had to teach the younger girls the traditional method of premarital sexual intercourse which prevented them from becoming deflowered or impregnated. Such sanctioned sexual relationships were regarded as binding and were supposed to end in marriage. Every girl was strictly controlled by the group of girls just older than she and she was not allowed to have a relationship with more than one boy at a time (Krige, 1936, p. 105). Traditionally the Zulu therefore had no objection to premarital sexual gratification as long as the girl's fecundity remained untouched and she did not become promiscuous.

Reader (1960) writes the following in respect of the more modern usages among the traditionally oriented Zulu: "Today, even among pagans, the sexual aspect of ukugoma has been abandoned, only its formal symbolism retained. Soma (external sexual contact) has developed often into clandestine internal intercourse, with a resulting crop of illegitimate offspring. This is inimical to a public declaration before age-groups and to the rigid supervision of the girl queen, these institutions having accordingly disappeared" (p. 177).

As far as extramarital sexual relationships are concerned, the Xhosa are probably more permissive than most other Bantu peoples in the RSA. For example, Hunter (1936, pp. 180-181) points out that at an early age Xhosa children are familiar with the facts regarding sex. Traditionally, parties were arranged for girls between eight and twelve and boys between nine and fourteen where they could sing and dance together and afterwards pair off and sleep in

each other's arms. However, girls may not be deflowered. Girls from 14 and boys from 16 onwards arranged similar parties which usually lasted from Saturday to Monday morning. A form of sexual intercourse, called ukumetsha, is allowed but if the girl is deflowered the boy has to pay a fine to her father and a bigger one if she becomes pregnant.

Unlike in the case of the Zulu, these love affairs among Xhosa children are not considered to be engagements. The young people are not expected to restrict themselves to one partner. If a boy wants to ukumetsha with a girl he has to give her parents a present known as umnyobo (usually money). The number of sweethearts of a boy was therefore determined by his financial resources. With regard to the girls, Hunter (1936) writes the following: "The payment of umnyobo does not give a man the exclusive right to ukumetsha with a girl." A girl could therefore ukumetsha with as many boys as she wished, and "... it is no disgrace to her to accept several lovers at the same time. The more skulls the better" (p. 182).

Among traditional Xhosa premarital sexual intercourse was therefore accepted as an everyday occurrence, but again with the provision that the girl should not be deflowered or become pregnant.

Mayer (1971) studied the present day urbanised Xhosa's (traditionally as well as Western oriented) attitude towards premarital intercourse. He found that the traditional attitudes in this respect have been adapted to modern conditions and underlie total sexual permissivity. He writes the following on this topic: "... All Xhosa, including the Christians, regard sexual satisfaction as a normal requirement of every adult, whether married, unmarried or widowed. Sexual contacts (they feel) have to be regulated not because they are intrinsically evil or dangerous, but in order to avoid infringements of existing rights" (p. 252). He also points out that sexual permissivity is an essential characteristic of the Xhosa's conduct in life and his style of life, but that the modified form in which it appears among the urban Xhosa should not be confused with a form of prostitution. Neither should this permissivity be regarded as a new development resulting from the urbanization of the Xhosa. Sexual permissivity is a feature of the traditional Xhosa society and the change in the urban societal con=

text Mayer explains as follows: "Yet sexual liaisons - outside marriage are practised and tolerated in the country hardly less than in town. They are part of Xhosa tradition. It is not because fornication (as Christians would call it) arouses any horror in itself, that town gets branded as an immoral place. Rather it is because of differences in etiquette and the degree of supervision and regulation. The conventions proper to extramarital affairs, the rules of fair-play (as country Xhosa see them) are apt to go by the board in town. This is the only sense in which one could properly speak of 'moral breakdown' in connection with the sexual life of the locations" (p. 253).

The 'rules of fair play' probably mainly concern precautions to be taken to avoid pregnancy and compensation to be paid if the girl or woman does become pregnant. Mayer writes for example: "But English-speaking School people have made use of the existence of two separate English words, 'girl' and 'virgin', to express a distinction within the ranks of the umtombi. 'Virgin', as used by them does not mean sexually untouched, but means having never become pregnant. This extension of meaning may appear ironic or comical to local White people, who perhaps see it as the telling reflection of hopelessly debased standards. It is not so much this, however, as the expression of a particular concept of chastity, logical within its own cultural setting" (p. 254).

The difference between urban and rural areas, as far as sexual morality is concerned, therefore has no bearing on sexual intercourse itself, but rather on the fact that in the city the principle that a woman's fecundity belongs to one man, namely first her father and later her husband, is no longer so prominent.

Mayer (1971) arrives at the following conclusion: "Plainly, then, there is much foundation for the country belief that 'girls will get spoilt' in town. In fact it appears to be the destiny of almost every countrygirl who comes to town to bear one or more illegitimate children." An unusual traditional responsibility is rejected in the cities by young people. The responsibility of the girl in respect of her ability to procreate has to a large extent lost its cultural and philosophical foundation in the city. The problem of illegitimate children among the urban Xhosa has therefore assumed a rather disturbing dimension.



With regard to the Venda of the Northern Transvaal, Van Warmeloo (1932) points out that premarital sexual intercourse was also practised traditionally in their case. On reaching puberty a Venda girl had to have intercourse with a man - married or unmarried. If she refused, she was forced to consent and if necessary, even tortured. However, the sexual contact was of such a kind that impregnation was impossible, it was called u davhula. The girl may not be deflowered or impregnated (p. 46). During the initiation ceremonies of the Venda a sexual demonstration was given by an adult man and woman, apparently with the specific aim of illustrating to the young people how fertilization takes place (Van Warmeloo, 1932, pp. 70 - 72). However, even in 1932 Van Warmeloo made the following remark: "Among the Venda it would appear that of late u davhula is practised much less, though rather to the detriment of morals than otherwise, in so far as full connection takes place" (p. 47).

To summarise, it can be said that with a few exceptions the Bantu peoples of South Africa traditionally accepted extramarital intercourse as an integral part of their way of life. To the traditional Xhosa, for example, moral degeneration does not imply an increase in extramarital sexual intercourse, but an increase in the number of illegitimate births without adherence to the concomitant traditional customs. The investigation of De Villiers (1972, pp. 174-182) also confirms the large-scale incidence of premarital and extramarital sexual intercourse in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area. Illegitimate births among urban Blacks have assumed alarming proportions. From an educational point of view (with specific emphasis on responsibility among Blacks), this is a disquieting trend. The immediate solution to the problem does not appear to lie in converting the Black man to other insights regarding extramarital sexual intercourse. Moeno's (1969) investigation indicates that in general urban Blacks still attach value to the traditional views regarding the value of the woman's ability to reproduce. Under urban conditions, however, it is often impossible to adhere to the traditional customs. The traditional ways of intercourse, as methods of birth control, are generally rejected by younger Blacks. A link can nevertheless be established with the traditional customs by providing extensive information to young Black persons on modern methods of birth control. In this way the Bantu family can be retained as educational nucleus and may even be consolidated to

counterbalance the ever increasing phenomenon of matrifocal families where a woman sometimes has to act as head of the family for three or even four generations of illegitimate children. The initiative for such direct and extensive sex guidance at school will obviously have to be taken by the Black leaders themselves. It will have to be made clear to Blacks that this is not an attempt to restrict their birthrate, but an attempt to restore or to retain the family completeness and unity as the primary educational environment.

It is envisaged that conscientious objections will be raised against such action by groups from the White community. It must be remembered, however, that the Black man's philosophy of life and conduct in life are based on a completely different tradition and that it cannot be changed in one generation. Converting the Black man to the Christian principles regarding sex should be regarded by interested White groups as a long-term project to be organised and systematically implemented over a wide field. The immediate need is to restrict the number of illegitimate births in order to prevent such a large percentage of Black children from being inadequately educated.

#### 6.2.3 The woman's ability to reproduce (fecundity)

Traditionally the Black man attaches much value to a large family (many children). In the past the large-family tradition provided for economic needs, but also had its origin in the Black man's religion. Traditionally, for example, girls had to help look after younger children, assist with domestic tasks such as cleaning the huts and preparing food, with the cultivation of fields, and with fetching water and firewood. Younger boys had to tend the cattle, whereas older boys had to take part in hunting trips and help defend the tribe. Under traditional conditions, therefore, a child was an economic asset. In the modern urban context a child is often an economic liability. Among urban Blacks, however, there is a tendency to distort their traditional principles in order to be able still to 'use' a child as an economic asset. One example of this is the tendency for the original significance of the lobolo custom to fade away and for lobolo to become nothing more than a 'bride price'. (See in this respect Du Plessis's, (1975, pp. 7-13) discussion on the economic aspects in the traditional Black society and those in

the urban Black society as factors which determine family planning.)

The fact that the Black man believes that the ancestors live on in the hereafter, that the living and departed generations mutually affect one another and that the hereafter is largely a reconstruction of earthly life, accords particular religious significance to a large family (many children) for the individual Black man, for the kinship group and for the tribe as a whole. (See Du Plessis, 1975, p. 19.) Under traditional circumstances the woman's fecundity was apparently considered to be of more importance than the woman herself. The custom of lobolo (paying cattle to the bride's parents) can also be explained on the strength of the high value that the Black man attaches to the woman's ability to bear children. For example, with regard to the bogadi<sup>\*</sup> custom among the Tswana, Schapera writes the following: "But the main function of bogadi is to transfer the reproductive power of a woman from her own family into that of her husband. ... No man can claim, for any purpose, the children he has had by any woman, until he and his family have agreed to transfer, and under certain circumstances, until they have actually transferred bogadi. On the other hand, all children borne by a married woman, no matter who the actual father may be are held to be the legal offspring of the man on whose behalf bogadi for that woman was given out" (quoted by Moeno, 1969, p. 34).

The words quoted by Schapera summarise the fundamental function of lobolo among the Black tribes in the RSA. Bruwer (1963) specifically points out that lobolo does not serve as the purchase price for the woman. He writes for example: "The woman does not become the possession of the man who may treat her in an arbitrary fashion. In fact, she never even becomes a member of the man's kinship group, but remains under the guardianship of her own people ... In actual fact, the main function of lobolo is to ensure children for the man and to enrich the kinship group with children. In the light of the great value Black people accord to children for extending the kinship group, it is understandable that the lobolo system became an integral part of marriage in most tribes. And it is only by handing over the lobolo that the man obtains any claim on his children, because, as the Zulu say: 'Lobolo begets children. By handing over the lobolo, the man receives the fecundity of the wo-

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\* The Tswana term for lobolo

man' (p. 71)". (Translation.)

The extent to which Black people tend to objectify the fecundity of the woman and to regard it as an asset, even separate from the woman as a person and marriage partner (in the Christian-Western sense of the word), is reflected by the different traditional Bantu customs arising from the practice of lobolo. For example, according to the sororate custom the wife's family must provide a sister of the woman to the man if she appears to be barren or if she dies before she has given him children. On the other hand, according to the levirate practice, if the man dies, preferably his younger brother (or some other relative) must beget children by his widow, and these children are considered to be the legitimate children of the deceased husband. Among the Xhosa, however, it is customary for strangers to obtain access to the widow and not the brothers of her late husband. Children born to this widow are still considered to be the legitimate offspring of the deceased man (Bruwer, 1963, pp. 73-74).

All this does not imply that true love between man and woman did not constitute the foundation-stone of the traditional Bantu marriage. It only illustrates that the woman's fecundity was traditionally regarded as a great asset. The man as well as the woman accepted procreation with a view to extending the man's kinship group as a basic human responsibility.

Moeno (1969, pp. 96-102) found that the majority of people in an urban Black community (Wattville Township, Benoni) still attach great value to the traditional lobolo custom. The original fundamental function of lobolo, namely the transfer of the woman's fecundity to the man, is not given as the main reason for retaining the custom, but it definitely still plays a role in the Black man's attitude in respect of lobolo. On account of a lack of money it is not always possible (especially for young men) to pay lobolo. However, premarital sex takes place with a consequent increase in the number of illegitimate children. Sometimes the two young people do get married later on, but very often the man leaves the girl in the lurch. Moeno (1969, pp. 59-60) found an unusually high percentage of 'matrifocal' families (that is, families without a man as the head of the family). She does not indicate how many of the families (sometimes consisting of three generations) are the re-

sult of illegitimate births. From an educational point of view, however, this trend among Black people causes grave concern.

Du Plessis (1975) found that the majority of the Black people in the Mamelodi Township near Pretoria still attach great significance to the lobolo custom. Under modern conditions, however, all the aspects of the lobolo custom are no longer accepted. For example, women reject the sororate practice. The result of this is that before men enter into matrimony they want proof of the woman's fecundity. Illegitimate births consequently increase, and many men do not keep their promises of marriage. The many illegitimate births therefore result from partly retaining traditions which cannot be fully upheld in the modern society.

From an educational point of view, and more specifically with reference to responsibility and all its connotations, the phenomenon of illegitimate births among urban Blacks is a problem which urgently requires attention.

Du Plessis (1975, p. 14) also points out that the Black people in Mamelodi attach much value to the woman's ability to bear children. A woman is not considered a real woman until she has proved her fecundity. A newly married woman therefore experiences much pressure from her relatives, her in-laws and the community as a whole to start a family as soon as possible after her marriage. Du Plessis (1975, pp. 19-20) also emphasises the fact that Bantu Christians generally have not rejected their belief in the ancestral spirits. Their belief in the ancestral spirits and their belief in Christ exist next to each other (or in some cases, integrated as an entirely new religion). The Western oriented Bantu Christian bases his belief in respect of a large family, not only on his traditional religion, but also on the divine instruction "... be fruitful, multiply, and replenish the earth". To the Bantu Christian family planning is therefore a double sin - it disturbs his relationship with his ancestors and he breaks the divine instruction addressed to man through the Bible.

In his study (pp. 5-7) Du Plessis (1975) typifies the Western culture as capitalistic and materialistic and the traditional Bantu cultures as magical and religious. It should be emphasised, however, that from a pedagogical point of view materialism is not a principle

underlying the Christian-Western culture. Materialism is more a result of the development of the Christian-Western culture and not the cause of it. Materialism in the Western culture is indeed regarded as one of the most important values and it is often raised to a principle of life in so far that a materialistic orientation is regarded as a prerequisite for successful integration in the Western culture. Essentially, however, materialism is a cultural value which provides confirmation for the principle contained in the divine instruction: "...subdue the earth and have dominion over ...every living thing that moveth upon the earth" (Gen. 1:28), in other words, materialism as a value confirms the principle of controlling the reality (cosmos) confronting man. Materialism only has meaning if it is not overemphasised to the disadvantage of the instruction to have total love for God and equal love for the self and the fellow-man. The one-sided emphasis that the Bantu Christian places on one part of the cultural instruction, namely to increase and to fill the earth, obscures his perspective on his responsibility towards his progeny. From a Christian Western cultural point of view, responsibility does not only mean begetting children, but it also extends to the welfare of those children. The welfare of the progeny depends also on their ability to control reality and this ability is the outcome of adequate formal and formative education. The present situation in which especially the Black man finds himself, makes it almost impossible for him adequately to bring up many children and to make satisfactory provision for their education. Financial assistance from nations of the Western culture offers no permanent solution to the problem which is rooted in the philosophical convictions of the Black man. Such financial assistance may equally correctly be typified as subsidies for a population explosion instead of as subsidies for cultural development.

In conclusion, the author would like to suggest here that those Blacks who still steadfastly believe in the ancestor cult, should be made to realise that their status in the hereafter (and the status of their ancestors who are already there) is determined in modern times especially by the level of civilization reached by their children and not so much by the number of their progeny. In this way it may be possible to integrate responsibility for family planning in their religion.

## CHAPTER 7

### SYNOPSIS

#### 7.1 INTRODUCTION

In a preliminary study to this investigation an analysis was undertaken of the fundamentals of responsibility with the aim of establishing a basic plan for this investigation. Responsibility does not exist as a factuality and can therefore not be isolated, defined and measured. Responsibility refers to an activity which is accomplished in the following manner: A person experiences himself as being called upon by a transcendental instructor. He responds by accomplishing his task. However, he experiences that another question is addressed to him by the transcendental Instructor, namely whether he accomplishes his task in such a way that he experiences it as an adequate response to his calling. The answer to the second question is accounting and is the task of the conscience. The concept of responsibility therefore refers to an activity as well as to an underlying feeling of being responsible. Responsibility also extends to the shape that a person's life has to assume in a particular societal context.

With this basic structure of responsibility as premise, it was concluded that certain aspects from the human world of experience have modifying significance for the manifestation of responsibility in the individual. They are:

1. Belief in God or in something or someone who is experienced as the transcendental Instructor in the place of God.
2. Culture.
3. Philosophy of life.
4. Conscience.
5. Human potentialities.

It was found in respect of culture that man and culture constitute an inseparable entity. Man without culture is just as inconceivable

ble as culture without man. The primary modes of human existence must therefore also constitute a basic structure on the strength of which cultures can be described and comprehended. When responsibility among Black people in a Western cultural context is studied, however, not only basic terms of description are required, but also norms or criteria on the strength of which cultures can be evaluated and compared. At least three laws or commands which, as principles, form the basis of and which qualify the most primary human modes of existence, apply to the Christian. They are the following:

- (1) "... Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over ... every living thing that moveth upon the earth" (Gen. 1: 28).
- (2) "... Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind" (Matthew 22: 37).
- (3) "... Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" (Matthew 22: 39).

These three principles appear to be generally valid, that is, every culture can be assessed in the light of these three principles. A god (or idol) that demands dedication from the individual can be identified in every culture. To the Christian it is the real God; to the Communist it is the doctrines of Marx and Lenin which have been elevated to the status of religious convictions, and to the Black man it is the entity: God - ancestors - magic forces. Man's religious convictions determine what he understands by control over reality, neighbourliness and self-realization. In every culture the most primary human modes of existence, namely being in a world of meaning, temporality, co-existence and having a personal identity are rooted in and qualified by the aforementioned three principles given to the Christian in the Bible.

The foregoing exposition provides a basic plan for the evaluative comparison between two cultures through which a particular insight may be obtained into the problems which representatives of one culture may experience when they have to show responsibility in a culture which is foreign to them.

After a comprehensive literature study had been undertaken, it was decided that for the purpose of this study it will suffice to dis=



cuss aspects from the Black man's traditional religion and his traditional culture which may affect his manifestation of responsibility in the Western culture.

## 7.2 THE BLACK MAN'S RELIGION AND THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THAT AND HIS SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY

### 7.2.1 Belief in God or a Supreme Being

Traditionally all the Bantu peoples in the RSA believed in a Supreme Being or God as the Creator and maintainer of everything. However, they did not regard God as a God with whom man could have a personal relationship. In fact, they had no clear concept of who or what God is. To them He was someone remote who hardly ever intervened in matters on earth. They did pray to God, but then only to ask for help, e.g. for rain or for children for barren women. In their relationship with God there was no evidence of any feelings of guilt, since they did not experience God as a demanding authority. In other words, they did not experience Him as a transcendental Instructor and therefore did not feel responsible to Him for any of their deeds. As far as the traditionally oriented Black man is concerned, it can be stated that God was absent from the structure of responsibility.

Recent investigations indicate that the Western oriented Black Christian's concept of God does not differ fundamentally from that of the traditionally oriented Black man. The Christian Black man does experience God as being closer to man and more accessible through prayer. The large majority of Western oriented Blacks mainly know God as a concept, thus at the intellectual level. God does not constitute a fundamental part of their world of experience and that is why He is not experienced as the transcendental Instructor to whom an account must be rendered. To most of them the place of God in the structure of responsibility is to a large extent still occupied by the spirits of the ancestors.

### 7.2.2 The ancestral spirits

The Black man's belief in the spirits of his ancestors constitutes a very important aspect of his religious life and this belief occupies an important position in respect of his sense of responsibility. The

Black man believes that when a person dies, his spirit departs for the hereafter. In outline life in the hereafter is represented as a faithful reproduction of life on earth. Neither does the spirit of the departed one sever its connections with his descendants on earth. As an invisible spiritual force, the spirit of an ancestor may exert an important influence on the lives of his descendants. On the other hand, in the hereafter the spirit of the ancestor has physical and social needs which can and must be catered for in part by the descendants. For example, the social status of the ancestral spirits in the hereafter is strongly affected by the behaviour and social status of the descendants on earth. According to traditional Bantu religion the ancestral spirits continuously intervene in the lives of their descendants, either to punish them or to work to their advantage. The aim of this intervention by the spirits is mainly to compel the descendants to respect tribal and national traditions. The traditionally oriented Black man tends to ascribe much of what happens to him to the intervention of his ancestral spirits. The traditionally oriented Black man therefore does not always experience himself as the initiator of events, but much rather as a 'puppet' controlled by forces outside himself (especially the spirits of his ancestors). In the traditional society the belief in the ancestral spirits made an important contribution to the individual acting in a responsible manner in the group context. In the modern Western cultural context, however, the belief in these spirits will rather tend to create confusion as far as the Black man's sense of responsibility is concerned.

Recent studies indicate that the modern Western-oriented Black man has not discarded his belief in the spirits of the ancestors, but the nature of the relationship between him and his ancestral spirits is changing. To the traditional Black man his integration with a group and especially with his relatives (dead and living) was of great importance and an important function of the ancestors was to consolidate the group integration. In the modern Western oriented society it is not always possible for Blacks to keep together the wider family and tribal groups. Although Blacks still consider group integration important, individual interests are becoming more prominent. In the relationship with the ancestors the emphasis is also gradually shifting from group (family) to individual interests. The relationship with the ancestors tends to become individualised, but the power of the ancestors has not diminished. That which happens to

them, as well as many of their actions (or passivity) is still experienced by many Western oriented Blacks as the result of the intervention by the ancestors. Many Western oriented Blacks are therefore still inclined to shift responsibility for their actions to their ancestors.

### 7.2.3 Magic views and witchcraft

In addition to their belief in a Supreme Being and in the spirits of the ancestors, traditionally oriented Blacks also believe in an impersonal, supernatural force or magic which may be applied either to the benefit or the detriment of the community and/or individual. Witchdoctors employ this impersonal force to the advantage of the community and/or individual, whereas the sorcerers (more often witches) employ this force to harm the community and/or individual.

The Black man's belief in witchcraft and magic can be attributed in part to his inability to comprehend and control the total reality with which he is confronted every day. At the same time, however, his belief in supernatural forces and magical practices offers him an expedient framework of meaning on the strength of which he may explain events, so that there is no motivation for more adequate discovery of meaning and more complete control of reality. In this manner the traditionally oriented Black man remains trapped in a vicious circle. The manifestation of authentic responsibility in this circle becomes almost impossible, since according to his religion he is not allowed to accept responsibility for events which he, on account of his religious convictions, ascribes to sorcerers and the spirits of the ancestors.

Recent studies confirm that the belief in magic and witchcraft is still fairly common among Western oriented Blacks (also among those who have accepted the Christian religion. Even among Blacks who have received high school education (and even higher) this belief in magic and witchcraft is still quite common, although not so general as among those with lower educational qualifications.

Nowadays Black people are inclined to make a distinction between the causes of disasters (for example illness) and their symptoms. Although they believe in witchcraft, some of them will consult a medical doctor for the treatment of symptoms (for example abdominal

nal pains caused by an illness), however, if they suspect the disease to be caused by a sorcerer or witch, in addition to the medical doctor they will also consult a witchdoctor to obtain medicine for neutralising the power of the sorcerer or witch. The greater amount of scientific knowledge that is available to Blacks today, still could not destroy their belief in magic and witchcraft. Scientific knowledge and belief in the myths are reconciled and in many cases the latter occupies a more important place in their world of experience. Where the Black man in the Western societal context is integrated in a much more complex network of social and labour relationships, the role of witchcraft will also become more complex and it can be expected that it will also affect the manifestation of responsibility among the Western oriented Black man in all possible fields of life.

### 7.3 TEMPORALITY AS AN ASPECT OF THE BLACK MAN'S CULTURE AND ITS EFFECT ON HIS SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY IN THE WESTERN CULTURAL SET-UP

#### 7.3.1 Temporality as a constituent of the philosophy of life

To the Christian, the universe began with the Creation and history takes a linear course towards a final aim, namely the fulfilment of God's will with the universe. Man is also co-responsible for his own as well as for the earth's history in general. By virtue of his religion the Protestant Christian continuously feels obliged to break through the natural sequence of cause and effect and to rule creatively and planningly over reality. One important feature of the Christian-Western culture is that its adherents live directed towards the future. They live in the present but activities are always planned with the future in mind.

The traditionally oriented Black man, on account of his religious convictions, believes that his destiny is the hereafter. He also believes that the hereafter is mainly a reconstruction of the life on earth as he came to know it through national legends (in other words history). The hereafter is therefore largely a re-creation of the earthly life known to him. The eventual future to the Black man therefore implies a re-creation of a past which he cannot and may not change. He therefore lives oriented towards the past and researchers have found that he does not easily accept responsibility

for projects running into the future.

The Western-oriented Black man generally has not rejected the traditional Black man's philosophical convictions. It must therefore be assumed that the traditional views regarding historicity may tend to obscure the more Western oriented Black man's sense of responsibility in the Western cultural context.

### 7.3.2 Objectified or clock time

The Western clock time, namely the division of a day into hours, minutes and seconds, is an arbitrary division that does not at all correspond with any known natural rhythm. That is why the 'time concept' as it functions in the Western culture, is not something that 'develops' in a child, It should be deliberately taught to a child. Objectified clock time constitutes a dynamic driving force for development in the Western culture. All actions, whether in labour, sport or social intercourse are evaluated on the criterion of clock time. Productivity is measured in terms of quantity and quality produced within a given length of time. To the Westerner, clock time has become a fundamental norm by means of which he accounts for his actions.

Before contact with Whites, the Blacks of Southern Africa were unaware of clock time. Clock time as criterion and norm for planning daily life fundamentally cannot be integrated with the Black man's traditional philosophy of life nor with his conduct in and style of life. The Western oriented Black man does know clock time and has shown himself capable of planning his life accordingly. In his own society, however, he is inclined to maintain a slower tempo of life, probably because he still does not experience clock time to the same extent as the White man as a fundamental criterion of accounting.

## 7.4 DISCOVERY OF MEANING

A very important objective of the White man is to control reality. A prerequisite for adequate control is authentic knowledge of the reality. Science and technology, as the result of knowledge acquisition and implementation, have therefore become essential characteristics of Western culture.

The traditionally oriented Black man believes that this essential characteristic of the universe lies in the fact that it is composed of a hierarchy of forces. God is the source of all power, but all things, namely people, animals, plants and inanimate objects, have power. The forces in the universe are harmoniously integrated in a particular hierarchy. They affect one another. One force may strengthen or weaken another. Everything that happens can therefore be explained in terms of the effect of forces on one another. To the traditionally oriented Black man, wisdom means knowledge of those forces and the ability to explain events in terms of the 'philosophy of forces'. This philosophy provides a fairly complete framework for explaining everything. There is no motivation for real discovery of meaning and adequate control over reality. Wisdom itself is a force which man receives from outside and man himself cannot do anything to improve his wisdom. Changes are due to the functioning of forces over which man can exercise very little control. The ability (itself a force) to control the forces is given only to certain people from outside, and this ability is strengthened or weakened by forces outside man. With such an epistemology as a foundation of the philosophy of life, the realization, especially of creative responsibility is seriously hampered.

#### 7.5 CO-EXISTENCE AS DETERMINANT OF RESPONSIBILITY AMONG BLACKS IN THE WESTERN CULTURAL CONTEXT

Co-existence implies the total network of interpersonal relationships which affect all aspects of every person's life. There is a close correlation between being someone oneself (self-assertion) and co-existence. The two determine each other reciprocally. In the Western culture individuality is held in high esteem. Every person has to assert himself as a unique person and in interhuman relationships the emphasis falls on relationships between individuals with love and mutual respect as the basis. Responsibility does not imply that one should account to a fellow human being, but that one feels responsible (towards a transcendental Instructor) in respect of the quality of one's relationships with individual fellow men. The command to love the neighbour is an important norm in this respect.

In the traditional Bantu culture little significance is accorded to individuality. More often its development is deliberately discour-

raged. The aim of the traditional upbringing of the Black child is to inculcate firm habits in respect of life in the traditional society. This society comprises particular groups. Every individual, whether child or adult, always integrates with certain groups and always occupies a not easily changeable hierarchical position in the group with which he integrates. To the Black man this group integration and the subjection of the individual to group-sanctioned codes of behaviour have a religious foundation and therefore cannot easily be changed. In the traditional cultural set-up responsible action mainly implies showing signs of conforming to the group. It used to be customary for a group (for example a family or a specific age group) as a whole to be held responsible for the conduct of one member of that group. In the Western cultural context emphasis is placed on individual responsibility in respect of individual behaviour which has little bearing on groups or group integration. This is something which the traditionally oriented Black man finds hard to understand.

The hierarchical structure of the traditional Black society can also seriously impede development towards westernization. In the Western society a person generally obtains a responsible position and social status on the strength of his abilities and perseverance. In the traditional Black society a person's social position and esteem are determined by birth. A capable and well-qualified Black man who, because of his birth, occupies a humble position on the traditional social ladder may find it impossible to fill a position of authority in the traditional society. In the Black homelands it may therefore be very difficult to establish the necessary infrastructure which is a prerequisite for progress in the Western sense of the word.

This problem may be solved by linking status acquisition with the acquisition of educational qualifications, which can be awarded by means of ritual ceremonies. Consideration should also be given to the suggestion that Blacks who are promoted to positions of authority, should take a course in Bantu culture which will enable them to obtain cognitive insight into philosophical convictions which are normally chiefly rooted in the feelings (affects).

In the job situation recognition should also be given to the Black man's need for group integration. Black people doing the same

kind of work can be split up into closer occupational groups. For example, if teachers develop a stronger occupation group awareness, specific codes of behaviour typical of the teaching profession can be clearly defined and obedience to these codes can be demanded of members by the teacher group.

## 7.6 FERTILITY AND RESPONSIBILITY AMONG BLACK PEOPLE IN A WESTERN CULTURAL CONTEXT

### 7.6.1 Introduction

Earlier on in this study it was stated that to the Protestant-Christian Westerner the most fundamental form of embodying responsibility has a bearing on the realization of human potentialities. This characteristic principle of the Western culture places a particular responsibility on parents (and on the community as a whole) as far as the education of their children is concerned. The realization of human potentialities, with regard to the level to which they have to be realised as well as the nature of the specific potentialities that have to be realised, is qualified by the culture in which the child is brought up. The traditional Bantu culture made comparatively simple demands with regard to the development of human potentialities. Children normally acquired the necessary skills by imitation. Usually older children coached the younger to master certain skills. The demands that were made in respect of maturity were of such a nature that a large family (many children) did not undermine the quality of the education. Various factors also kept the population growth within limits, so that it was the ideal as well as a necessity to have many children.

In the modern Western culture a particularly differentiated realization of human potentialities to a high level is required. The high demands made of the individual make it necessary for a child to receive individual attention from his parents. He must also receive more specialised, formal education, which entails a financial burden for his parents and the community as a whole. Westerners generally have accepted the principle that the size of their families should be limited. The Black man's philosophical convictions, however, are opposed to the principle of birth control. The Black community in which large families occur in this way creates for itself a tremendous burden as far as the upbringing and education



of the children are concerned. In the RSA, for example, there are 100 White children younger than 15 years for every 100 White men between 15 and 64. The corresponding figure for Blacks is 158 children for every 100 men.

#### 7.6.2 Sexual morality

##### a. Premarital and extramarital sex

Almost all Black peoples in the RSA traditionally approved of premarital sex, as long as the girl was not deflowered or impregnated. If a girl became pregnant, the man responsible for her condition had to pay compensation to her parents. Girls of the same age normally formed a social pressure group which discouraged uncontrolled sexual permissivity among its members. Among some tribes girls of a higher age than the group supervised the sexual behaviour of the younger girls. Sometimes they also had to instruct the younger girls in the methods of sexual contact that prevented defloration and pregnancy.

Modern young Blacks, especially in the cities (men as well as girls), have not rejected the traditional approach to premarital sexual freedom. However, they have rejected the traditional methods of preventing impregnation. This has resulted in an alarming number of illegitimate births, whereas a large number of fathers of these illegitimate children avoid (if not openly reject) the traditional responsibilities attached to premarital conception. The girl's mother or grandmother often cares for these illegitimate children. In many cases a woman with limited financial means, and without the assistance of a husband, must cope with the care and education of up to three generations of illegitimate children. This is a disquieting condition, and urgent attention should be given to the possibility of familiarising every young Black person upon reaching puberty with modern methods of contraception.

#### 7.6.3 The woman's ability to reproduce (her fecundity)

Traditionally the Black people accord much value to a large family, and children were a financial asset. Every family was a self-contained unit and children were needed to help cultivate the fields, to herd the cattle, to assist in the hunt and even to defend the family

and tribe against enemies. The large-family tradition also had its roots in their religion. A man's prestige in this life and the next depended also on the number of children for whom he would be 'forefather'. The size of the wider kinship group had also to be enlarged, especially with an eye to the hereafter. Traditionally, therefore, the Black man felt it was his responsibility to beget many children.

By virtue of this large-family tradition the ability of the woman to bear children was elevated to an asset that was sometimes considered more important than the woman herself. The lobolo custom, that is the tradition that a man pays cattle to his bride's family, did not mean that the man bought his wife. In fact, he bought her fecundity. As soon as a man had paid lobolo for a woman, all children that she might bear were legally his. They became members of his kinship group, irrespective of who the biological father was (for example after his death). Normally the woman did not become a member of her husband's kinship group, but under certain circumstances she could become ancestor to her children and thus a member of her husband's kinship group.

Western oriented Blacks generally still attach great value to the ability of the woman to bear children. Lately, however, the Black woman has emerged as a woman and marriage partner (in the Western sense of the word). But there still is a tendency among men as well as women to regard a female as a woman only after she has given birth to a child. On account of their religious convictions the more Western oriented Blacks generally still regard it as one of the basic human responsibilities to beget many children. However, under present conditions, especially in the Black townships around White cities and towns, a child has become a financial burden rather than an asset.

Western oriented Blacks still consider the lobolo tradition to have great value, although nowadays the emphasis is not so much on the principle that lobolo is payment for the woman's fecundity, but it is simply the bride price. They generally regard the lobolo custom as an exclusively Black tradition which they would like to retain. Under modern conditions, however, young Black men have difficulty in saving enough money to pay lobolo for the bride. The marriage therefore has to be postponed. Premarital sex is indulged in

without the traditional precautions to avoid pregnancy. The result is an increase in illegitimate births. Many a young man later decides he no longer wishes to marry the girl by whom he had a child, and he simply leaves her in the lurch.

It can also be stated at this point that when the philosophical convictions are taken away from the education, it must lead to an aimless and rootless permissivity of which the dominant characteristic is a lack of responsibility in the individual. In the modern Western societal context Black people can only partly uphold the traditional customs rooted in their religious convictions. One important aspect of the traditional customs that is being lost under modern conditions is, in fact, the personal responsibilities that were coupled to these customs. The result of this is a fairly general deterioration in the Black man's sense of responsibility in respect of his family and especially with regard to the education of his children.

## 7.7 CONCLUDING REMARK

Some principles which may impede the manifestation of responsibility among Blacks in a Western cultural context were discussed in this study. However, this study should not be regarded as much more than an introduction to the problem. It must also be emphasised that the problem was specifically approached as an educational one. The problem field was therefore explored as a work field of Pedagogy. Naturally, it is true that the problems Blacks experience in showing responsibility in a Western cultural context go far beyond the field of Pedagogy. If studied from other Science perspectives, other principles underlying the problem will probably be identified, or a different emphasis will be placed on the principles discussed in this study. However, it is correct to say that the solution to the problems Blacks experience in showing responsibility in a Western cultural context, is primarily one that concerns education.

Educating the Black child with responsibility in a Western cultural context as the educational aim, will be examined in a subsequent study. Particular attention will be devoted to the education of the Black child from birth to maturity. It is hoped that the intended study will reveal crucial problems requiring immediate attention.

For the present, no recommendations are made with regard to this study. The intention is for this study to be discussed by an advisory committee consisting of Whites and Blacks. Recommendations will be formulated after these discussions.

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