



THE RISE OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS IN SOUTH AFRICA

A presentation of the parameters of the movement and an empirical demonstration of political and cultural attitudes among non-university Indian students.

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A. Background to the Black Consciousness Movement

1. THE RISE OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

.1 Historical basis

The resurrection of the Black Consciousness movement in its present form has been one of the signal developments in the internal politics of South Africa in the past few years. At its basis it could be seen as a movement of solidarity and mutual identification between African, Coloured and Indian people. Black Consciousness is an indigenous phenomenon that has grown in response to the situation to which black people have been relegated by white racism (25: 103).

Inspiration and content for the philosophy of black consciousness has come from the writings of Leopold Senghor, Sekou Toure, Aime Cesaire, Julius Nyerere, Frantz Fanon and many black American activists. Transferred to South Africa, especially from the United States, the term "black" found rapid favour with a few African, Coloured and Indian intellectuals but gained broader acceptance after 1968. (10: 87)

The Black Consciousness movement in South Africa has its historical origins in 1912 immediately after the Union of South Africa was established. The early statements of leaders from the African National Congress (ANC) according to Walsh (1:7) was that their organization was a reaction to the exclusive European Union and their intention was to act as a political pressure group for Africans. As Walsh states, Congress attempted to establish an organization for self help committed to the removal of the colour-bar which could hopefully lead to the advancement of Africans in the wider society of South Africa (1:8).

The philosophy of Black Consciousness finds its closest ideological relative in the Africanist tradition of Anton Lembede, pre-eminent theoretician of the ANC youth league and Robert Sobukwe, founding president of the Pan African Congress (19:54). Steve Biko, founder of Black Consciousness in South Africa explicitly linked these

two organizations. Referring to Africanist's criticism of the ANC for adopting the Kliptown Charter of 1955 in conjunction with non-Black organizations, he wrote ... "these were the real first signs that Blacks in South Africa were beginning to realize the need to go it alone and to evolve a philosophy based on and directed by Blacks. Biko believed this to be the initial manifestation of Black Consciousness (4:186).

The South African Students Organization (SASO) was the first pronounced unit of the Black Consciousness movement. Though its ideological roots reached back into the Africanist tradition, its immediate antecedents lay in the University Christian Movement (UCM) (17:19). As a relatively radical student movement UCM attracted large numbers of Black students to its conferences. These students eventually formed an exclusive Black caucus within the organization. The concept of Black Consciousness was developed and articulated in its present form by UCM in the late 1960's.

#### .11. Philosophy of Black Consciousness

Black Consciousness has several components chief among these being the act of psychological liberation; the creation of self dependency and the formation of unity among the "oppressed". This philosophy of Black Consciousness has been articulated by several proponents, chief among them being, Biko.

It is necessary to define the term "Black" before elaborating on the philosophy of Black Consciousness. "Black people are those who are by law or tradition politically, economically and socially discriminated against as a group in South Africa and who identify themselves also as a unit in the struggle towards the realization of their aspirations. (12:10) They also share the experience of having been abused and exploited. (2:20). Manganyi has stated that people may create the spurious impression that Black Consciousness primarily referred to an awareness of skin colour. But, he added that only what the skin actually signified in sociological and psychological terms

was of importance. "Black people were being called upon to change the negative sociological schema imposed upon them by Whites, namely, that blackness signified subservience. "( 2:18).

Pityana, one of the earlier exponents of Black Consciousness stated that it was necessary for the Blackman to introspect and to examine to what extent he was a part of the complicity in the crime of allowing himself to be "misused" in the country of his birth. (4:180).

Black Consciousness is thus seen as an attitude of mind, a way of life, in which the Blackman defined himself rather than allowed himself to be defined by others. (10: 272)

The three components of Black Consciousness namely liberation, self dependency and unity are interwoven with each other. One of the cardinal beliefs held by the Black Consciousness leaders was that Blacks had to organize their lives and shape their own destiny. This has been summed up in the slogan: "Blackman, you are on your own". Blacks were also exhorted not to have anything to do with government created institutions as it was believed that these institutions ensnared rather than freed them. Contact with Whites was not encouraged for it was believed that all Whites even those who professed radicalism were beneficiaries of the White controlled status quo and their only role in predominantly Black movements was to pacify the masses and restrain its leaders.

The movement also attached importance to the elimination of black dependency and to feelings of inferiority. These two factors have a psychological as well as political dimensions. As Lawrence states both implicitly accept a Hegelian dialectic in the sense that the way forward lies in the polarization of society into mutually hostile camps and the belief that the desired non-racial society will emerge as a synthesis between the opposing forces. (16:58)

"Resistance to oppression and oppression against all forms of servitude as Hegel advocated opens up the future possibility of creating new forms of life and new relationships of power (21:27)

Black consciousness, it was argued, sought to channel the pent up forces of the angry black masses to meaningful and directional opposition. (10:298). Pityana stated that before any meaningful and just change of status quo took place, Black people should assess and re-assess their values and standards and thus be able to crystallize their goals and aspirations and then articulate these in terms of what was best for them. (4:189) Black people were urged to work towards a ~~stage~~ until they became politically, socially and economically independent of White people. It was hoped that this independence could give them worth as a self-respecting people. (4:198)

The advocates of the philosophy held that feelings of inadequacy and inferiority had arisen because Blacks had voluntarily "taken a back seat in areas extremely crucial to their interests". Hence it was necessary for relevant Black work to direct itself amongst other things, to eradicate psychological oppression, especially the "oversized mental image of the Whiteman and his abilities," and the "exaggerated feelings of powerlessness which resulted in a lack of creative initiatives" amongst Blacks. (18:187)

Biko stated that being Black didnot connote abnormality and White normality. Hence Blacks did not need to emulate Whites to achieve normality. Biko urged Black people to infuse themselves with self pride in themselves, their efforts, their value systems, culture, religion and outlook to life. (6:49) Psychological liberation was thus seen as of paramount importance in the concept of Black Consciousness.

The need for psychological liberation has been further elaborated by Boesak: "Getting rid of an implanted slave mentality is central to the philosophy of Black Consciousness. The affirmation of one's personhood is a powerful act that constitutes a farewell to innocence. Blacks should realize that their situation was not caused by a cosmic inevitability by powers beyond their control. " (11:6)

According to Khoapa the way to independence for the Blackman could only begin with a frank appraisal of the institutions and policies of the White and Black communities .(7:66).

Khoapa also outlined a policy of self-help (18:170) All self help schemes were to be directed by Blacks, for it was claimed that "whenever sympathetic Whites made themselves the traditional pace setters in the Blackman's struggle the Blackman was forced to play a secondary role. (13:104). It was generally believed that the Whiteman could be the best missionary among his own kind and that he ought to work for "White liberation". ( 4:180). There was a general rejection of White/Western values among the proponents of the Black Consciousness movement. White values were seen as being responsible for instilling inferiority complexes among Blacks and for their sense of alienation. According to Biko these values sought to destroy many Black beliefs including their most cherished one- namely , that the cornerstone of society was man himself in all his ramifications, not only just his welfare or material being. (6:46) Schlemmer sees these attitudes as primarily creating an identity among Blacks in cultural opposition to White/Western norms and which he regards as being highly prescriptive. (9:53)

Solidarity and unity was another theme running strongly in the philosophy of Black Consciousness for it was believed that group cohesion was threatened by white imposed fragmentation and anomie. (9:74) Biko warned that stereotypes held by Blacks about each

each other often led to inter-group suspicions. He pointed that all Blacks were oppressed by the same system only in varying degrees in a deliberate design to stratify them socially and in their aspirations. (6:52). Hence he advocated that before the Black people joined the open society they had to close their ranks into a solid group to oppose the definite racism meted to them by the White society, to work out their direction clearly and then to bargain from a position of strength (8:454).

This, perhaps, has been summed up aptly by Khoapa: "Black integration must precede Black and White integration- Blacks must unite before they can separate and must separate before they can unite. (7:64). Biko stated that Black Consciousness expressed group pride and the determination by Blacks to rise and attain the envisaged self (4:68) with a totality of involvement (5:97) by all Blacks (Africans, Coloureds and Indians).

This argument for unity as articulated by Biko was probably bolstered by Frantz Fanon (10:279)- namely that polarization per se in the race conflict would be a strategy conducive to change. Gehart has added that "polarization- the simplification of the conflict from a series of many skirmishes into one battle perceived as a total confrontation between Black and White required not just the initial redefinition of all Whites, including all liberals as oppressors, but also required the conceptual re-grouping of all non-Whites in the single category of "Black". (10:279)

These three components, unity/solidarity; self-help and psychological liberation which formed the basis of the Black Consciousness movement were further articulated by the various constituents that were formed at different stages in the history of the movement.

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## 2. EARLY CONSTITUENTS OF THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENTS

### .1 South African Students Organization

The Separate Universities Act of 1959 brought the university College of Fort Hare under direct government control and led to the establishment of the University College of the Western Cape (for Coloureds), the University College of Zululand (for Zulus), University College of the North (for Sothos) and the University College of Durban (for Indians).

The rectors at these universities had virtually limitless powers of veto over all student activities. This factor together with the frustration suffered by their minority position in the non-racial but White dominated National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) led many Black students to believe that an exclusive Black student body was necessary. This body was formed in 1968 and called the South African Students Organization (SASO). The aims of SASO were :

- to crystallize the needs and aspirations of Black students;
- effect programmes to meet these needs;
- to heighten the degree of contact among Black students and the rest of the South African student population;
- to make Black students be accepted on their terms as an integral part of the South African community;
- and to establish a solid identity to protect the interests of the member centres. (6:11)

As late as December 1969 the term non-White was used in identifying SASO's constituency, according to Gerhart (10:277) because many Indian and Coloured members of the organization did not wish to see themselves as "Blacks". SASO founders who were anxious to include these groups in their nascent organization thus continued to use the term "non-White". However, by mid 1970 by which time substantial Indian and Coloured support had already been won for SASO, the change to the name "Black" was made. By 1972 SASO had branches catering for students in high schools in Pietermaritzburg, Port Elizabeth, Umtata, Kimberley,

Bloemfontein, Pretoria and Springs. (10:296).

The student unrest at some Black universities in 1972 gave the student organization an opportunity to expand its base. The expulsion of Onkgopotse Abraham Tiro, from the University of the North after he had made a scathing attack on Bantu education at a graduation ceremony and the later mass expulsion of students who attempted to reinstate him led to unrest at the remaining Black universities. Tiro was the President of the Student Representative Council and a high ranking SASO official.

From 1973 to its final banning in October 1977 SASO went through periods of crises. In 1977 four executive members were banned. Within days of his election as President, Henry Isaacs, was banned for five years. The next President Hamilton Qambela suffered a similar fate. (16:61). Muntu Myeza who succeeded him was later imprisoned for six years.

SASO's provocative stand against the state was largely due to the continuous banning orders against its members, the untimely death of Tiro in a parcel bomb explosion in Botswana, the collapse of the remnants of the Portuguese empire in Africa and the triumph in Mozambique and Angola of anti-colonialists guerillas. (16:62)

Lawrence states that the campus unrest was important for three reasons (16:60)

- there were subsequent moves to meet SASO's demands (though this was never admitted) through the appointments of Black rectors.
- the solidarity shown by students across the barriers of ethnicity and race proved that the message of Black Consciousness was getting through.
- the way in which the unrest spread from one campus to another was a warning that the Black community was not as segmented as Whites were wont to believe.

The full accumulative significance of the university unrest of 1972 was manifest only after Black high school students launched their own campaign for educational reform in 1976.

.11 Black Peoples Convention (BPC)

The genesis of BPC lies in a series of meetings of which the first was of seven groups made up of SASO, ASSECA (the Association for Educational and Cultural Advancement of the African People) and church groups including the African Independent Churches Association. It was convened by IDAMA (the Interdenominational African Ministers Association) in Bloemfontein in April 1971 to discuss Black awareness and Black Consciousness.

The follow-up conference, held in Pietermaritzburg in 1971. At these discussions there was strong emphasis on the role of Black churches "in creating a new dispensation for Black people in South Africa. A decision was taken to form a kind of federation. Subsequently the Black Peoples Convention was formed under the leadership of Drake Koka, Saths Cooper and the Reverend A. Mayatula.

The aims of this new organization were to liberate and emancipate Blacks from psychological and physical oppression; to create a humanitarian society where justice was meted out equally to all and to re-orientate the theological system with a view to making religion relevant to the aspirations of Black people.

The organizational vehicles through which Black Consciousness was spread ran to a score or more. However, the most prominent were SASO and BPC.

These organizations were depleted of their leaderships as a result of state action especially after the abortive Curries Fountain Rally in Durban to celebrate the triumph of Frelimo in Mozambique in 1974. In 1977 government banned all remaining Black Consciousness oriented organizations.

Recently several organizations advocating Black Consciousness have made an appearance. The most important being the Azanian Peoples Organization, the Black Social Workers Association and the Media Workers Association.

### 3. PRESENT CONSTITUENTS OF THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENTS

#### .1 Azanian Peoples Organization

Like the other Black Consciousness bodies this organization envisages the creation of an open society where skin colour has no part. While acknowledging integration it states that this is only possible after the post liberation period. This body also rejects any contacts with whites " as long as the government gave only white political parties a chance to rule. (28)

#### .11 South African Black Social Workers Association

In July 1980 this Association rejected contact with any White or multi-racial social work organizations. Black Consciousness was defined by this body as "a philosophy, a culture and a religion that emanated from Black experience" (26:4)

#### .111 Media Workers Association for South Africa (MWASA)

MWASA was formed after the Union of Black Journalists was banned in 1977. Ideologically MWASA's standpoint it to articulate the cause of all Black people. In 1980 journalists belong to this Association went on strike for better pay, working conditions and a greater say in the dissemination of news affecting the Black community. State action against MWASA members in the late part of 1980 and in 1981 has deprived it of leadership.

In the ensuing paragraphs we shall examine the influence of the black consciousness philosophy on students. As Schlemmer states that despite the action against Black Consciousness movements by the government ,

as a broad philosophy and social sentiment it has become widespread among Africans, Coloured people and many Indians. (14:2) The government had greatly underestimated SASO's appeal and the counter thrust to the spread of the Black Consciousness movements- it infact created martyrs for the Black cause. (10:298).

Major student disturbances linked to this philosophy were the Soweto student disturbances of 1976 and the Coloured and Indian boycotts of 1980.

#### 4. THE GROWTH OF STUDENT MILITANCY

##### .1 The Soweto Student Disturbances of 1976

During the 1970's the high school generation especially among African schools saw SASO leaders as heroes, as "they had been bloodied in an actual clash with White authority. (10:298) One consequence by the end of 1972 was an upsurge in political consciousness among high school students leading to the formation of a welter of political youth organizations across the country. (10:298)

Black consciousness helped to create the climate of Black assertiveness which saw Black youth protest against the decision to use Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in their schools (16:63) Schlemmer regards Black Consciousness as a factor which had polarized young Blacks in their race attitudes and hence sees it as the spirit which fuelled the disturbances in 1976. ( 13 :12)

All the "ethnic" universities were affected in the 1976 student disturbances. For example, the Cillie Commission commenting on the riots and the unrest at Durban -~~Westville~~ University stated that " Indian students wished to identify with the actions of militant Blacks in Soweto .The disturbances on the campus consisted of lecture boycotts, meetings in the cafeteria, demonstrations, giving Black Power salutes etc."

.11 The Coloured-Indian School Boycott (1980)

The 1980 nationwide student boycott by Coloureds and Indians of primary, secondary and tertiary educational institutions focused attention on a new found militancy among Coloured and Indian youth. A content analysis of newspaper articles revealed the following reasons among others for the two month boycott:

- unfair and unequal education
- lack of suitable educational facilities
- poor quality of teachers.

The students demanded a system of education relevant to the political, social and economic needs of the communities they found themselves in.

African support for the boycott was minimal. Both Coloured and Indian parents supported their children in the protest against racial education.

This action by Coloured and Indian youth perhaps complete the cycle of Black protest which began in 1976 by African students against the present system of education.

5. BACKGROUND TO SOME SOCIO-POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF INDIANS TO THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS PHILOSOPHY

There was a great hesitancy among Indians to join the Black Consciousness movement initially. In order to understand this hesitancy one must take cognizance of the fact that Indian politics were for a long time under the domination of the merchant class. Greater collaboration between Africans and Indians only began after 1941, when according to Meer, concern with Indian discrimination shifted to one with general Black discrimination (8:447). In 1952 the Indian Congress entered into a formal alliance with the African National Congress and helped to organize nationwide strikes.

The drawing together of the African and the Indian on the political front to offer joint resistance against

what they began to recognize as common discrimination was a slow process.

Legislation, especially the Group Areas Act greatly affected the Indo-African alliance. Meer states that the vigorous application of the policy of separate development destroyed the physical opportunities for Afro-Indo unity and the banning of the ANC and the executive of the Indian Congress brought political unity to a halt. (8:449).

The potential for Indo-African solidarity again became viable due to the identification of interests and academic situation in the ethnic universities.. Students from the Indian university were not allowed to join SASO in terms of university regulations. But in spite of this many were attracted to the philosophy of Black Consciousness. Students from the University of Durban-Westville were prominent on SASO platforms. Fear of expulsion prevented others from supporting the movement.

Black Consciousness leaders accepted that the division of the races in the country was deeply entrenched and that it would be difficult for all Black people to work as a combined front. Hence each racial group was urged to preserve its culture and heritage but work in the same direction as the other groups, being complimentary to each where ever possible. With regard to culture, Africans have suffered more than another other group. The migratory labour system, urbanization and industrialization have greatly affected their cultural traditions. According to Adam, the Indian community has preserved facets of their traditional culture and customs which in turn has served as an immunizing shield against discrimination.

It is interesting to note that in research conducted jointly by Schlemmer and Hanf in 1977 some two thirds of a sample of over a thousand African respondents in Soweto, Pretoria and Durban replied affirmatively to the statement that "Africans, Indians and Coloureds" should be one people compared with Whites (14:12)

Given this background to the Black Consciousness movement one could say that it is an important facet of the internal politics of South Africa.

The historical and philosophical background suggests two consequences- the one is a rejection of Whites and as its corollary political militancy, the other a growth of consciousness that instills pride and thereby gives self - assurance. Various other possibilities also exist- some of which will be explored in the ensuing analysis. The analysis which follows is a tentative exploration of the relationship of political and cultural attitudes among non-university Indian students towards the philosophy and movement of Black Consciousness.

There are some conceptual advantages in carrying out this study among Indians rather than Africans. As Schlemmer has indicated " For Africans, having a "black " identity is not necessarily as distinctive a feature of self image as it would be among Indians... It would come rather easier to Africans than to other blacks and therefore may not reveal its consequences with clarity in any empirical observation." Furthermore an African who regards himself as 'black' does not have to show to solidarity with other 'blacks', namely Indians and Coloureds. If Indians or Coloured people adopt a 'black ' identity this will imply some solidarity with Africans.

Thus Indians and Coloured people have made a subjective adjustment in adopting a Black Consciousness position or elements of it. In this sense they would be an excellent 'test case' of the processes involved. (14:5)

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B. An analysis of the cultural and socio-political attitudes of non-university Indian youth to the philosophy and movement of Black Consciousness.

1. SAMPLE

The students were drawn from the Teacher Training College for Indians in Durban and a College for Advanced Technical Education. The Indian university of Durban-Westville declined to give permission for the study to be undertaken.

The study was undertaken by the author under the supervision of the Director of the Centre of Applied Social Sciences.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

Sampling was not strictly random- complete coverage was obtained from a cross section of classroom groups. Tests of significance therefore have to be treated with caution.

Since this is an exploratory study, no hypothesis have been formulated other than the two broadly opposed hypotheses. The discussion will not be limited to the two parameters of these two alternative hypothetical ideas but will also explore related theories and consider the obvious possibility of any interconnections between political militancy and the more subjective and social consequences of Black Consciousness.

3. ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

Respondents were asked to indicate which of the following names they could choose for their group: 'Black', 'Brown' or 'Non-White' and whether they saw themselves as 'Indian South African', 'South African', 'Indian' or 'Asian'. The responses are indicated in Table 1.

TABLE 1 (NOMENCLATURE PREFERENCE)

<u>PREFERRED NAME</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>
'Black'	11	31
'Brown'	13	36
'Non-White'	37	103
'Indian'	18	51
'South African'	7	18
N		239

Of the 239 students the largest number (103) opted for the name 'Non-White'. The second minority name preferred was 'Black'. The analysis suggests that there is a limited preference by the students to see themselves as 'Blacks'.

Relating to their religious background and their attitude to religion the following information was obtained.

TABLE 2 (RELIGION)

Religious denomination

	<u>'Black'</u>	<u>'Brown'</u>	<u>'Non-White'</u>	<u>'Indian'</u>	<u>'South African'</u>
	Percentage				
Hindus	11,3	17,9	36,4	22,1	
Muslims	11,8,5	3,7	35,2	22,1	
Christians	8,3	16,7	29,2	39,2	

Attitudes to religion

Guidance in all activities	11,9	11,3	35,2	23,9	
Part of heritage	16,7	15,2	39,4	22,7	
Important in times of need	9,4	25,0	34,4	15,6	
N	31	36	103	51	18

More Hindus see themselves as 'Non-Whites'. More Muslim speaking students are 'Blacks'. Christians prefer to be seen as 'Indian'. However the majority of Hindus and Muslims prefer being called 'Non-Whites'-they also see religion as a guidance in all activities and as part of their heritage.

The groups were then asked to give their reasons for either liking or disliking certain nomenclatures.

TABLE 3 (REASONS FOR NOMENCLATURE LIKED/DISLIKED)

	<u>'Black'</u>	<u>'Brown'</u>	<u>'Non White'</u>	<u>'Indian'</u>	<u>'S.A.'</u> <sup>2.</sup>
	Percentage				
Black signified skin colour		7,1	71,4	3,6	14,3
Non Whites wished to be seen as Whites	44	11,1	11,1	22	
Non Whites were opposites of Whites		4,3	91,3	4,3	
'Black' was synonymous with oppression			100		
'Black' gave a sense of pride	72,7	9,1		18,1	
Rejection of racial labels	12,5		6,3	62,5	
Rejection of colour nomenclature	4	16	20	44	
N	31	36	103	51	18

It is apparent from the above analysis that the philosophical significance of the term 'Black' has not been understood—it is still seen in terms of pigmentation and as being synonymous with oppression. Being 'Black' only gave a sense of pride to those who preferred being called 'Blacks'. and to a lesser extent to other groups. However there is a general rejection by all groups of designation by race or colour.

1. Minority categories of answers and those not giving information have been omitted from the presentation.

2. 'S.A.' refers to South African.

Attitudes to other race groups in terms of friendship were then sought. In particular the students were asked to respond to whether the 1949 Indo-African riots which was the first major confrontation between the African and Indian communities, had in any way created uncertainty in their relationship to Africans. The responses are depicted in the following table.

TABLE 4 (ATTITUDES TO INTERRACIAL RELATIONSHIPS)

	<u>'Black'</u>	<u>'Brown'</u>	<u>'Non White'</u>	<u>'Indian'</u>	<u>'S.A.'</u>
<u>Indo African Riots</u>	Percentage				
Positive	11,1	11,1	36,1	24,5	4,3
Negative	17,5	17,5	30	7,5	7,5
<u>Friendship Groups</u>					
Africans	15,8	10,8	23,7	21,1	13,2
Indians	15,9	11,9	38,3	21,6	
Coloureds		25	25		
White					
N	31	36	103	51	18

There seems to be a rejection by a slight margin of the belief that the 1949 riots had affected Indo-African relationships by the 'Black', 'Brown', 'South African' groups. The 'Non-White' and the 'Indian' groups seem to believe to a great extent that the relationships have in fact been affected.

The findings reveal that there is a complete lack of friendship with the White group. Friendship with Africans seems to occur more frequently with all groups. The 'Brown' and the 'Non-White' groups seem to be the only groups that have any friendly relationship with the Coloured people.

The students were then asked about the types of neighbourhood they preferred to live in. Here a combination of races viz White and Indian (W&I); White, Coloured and Indian (W.C.I); White, Coloured, Indian and African (W.C.I.A.); Coloured, African and Indian (C.A.I); and a specific race group Indian (I) were given. The responses are given on the following page.

TABLE 5 (NEIGHBOURHOOD PREFERENCE)

	<u>'Black'</u>	<u>'Brown'</u>	<u>'Non- White'</u>	<u>'Indian'</u>	<u>'S.A.'</u>
	Percentage				
W.I.	3,6	32,1	21,4	28,6	10,7
W.C.I.	15,4	11,5	26,9	26,9	
W.C.I.A.	15,2	13,1	37,2	17,9	
C.A.I.	20			80	
I.	8,1	16,1	45,2	22,6	
N	31	36	103	51	18

From the above analysis it is clear that the 'Black' group give the minimum support for either a White and Indian or an exclusive Indian area. They seem to prefer a mixed area (i.e. Coloured, African and Indian) that excludes Whites. The greatest preference to this type of neighbourhood is however by the 'Indian' group.

'Non-Whites' seem to prefer an exclusive Indian area. A higher percentage of the 'Brown' group than any other group prefer an area set aside for Indians and Whites only.

It is interesting to note that are pockets of support by the members of the 'Black' group for neighbourhoods to be shared with Whites. There are no signs of a radical rejection of sharing areas with Whites. Given the philosophy of Black Consciousness one would expect this to be so.

Attitudes were then sought to marriage within and outside their own race group. Students were asked about their attitudes to marrying someone within their own race group but with some one with another religion and language. Then their opinions were sought on their willingness /unwillingness on marrying someone from another race group altogether.

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TABLE 6 (MARRIAGE)

	<u>'Black'</u>	<u>'Brown'</u>	<u>'Non-White'</u>	<u>'Indian'</u>	<u>'S.A.'</u>
	Percentage				
<u>WITHIN GROUP</u>					
Very willing	6,9	13,8	32,8	24,1	10,3
Quite willing	11,3	12,7	38,0	23,9	5,6
Difficult	15,5	20,2	32,1	20,2	
Wouldn't marry	15	11,7	40	20	
<u>OTHER RACE GROUP</u>					
<u>Yes ( Very Willing)</u>					
African	29,4	11,8	17,6	11,8	17,6
Coloured	16,7	6,7	26,7	23,3	13,3
White	17,4	8,7	21,7	13,0	17,4
<u>No (Wouldn't Marry)</u>					
African	10	15,4	43,1	23,1	
Coloured	10,9	15,5	41,8	24,5	
White	11,8	15,0	40,9	23,6	
N	31	36	103	51	18

The 'Non-White' group is more conservative than the other groups on attitudes regarding marriage. A greater percentage would find it difficult or they would not even marry some within their own racial group if he/she comes a different religious or language background. This group also frowns on marriage outside their own race group.

'Blacks' seem to be more liberal on marriage matters. A greater number are willing to marry Whites than either the 'Brown' or 'Indian' groups. More 'Blacks' would also marry Africans.

The analysis indicates that on the average there is a preference for marrying within ones own group. Marriage outside language and religious circles seems to be problematic. Marriage outside the racial group does not seem to be desirable.

The sample which was divided into three roughly equal categories of religious and cultural observance into the following attitudes and practices : support for the idea of vernacular schools, commitment to and interest in religion and the extent to which religion is part of daily life, participation in religious ceremonies, marriage choices indicate that those who choose the appellation 'Black' are not more liberal than others in a religious cultural sense.

The percentages of the socio-political identity groups in the upper third category of religious and cultural identification were as follows:

'Indian' 43%  
 'Black' 39%  
 'Brown' 36%  
 'Non-White' 28%  
 'South African' 11%

The difference between 'Blacks' and others are not statically significant but the results are noteworthy in that it is the politically conservative 'Non-White' which is fairly liberal on a religious and cultural sense.

Political attitudes relating to the Black Consciousness movements, voting trends, preferred political parties etc were then identified.

The following were used as indices for evaluating general attitudes to the Black Consciousness movement : its need, political outlook, personal support and the relationship between Black and White power. The data are analysed in Table 7.

TABLE 7 (ATTITUDES TO THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT)

	<u>'Black'</u>	<u>'Brown'</u>	<u>'Non-White'</u>	<u>'Indian'</u>	<u>'S.A.'</u>
	Percentage				
<u>RATINGS</u>					
Seen as a healthy unit	11,5	13,1	32,8	29,5	
Seen as a necessary movement	16,4	14,8	36,1	18	
<u>POLITICAL OUTLOOK</u>					
Democratic	16,2	10,8	37,8	18,9	
Radical	28	28	24	24	
Personal support	19,6	15,2	21,7	28,3	
<u>ANSWER TO WHITE POWER</u>					
Yes	14,3	14,3	23,8	38,1	4,8
No	9,7	19,4	31,9	26,4	2,8
N	31	36	103	51	18

'Non-Whites' rate the movement both as "healthy necessary" and "democratic" more than the other groups. They do not see it as an answer to White power. 'Indians' tend to give the movement more support and are inclined to believe that Black Power is the answer to White power. The groups on an average tend to agree that the Black Consciousness movement has a radical outlook. From the above responses it is clear that it is not only the 'Blacks' who have positive feelings to the movement. Infact the general 'Black' attitude to the movement is very muted.

The students were then asked to give their preference for a political party, group or individual if they were allowed to vote in a parlimentary election emphasizing complete freedom of choice. The relationship



between the preference for a group name and choice of either the National Party (the present government), the fairly conservative official South African Indian Council (SAIC) or Black political figures tending towards the radical or outspoken is tabulated below.

TABLE 8 (VOTING TRENDS)

	'Black'	'Brown'	'Non-White'	'Indian'	'S.A.'
	Percentage				
<u>Political Party</u>					
National Party	13	25	32	26	33
SAIC	13	17	14	22	11
Outspoken radical Black leaders	19	8	3		11
N	31	36	103	51	18

Those preferring to be called 'Blacks' are clearly less inclined to support the present government and significantly more likely to support radical or outspoken Black leaders. They seem therefore to be less conservative in their response to the current political situation than other socio-political identity groups. Even so however there is a fairly even distribution of choice within the 'Black' group and by no means a majority have a radical preference.

The choice of a group name has also been cross tabulated against the results of a probe into the type of government the respondents would ideally prefer in South Africa. The pattern which emerges is depicted in Table 9.

TABLE 9 (TYPE OF GOVERNMENT)

	<u>'Black'</u>	<u>'Brown'</u>	<u>'Non-White'</u>	<u>'Indian'</u>	<u>'S.A.'</u>
	Percentage				
One man, one vote majority rule	39	42	29	26	44
Majority rule but representation for all races guaranteed.	42	33	30	36	39
Equal numbers of 'Black' (Non-White) versus White representatives	10	6	19	4	6
Equal numbers of non African versus African representatives.	6	14	7	12	6
Equal representation for all races	3		6	2	
N	31	36	103	51	18

Here the answers given by those who like to be regarded as 'Blacks' are well spread across the options. Majority rule is the least conservative answer and there is certainly no marked tendency for the 'Blacks' to concentrate their choices on this option. The array of responses shows that 'Non-Whites' and the 'Indians' are more likely to be conservative, however the relative tendency in this direction is far from strong and is not significant.

Respondents were also asked to respond spontaneously to an open ended question on what problems if any they would anticipate in the advent of majority rule in South Africa. Here again the results, in broad categories are presented according to the group name of

the respondent's choice.

TABLE 10 ( PROBLEMS UNDER BLACK MAJORITY RULE)

	'Black'	'Brown'	'Non-White'	'Indian'	'S.A.'
	Percentage				
Answers suggesting no or soluble problems	19	11	13	5	24
Temporary problems	7		1	4	
Answers reflecting fears of discrimination or punitive action against Indians in particular	16	36	12	9	
Answers reflecting fears of discrimination or punitive action against non Africans generally	23	17	9	13	17
Exodus of non-Africans		3	2	5	
Fears of loss of Indian identity		6	40	5	
Economic/admin. problems	23	20	19	18	41

These results give a picture essentially similar to the previous finding, viz. the 'Blacks' do not emerge with any highly distinctive or different profile. They are marginally less likely to perceive serious problems than others, but generally like others to fear discrimination, reflecting a lack of any deep seated or ideologically well reinforced faith in Black unity. Those people with a 'Brown' consciousness reflecting a heightened awareness of their intermediate or marginal status in South Africa, are most likely to fear discrimination by the majority against as such.

The 'Black' group fails to emerge with any distinct profile in the analysis of political attitudes.

#### 4. DISCUSSION

This exploratory analysis does not suggest that Black Consciousness at the level of a general non-university student population is meaningful and associated with marked radicalism.

It has often been suggested that "in the absence of real liberation and the means to achieve it Black Consciousness then represents verbal resistance (9:73). However on the available evidence from this study a Black Consciousness identification even at a popular verbal level lacks the ideological content that is often ascribed to the movement and its leaders.

Furthermore the ambivalent responses to the various cultural and political attitudes by the various groups and in particular the 'Black' group seems to indicate that the respondents are possibly suffering from what has been termed "psychological marginality" (uncertainty, self doubts, and lack of confidence.) (14:12). As Gordan has stated the marginal man may be a member of a minority group attracted to the sub-society and sub-culture of the host society - ambivalent towards his minority group and beset by conflicting cultural standards he may develop traits of insecurity, hypersensitivity and self consciousness. (28) The Indian at the present time cannot psychologically separate himself from his origins for fear of absolute anomie. Hence it would appear that he finds himself in the no man's land between the White and African groups.

5. CONCLUSION

The analysis seems to indicate that Black Consciousness among Indian students appears to be rather a manifestation of a new fashionable nomenclature and hence should not be accorded any great political significance.

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D. ANNEXURE  
1. Questionnaire

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CULTURAL AND ATTITUDE STUDY

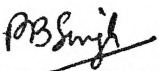
Centre for Applied Social Sciences  
University of Natal  
Durban

August 1978

*THIS CENTRE IS CURRENTLY UNDERTAKING SEVERAL STUDIES, AMONG DIFFERENT GROUPS, OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CULTURE AND ATTITUDES. WE WOULD BE MOST GRATEFUL IF YOU WOULD ASSIST US BY COMPLETING THE QUESTIONNAIRE BELOW.*

*YOUR ANSWERS WILL BE COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL. YOU WILL NOTICE WE DO NOT ASK YOU FOR YOUR NAME. ALL INDIVIDUAL ANSWERS IN ANY CASE WILL BE COMBINED TOGETHER IN OUR COMPUTER AND WILL BE PUBLISHED IN THE FORM OF STATISTICS AND PERCENTAGES.*

*THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION.*

  
MR. P.B. SINGH  
RESEARCHER

  
PROF. I. SCHLEMMER  
DIRECTOR

**PLEASE NOTE:** The way to answer most of the questions in this questionnaire is to place a  in the block which you choose. Use only a X, not other marks. In some questions, however, we ask you to write in an answer.



1.

A.

1a). What is the highest standard of education you have completed?  
-----

1b). How far do you actually intend going in your education? -----  
-----

3. Are you male ----- female ----- ?

4. What is your father's occupation? (Please give clear details, including type of organisation worked for.)  
-----

5. What suburb of Durban or other area is your home in?  
-----

6. What is your religion? Hindu  Muslim   
Christian  Other  None

7. What is your occupation? -----

8. What occupation do you intend to follow after gaining all the qualifications you need? -----

9. What is your original language of origin? Tamil   
Telegu  Gujerati  Urdu  Hindi   
Other (please specify) -----

B.

1. Which of the following languages do you *mostly* use at home?

English  Hindi  Tamil  Telegu   
Gujerati  Urdu  Other

2. Which of the following languages do your parents *mostly* use when talking to relatives?

English  Hindi  Tamil  Telegu   
Gujerati  Urdu  Other

3. When you were young, did you go to vernacular school?

Yes  No

4. Do you think that children should go to vernacular classes?

Yes  No

5. In the past month which of the following newspapers have you read?  
 Graphic  Leader  Natal Mercury Extra   
 Post  Sunday Times Extra
6. How often do you go to Indian films?  
 weekly  fortnightly  monthly  sometimes   
 never
7. How often do you go to English films?  
 weekly  fortnightly  monthly  sometimes   
 never
8. Which *two* of the following territories would you like to visit most? (Mark TWO only.)  
 India  Pakistan  Britain  Europe   
 North America  Middle East  South America   
 Any other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
9. Which of the following statements about religion is true in your life? (Choose as many as fit your life.)  
 my religion guides me in all my activities and interests  
 my religion is important in times of need  
 my religion is part of my heritage which I value  
 my religion means very little in my life
10. Have you ever involved yourself in the different ceremonies of your religion?  
 regularly  fairly frequently  on special occasions   
 never
11. Do you belong to any youth group that has originated directly as a result of your religion?  
 yes  no
12. What would you regard as your Holy Book?  
 Bible  Bhagavad-Gita  Koran  Ramayana   
 Other  I have no Holy Book
13. Have you ever received any formal religious education?  
 yes  no

14. Would you send your children to a vernacular school for religious education?  
yes  no
15. Do you adhere to any of the following religious practices?  
fast  don't eat certain meats  abstain from meat  
altogether on certain days of the week  none
16. Compared with you to what extent do your parents observe the above religious practices?  
more than you  less than you  same as you
17. Which of the following major religious festivals do you celebrate?  
Diwali  Eid  Christmas  none
18. If you take part in religious activities is it mostly at  
home  public  temple  mosque   
church  nowhere
19. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? My religion gives me a feeling of belonging to my cultural group.  
strongly agree  agree  disagree
20. Among your close friends, not relatives - *people whom you visit or with whom you go out* - which religious groups are represented? Write down below.  
-----  
-----

C.

1. Which of the following family groups do you live with?  
your parents, unmarried brothers or sisters   
your parents, and your married brothers   
your parents, married brothers and other relatives
2. How often do you see relatives apart from those with whom you may live?  
weekly  monthly or more  less frequently   
rarely

3. How often do your relatives visit you?

weekly  monthly or more  less frequently   
rarely

4. Do you think that in the next ten years, there will be fewer Indians wearing traditional dress?

yes  no

5. Would you please indicate from which of the following groups you have friends whom you visit or with whom you go out?

Africans  Indians  Coloureds  English-speaking Whites  Afrikaans-speaking Whites

6. How willing would you be to marry an Indian who didn't belong to your *religious* and *language* group?

very willing  quite willing  it would be difficult   
would not marry out of group

7. How willing would you be to marry someone from outside your race group?

African: very willing  quite willing   
it would be difficult  could not marry

Coloured: very willing  quite willing   
it would be difficult  could not marry

White: very willing  quite willing   
it would be difficult  could not marry

8. If it were possible, which of the following types of neighbourhoods would you prefer to live in?

White and Indian  White, Coloured and Indian   
White, Coloured, African, Indian  only Indian

D.

1. Which of the following would you call yourself?

Indian South African  South African Indian   
Asiatic  Indian  other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_  
-----

5.

2. Choose the name you most prefer for yourself from the following:

Black       Brown       Non-white       Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

3. Which of these names, that is, Black, Brown, Non-white, do you like or dislike? Would you explain why you do so?

name liked \_\_\_\_\_ reasons \_\_\_\_\_

name disliked \_\_\_\_\_ reasons \_\_\_\_\_

4. What problems, if any, could arise under Black majority rule in South Africa?

5. In your opinion, how would you rate the several Black Consciousness movements?

racist       radical       democratic   
healthy unity       necessary

6. Would people like you have supported any of the Black Consciousness movements?

yes       no       no comment

7. Do you think that Black power is the answer to White power?

yes       no       no comment

8. Which of the following types of political system do you prefer?

- majority rule - one man, one vote for all South African citizens
- majority rule, but with provision for representatives from all racial groups
- equal number of Black (African, Indian, Coloured) versus White representatives
- Indian, Coloured, White representatives combined balancing African representatives
- equal numbers of White versus Indian and Coloured together versus African representatives

9. Do you think that the 1949 Indo-African riots have created uncertainty in the minds of many Indians in their relationship with Africans or not?

yes  no

10. Given an opportunity to exercise a free vote, who would you vote for in an election for the South African parliament? You may mention any group, party, leader or individual for whom you would like to vote. You may give more than one choice if you like.

- 1) -----
- 2) -----
- 3) -----
- 4) -----
- 5) -----

Thank you for your co-operation.



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